

THE MILITANT

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

THE FBI AND THE LAST DAYS OF MALCOLM X

Files released to 'Militant'
show massive spying...
but are strangely silent
on assassination

—PAGES 16, 17, 18



Robert Parent



Militant/Lou Howort

NEW YORK—March 12 International Women's Day marked by spirited march. Roundup of other actions inside. Pages 4, 5.

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ERA DEFEATS: Two state legislatures struck blows at women's rights March 15. Missouri senators voted twenty-two to twelve to kill the Equal Rights Amendment. The Oklahoma House sent it back to committee.

Altogether, ten legislatures have defeated or otherwise buried the ERA for 1977. Indiana was the one state to ratify, making it the thirty-fifth out of thirty-eight states needed by March 1979. Arizona, Florida, Illinois, Louisiana, and South Carolina have yet to take action on the ERA this year.

CONFERENCE ON 'CHICANOS AND THE MEDIA': The second annual conference on "Chicanos and the Media" will be held April 1 and 2 at the University of Texas at Austin. Chicanos Interesados en Comunicaciones, the sponsoring organization, says their "major areas of concern are the inadequate and stereotypic coverage of Chicanos by the media and the lack of Chicanos in the profession."

Many films and panels have been organized, including presentations by: Felix Gutiérrez, a journalism professor at California State University at Northridge on problems Chicanos face in the media; Manuel Gonzales on alternative communication networks; Irma Orozco on Chicanas; and *Militant* columnist Miguel Pendás on the mass media's campaign against "illegal aliens."

For further information contact: Lita Cavazos, c/o Center for Mexican-American Studies, Speech Building 307, Austin, Texas 78712. Telephone: (512) 471-4557 or 477-1799.

U OF T CUTBACKS PROTESTED IN SAN ANTONIO: Two hundred fifty students held a protest meeting at the University of Texas in San Antonio (UTSA) March 3. The students were angered by cuts in federal and state funding that threaten the elimination of work-study programs and a 40 percent reduction in faculty.

The cuts will fall most heavily on UTSA, a predominantly Chicano school, as well as the largely Black and Chicano state community colleges.

Andrés González, a UTSA student government representative and Socialist Workers party candidate for San Antonio City Council, District 7, issued a statement supporting the protests.

HOWARD MOORE TOURS FOR GERALD GARRETT: Howard Moore, the prominent Black attorney who was chief defense counsel for Angela Davis, toured St. Louis February 17-19. Moore has joined defense efforts for Gerald Garrett, a nineteen-year-old Black who is appealing a thirty-year frame-up murder sentence.

Garrett was convicted by an all-white jury last year on charges he killed a wealthy Olivette, Missouri, woman. This frame-up is the most serious incident in a long campaign against Garrett and his family. The vendetta began after the Garretts became the first Blacks to move into previously all-white Olivette.

Moore spoke on four campuses and to eighty people at the Laclede Town community center.

The largest meeting took place at the majority Black Forest Park Community College, where 120 people attended. The meeting was organized by the St. Louis Student Coalition Against Racism. Glenn White, coordinator of St. Louis SCAR, and Linda Ross from the campus chapter of the NAACP Young Adults also spoke.

OPPOSE MASSACHUSETTS 'JERUSALEM MONTH': More than 100 people at a Boston picket line protested the March 1 proclamation by Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis of 'Jerusalem Month.' Dukakis's proclamation, echoing Zionist propaganda, said that "Jerusalem, Israel's capital, is a living entity enriched by a multicultural tapestry by its citizens from many ethnic origins."

The truth is that thousands of Jerusalem Arabs have been driven from their homes by brutal Israeli occupation forces. The Massachusetts Committee for Human Rights in Jerusalem, the group that organized the picket line, issued a statement explaining that Dukakis's action made him an accomplice of the "Israeli government's policy of creating 'accomplished facts.' He has chosen to disregard totally the illegality of the annexation under International Law, countless U.N. Resolutions to that effect, and existing U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East." Washington now recognizes Tel Aviv—not Jerusalem—as the capital of Israel.

FIRST UAW CONTRACT AT GM PLANT IN SOUTH: The 700 workers at the General Motors guide lamp division plant in Monroe, Louisiana, have ratified their first union contract. The new contract will boost wages to the level GM pays at its main guide lamp plant in Indiana. This means an average raise of eighty dollars a week for press operators.

The new contract was negotiated after the United Auto Workers won a representation election in December. The election followed GM's agreement last fall that the company would not interfere with union organizing efforts. The contract gains are expected to spur unionization efforts at

five other GM plants in the South.

CoDEL CHALLENGES CALIF. ELECTION LAW: The California Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) has appealed a 1976 ruling by a three-judge federal panel upholding restrictive California ballot requirements for political parties other than the Democrats and Republicans. The requirements are the toughest in the United States.

Last year, under the pressure of lawsuits by CoDEL and the American Civil Liberties Union, the California legislature partially eased these ballot requirements. Those changes made it possible for the 1976 presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers, Communist, and Libertarian parties to be on the ballot for the first time. But the candidates could be listed only as independents, not under their party's name. CoDEL is now asking the U.S. Supreme Court to hear arguments in favor of reversing the three-judge panel's decision, which upheld the remaining ballot restrictions. For more information contact CoDEL at Post Office Box 40445, San Francisco, California 94110.

AIM LEADER TO BE RELEASED: Leonard Crow Dog, spiritual leader of the American Indian Movement, will be released from federal prison on parole March 21.

Crow Dog was serving sentences for two frame-up convictions. The first stemmed from the 1973 occupation of the town of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. The second stemmed from a September 1975 raid by 100 FBI agents on Crow Dog's home on the adjacent Rosebud reservation.

Many groups had spoken out in Crow Dog's defense, including the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches.

POLL ON GAS SHORTAGE: People in the New York area found plenty of hot air during the recent cold wave, according to a February 28 report. When pollsters for the *New York Daily News* asked, "Do you think that the recent natural gas shortage was artificially created to raise the price of natural gas?" 66 percent answered "yes," 22 percent said "no," and 12 percent said they did not know.

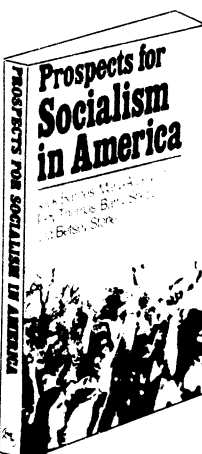
Forty-two percent of those responding said they were opposed to letting oil and gas companies drill offshore if this would endanger the environment. Thirty-eight percent said they would favor offshore drilling despite the risks. Twenty percent did not know.

Asked if they think "the government should nationalize all energy companies controlling gas, oil, coal and electricity," 52 percent favored nationalization. Only 31 percent opposed nationalization, and 17 percent said they did not know.

—Peter Seidman

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Appeal planned, protests grow

Gary Tyler sent back to Angola prison

By Joel Aber
and Derrick Morrison

HAHNVILLE, La.—“I’m innocent, understand?” the eighteen-year-old Black youth told the judge. “You’re looking at a man who has been raped of his freedom, you understand? I’m innocent, by all means.” These were Gary Tyler’s final words in the St. Charles Parish courtroom March 8.

A moment later, Judge Ruche Marino followed the state supreme court’s instructions and sentenced Gary Tyler to life imprisonment at hard labor with no possibility of parole for twenty years.

In November 1975 an all-white jury convicted Tyler of murdering a white student. Judge Marino presided over that trial and sentenced Tyler to the electric chair.

But at a hearing last year to demand a new trial, Natalie Blanks—the only witness who had claimed she saw Tyler fire a gun—recanted her testimony.

The Louisiana Supreme Court nonetheless denied Tyler’s appeal for a new trial. But because the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the Louisiana death penalty last summer, Tyler had to be resentenced.

After almost three years in jail for a crime he did not commit, Gary Tyler again faced Judge Marino.

In an intimidating show of force, sheriff’s deputies from St. Charles Parish and nearby Terrebonne Parish and state troopers ringed the courthouse. Deputies were perched on the building’s roof, and a phalanx of fifteen deputies guarded the entrance.

Four more deputies flanked the judge. Plain-clothes cops with obvious weapons paced the courtroom.



GARY TYLER

Attorney Jack Peebles asked Marino not to send Tyler to the notorious state penitentiary at Angola. State law does not require young men convicted as juveniles to be sent there.

But Marino denied Peeble’s motion. After the hearing, a state police helicopter whisked Tyler away to Angola.

“It has been a long time for this matter to come to rest,” Marino smugly declared at the hearing. But despite the judge’s hope, the case has not “come to rest.”

Outrage at the injustice continues to grow. Last week the National Lawyers Guild announced its plans to send an appeal for defense funds to thousands of its supporters across the country.

The West German office of Amnesty-International, an organization fighting to free political prisoners around the world, has told the defense committee that it will join the battle for Gary Tyler’s freedom.

Support for the defense effort is also mounting in Louisiana. Students at the University of New Orleans heard Tyler’s mother and attorney Peebles at a March 3 meeting sponsored by the campus chapter of the Student Coalition Against Racism.

At last month’s representative assembly meeting of the United Teachers of New Orleans, union representatives saw a film about Gary Tyler. The union local had previously endorsed Tyler’s effort to get a new trial.

Peebles now is planning to appeal Tyler’s case to the U.S. Supreme Court. He argues that Tyler should be tried in juvenile court instead of in Judge Marino’s adult criminal court.

Gary Tyler’s family and supporters expect the legal battle ahead to be expensive. Contributions can be sent to the Gary Tyler Defense Fund, Post Office Box 52223, New Orleans, Louisiana 70152.

Maryland Klansman arrested for bomb plot

By Marc Strumpf

COLLEGE PARK, Md.—Abortion clinics, the Prince Georges County offices of the NAACP, and Jewish religious and cultural centers were all on the “hit list” of Exalted Cyclops William Aitcheson and his Robert E. Lee Lodge of the Ku Klux Klan.

Aitcheson, a University of Maryland student, was arrested by Maryland state police March 2 and charged with possession of explosives and manufacturing bombs, as well as cross burnings. Police charge that the Klan members were conspiring to bomb the NAACP offices and abortion clinics.

Sylvester Vaughns, Prince Georges County NAACP president, told the *Militant*, “We take bomb threats very seriously. We believe that the lack of seriousness by the police toward bomb threats and cross burnings contributes to their increase.”

Maryland authorities estimate that there are 500 KKK members in the state. Yet the police have taken a notoriously lax attitude toward the Klan’s terrorist activities in the past.

After a series of cross burnings in February, a Prince Georges County police official dismissed the attempts to drive Black families out of the area. He

said it was “probably the work of kids with nothing better to do.”

The NAACP has reported a dramatic increase in Klan activity throughout Maryland. There have been at least seventeen cross burnings in Prince Georges County alone over the past two years. Aitcheson has been charged with six of these dating from March 1976 to January 1977.

But police undercover agents are known to have been operating in the Prince Georges County Klan for at least seven months. Where were they when the illegal cross burnings were taking place?

In fact, government officials might have been perfectly willing to see the NAACP offices and abortion clinics bombed, had the Klansmen not made the mistake of including the communications headquarters and power plant at Fort Meade among their targets. Fort Meade is the home of the supersecret National Security Agency.

While Aitcheson and other Klan members are being prosecuted for trying to force Blacks out of Prince Georges County, the local government has been trying to do the same on a much larger scale.

The county’s Black population has grown from 7 to about 25 percent of the total population in the past fifteen years. Many have moved to the area from the District of Columbia. The county Democratic party machine has responded by trying to keep Blacks out.

County Executive Winfield Kelly has vowed to create a “new quality” in the area. A photograph on the front page of the *Washington Post* pictured Kelly’s smiling face in front of a demolished low-income housing project that had been mostly Black.

“These projects are magnets for the poor,” Kelly said. “I want a solid middle-class county with pride, with family ties, with stability.”

In other words, Blacks stay out.

The Prince Georges County Socialist Workers party, the University of Maryland Student Coalition Against Racism, and targets of the Klan such as NAACP leader Sylvester Vaughns are trying to organize a protest meeting to condemn the terrorism of the Klan and the inaction of county officials.

Protest organizers urge a united response by all those threatened by the Klan as an important first step in putting the racist, anti-Semitic, antiwoman reactionaries on the defensive.

3rd witness admits lie in Wilmington Ten case

By Diane Wang

The government’s frame-up of the Wilmington Ten suffered another blow early this month.

Jerome Mitchell, a key prosecution witness against Ben Chavis and nine other civil rights activists, admitted he lied.

Mitchell is the third witness to confess that the prosecution coerced or bribed him to testify against the Wilmington Ten.

This perjured testimony was the basis for

convicting the civil rights activists of arson and conspiracy six years ago. Chavis and the other defendants were given prison sentences totaling 282 years.

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Imani Kazana of the Wilmington Ten Defense Committee commented:

“I think it is very significant that all the prosecution witnesses have now indicated that they were coerced or bribed. I really don’t see how the state can hold out very much longer.

“I really feel,” Kazana said, “that with continued pressure on the part of the people in keeping this kind of information out there, we can free them and the state will have to let them go.”

The defense committee is urging people to write North Carolina Gov. James Hunt demanding that the Wilmington Ten be released now.

For more information contact the Wilmington Ten Defense Committee, 1851 Ninth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20001; or call (202) 387-3313.



REV. BEN CHAVIS

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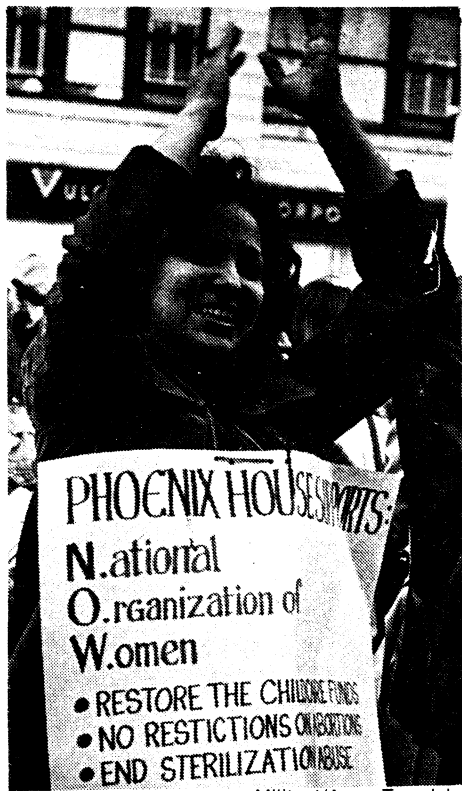
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INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY



Militant/Anne Teesdale

New York

By Gale Shangold

NEW YORK—It was a thirty-block-long march through Manhattan. Even the police admitted it swelled from 400-700 at the beginning to more than 1,000 by the time we reached the rally site.

"Why are you here?" I asked women as they gathered at Herald Square for the March 12 International Women's Day March.

"More women should get together and stand up for their rights," answered Lenore Harrison, a Black woman from Phoenix House, a drug rehabilitation center. "With abortion restrictions and sterilization abuse, the whole situation is no good."

The contingent of about fifteen young Phoenix women added spirit to the march with their songs and chants.

Clare Holzman from the Queens chapter of the National Organization for Women said she was there "because the Equal Rights Amendment is in danger."

Eleven-year-old Teresa O'Neil came wearing her Girl Scout uniform—badges and all. She told me she was there to "represent" the ERA. "I think that women should be treated equal to men," she said.

Florence Schneider, a registered nurse for thirty-six years, said, "I have seen what illegal abortion has done to women. I have seen fine women die. And I feel very, very strongly about keeping abortion legal."

Other women I talked to mentioned cutbacks in child care, attacks on affirmative action and pregnancy benefits, and inequality in education.

Leading off the march was the International Women's Day Coalition's Minority Women's Task Force. Narcita Michelen, task force coordinator, told me how the coalition reached out to Blacks and other nationally oppressed women.

"We have been speaking to women in Harlem, to Puerto Rican, Dominican, Panamanian, and Asian women," she said.

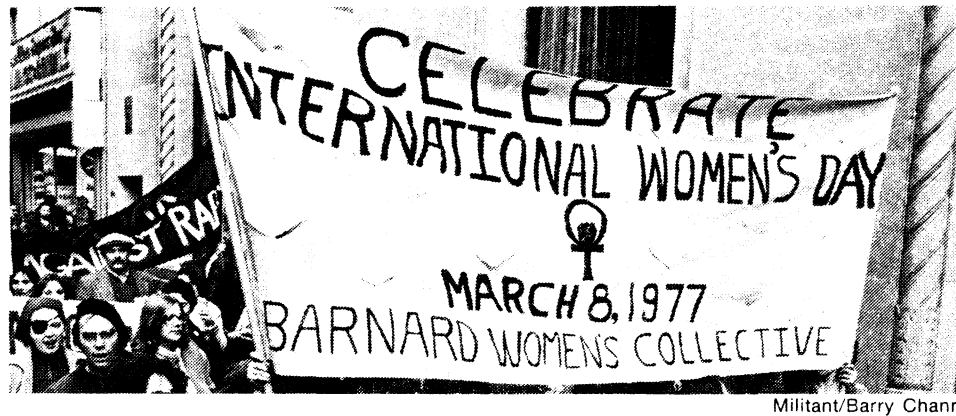
"We spoke on campus and contacted several labor unions. And we leafleted—in English and in Spanish—all over the city, in every possible neighborhood."

A contingent of women from the Puerto Rican Socialist party marched, chanting and demanding "Freedom for Lolita Lebrón," the imprisoned Puerto Rican nationalist.

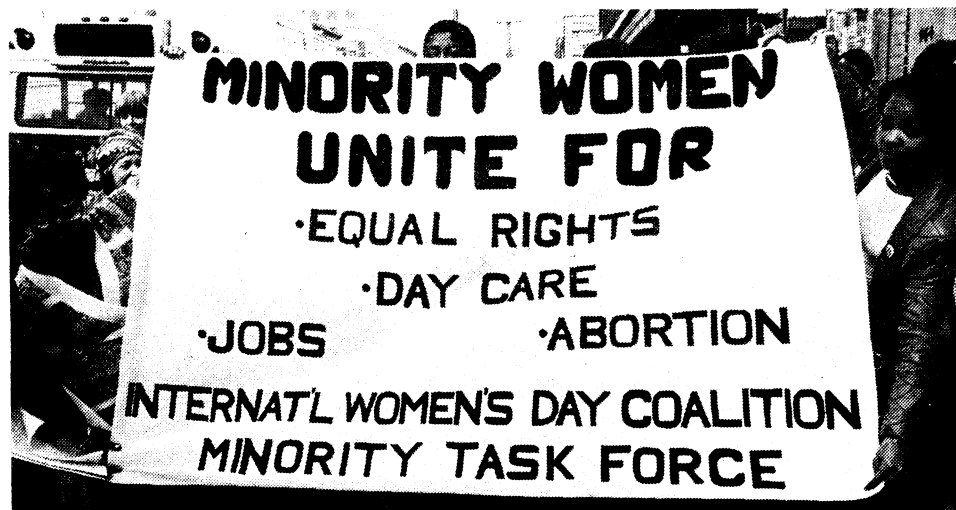
Nearly 100 women formed a New Jersey contingent. Ten NOW chapters participated in it, as well as women from Rutgers University in Newark.

Many onlookers cheered from the sidelines.

At the Union Square rally, fifteen



Militant/Barry Chann



Militant/Lou Howort

women spoke about the many attacks on women's rights.

"Governor Carey's new budget will mean the elimination of an additional 135 day-care centers in New York City," Elizabeth Colón told the demonstrators. Colón is a longtime fighter for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese community control of the schools on the Lower East Side.

"This will mean 11,000 children without day-care services," she said. "Women will have to stay home. They can't have their children cared for properly. What is that to us? A direct blow against the women's movement!"

Attorney Sylvia Law, who argued in federal court against the Hyde amendment's attempt to cut off Medicaid-funded abortions, said, "We only won the 1973 Supreme Court decision [legalizing abortion] because there were thousands of women in the streets, thousands of women saying, 'I've had an abortion.'"

Dr. Helen Rodríguez from the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse noted the increased participation of Black and Puerto Rican women in the day's events.

Dianne Feeley, rally cochairperson and a leader of New York NOW, said, "We must reject the theory that some women can have abortions and others can't. We must fight for the rights of all women. We must fight for the most oppressed sisters among us."

"Because when we fight for the most oppressed, we fight for all women."

Other speakers included Noreen Connell, president of New York NOW; Nilsa Sanie, president of the student body at Hostos Community College; Margie Santiago, Puerto Rican Socialist party; Pat Wright, Socialist Workers party; and Adrienne Kritchlow, board member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and staff representative of the Communication Workers of America.

"I think the day was absolutely successful," demonstration coordinator Eileen Foley told me after the rally. "I see so many new faces, so many new women. It's great to know that we were able to reach them and that they will come to our next meeting."

"We needed this demonstration desperately."

Across country

By Ginny Hildebrand

More than 200 women and men marked International Women's Day in Chicago at a March 12 Afternoon for the ERA.

"It was the most united women's movement event here in recent years," reports Roberta Frick, an activist in the Women's Day Coalition.

Among the dozens of groups sponsoring the meeting were: Chicago and South Suburban chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW), National Alliance of Black Feminists, Chicago Women's Liberation Union, Socialist Workers party, Illinois Circle Campus Women's Liberation, and ERA Illinois.

Everleena Richardson, trustee of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2000, reflected the anger of the crowd. "As a Black person, I have been fighting to get my rights as a person," she said. "Then, as soon as I get my personhood, I am stopped because I am a woman."

Christina Adachi of the American Civil Liberties Union called for more protests in the spirit of last spring's national ERA rally of more than 8,000 in Springfield, the state capitol.

Also last week, a rally of 120 in Tallahassee, Florida, and picket line in Atlanta, Georgia, demanded ratification in those states. Also in Atlanta, 125 activists attended a March 8 International Women's Day Celebration at Georgia State University.

In Tacoma, Washington, Stephanie Coontz, women's studies professor at Evergreen State College, gave the keynote speech at a March 8 teach-in. Coontz told the crowd of 100 that the United States "bears major responsibility for the worldwide oppression of women" through economic domination and military backing of dictatorships.

But, she added, women are fighting this oppression "from South Africa to Japan to Iceland."

Houston council fires feminist

By Diane Sarge

HOUSTON—This city's all-male city council responded to an International Women's Day demonstration here by firing one of the action's speakers.

Nikki Van Hightower, Houston's official advocate for women's rights, actively supported and participated in the March 5 march and rally. The protest called for support to the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, and gay rights.

At a city council meeting March 9, anti-abortion and anti-ERA groups charged that Hightower was "promoting" lesbianism and abortion.



Militant/Lou Howort

On March 8, at Cleveland State University feminists and union leaders addressed fifty activists on "Issues facing the women's movement."

Nearly 100 people opened a Women's Day program in Louisville by singing the "Ballad of the ERA."

*So no more debate
Because we cannot wait
We demand equality today.
So it's fight we must
To make the laws just
ERA, ERA, ERA!*

Amy Husk, head of Louisville NOW's abortion task force, urged feminists to defend Black and other working women against Congress's attempts to deny them access to safe, legal abortions. The Hyde amendment, a measure aimed at cutting off Medicaid-funded abortions, is a first step toward rolling back all women's right to choose, Husk said.

Discrimination against Black and other working women was a theme of a March 8 panel discussion at Wayne State University in Detroit attended by seventy-five people.

"Sexism is no less destructive to the minority woman," said Elizabeth Hood of the university's Black Training Institute for Desegregated Education. In fact, she added, Black women are treated as the "mules of society."

Chris Miller of Ann Arbor NOW urged women and Blacks to be a "constant, vigilant, and very visible force" against any renewed government attempts to weaken affirmative-action guidelines.

Doris Croxton, a leader of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and Service Employees International Union Local 79, discussed the fight for pregnancy disability benefits. Brigid Douglas of the Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism called for protests to block implementation of the Hyde amendment.

Gail Whitty, a Detroit NOW board member, urged activists to come to NOW's April 21-24 national conference in Detroit.

Next week's *Militant* will report on additional International Women's Day events.

The city council agreed, voting almost unanimously to cut Hightower's \$18,375 salary to \$1 a year, payable on April Fool's Day.

They threatened to abolish the post if she did not resign voluntarily.

The office was created in 1974. But "I have no real power," says Hightower. Since there is no staff or funds beyond her salary, Hightower says that "much of what I have done has been involved with organizing and mobilizing women."

More than 100 women met March 11 to decide how to respond to the city council's action. They plan further protests.

Fla. NOW sets ERA push

MIAMI—The Florida National Organization for Women is planning an Equal Rights Amendment "visibility campaign" for March 20-April 3.

The campaign will include car caravans, leafleting, and letters to legislators. Activities in Dade County will culminate in a pro-ERA parade in Miami April 3. Similar actions may be held around the state. NOW President

Karen DeCrow is scheduled to join the statewide actions.

The public effort was launched in response to recent ERA defeats in Georgia, Nevada, and North Carolina. NOW members have concluded that a visible display of support and strength is necessary to force ratification.

The state legislature convenes April 6.

Utahans fight abortion funds ban

By Katherine Sojourner

SALT LAKE CITY—State legislators here have forced Utah Black, civil liberties, and women's groups to speak out in defense of abortion rights.

On March 3, by a vote of fifty-nine to eleven, the Utah House of Representatives voted to cut off state funds for legal abortions.

"The House is saying . . . that low-income women don't count," Kay Sedam told reporters at a March 7 news conference called by the National Organization for Women. Sedam spoke for Salt Lake's new NOW chapter.

"This bill is just the first step. Utah legislators want to see abortion outlawed altogether," the Salt Lake *Tribune* quoted Sedam as saying.

Shirley Pedler, executive director of the local American Civil Liberties Union, pledged that if the bill is signed into law the ACLU will go to court to bar its implementation.

Kandy Romero, a Chicana activist and member of the Socialist Workers party, charged that the bill would strike hardest at Chicanas, Blacks, Native Americans, and other working women.

"These lawmakers claim to have concern for human life," Romero said.

"I do not believe this. If we do not have the same access to abortions as women with money, in desperation many women will be seriously injured or die from self-induced abortions.

Also speaking at the news conference were State Rep. Wyllis Dorman-Ligh and Jane Lewis from Planned Parenthood.

The next day, International Women's Day, more than eighty people—mostly women—demonstrated on the steps of the state capitol.

Speaking again for NOW, Sedam got a rousing ovation when she told picketers, "The lawmakers hope women who are not affected by the cut-off of state funds for abortion will show little concern and fail to defend our sisters.

"They are wrong. We will not be divided."

Bonnie Rodgers, executive director of the Salt Lake City NAACP, reported that the local NAACP had voted to oppose the anti-abortion bill.

Meanwhile, inside the capitol, "right to life" supporters were pinning roses on five Utah legislators "in appreciation of anti-abortion legislation" they had sponsored.

Schlafly's 'Bread Day--1977'

By Suzanne Haig

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—They came bearing loaves of nut bread for legislators. Two hundred of them entered the capitol and placed a coffin with the sign "Bury ERA" in the rotunda.

They carried placards reading: "Protect your family's future. Stop ERA." "Don't turn over our legislative powers to the federal government. Stop ERA." "Protect my right to be a woman. Stop ERA."

They were members of Phyllis Schlafly's Stop ERA, a right-wing outfit devoted to defeating the Equal Rights Amendment. They were here March 9 for "Bread Day--1977."

Their theme this year was "From the Breadmakers to the Bread-winners."

"Illinois has become the KEY STATE in the drive to ratify ERA," explained Schlafly's letter announcing the March 9 action. She called

for a "massive demonstration in Springfield to show our opposition to ERA."

About 450 turned out for the post-bread-delivery rally in a hotel.

There Schlafly urged opponents of the ERA "to write letters, picket, and be visible to defeat ERA." She was pleased to announce that Gov. "Big Jim" Thompson, who had met with them that morning by the "Bury ERA" coffin, told them he would stay out of the ERA fight.

During his election campaign last year, Thompson told women's groups in Illinois that he was for the ERA.

Schlafly blasted the Girl Scouts for their recent support to the ERA. She noted that some people are protesting this stand by boycotting Girl Scout cookies and by burning Girl Scout uniforms.

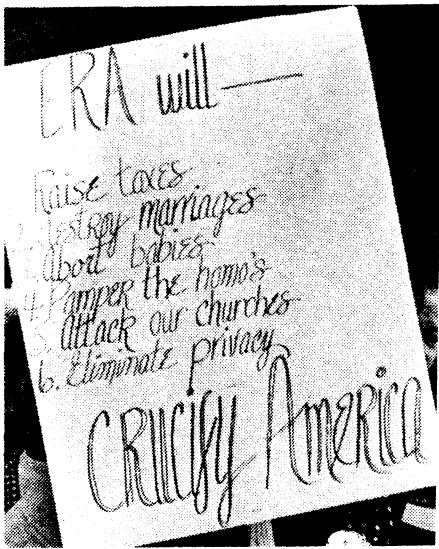
She also attacked gay rights, abortion rights, and the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.

"ERA is one battle we can win if we all stand together and make sure we don't lose the battle that is in our grasp," Schlafly concluded.

She reminded the anti-rights demonstrators that until June 30 when the legislature adjourns, "a sword hangs over our heads."

Unfortunately, one step in her "victory over the ERA" occurred later that day. The house reaffirmed by one hundred to sixty-six the Illinois constitution's undemocratic three-fifths vote requirement for ratification of amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

The senate is also expected to uphold this rule, making it easier for opponents to defeat the ERA



Militant/Suzanne Haig

St. Louis: Blacks need independent party

By Norton Sandler

ST. LOUIS—Black Democrats here are very angry. They are accusing white Democrats of failing "to honor their promise for a coalition Democratic party in St. Louis."

These were the words of Black U.S. Rep. William Clay at a news conference the day after the March 8 primary here. John Bass, also a Black Democrat, had been defeated in his bid for renomination as city comptroller.

Bass has been second only to the mayor in political power. He was defeated in the primary race by Raymond Percich, currently the St. Louis sheriff.

During the final weeks of the campaign, Percich urged a large turnout by white voters on the city's south side to defeat Bass.

At the news conference, Clay announced a write-in "crusade" in the north side Black community here to elect himself mayor and Bass comptroller.

Clay said he was "tired of plantation politics" and that "the Democratic party has raped our people too long."

He described other Black Democrats now jockeying behind the scenes to capture Percich's abandoned sheriff's post as "house niggers."

A reporter asked Clay if he thought his write-in effort would help defeat Democratic mayoral primary victor James Conway. "The Democratic party has created this situation," Clay responded, "and they know how to change it."

In a statement released to the media, Mary Pritchard, Socialist Workers party candidate for comptroller, explained that "the defeat of John Bass once again reflects the futility of Blacks relying on the racist Democratic and Republican parties to solve our problems." Pritchard is a longtime activist in the Black community here.

"St. Louis is half Black," she said. "But these parties ignore us. Black children are forced to attend schools that are greatly inferior to white schools. But the Democratic and Republican party politicians try to block school desegregation.

"We cannot obtain adequate health care, but the Democrats and Republi-

cans propose closing Homer G. Phillips Hospital, the only public health facility in the north side Black community.

"Thousands of us live in deplorable housing, but the white businessmen who own the Democratic and Republican parties are only interested in protecting their profits. On every block of our community, you can see the devastation and suffering caused by high unemployment."

To solve these problems, Pritchard said, Black people need to break once and for all from the Democratic and Republican parties. "I'm calling on St. Louis Black leaders to join with me in calling for a conference of the Black community to form an independent Black political party that will fight for our needs."

Such a conference, Pritchard said, could bring together "civil rights groups, neighborhood organizations, trade unionists, and Black students for discussion of strategy.

"We need such a party that can mobilize the full strength of the community in a struggle for desegregated schools, jobs for all, decent housing, and health care."

Pritchard says that the "type of party we need is one that can mobilize the entire strength of our community in demonstrations, rallies, and picket lines demanding our rights.

"Clay has given us an accurate description of the racists that run the Democratic party," Pritchard said. "That party is the 'house' that Blacks should not be a part of."

However, she warned, "Clay is a lifelong Democrat. This move by him is directed at making white Democrats more responsible to Black Democrats.

"Tonight Clay is talking militant. But yesterday he was endorsing another Democratic party racist, A.J. Cervantes, in the mayoral race."

Pritchard hopes that the write-in campaign launched by Clay and Bass will open a discussion among Black people here about how they can defend their rights.

"The real 'crusade' that is needed," she says, "is the formation of an independent Black political party that will fight for solutions to the economic crisis that has gripped our community long enough."

Demand Pasadena act to halt attacks on SWP

By Della Rossa

PASADENA, Calif.—On March 2, supporters of Socialist Workers party school board candidates Willie Petty and Tim Mallory protested the city's failure to prosecute those responsible for a series of attacks and threats against the SWP campaign.

The socialists handed City Prosecutor Byron Gentry and Deputy Police Chief Thomas Winders a letter denouncing the attacks as "a threat to the civil rights of all citizens in Pasadena." The letter was signed by Terrence Bennett, director of the American Civil Liberties Union in Pasadena, and Arthur Mack, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee here.

George Jones, executive director of the local Urban League, also wrote to Gentry, urging him "to take all necessary measures to investigate and prosecute those guilty of this kind of violence."

Petty and Mallory have campaigned actively in defense of school desegregation in Pasadena. On February 11 eight shots were fired into the front window of their campaign office. Two weeks earlier a Nazi death threat was called in to the SWP office. Last spring shots were fired into office windows after Nazis were seen taking down license plate numbers of cars parked outside.

The socialists reminded Gentry that the police already had three names, a home address, and a workplace for members of the Nazi party. SWP representative Holbrook Mahn angrily asked if city authorities "are waiting for somebody to get killed" before they investigate and take action.

The SWP is urging that additional protests be sent to Mayor Robert White, 100 North Garfield Avenue, Pasadena, California 91101, with copies to the SWP at 226 North El Molino Avenue, Pasadena, California 91106.

NSCAR open letter



Militant/Lou Howort
TSIETSI MASHININI



Militant/Harry Ring
ROBERT ALLEN



Militant/Lou Howort
TONY AUSTIN



Militant/Susan Ellis
KHOTSO SEATLHOLO



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
DENNIS BRUTUS

Unite against U.S. S. Africa role

Nearing the halfway point in their six-week U.S. tours, Soweto student leaders Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo have brought to thousands a clearer picture of the brutality of South African racism and the determination of Black South Africans to fight for their rights. (See article on facing page.)

Regrettably, however, this important tour has been marred by attempts to red-bait and slander the two student leaders and the National Student Coalition Against Racism, cosponsor of the tour along with the International Defense and Aid Fund.

At the student coalition's national steering committee meeting in New York last month, NSCAR leader Vince Eagan reported on several red-baiting articles in the South African and U.S. press.

"Unfortunately," Eagan said, "red-baiting has also cropped up here inside the movement against U.S. complicity."

"Red-baiting is a corrosive influence in the movement. It is used to keep us divided at a time when maximum unity is essential in solidarity with the fight for Black majority rule in southern Africa."

NSCAR's answer to the slanders and red-baiting is reprinted below. It has been mailed to hundreds of supporters of the South African freedom struggle.

Initial signers of the letter—"An Appeal to Build a United Movement Against U.S. Support to the Racist Regimes in Southern Africa"—are: Kenneth N. Carstens, executive director, International Defense and Aid Fund; Koko Farrow, Commission on Racial Justice; Dennis Brutus, president, South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee; Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo, Soweto Students Representative Council; August Nimtz, instructor of African studies, University of Minnesota; Tony Austin, NSCAR national coordinator; Robert Allen, editor, Black Scholar magazine; and the Rev. Bernard Lee, executive vice-president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

NSCAR is appealing for letters and telegrams of support. They may be sent to NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. Copies should be sent to International Defense and Aid Fund, Post Office Box 17, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. —John Hawkins

On the weekend of November 19-21, 1976, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) held its Third National Student Conference Against Racism in Boston.

This conference against racism "from Boston to southern Africa" was attended by 1,100 people with representatives from more than 120 schools, including 40 high schools, and more than 130 organizations.

The conference participants issued a call for nationally-coordinated actions March 25-26, in cities across the country against U.S. complicity with the racist regimes in southern Africa. Tsietsi Mashinini, a central leader and founder of the Soweto Students Representative Council, which led the Soweto rebellions in June, addressed the conference and was one of the first endorsers of the March 25-26 action proposal.

At this conference, Mashinini appealed to the American people to help get the U.S. out of South Africa. To aid this objective, Tsietsi Mashinini agreed to tour the U.S. to explain the situation in South Africa and the role played by the U.S. in sustaining the racist apartheid regime. Mashinini also agreed to arrange for Khotso Seatlholo, who succeeded Mashinini as

President of the Soweto Students Representative Council, to join the tour.

These tours, which began February 23, are organized by NSCAR, and co-sponsored by the International Defense and Aid Fund, to aid the entire movement against apartheid. The tours are a major educational effort on the part of the two Soweto student leaders to alert the American people to the important role they can play in the South African freedom struggle.

The South African government is very much aware of the breadth of support these two student leaders can win for the growing struggle of the Black majority for freedom, and in organizing the American people into a campaign against the U.S. involvement in southern Africa. Both the tours and the March 25-26 actions have received very broad endorsement.

The majority of people in this country oppose apartheid, and this sentiment is the basis for building a powerful mass movement in opposition to the U.S. support to the racist regimes in southern Africa.

The South African government knows that this sentiment, if translated into an organized, united movement, has the potential power to stay the hand of the American government.

The success of the anti-Vietnam war movement proved that massive struggles of the American people can help force the U.S. government to change its policies.

This presents a major threat to the South African government and the illegal racist regime in Zimbabwe. The withdrawal of all U.S. aid to the racist regimes of southern Africa would place a question mark over the ability of these regimes to survive.

In response to this potential threat, the South African government has gone on a campaign, in its press, to try to discredit Tsietsi Mashinini internationally. Through this campaign, the South African government hopes to divide the growing American movement in opposition to the U.S. role in southern Africa.

An article appeared in the January 30, 1977, issue of the *Johannesburg Sunday Times*. It levels severe slanders against Mashinini and the National Student Coalition Against Racism. It attempts to portray Mashinini and NSCAR as part of an "international communist conspiracy."

This campaign to red-bait NSCAR and Mashinini is a concerted effort on the part of the South African government to whip up a hysteria of accusations in the growing movement in opposition to the racist regimes of southern Africa and the U.S. support to these regimes.

Red-baiting is a tactic which has been used in many social movements, and in some cases has been successful, causing entire movements to be destroyed.

Recent FBI revelations show how this type of FBI and CIA Counter-Intelligence Programs (COINTELPRO) operation was used to destroy and to disorient the Black movement in the U.S.

"Communist conspiracy" is the excuse given by the South African government for murdering hundreds of Blacks this summer, when masses of Blacks took to the streets to demand their basic human rights.

As well, the article seeks to divide the liberation forces in South Africa, by distorting Mashinini's political differences with the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).

This vile slander campaign is picked up in another article, which appeared in the January 25, 1977 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Mashinini has denied ever giving such an interview, and not one sentence in the article is a direct quote from him. Both Mashinini and Seatlholo have expressed an urgent need for all liberation organizations to work together to fight against the common enemy in South Africa.

The viciousness of this campaign is a small example of how far the racist South African regime will go to destroy anyone or anything which threatens

its racist stronghold. This is why we find it necessary to clearly expose the real aims of this slanderous propaganda campaign against NSCAR and Tsietsi Mashinini.

Unfortunately, some organizations and individuals in the U.S., who have either been supporters of NSCAR or of the African liberation struggles, have already begun to be confused by this campaign of the South African government.

In several coalition meetings in different cities, supporters of the southern African struggle have raised questions concerning the political authority of Mashinini based upon the slanderous article which appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

At a February 28 meeting held at Howard University one of the meeting participants raised doubts about Mashinini's authority, the purpose of his tour in the United States, and NSCAR's reasons for organizing the tour. This question came after a representative of the ANC who was also speaking on the panel referred to Mashinini as the "unquestionable central leader of June 16'.

Some forces have taken the distortion of the political differences between Mashinini, the ANC and PAC to mean that perhaps Mashinini has links with the South African secret police. Such accusations are dangerous inside the movement and serve only to call into question the legitimacy of Mashinini and the entire struggle he represents. We must not allow the movement to fall prey to this campaign by the South African government, because it can only work in the interests of those who wish to destroy the movement.

NSCAR takes no position on any of the liberation organizations in South Africa. In the opinion of NSCAR, the best way to build a united movement is to involve everyone regardless of which group they support.

NSCAR has always had a policy of non-exclusion, and welcomes everyone who is against racism and willing to carry out the campaigns of NSCAR. This has proved to be the best and most effective way to build a campaign against racism. NSCAR has always defended the rights of everyone, regardless of political affiliation, to be members of the organization as long as they agree on the above two things.

We appeal to all supporters of the southern Africa freedom struggle to join with us in the campaign to build the actions of March 25-26, and to make the tours of the two Soweto student leaders successful. All supporters are urged to denounce the campaign of the South African government and join us in this appeal for unity.

Letters and telegrams of support should be sent to the National Student Coalition Against Racism, with copies to the International Defense and Aid Fund.

Soweto leaders draw large crowds

By Omari Musa

Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo—leaders of last June's Soweto student rebellion in South Africa—are drawing large and enthusiastic crowds everywhere they speak.

The two are on a six-week tour of more than forty U.S. cities. They are speaking on the freedom struggle in South Africa and U.S. complicity with the racist Vorster regime. The National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) and the International Defense and Aid Fund, sponsors of the tour, report that meetings for the two student leaders have averaged between 250 and 300 people.

A broad range of individuals and organizations have cosponsored the meetings.

In Chicago a city-wide rally in solidarity with the South African freedom struggle brought out 350 people. The featured speaker was Mashinini.

The rally was cosponsored by Chicago SCAR; Charles Hayes, international vice-president, Amalgamated Meat Cutters union; Willie Barrow, Operation PUSH; Studs Terkel, author of *Working*; and STRUTS, an organization of Black steelworkers at U.S. Steel Southworks.

In Roxbury, Boston's major Black community, 150 people—most of them Black—crammed into the Roxbury YMCA to hear Seatlholo.

Seatlholo and Mashinini are also drawing large campus crowds. Less

two South African leaders have spoken to more than 5,000 students.

One of the largest campus meetings took place at Baltimore's Morgan State University, which has a predominantly Black student body. At Morgan 400 people came to hear Mashinini. Enolia McMillan, president of the Baltimore NAACP, brought greetings to the meeting, as did Francis Brown, president of the Baltimore Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and Johnny Calhoun, student government president at Morgan State.

In Washington, D.C., 1,100 Cardozo High School students came to two meetings for Mashinini.

In Houston Mashinini spoke to more than 300 people at the University of Houston and at Texas Southern University, a predominantly Black campus. Sponsors included the O.P. DeWalt branch of the NAACP, Dorothy I. Heights section of the National Council of Negro Women, University of Houston Black Students Union, and TSU student government.

Mashinini also received the key to the city from Judson Robinson, Houston's only Black city council member.

During the tours Seatlholo and Mashinini have shared the platform with many leaders in the fight against U.S. complicity. Among them are: Vince Benson, executive council, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Zoia Jones, president, Dorothy I. Heights section, National Council of Negro Women; Dennis Brutus, exiled South



Militant/Maceo Dixon

African poet; Mo Zungu, representative, African National Congress; and Bob Brown, All-African Peoples Revolutionary party.

Mashinini and Seatlholo have also received important coverage in the media. WILD, a popular Black-oriented radio station in Boston, rebroadcast Seatlholo's entire speech on two consecutive days.

Seatlholo was also interviewed by reporters from the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Nation* magazine.

The interest aroused by Mashinini and Seatlholo is bringing new fighters into the movement against apartheid and U.S. complicity. Hundreds of students have signed up to work with SCAR chapters on their campuses. In Houston 100 students asked to join SCAR after hearing Mashinini.

Coalitions building the March 25-26 southern Africa protests called by NSCAR have also received a boost from the tour.

At the request of Mashinini and Seatlholo, NSCAR and the International Defense and Aid Fund have established a special fund for South African exiles in Botswana. Audiences at meetings where the two student leaders have spoken have contributed close to \$2,000 to the fund so far.

Checks to aid the exiles may be made to **International Defense and Aid Special Projects** and mailed to NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121.

Frame-up trial of two trade unionists begins

By Diane Wang

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—Two trade unionists went on trial in U.S. District Court here March 14. The government hopes to frame Alex Markley, an organizer for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE), and Tony Soares, a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The two were rearraigned in court today on charges that they conspired to "maliciously attempt to damage and destroy" trucks used in interstate commerce.

The prosecution brought in a new indictment changing some legal language, but not the substance of the original charge. The government still claims that the two unionists gave toilet-paper tubes stuffed with black powder and a firecracker fuse to an undercover agent of the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Bureau.

The indictment charges that Markley gave such a "bomb" to Thomas O'Reilly, the ATF agent, on November 7, 1975. Soares supposedly sold O'Reilly three more "bombs" for ninety-five dollars five weeks later.

At that time UE Local 259 in Holyoke, Massachusetts, was ending an eleven-week strike. No violence occurred during or after the strike, despite government charges about "malicious attempts." There is only the word of the ATF agent to prop up the prosecution's case.

Markley insists that although O'Reilly repeatedly offered to "take care" of scab trucks that were crossing UE picket lines, the union did not fall for the trap and did not give the agent any "bombs."

If the ATF's story sounds weak, the government's timing did nothing to bolster its case. It did not arrest Markley and Soares until eight months after they supposedly gave O'Reilly the "bombs." When they were arrested, Markley says, they were grilled and offered a deal: If they would become ATF labor spies, perhaps "something could be worked out" in their case.

After today's arraignment the *Militant* asked Markley whether he thinks he and Soares can defeat the frame-up. "I hope so," he said. "If we lose it will endanger others. It's not a case of Tony [Soares] or myself, but the principle at stake."

Many in western Massachusetts have recognized that the entire labor movement is threatened by this case. Local unions have rallied to the defense.

On March 5 several hundred people marched in Springfield, demanding that the government drop the charges against Markley and Soares and investigate ATF labor-spy tactics.

The trial will resume March 17. Attorneys for Markley and Soares are asking that the indictment be dismissed.

Letters of support and requests for information can be sent to the Markley-Soares Defense Committee, Post Office Box 5001, Holyoke, Massachusetts 01040.

Sharpeville 1960—Soweto 1976

By Omari Musa

Seventeen years ago—March 21 and 22, 1960—white South African police opened fire on Blacks demonstrating peacefully against the notorious pass laws. These laws require that all Black South Africans carry identification books and restrict where they may travel, work, and live.

After the two-day massacre, at least seventy-one Africans were dead and more than 230 wounded in the Black townships of Sharpeville and Langa.

The demonstrations were organized by the Pan-Africanist Congress. The PAC's protest campaign of "filling the jails" called on Africans to go to police stations without passes and be arrested.

Black South Africans responded angrily to the murderous suppression of this peaceful protest. On March 24 Black workers staged a general strike that shut down all industry in Johannesburg and Cape Town, the country's two largest cities.

At the end of March the racist regime suspended the pass laws "temporarily."

The African National Congress (ANC) and the PAC jointly called a one-day general strike for March 28 to mourn those murdered in Sharpeville and Langa.

In response, the apartheid regime stepped up its repression. It began rounding up leaders of the antiapar-

theid movement. These arrests sparked further demonstrations. Thirty thousand Africans marched on Parliament in Cape Town and Black workers there struck for two solid weeks.

The white minority government had declared a state of emergency and began mass arrests. Thousands of Africans and other nonwhites were jailed. Sharpeville was occupied by troops and tanks.

Feeling more secure, the government also reimposed the pass laws.

On April 8 racist officials banned both the ANC and PAC, forcing them underground. The white regime also staged a series of show trials of various ANC and PAC leaders.



Sharpeville massacre, March 21, 1960

Shakur takes stand, says 'I'm innocent'

By Willie Mae Reid
NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J., March 15—Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) took the stand here today to testify in her own defense.

Spectators, mostly supporters, crowded onto three benches in the small courtroom. An even larger number asked the uniformed guard to add them to the waiting list. Spectators must show identification when their names are called.

Closed-circuit television cameras scan the hallway outside the courtroom.

And Shakur is led from her underground cell in the jailhouse for men through a tunnel—also underground—to the court chambers.

Today there are more than the usual uniformed and plainclothes cops in and around the courtroom. And ten reporters, instead of the normal three or four, sit on benches across from the spectators.

The all-white jury panel of ten women and five men are back in court after a day off. (Yesterday Judge Theodore Appleby had heard defense motions for dismissal of all eight indictments.

Stuart Ball, one of her defense attorneys, questioned Shakur. For forty minutes she recalled for the jury what happened between 11:00 p.m.

May 1 and 1:00 a.m. May 2, 1973. Shakur testified that New Jersey state police stopped the car occupied by her, Sundiata Acoli (Clark Squire), and Zayd Malik Shakur (James Costan). Acoli went back to the patrol car, while trooper James Harper conducted a "routine check" of the car.

"I heard a loud noise," Shakur said, "a shout or shot outside the car. Harper drew back. He pulled his gun and pointed it inside the car. He told us to put our hands where he could see them. I raised my hands up like this. [Shakur stretched out both arms.]

"In the next instant," she continued, "I felt pressure against the seat from the back and burning under my right arm. I had been shot by Harper. I was thrown around or turned and I tried to get out of the car door. I was shot again in the left shoulder from behind."

Shakur remembered "lots of shots," the motion of the moving car, and then—after the car stopped—being carried by Acoli to a grassy spot. Later, another state trooper found her there, along with Zayd Shakur, who was dead.

First assistant prosecutor Edward Barone cross-examined Shakur for slightly more than an hour. He had her identify the gun she said she had seen May 1 in Acoli's waistband. Barone

said that the gun had fired the bullet that wounded trooper Harper.

Barone also took advantage of the fact that Shakur—after her conversion to Islam—changed her name from Joanne Chesimard. He tried to twist this during cross-examination to create the impression that Shakur was in the habit of using aliases.

The charges Shakur faces include armed robbery of state trooper Werner Foerster; illegal possession of three automatic weapons; assault with intent to kill Harper with a weapon loaded with gun powder; assault on Harper with an offensive weapon; assault on Harper while he was in uniform performing his duty; and atrocious assault on Harper.

During the day and a half prior to Shakur's testimony, Lewis Myers, a defense attorney and member of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, had argued that at least the assault charges should be merged.

Appleby disagreed. He denied seven defense motions for dismissal, including the dismissal of the charge against Shakur for the murder of Zayd Shakur, one of her companions in the car.

Appleby postponed ruling on dismissing the charge against Shakur for the murder of trooper Foerster. Chief defense counsel William Kunstler introduced the prosecutors' brief in the



ASSATA SHAKUR

appeal of State v. Squire (Acoli) as evidence that prosecutors had, at that time, rejected Shakur as a possible defendant in that murder.

Third assistant prosecutor William Welaj had written in the brief that evidence would not support the murder indictment against Shakur. The appellate court ruled that since Shakur was wounded and immobile, she could not have been involved in Foerster's death. Trial records show Foerster was found dead almost an hour after Harper was wounded.

The jury may begin deliberation on the case this weekend or early next week.

Consistency is key to plant-gate sales

Some 7,336 copies of the March 11 *Militant* were reported sold during the fourth week of the sales drive. This includes 397 sold by seven Young Socialist Alliance teams visiting campuses across the country. Their sales are in addition to the 10,000 weekly goal set by Socialist Workers party branches and YSA chapters.

Nationally, the drive has been running about 3,000 behind. Only seven areas have sold 100 percent or more of their goal. The next *Militant* will report on new plans to reach the 10,000 goal.

The following article is on workplace sales, a major focus of the campaign.

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—For the past several months, members of the East Los Angeles Socialist Workers party have been selling the *Militant* to steelworkers at plant gates in their area.

Chris Hildebrand has been in charge of the project. She has also been active in carrying it out.

In an interview, Hildebrand described what's been done and some of the results.

The project began with a sale at a rally last fall for Ed Sadlowski, then running for president of the steel union on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate.

at area plant gates. Most of these sales were in the afternoon when it was possible to offer the paper to first- and second-shift workers at the same time.

Now there aren't people regularly available for afternoon sales, so the socialists hit the plants at around 6:15 a.m. when the first shift is going in.

"There's one plant I go to every week, and make sure I never miss," Hildebrand said. "That's National Can."

She's been selling there for the past twelve weeks. Why does she keep going back?

"Because I have a number of people who buy from me regularly, and I know they would be very disappointed if I didn't show up."

She sells between seven and ten copies each week. Four or five of these are regulars.

"If I could get there in the afternoon it would be twice as many," she added.

Two workers have taken subscriptions to the paper. Both came to the meeting where SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes analyzed the significance of the Fight Back movement.

Hildebrand has found little or no hostility to the *Militant* among the mainly Chicano workers.

One unionist did say he felt she wasn't helping Sadlowski's chances by selling the paper at the plant. "But not in a hostile way," Hildebrand said, "just stating his opinion."

And another worker, she added, "told me he was very grateful that we had sold the *Militant* there. He felt that it really helped build support for Sadlowski and was an important factor in getting

so many people solidly behind Fight Back."

That gave Hildebrand an idea.

She decided to check the vote at the plants where the paper was sold regularly during the campaign.

She found that at each plant where there had been consistent sales, Sadlowski had won by margins ranging from two-to-one to as much as three-to-one.

Among the plants where the paper wasn't sold, there were only a couple with significant margins for Sadlowski.

The *Militant* may not have been a big factor in the plants where Sadlowski won. But, clearly, there was no backlash.

Hildebrand concluded with an important selling point—the need for consistency.

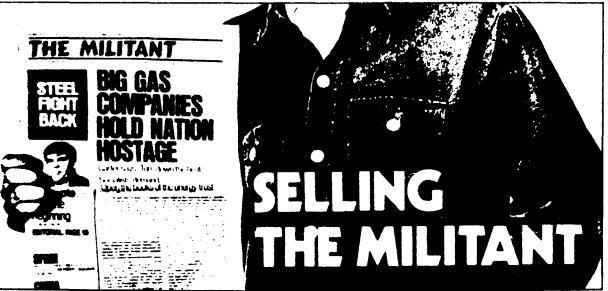
She offered an example.

"Another seller went out with me for the first time. I gave him the best spot, right by the coffee truck. But he didn't sell a single copy and I sold seven.

"People would walk right past him and up to me to buy the paper because they recognized me. I'm like part of the early morning scene there.

"It's the only way you'll find out if you have consistent readers, and who they are," she concluded.

"It took selling the paper to a group of people for ten weeks before I knew which ones I could stop and personally invite to hear Jack Barnes. People don't always have time to stop. But if they get to know you, they will."



At that meeting of about 150 workers, the socialists sold twenty *Militants*, plus twenty-one copies of the pamphlet *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel* by *Militant* staff writer Andy Rose.

With that encouraging result, they decided to organize regular sales at several small can and steel fabricating plants.

Initially, they sold the paper at nine plants. After the union elections in February, they began to concentrate on a few plants where they had sold the best.

During the steelworkers election campaign, Hildebrand said, socialists sold more than 700 *Militants*

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	%	Cleveland	200	133	66.5	Berkeley, Calif.	250	105	42.0
St. Paul	80	97	121.3	Cincinnati	125	83	66.4	Tacoma, Wash.*	70	25	35.7
Dallas	100	112	112.0	Houston	400	264	66.0	New Orleans	200	64	32.0
Phoenix	125	131	104.8	Oakland, Calif.	250	165	66.0	Total			
Kansas City, Mo.	100	104	104.0	Washington, D.C., Area	400	258	64.5	March 11 issue	10,000	6,939	69.4
Indianapolis	100	102	102.0	Richmond, Va.	75	47	62.7				
Salt Lake City	100	100	100.0	Portland, Ore.*	200	125	62.5				
Raleigh, N.C.	40	40	100.0	San Diego	200	122	61.0	Young Socialist teams			
San Antonio	125	116	92.8	Denver	200	118	59.0	East Great Lakes	90	105	116.7
Los Angeles	650	573	88.2	Minneapolis	300	174	58.0	Northeast	90	91	101.1
Baltimore	150	124	82.7	St. Louis	300	173	57.7	South	90	86	95.6
San Jose	200	164	82.0	San Francisco	550	311	56.5	Northern California	90	75	83.3
New York City	1,100	874	79.5	Albany, N.Y.	75	41	54.7	Mid-Atlantic	90	20	22.2
Boston	520	391	75.2	Toledo	100	54	54.0	Rocky Mountain	90	13	14.4
Philadelphia	400	299	74.8	Chicago	650	350	53.8	Southwest	90	7	7.7
Newark	225	162	72.0	Milwaukee	250	131	52.4	Total	630	397	63.0
Pittsburgh	175	125	71.4	Louisville	125	65	52.0	Combined total		7,336	
Miami	75	51	68.0	Detroit	395	196	49.6				
Atlanta	400	266	66.5	Seattle*	215	104	48.4	*Bundles arrived late			

Interview with PRDF leader

Where socialist lawsuit stands today

In 1973 the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance sued the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies. The lawsuit demands an injunction against government political spying and disruption, as well as \$40 million in damages.

So far the socialists have pried some 200,000 pages of FBI and other spy files from the government. The documents exposed FBI Cointelpro operations, burglaries, and harassment.

Syd Stapleton is national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the civil liberties group organizing support for the lawsuit. Diane Wang interviewed him March 11, 1977.

Question. At the beginning of 1976 it seemed possible that the lawsuit could go to trial in the coming year. But it didn't. Why?

Answer. The main reason is that we began to uncover more and more about what the government has done to us. For example, we were able to get more material about informers—more than appeared possible at first.

I expect this process of uncovering more and more information to continue this year.

There are many thousands of pages of important documents from the FBI, CIA, Civil Service Commission, post office, and other agencies that we have yet to obtain.

Q. In almost four years it seems the lawsuit would have collected most of the evidence. Why has it gone so slowly?

A. The government is claiming all kinds of privileges and inventing new legal grounds for withholding materials and covering up past FBI and CIA crimes.

The FBI is saying that what their informers do and who they are should

remain secret—even if the informers are still committing crimes.

This isn't changed by any of the "reforms" the attorney general and FBI have announced.

They're fighting very hard on this issue.

Q. How are you going about trying to get this information about informers?

A. We've asked for complete files and names of nineteen informers whose identities we don't know but who were described to us in general terms by the FBI.

This will help us get a picture of the way the FBI uses these informers and the kinds of things they do. We'll be able to check what their FBI files say against what we know about these informers from our experience with them.

Q. The SWP's and YSA's attorneys first asked for these nineteen files last fall. A top FBI official testified in court about the informer system. Judge Thomas Griesa asked to see the files. Where does it stand now?

A. The FBI says that the undeleted files on these nineteen informers make up about twenty-five file drawers full of material. The judge has ordered the FBI to make up summaries of these nineteen informers' files, which he or his clerk are looking at.

The FBI claims to have finished only five or six summaries. Supposedly they have nineteen or twenty full-time FBI special agents working on the summaries.

Once they are finished, the judge will review them to decide on the relevance of the material and so forth. Then he'll decide what files the FBI must give us.

Q. How important is this decision for the case?

A. It's clear from our experience so far that the FBI lies about its informers. So there is no other way we can get the truth about these informers except by getting their files and knowing who they are.

Key precedent

But this decision goes far beyond the SWP and YSA lawsuit. What the judge decides will set an important precedent. There have never been decisions on what kind of information the FBI must reveal about its political informers. This will be the first.

This decision will affect the Black movement, the women's movement, and the unions—all of which are targeted by government informers. It's going to be a big issue, because the police agencies are not going to give up this useful weapon against social and political movements.

Q. So far the lawsuit has exposed mostly FBI crimes. What about other spy agencies such as the CIA and

National Security Agency? Are you getting evidence from them too?

A. That's another big issue that has to be decided. The CIA and NSA are now claiming that various laws and privileges give them the right to keep any activities they choose secret. Not just secret from the SWP or YSA, but secret from judges, Congress, newspapers—everybody.

'State secrets'

All they have to do is claim that an activity or document is a "state secret" and nobody—they contend—can see it. These agencies claim this is not even subject to review by judges.

That would give these agencies unlimited power to do anything to citizens without any chance for redress. Of course, if they're about to be sued for something, they will claim it's a "state secret."

Q. What kind of information do you hope to get from the CIA?

A. We know that the CIA collects information about the SWP and Fourth International (the SWP's revolutionary socialist cothinkers in other countries). The CIA has admitted that it wiretaps and burglarizes SWP members when they go overseas.

But the CIA is refusing to tell when it committed the burglaries, under whose orders, or through which program. Did they do it themselves or did they ask foreign police to do it? They're refusing to answer.

People tend to think of the CIA as being removed from their ordinary life. But this question will have a big effect on everyone.

Just look who has been targeted by the CIA at one time or another. Malcolm X, for example. When he traveled to Africa and Europe, the CIA followed him every step of the way.

And the CIA was used against the anti-Vietnam War movement. It collected information about the women's movement.

The more these agencies can hide under a veil of secrecy, the more dangerous they are to everyone.

National Security Agency

Q. The NSA makes similar secrecy claims. Just what is the NSA?

A. The NSA is one of the biggest and most powerful spy agencies. It is one the Democrats and Republicans have most tried to stay away from when forced to "investigate" intelligence operations.

The NSA intercepts all airborne communication in the world. Everything.

Then the NSA puts all this information in their computers. They have what they call "watch lists"—blacklists of names, organizations, certain phrases, particular numbers that are fed into the computer.

Whenever a combination of these

names or phrases turns up, the computer kicks that conversation out for review. The NSA staff looks it over. If they decide it might be interesting to the FBI, CIA, Internal Revenue Service, or army, they send it on to that agency.

The government claims that the NSA's equipment is not sensitive enough to avoid picking up communications inside the United States. But we're supposed to trust them not to use that information. Well, that's like trusting a cat with a canary.

Q. How long do you expect it will take before all these secrecy questions are settled and the case will go to trial?

A. Well, we're closer to it than we were last year. But it's hard to say how much closer.

Depends on Carter

Another thing that could affect the timing of the trial is the possibility of appeals. If the judge decides against the government on the FBI, CIA, and NSA issues, the government may decide to appeal.

The decision to appeal would be made by Carter's new solicitor general. So the decision to fight for secrecy will be made by top officials of the Carter administration.

It will be an interesting opportunity to see how his campaign pledges for "sunshine" and open government stand up. Of course, we've already seen where Carter stood on the CIA bribery of King Hussein and other foreign politicians.

And the Justice Department has already decided not to prosecute any CIA agents who were involved in opening mail.

Supposedly, nobody could be prosecuted for Cointelpro break-ins and other crimes because the statute of limitations had run out. But the mail openings went on right up through 1973. With a five-year statute of limitations, they have plenty of time to begin prosecutions.

So it looks like Carter's doing the same thing Ford and Nixon did. He's covering up for the crimes.

I think that makes it likely that if the judge orders the files turned over, the government will appeal. Of course, though, their legal position may affect whether they do or don't on particular questions.

Q. Is all the work on the lawsuit held up by these legal battles over secrecy for the time being?



SYD STAPLETON

Militant/Susan Ellis

A. No. We are also continuing to collect our own evidence about government harassment and intimidation.

We're very interested in getting details on any occasion when members and supporters of the SWP and YSA have felt hindered in their political activities or have been harassed by the government because of their political activities.

We need not only the evidence we force from the government, but evidence we get directly from victims of government harassment.

Political Rights Defense Fund

The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support and raising funds for the Socialist Workers party's lawsuit against government spying and disruption.

Will you help? Return this coupon to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Post Office Box 649, New York, New York 10003.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Hands off Africa!

President Jimmy Carter took another ominous step toward direct U.S. military intervention in southern Africa March 15 by personally ordering a U.S. airlift of \$1 million in war supplies to Zaïre, the former Belgian Congo.

Carter's pretext was the fighting that has reportedly broken out in the Zaïrese province of Shaba, formerly Katanga, which is adjacent to Angola. Zaïrese President Mobutu Sese Seko claims that Cuban-led separatists have invaded from Angola.

However, little is really known about what is going on. Even the State Department says it has no evidence to confirm the charge of Cuban involvement. Other countries directly affected give widely varying versions.

But some things are known: Over the past several years there has been an upsurge of Black liberation struggles in southern Africa. And the United States has been looking for ways to intervene to shore up the status quo and guarantee the investments of U.S. corporations.

Already we have witnessed Washington's notorious intervention alongside South Africa in the Angolan civil war. Just a few weeks ago, during the Idi Amin furor, Carter put on alert the U.S. nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise*.

And now we have Carter's lightning response to events in Zaïre.

The response of the American people to Washington's latest moves should be:

No U.S. military interventions abroad!
Hands off southern Africa!

Freedom to travel

On March 9 President Carter announced the lifting of bans on U.S. citizens traveling to Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea, and Cambodia.

After seventeen years, the U.S. government is finally admitting that Cuba is on the map. But Washington has not yet ended its long campaign to crush the Cuban revolution. It has not lifted the criminal trade embargo against Cuba nor established full diplomatic relations.

We demand that Carter end the embargo immediately and restore normal relations—with no conditions attached.

And now that we have won the right to travel elsewhere, we should demand that Carter also end the undemocratic ban on travel to this country.

Just last month the Carter administration refused a visa to a member of the Australian Communist party.

Previous administrations have barred—among others—Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco, Belgian Marxist scholar Ernest Mandel, and Italian Communist party leader Sergio Segre.

Washington must end its attempt to use this country's borders as barriers to political ideas.

'Open Letter'

"Enemies of socialism." "Anti-Soviet." "Ultrareactionary."

These are just a few of the labels the American Communist party attaches to anyone who speaks out in defense of Soviet and Eastern European dissidents.

But an "Open Letter" signed by fifteen prominent victims of the McCarthyite witch-hunt exposes the fraudulent nature of such charges (see page 23). The letter is an appeal to Czechoslovak Communist party leader Gustav Husak on behalf of the jailed and persecuted signers of the Charter 77 human rights documents.

Many members of the American CP know from their own experience in the radical movement that the signers of the "Open Letter" are not "ultrareactionary" or "antisocialist." Among the signers are former CP leaders and defense attorneys for the party.

"We who fight for socialism in our own land are shamed and crippled by the violations of socialist legality in your land," the fifteen write.

The American CP's uncritical defense of repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe also "cripples" the fight to win American workers to socialist ideas. President Carter exploits the CP's claim that such undemocratic measures equal socialism to bolster his own counterrevolutionary, anti-Soviet policies.

Members of the American CP should carefully consider what the signers of the "Open Letter" have to say. And then demand that their party leaders answer the arguments raised in the letter—without resorting to slanders and false charges.

Human rights in Ireland

In David Frankel's article on Carter and human rights (*Militant*, February 25) he cites Carter's silence on repressive pro-U.S. regimes in the colonial and semicolonial world. Mr. Frankel forgot about Ireland.

Two of the most repressive laws in the world are on the books in Ireland: the Special Powers Act in the North and the Offences Against the State Act in the Republic. Thousands have been interned without charges or trial. Many have been systematically tortured. British army harassment is a daily occurrence.

There is very little hard information on Ireland in either the left or capitalist press. Your paper need not be part of this.

D. Shea
Hagerstown, Maryland

'Inside view'

Please find enclosed a five-dollar money order for a six-month subscription. I find the *Militant* very interesting to read. It gives readers an inside view of what is happening both around them and abroad.

Others papers only give their readers misconceptions, only letting them know what the paper wants them to know and keeping most of the truth away.

I wish the best of luck to the Socialist Workers party.
Debbie Britt
Brooklyn, New York

Wants more on ecology

A weekly that I read, called *Intercontinental Press*, has a regular feature that tells how our air, water, food, etc. get polluted because industry is unwilling to use part of its profits to keep our environment clean.

I think it would be good if the *Militant* had a feature like that. It would help to win over many ecology-minded people who are not at present committed to any political party.

The Socialist Workers party should be more assertive on the subject of ecology.

Eileen Gersh
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

[Editor's note—The *Militant* inaugurated a new column "Capitalism Fools Things Up," in our March 18 issue. This will be a regular feature.]

'Instrument of revolution'

As the struggle intensifies against universal oppression and racism, it is encouraging to know that a newspaper such as the *Militant* continues to be a voice of change and an instrument of revolutionary action.

As you know, down here in Louisiana brother Gary Tyler exemplifies that oppression. All Black and Third World people are potential political prisoners.

Thomas H. Mathews, Jr.
New Orleans, Louisiana

Interested in Amin

I very much enjoy reading the international supplement to the *Militant* and have been following Spain's "progress" with interest.

But with Idi Amin in the news daily, I've wondered why he has not gotten much coverage in the *Militant*. A socialist interpretation of his apparent lunacy would be fascinating.

Cynthia D. McCarver
Albuquerque, New Mexico

[Editor's note—Articles on Amin appear in the March 11 and March 18 *Militant*.]

More on 'Hustler'

Jon Hillson's thoughts about Larry Flynt and *Hustler* ("The American Way of Life," March 4 *Militant*) were truer than he may have realized.

On the heels of Flynt's conviction, Cleveland assistant city prosecutor Bruce Taylor, the city's porno "expert," told the *Akron Beacon Journal* that he was "encouraged" and planned to prosecute Flynt also.

The reason? Not what you might think. Taylor didn't show much concern for the gross abuse of women in *Hustler*, nor did he worry that children might get a warped idea of human sexuality from it.

Taylor's main objection was a cartoon that appeared in *Hustler* last summer showing Nelson Rockefeller and Henry Kissinger sexually assaulting the Statue of Liberty—an obviously political comment.

Flynt has now fallen afoul of the very laws his magazine satirized.

"Some people just didn't appreciate that," prosecutor Taylor commented. No doubt he is whetting his knife. What happens in Cleveland if "some people" don't like other cartoons? Or other political ideas?

A. W.
New York, New York



Why a labor party?

At first it may seem mystifying.

Why should the Socialist Workers party spend so much time advocating the formation of another party—a labor party?

What possible purpose could another party serve?

It's a reasonable question.

To understand the reason why the SWP advocates a labor party, it's necessary to understand the current dynamics of the American working class. Millions of workers have become increasingly dissatisfied with the Democratic and Republican parties.

At the plant where I work, I never heard so much grumbling as I did during the 1976 elections. "What a choice!" was a comment followed by any number of appropriate but unprintable expletives.

One of the workers at the plant who's fed up with capitalist politics is a guy named Jim who sits across from me. Jim votes for Socialist Workers party candidates sometimes, but he isn't anywhere near joining the SWP. It's too small for him. The idea of hitching up with a Leninist party that has only a few thousand members at this juncture has not much appeal for him.

A few months ago, Jim and I talked about the idea of a labor party.

"It would be a mass party based on the trade unions," I explained. "It would run its own candidates against the Democrats and the Republicans. But it would do more than that."

"It might help call and organize a mass march on Washington for more jobs. If the president tried to impose a wage freeze, a labor party could help organize a general strike—if possible."

We talked a while longer.

"You know," said Jim. "If something like that came along, I think I might quit my job and go to work for it."

Jim isn't the only one who would. Millions of workers would be attracted to a political labor party.

Right in the plant where I work, there are several thousand employees. There's two or three I know of who are interested in the Socialist Workers party. But

there are a lot more who would be interested in a labor party.

The Socialist Workers party doesn't see a labor party as a competitive organization. Far from it. A labor party would be a significant step forward because it would represent a deepening of class consciousness. With a labor party, workers would see themselves more as a class—separate and antagonistic to the capitalist class—and ready to act politically to change things.

Think of the potential. Workers mobilized in their own political formation, challenging the Democrats and Republicans at every juncture—in the city councils, in the state legislatures, in the Congress. A labor party could organize a powerful fight against the capitalist government's efforts to rape the environment, force down workers' wages, increase military expenditures at the expense of social programs.

The Socialist Workers party would join such a labor party, support it, encourage it, try to keep it on course as an independent, fighting organization.

Is a labor party a pipe dream?

Some of my friends at work think so. They laugh at the idea.

But who would have thought at the beginning of the Vietnam War that millions of people would be marching against the war at the height of the conflict?

Who would have thought a few years ago that the steelworkers union, the largest in the AFL-CIO, would be shaken from top to bottom by an insurgent named Ed Sadlowski, running for union president on a platform of militancy and union democracy?

Labor is the only force that can wrest power from the capitalist class and it is going to need its own political formation to do it.

The guy who owns a factory and a person who works in that factory are two totally different breeds of cat. One works to live and the other lives off workers. They don't belong in the same party. They belong in separate parties. And believe me, when workers get themselves their own party, there's going to be some hell to pay.

More on the economy, please

Please renew my subscription to the *Militant*. As a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, I find reading it essential to my work, as well as informative in my daily life. Other members of my house also pick it up once in a while, and it creates good opportunities for political discussions among us.

Please print more articles about specifics in the economy of the United States. I'm studying economics and often I'd prefer socialist analysis of economic issues rather than capitalist ones.

Susan Atwell

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Southern mill workers

I have avidly followed the Sadlowski campaign in your newspaper, but I wasn't able to relate it to events in my area. You see, I live in North Carolina, in Winston-Salem. In our whole area there is only one unionized industry—Schlitz breweries.

Northwestern North Carolina's industry is based on the cotton mill. Workers are chosen from among high school dropouts and people with deficient education, so that they can't figure out that they're being paid well below the minimum wage.

Anyone who has ever been in any way connected with a union has lost all chances of a job.

Workers, at Hanes Mills especially, work in demeaning jobs under a truly exhaustive quota system. For example, sewing the toe seam in pantose eight hours a day with only a thirty-minute break. Some plants have indoor temperatures of eighty-five to ninety degrees.

Everyone takes one week of vacation a year (no more) in July, so that building renovation may take place.

Sick leave is nonexistent. If you are sick too much, you are fired.

Similar conditions exist in other industries too. A match factory in town is notorious for explosions due to inadequate safety measures.

It seems to me that the cotton mills, the first industry to exploit workers, will continue to do so until the bitter end.

Charles A. Gimon

Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Correction

In the article "Manzo 4 gain support in fight against 'la migra'" (*Militant*, February 25), two names were misspelled. The two nuns who spoke at the San Antonio forum were Sister Gregoria and Sister Mario Barrón. The errors were introduced in editing the story.

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

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Opinions from 'outside'?

There are undoubtedly dangerous "outside influences" upon the union movement, as top union officials from AFL-CIO President George Meany on down the line have been charging recently.

A good deal of this damaging influence comes from the employers. It is usually transmitted through the union officials who negotiate contracts, discourage workers with grievances, and generally help the employers keep the work force in line. Top union officials never complain about this "outside influence," however, because it serves to strengthen their control over the union.

There is a countervailing influence that is more subtle and that comes from workers' attitudes about unions. This irritates union officials, haunts them and makes them nervous.

A recent nationwide Harris survey of public opinion showed a general contempt for union officials. They are distrusted.

A big majority of the cross-section of adults surveyed, from 59 to 76 percent, feels that many union leaders "have used their union positions to benefit themselves financially," that they "have known ties with racketeers and organized crime," that they "have abused union pension funds," and that they "have become arrogant and no longer represent the workers in their unions."

The bad image of union officials is reinforced when—like the AFL-CIO hierarchy—they call for higher arms spending, defend discriminatory employment practices, oppose environmental protection, and otherwise front for the interests of the employers. The public contempt for union officials is skillfully used by ruling-class propagandists when they want to discredit legitimate union aims and actions.

The same Harris survey showed strong support for unions despite the corrupt officials.

- A nearly unanimous 96-to-1 percent majority agrees that "when they were first started, unions were needed because workers were being exploited by low wages, long hours, and bad working conditions."

- A 59-to-25 percent majority believes that "if there were no unions, most employers would quickly move to exploit their employees."

- A 76-to-10 percent majority believes that "most unions in the U.S. have been good forces, working for such things as national health insurance, higher unemployment compensation, better Social Security, minimum wage laws, and other desirable social needs."

- A 59-to-25 percent majority also thinks that "most unions stand for helping less privileged people get a better break."

This general opinion in favor of unions and against entrenched officials is transmitted into the union movement, mostly through the ranks. Union men and women are an important part of the general public and largely responsible for commonly accepted attitudes about unions.

Harris concludes that "although 84 percent believe in the right of workers to join unions, no more than 10 percent express confidence in union leadership."

This contradiction will be resolved when workers take over their unions and start running them in their own interests. That was the message and aim of Ed Sadlowski and Steelworkers Fight Back in the recent steelworkers union election.

And that is why Steelworkers Fight Back is roundly condemned as a tool of "outside influences" by labor bureaucrats who like to think of themselves as "The Union" and have others believe it.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Only 45 percent?—Kentucky employers are putting leaflets in pay envelopes explaining our free enterprise system. They say that “public opinion polls show that most Americans think businessmen make a forty-five percent profit on each sale,” and “such a ‘down-with-business’ attitude is caused by widespread misunderstanding of our economic system.”

No crazier than smoking—We’re late on reporting this, but they may repeat the offer next year. Anyway, Gimbel’s suggested, “The Christmas

gift that is the ultimate reward, or incentive, to quit smoking. The Last Pack is handcrafted of 18K yellow gold. . . . A pendant for outstanding achievement. \$125.”

Few frills—A welfare department study in Santa Clara County, California, found that a single person could do nicely on a welfare budget of \$148 a month and a couple could manage on \$209. It would require careful planning, they note, and include such freebies as clothing handouts. However,

they add, it’s “unlikely” people could live decently on very much less.

No ill spill, that one—Waterfowl may well have benefited from the oil spills off Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and in the Delaware River because the spills forced them to split from the East Coast before the record-breaking cold hit, says the Fish and Wildlife Service.

Our cat will be glad—To placate objectors, Friends of Animals queried

the Catholic Archdiocese in New York as to whether the neutering of animals was a form of birth control and thereby “immoral.” An information official responded: “I think you should notify your members . . . that the Church has no objection to the spaying of animals.”

Ol’ peanuthead—Bantam has published *Redneck Power: The Wit and Wisdom of Billy Carter*. It includes Billy’s opinions on “just about everything—from religion to politics to peanuts.”

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Overpopulation or overexploitation?

DENVER—A reader from Marysville, California, writes, “Your column ‘Aliens’ & Unemployment’ [*Militant*, January 28] touched on only one point in the immigration question. Perhaps the major point is the need to end population growth by all means possible.”

The reader encloses a brochure from Zero Population Growth. ZPG concludes that unemployment and declining U.S. living standards are due to overpopulation.

And who does ZPG blame for the supposed overpopulation? America’s leading scapegoats, “illegal aliens.” “If illegal immigration continues at its current flow,” ZPG states, “our population will never stop growing.”

Echoing the racist lies of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, ZPG says that “illegal aliens” cause unemployment, low wages, and poor working conditions, and sponge off welfare programs.

It also alleges that “illegal immigration results in higher educational and medical expenditures for cities, and lost tax revenues,” and a negative U.S. balance of payments.

Next, ZPG will be blaming “illegals” for the lack of snow in Colorado.

ZPG proposes “reducing employment opportunities for illegal aliens in the U.S., and increasing border surveillance.” This is a polite way of saying, “Deport the Mexicans.”

Is Mexico overpopulated? Are there too many people for the land and natural resources to support? Is overpopulation the reason so many Mexicans come here in search of work?

The United Nations’ midyear 1973 estimates show Mexico with a population density of seventy-one persons per square mile.

The midyear 1973 census bureau’s figures show the United States with a population density of fifty-nine persons per square mile—not such a big difference.

The stereotype of Latin America’s “teeming masses” is completely false.

Actually, Latin America is one of the most sparsely populated places in the world. The biggest country, Brazil, has a population density of only thirty persons per square mile. The third most populous country, Argentina, twenty-three persons. Next in size is Colombia, which has a density of forty-eight; then comes Peru, thirty; and Venezuela, thirty-three.

Yet all these countries suffer from widespread poverty, starvation, and unemployment.

Do they have too many people? Belgium, an advanced capitalist country with a considerably higher standard of living than any country in Latin America, has a density of 826 persons per square mile—more than eleven times that of Mexico. The United Kingdom has a density of 594.

Yet these countries do not suffer from extremes of poverty. The reasons can be found in economy, not population growth.

With a population density of 200 persons per square mile—almost three times that of Mexico—Cuba is the only country in Latin America that has eliminated starvation, unemployment, and illiteracy. The reason is that Cuba has eliminated capitalism and imperialist domination of its economy.

The problem is capitalism. The United States consumes more than one-third of the world’s annual production of energy and resources. U.S. corporations pack home millions in profits from Mexico each year. No wonder there is poverty there.

Who has the right to tell the Mexican people that they can’t come here to get back a meager fraction of what was stolen from them?

Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



‘Bring on the dancing girls’

The following guest column is by Marion Crawford, a flight attendant with a major airline.

“There’s a little something extra in Tucson for men who thought they had everything—a hairstyling club complete with exotic dancers.”

This was the lead of a recent article in the *Arizona Daily Star*. It gave glowing coverage to a disgusting new use of women’s bodies for profit.

First the customers get a shampoo and a drink. Then the haircut and show begin. The “exotic dancers”—“a fancy way of saying strippers,” the story admits—perform two numbers about four feet away from the barber chair.

This club has earned the dubious distinction of being the first of its kind in the nation. It has been so successful—300 have joined so far—that the owner plans one for Scottsdale, Arizona, and several for California.

Isn’t it heartening to know we women can be part

of such an ingenious moneymaking scheme? Who knows what fantastic ideas the “free enterprise” system will encourage next?

The airlines have made the most of it for many years, reaping huge profits. Consider National’s “Fly me” and “Take me I’m yours.” Or Continental’s “We’ll really move our tails for you.” Or Air Jamaica’s “Rare tropical birds.”

Air Jamaica puts on a “fashion” show en route. Female flight attendants parade up and down the aisles scantily clad. Not a lot different from the hairstyling meat shop!

If the airlines could get away with it, they’d go whole hog. Each would try to outdo the other.

Just imagine how creative those ad campaigns could become: “Fly National to Miami, and our lovely, lithesome flight attendants will entertain you with exotic inflight dancing. So why not fly us and get off on your trip to Florida.”

It may sound a bit farfetched. But as a flight attendant who knows the way management

thinks—as well as many male passengers—I’m not so sure.

I can’t count the times men have asked me (jokingly?) when the “dancing girls” come on. Or the times men have rung the call button to get my attention so I could “entertain” them. After all, aren’t we there to provide pleasure and comfort?

That article in the *Star* says the hairstyling shop can make the short-crop stylish again because it can “add a little class to the establishment.” How can using a woman’s body to sell a haircut be considered class?

Maybe that attitude shouldn’t come as a surprise. After all, “classy” magazines, window displays, movies, and rock album covers rack up record profits by using similar themes. They portray scenes where women are degraded—even beaten, chained, and murdered.

Men like this Tucson entrepreneur use women’s bodies as stepping stones to profitable success. It means we have to fight even harder for our rights and human dignity.

PSP leader speaks out

Interview with Carlos Gallisa

The Militant interviewed Carlos Gallisa shortly after the upset victory of the pro-statehood New Progressive party in Puerto Rico's November elections.

Gallisa is a well-known leader of the independence movement in that U.S. colony. From 1973 through 1976 he was a member of the Puerto Rican House of Representatives. He spoke out in defense of strikes, environmental causes, and against U.S. domination of the island.

He was placed in the legislature as a representative of the Puerto Rican Independence party under a law there that affords minority parties legislative seats under certain circumstances.

Gallisa left the PIP in mid-1973 along with several hundred other activists in the party's left wing. He later joined the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

The February 18-24 issue of *Claridad*, newspaper of the PSP, reported that the party's central committee had elected Gallisa to its nine-member political bureau and to the post of first vice-secretary general.

Claridad explained that Gallisa's election to these posts was part of "a process of internal reorganization that is the most profound of all internal reorganizations that have taken place in political parties" in Puerto Rico.

The interview was conducted in Spanish by Catarino Garza, a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers party and the SWP candidate for New York City mayor. Gallisa has not checked the translation or edited his remarks.



CARLOS GALLISA

Claridad

Question: What is your assessment of the victory of the New Progressive party, the pro-statehood party?

Answer: We face a new political situation in Puerto Rico.

There is a possibility of the growth of pro-statehood forces and of steps toward annexation. The New Progressives can educate for statehood and use the next four years to win the confidence of the people.

For the independence movement this means it is necessary to make a profound analysis of this new reality. In the past twenty years there has not been a great growth of the proindependence forces.

Q: I was under the impression that since the mid-1960s there has been a rise in the proindependence forces.

A: Yes, there has been a qualitative growth in the proindependence movement, but not at the rate it should have been. That is one of the things we will take up in our evaluation.

The fact that there has been no unity of the proindependence forces has been a setback to the movement.

Q: What about the 80,000 votes received by the Puerto Rican Independence party?

A: The PIP received its votes from its traditional base. In the period from 1970 to 1972 the PIP drew new, younger forces into its ranks. It popu-

larized the ideas of socialism and made it an issue. Socialism is now being considered by masses of people. That doesn't make them prosocialist, but they are thinking about it. We must go to the masses who are becoming interested.

Q: What are some manifestations of this new interest in socialism among masses of Puerto Ricans?

A: One indication is that during the [televised] debates before the elections, the New Progressive party and the Popular Democratic party had to answer the socialists.

Also, there is growth of socialist influence in the unions. There is a new unionism in Puerto Rico that rejects affiliation with the AFL-CIO. Dissatisfaction among the workers has led to the formation of independent unions. Twenty-eight percent of the workers in the public sector belong to independent unions. And those unions are among the most militant in the country.

The new union leaders are more honest and militant and have a class-struggle mentality. They are beginning to compare with the militancy that was present during the 1920s and 1930s.

Q: Then you don't see the victory of the New Progressive party as a demoralizing defeat for the workers?

A: The Popular Democrats were defeated by the working-class vote.

That vote reflected an understanding of the fact that the Popular Democrats are antiworker.

There was a break in the pattern of political thinking among the workers who had previously voted straight party line. This time union leaders could come out and urge the defeat of antiunion politicians without fear there would be a fight because of party loyalty.

For example, the Council for Union Action supported Rubén Berríos [Puerto Rican Independence party candidate for governor] on the basis of his record in the Puerto Rican Senate. They supported me on the basis of my voting record. They also supported Ramos Yordán of the Popular Democratic party and Nicolás Noguerras of the New Progressive party, both of whom had a good voting record on behalf of labor.

Q: Could the Puerto Rican Independence party vote have been larger if it had appealed to the workers?

A: Very possible. But the PIP campaign was aimed at everyone; their object was to produce a charismatic leader. They did not take up the class struggle; they hardly mentioned it. Working people, therefore, did not see the PIP as their party. The bulk of the composition of the PIP is petty-bourgeois.

At the same time, large sections of the workers are in the New Progressive party, although they are not pro-statehood. In the mixed vote I received [that is, votes that did not follow a straight party line], out of every ten people who gave me their vote, eight were New Progressive voters.

Q: How do you explain the mixed vote?

A: Some New Progressive voters see the PSP as the real opposition. The PSP played a great role in exposing corruption within the administration. The latest scandal was the wiretapping being carried out by the government-owned telephone company. These scandals played a big role in the defeat of the Popular Democrats.

Q: What is the reaction of people to your role in the legislature, in terms of antielectoral prejudices among many supporters of independence?

A: The overwhelming majority of the proindependence community has come to see the importance of having socialist representation in the legislature.

Q: What about the Revolutionary Anti-electoral Front, composed of the pro-Moscow Communist party, the pro-Peking Revolutionary Socialist party, and other groups?

A: I think the attitude of the CP leadership was very subjective. They have something against the PSP and against [PSP General Secretary] Juan Mari Brás. You know, it's the only place in the world where pro-Moscow and pro-Peking forces joined in common action around an election.

Q: What do you see in the future with the New Progressives in power?

A: There will probably be a growth in repression of the left. As we grow we expect the repression to grow. As we grew under the [Popular Democratic] Rafael Hernández Colón regime, he responded with repression.

Some of the fascist elements in the New Progressive party may carry out extralegal attacks on our party. There is also a possibility that [Gov. Carlos Romero] Barceló may want to cool it for his first term, but we can't count on that.

Thousands greet Lebron during visit to Puerto Rico

By José G. Pérez

"I love my country."

These were Lolita Lebrón's first words when she returned to Puerto Rico for a brief visit after spending twenty-three years in American prisons.

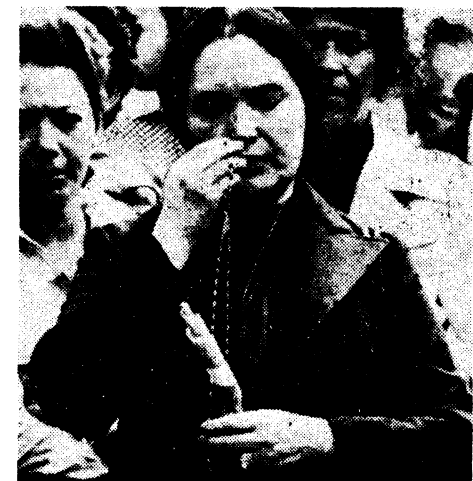
The Puerto Rican nationalist was given a hero's welcome by thousands of people who jammed San Juan International Airport March 2. Thousands more went with Lebrón to her daughter's funeral the following day.

President Jimmy Carter granted Lebrón a furlough to attend the funeral. Latino members of the U.S. Congress and the government of Puerto Rico had formally requested that he do so.

Lebrón and four other Puerto Rican nationalists—Oscar Collazo, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Irving Flores, and Rafael Cancel Miranda—have become living symbols of Puerto Rico's struggle for freedom.

They have been imprisoned since the early 1950s when they staged armed actions in Washington, D.C., in support of Puerto Rican independence. They are the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

In recent years there has been a growing clamor for freeing the five. The present governor of Puerto Rico and two past governors used the occasion of her visit to again demand the U.S. government free the five.



Lolita Lebrón at daughter's funeral

'Claridad' sues American Airlines

By José G. Pérez

Distributors of the bilingual supplement of *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, are suing American Airlines for \$200,000 in damages for "unjust discrimination and undue and unreasonable prejudice."

The suit charges that American Airlines failed to deliver to the United States eighteen issues of daily *Claridad* published in Puerto Rico. According to the plaintiffs, the issues that were, in effect, suppressed carried particularly important information. The practice destroyed the paper's distribution network, caused a sharp decrease in circulation, and created unnecessary business expenses.

Legal work on the suit is being handled by the firm of Rabinowitz, Boudin, and Standard on behalf of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

At the end of January, *Claridad* went from a daily to a weekly schedule, citing financial and organizational difficulties.

At the end of February, the weekly bilingual supplement of the paper, which is published in the United States, announced that publication would be suspended for a month.

Coming in next week's Militant

The Emerging Puerto Rican Struggle in the U.S. and its Perspectives

The twenty-eighth national convention of the Socialist Workers party adopted this resolution on the struggles of Puerto Ricans living in the United States. Don't miss it.

Shanker's record and the coming UFT elections



By Ed Berger

NEW YORK—Growing opposition to United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker was reflected in a stormy meeting of more than 600 teachers of health, physical education, and music that took place here January 27.

The UFT has been working without a contract since the end of its strike in September 1975. Recently the city's Emergency Financial Control Board accepted the terms of a new contract. It still has to be ratified by the union delegates and then by the membership.

Included in this contract is a provision negotiated by Shanker that calls for replacement by paraprofessionals of health, physical education, and music teachers who leave the system through attrition.

Ed Berger is a teacher at Grady High School in Brooklyn and a member of the United Federation of Teachers.

Every speaker at the meeting condemned Shanker for including this provision. They attacked Shanker and the banks for destroying education in the New York City schools.

One speaker near the end of the meeting got right to the point. This speaker said that paraprofessionals are not our enemy. We should want paraprofessionals in our classrooms, not as replacements for teachers but in addition to teachers.

The speaker continued by saying that it's time to change the policies the UFT has been following in response to the attacks on teachers and education. It's time to build a union that fights for the interests of its members, not the interests of a few privileged bureaucrats.

This month the UFT holds its first city-wide election since the massive education cutbacks and teacher layoffs began two years ago.

Up for election are all nine top union offices, executive board-at-large, and more than 500 delegates to the state and national teachers union conventions.

In this election teachers have an opportunity to vote against the policies of a union leadership that has sent us down to one defeat after another.

Shanker's strategy is to accept the cuts and layoffs as necessary and inevitable. Shanker not only accepts the line that the city has no money but spends much of his time helping to sell this myth to New York City teachers.

Shanker accepts the government spending priorities that put the squeeze on education and every other necessary social service.

No money?

Shanker doesn't question the increasing percentage of the city's budget paid out to the banks and super-rich for "servicing the debt."

Shanker supports the huge war budget that gobbles up resources that should be used to provide social services. Not only does Shanker support the war budget, he calls for big increases in arms spending.

Shanker's strategy is to use union resources to elect Democratic and Republican politicians who allegedly have a "commitment" to education. UFT-backed Democrats like New York Mayor Abraham Beame and Gov. Hugh Carey have been in the forefront in carrying out the cuts in education.

Despite this dismal record Shanker told teachers that their best hope for turning around the situation in education was to defeat Ford and elect Jimmy Carter as president.

In his most recent union-paid column, in the March 13 *New York Times*, Shanker now admits: "In real dollars, schools will be getting less money under the Carter budget than they are getting now under a budget which the Congress compelled President Ford to accept."

Instead of fighting the attack on city services and city workers Shanker cooperates in implementing the cuts. He acts as the agent of the school board in squelching resistance to the cuts.

Shanker tries to negotiate the cuts so they occur in ways which he feels will be least dangerous to the union bureaucrats.

One way Shanker tries to do this is by having the cuts fall on other city services and other municipal unions. This was the purpose behind the Shanker-backed Stavisky bill. It would have reduced cuts in education by increasing the cuts in other social services.

Shanker also tries to maintain the bureaucracy's base among the older, high-seniority, white teachers while throwing everyone else to the wolves.

In a school system in which 67 percent of the public school students are Black, Latino, and Chinese, the UFT is now less than 5 percent nonwhite. The UFT has become a white job-trust in a majority nonwhite school system.

Those teachers that are left are an average of forty-one years old—up from an average age of twenty-eight before the layoffs. Shanker's policies have led to the elimination of a whole generation of young teachers, including most of the city's minority teachers, from the New York City school system.

Typical of Shanker's strategy are his recent proposals to modify the seniority system to reflect total time in service and a provision known as "broadened tenure areas."

Broadened tenure would allow license (subject) areas to be combined for purposes of seniority. An example would be the combination of English and speech. This would allow high-seniority English teachers who are laid off to replace lower-seniority speech teachers, even though they have no license or training in this area.

Bureaucracy's base

Shanker opposes preferential hiring of Black and other minority teachers to compensate for past discrimination. He claims this would violate standards of "quality education."

Yet he is perfectly willing to let unqualified, high-seniority teachers "bump" qualified lower-seniority teachers. Shanker has no interest in defending quality education. What he is interested in defending is the base of union bureaucracy.

Shanker is immediately proposing the combination of health and physical education. This would be disastrous for women teachers.

Last September about 140 health and physical education teachers were laid off. About half were men. These layoffs occurred under the separate licenses for men and women. Men were fired with up to seven years tenure but women up to only four years tenure.

If the law was changed to combine licenses, then only about 20 men would have been laid off and 120 women. In fact, the New York City Athletic Coaches Association has called for one license to save men's jobs.

With combined licenses, men would be teaching high school and junior high school women's physical education. A women's committee has been formed to try to protect these women's jobs.

Total time in service is a provision that would allow seniority to be calculated on the basis of a teacher's total time in the school system, rather than the total time in the present license area.

This continues the pattern of refusing to fight the cuts and instead focusing entirely on modifying seniority rules to protect the older teachers. In the long run this will not protect anyone's job or working conditions.

The UFT leadership has kept teachers fighting each other for a declining number of jobs. It has been an obstacle to uniting to save all our jobs.

Defends discrimination

Shanker's policies have also isolated the UFT from the Black and Latino communities that teachers serve in. The union carried out a racist strike against the struggle for Black and Latino community control in Ocean Hill-Brownsville in 1968. It opposes the same struggle in School District One.

The union opposes the implementation and defense of affirmative-action programs to protect minority teachers.

Despite widespread support by parents for our strike in 1975, Shanker sold the communities out by agreeing to a shortening of the school day.

The union leadership has given only token, verbal support to bilingual education. It opposes hiring bilingual teachers from the ethnic groups affected.

The Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare recently released a study documenting widespread discrimination against minority and women teachers and minority students in the New York City school system.

Shanker joined with the boss, the head of the New York City Board of Education, Irving Anker, in defense of these racist and sexist practices.

Our present contract, finally up for ratification, grants some "longevity" increases at the top of the wage scale for high-seniority teachers, but does not speak to the real needs of teachers and quality education.

There is no provision for return of more than 15,000 laid-off teachers.

There is nothing about restoring the shortened school day.

There is no return of educational programs and services that have been cut.

In addition, high school teachers are to work one extra period a week as well as cover the classes of absent teachers.

Shanker's strategy of capitulation to the banks and their agents—the politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties—has been a disaster for teachers, other unions, and the people of New York City.

A large vote of "no confidence" in Shanker in this month's election will show that teachers will no longer tolerate this no-win strategy.

A future article will tell what the various opposition groups in the UFT are doing. It will also discuss the issues that any serious opposition must deal with if it is to be successful in overcoming the present UFT leadership.

Coal strikes provoked by mineowners

By Dennis Boyer

OSAGE, W. Va.—The first days of March brought more coal miners out of the pits as frustration about judicial interpretation of their contract grew to new levels.

The most recent strike originated in a 1976 grievance. The dispute began when Eastern Associated Coal Corporation removed David Morris from the mine safety committee of its Federal No. 2 mine in Blacksville, West Virginia.

The case went to arbitration and in late February the arbitrator upheld Morris's removal on the grounds that he had capriciously ordered a declaration of imminent danger because a communication system failed.

Morris's co-workers in United Mine Workers Local 1570 agreed with his action, however, and showed their support by striking Federal No. 2. Within twenty-four hours 17,000 northern West Virginia miners in UMW District 31 joined the strike in solidarity.

In neighboring Pennsylvania several thousand miners walked out when mine supervisors expelled a union safety committee during a mine inspection. The miners' anger over safety issues was fueled by recent deaths of anthracite coal miners in Tower City, Pennsylvania.

The walkouts underscored the strong feelings of the ranks about safety.

These strikes were also evidence of deficiencies in the UMW's 1974 contract, which allowed the coal companies to move most disputes into rigged arbitration proceedings.

Arbitration

Frustration with unfair arbitration awards and court injunctions also sparked wildcat walkouts in Illinois over absenteeism and in southern West Virginia over seniority violations.

By March 5, 40,000 of the UMW's 160,000 bituminous coal miners were off their jobs. For many of these miners the fundamental question is whether the union leadership will hold out for right-to-strike provisions when the contract expires in December.

Rank-and-file miners also hope to see these issues sharpened in the debate that should occur between the candidates for UMW president. Incumbent Arnold Miller is being challenged in the June election by both Harry Patrick and Lee Roy Patterson.

Patrick was elected UMW secretary-treasurer in 1972 along with Miller on the Miners for Democracy slate. Patterson is a protégé of ousted union President Tony Boyle and opposed the reform movement from its beginning.

Doug Farrow, a retired miner from Uniontown, Pennsylvania, counsels young activists to rebuild a strong rank-and-file movement that no union president can ignore.

"You've got to start building at the local level to show the leadership they can't back down on contract issues," says Farrow. He feels it was an error to disband Miners for Democracy as soon as it installed Miller as president and before it could capture leadership in locals and districts.

Many members of Local 1570 at Federal No. 2 feel the same way. Some miners assert that the District 31 leadership did not aggressively pursue the grievance that triggered the strike. Apparently the district leaders also knew of a possible conflict of interest on the part of the arbitrator that could have led to an appeal.

'Provoking strikes'

Bobby Regan, secretary of Local 1570, places the blame on the coal operators. "The companies are provoking the strikes," he says. "They know what will send the workers out."

Regan sees the provocations as part of a company campaign to prevent growth of a safety movement. "The company tries to divide those workers who are concerned with work conditions from those who are worried about the interruption of income."

Miners are concerned about the divide-and-conquer tactics being used against their union. Throughout Appalachia the courts, business, media, and government are arrayed against them.

The anti-UMW forces now concen-

trate on red-baiting and stirring up factional trouble. Some miners believe the very existence of their union is at stake.

Few would label such attitudes as paranoid in light of recent attacks on progressive union movements. The smear campaign against Ed Sadlowski and Steelworkers Fight Back educated many miners.

The isolation of the UMW from other major unions also disturbs activists concerned with the need for allies.

Within the union, disruptive forces seem to invite police agency intervention. Mike Trbovich, UMW vice-president and Patterson supporter, warns all who will listen that the UMW is riddled with communists, socialists, and revolutionaries.

The miners are awakening to these challenges and many others. Considerable sentiment exists to fight for the right to strike on local grievances.

In addition, each new walkout fuels discussion on more sophisticated issues. More miners are talking about workers control or nationalization of energy industries. A few are even recognizing the need for independent political action.

One young miner remarked upon hearing of a recent court injunction, "If we had an independent labor party maybe we'd have some leverage over those turkeys."

Hundreds arrested in Racine teacher strike

By Tony Prince

RACINE, Wis., March 15—The school board here has resorted to mass arrests in its drive to break the seven-week-old strike by the Racine Education Association (REA).

On Monday, March 14, 175 teachers and supporters were arrested on the picket lines. More than 200 teachers had been arrested the previous Thursday and Friday.

The board's escalation stems from a threatened financial crisis. The state requires that 180 days of school be provided by July 1. If this requirement cannot be met, the Racine Unified School District stands to lose \$21 million in state aid—half of the district's budget.

A March 14 deadline was set. If schools were not opened by then, it would supposedly be impossible to meet the state requirement. The school board accordingly voted March 7 to reopen the schools on March 10.

The board warned teachers that if they did not show up for work they would face "appropriate action."

Teachers showed up all right—for picket duty. And at a mass meeting on Sunday night, March 13, the teachers voted overwhelmingly to reject the board's take-it-or-leave-it contract offer.

Despite the arrests teachers are still keeping schools effectively shut, with less than one-third of the students coming to school as of March 14. In addition, the number of teachers scabbing decreased slightly from Friday to Monday.

Although the March 14 deadline has come and gone, state officials say they are withholding judgment as to whether Racine is meeting the state requirement. In other words, they are waiting to see if the strike can be broken in the next few days.

The strike is at a critical point. If the board can increase the number of students coming to school each day and fill in with enough scabs and administrators, it may be able to break the strike. Its big problem is the unity and combativity of the REA. It is very hard for the board to find enough scabs.

What is urgently needed now is the massive mobilization of the rest of the

labor movement to come to the aid of the teachers.

Racine is a strong union town. Other unions—notably the United Auto Workers (the biggest union in Racine); American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; printers; and hospital workers—have organized their members to come out on REA picket lines. Unions have also urged their members not to send their children to school.

This picketing needs to be stepped up and put on a larger scale. A massive display of union power is needed to show that the working people of Racine will not allow the REA to be defeated.

"I'm for the teachers, really because I'm a union person," said a Black woman member of the UAW picketing at her son's school. She added that the teachers "should stay out until they get what they want."

What teachers want is a cost-of-living pay increase and a halt to board attacks on benefits, seniority, and the union shop.

Currently all teachers must pay union dues—although they don't have to join REA—since the REA is legally bound to represent all teachers. The board wants to eliminate this requirement and institute the open shop.

Teacher pickets told the *Militant* the Racine board wants to follow the example of the Hortonville, Wisconsin, school board, which in a 1974 strike fired all striking teachers and permanently replaced them with scabs.

"The board would like to break up the union here and go back to individual bargaining where you come in with your hat in your hand and take whatever they give you," said a teacher at Horlick High School.

Another teacher said the basic issue is "the right for a human being to have dignity in their work, and not be a slave."

The school board wants to be able to transfer and lay off teachers without regard to seniority. This would very likely be used to victimize the most militant and outspoken teachers.

The REA's stand for layoffs and transfers by strict seniority, however, has a harmful effect on Black and Latino teachers. Since many of these



ON THE LINE IN RACINE: Above, teacher, union and student supporters. Below, picket arrested at Horlick High School March 10.

teachers were hired only recently as a result of affirmative action, they would be hardest hit by layoffs on the basis of seniority.

The Black Teachers Caucus of the REA is loyally supporting the strike. But its president, Carl Lassiter, says that Black teachers would like to see

the REA's position changed to specify that layoffs would not reduce the percentage of minority teachers.

REA adoption of this position would undoubtedly win the union increased respect and much-needed support in Racine's Black and Latino communities.

THE FBI AND MALCOLM X

Files released to Militant show FBI watched his every move during last months...but are mysteriously silent on

By Baxter Smith
and John Hawkins

The Assassination of Malcolm X, a newly published book by Pathfinder Press, raises again the question: "Who killed Malcolm X?"

Malik Miah, in his introduction to the book, writes that it "aims to mobilize support for a new investigation of the assassination and to stimulate a new examination of Malcolm's ideas. . . ."

FBI Director Clarence Kelley, in response to a Freedom of Information Act request, recently turned over to the *Militant* more than 1,300 pages of files on Malcolm X.

The files show that from the time of his break with the Nation of Islam in March 1964 until his February 21, 1965, assassination, Malcolm X was the subject of one of the most intensive spy operations conducted by the FBI.

When Malcolm X emerged as an independent Black leader in March 1964, a new mood was sweeping the Black communities of the country. Tired of waiting for an end to segregation, growing ever more impatient with gradualism, Blacks were demanding "Freedom Now!"

This new mood burst dramatically onto the scene in two marches of more than 200,000 people—one in Detroit, the other in Washington, D.C.—in the summer of 1963.

In 1964 the "Freedom Now!" slogan lent its name to the independent Black party that challenged the Democrats and Republicans in the Michigan state elections.

Malcolm X, more than any other individual Black leader, articulated and sought to embody in organization and action these new militant sentiments.

He brought to the Black movement a revolutionary perspective. He championed independent Black political action—at the polls and in the streets.

Malcolm X was clearly dangerous in the estimation of the FBI and the government. The newly released files document their concern.

The files help penetrate the secrecy surrounding the FBI's surveillance of Malcolm X. However, they are far from complete.

Malcolm X was the target of FBI surveillance for years prior to his assassination. These files cover only the last twelve months of his life.

Rumors of assassination plots are laced through the 1,300 pages of files. Significantly, however, these files contain not one single word on the plot that ended Malcolm's life.

Challenge to status quo

The first file is a report on the March 12, 1964, news conference where Malcolm announced his break with the Nation of Islam. He also outlined the goals of his new organization, the Muslim Mosque, Inc.:

"The political, economic, social and cultural philosophies will be black nationalism. All Negroes will be eligible for membership. Little [Malcolm's last name before he joined the Muslims] indicated that his organization will sweep out of office all 'Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces.' He did not reveal his plans for the carrying out of this aim. Little placed the accent on youth and stated that the mosque will remain open for ideas and financial aid from all sources."

Notice that the FBI took careful note of what it feared most about Malcolm X—his ideas. His militant Black nationalism, his stress on direct action against racism, and his call for independent Black political action reflected a new mood among Blacks—especially among Black youth.

An April 3, 1964, memo points this out clearly:

"Malcolm X predicted that Martin Luther King must devise a new approach in the coming year or he will be a man without followers," an informer reported on Malcolm's talk at Harvard University. "Malcolm X stated that he has received letters from coast to coast supporting him. Ninety per cent of these are from Negro college students, all of whom are eager to be part of a militant action group. . . ."

"Near the end of the program, Mr. [Louis] Lomax stated that he believes Malcolm X articulates for the majority of Negroes who believe the same as he does. Lomax described Malcolm X as a much more dangerous man now that he has become an activist. Lomax stated that now Malcolm X will be more readily accepted as a leader in the Civil Rights Movement."

Extent of surveillance

The files—the first released specifically on Malcolm X—include:

- dozens of newspaper articles from the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, the *Militant*, and other papers on Malcolm's speeches, statements and activities;
- transcripts of radio and television interviews with Malcolm;
- detailed reports on rallies of Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)—sometimes several on the same event from different sources;
- reports on meetings between members of the OAAU and other Black rights and Muslim organizations;
- extensive dossiers—some close to 100 pages—from FBI field offices to J. Edgar Hoover detailing Malcolm's attempts to recruit followers, the OAAU's finances, its involvement in the fight for Black rights, and its collaboration with radical organizations—especially the Socialist Workers party.

The files are heavily censored. But they still contain some damning information that Kelley's censors missed.

For example, memos from Baltimore describe a successful attempt by the FBI to cancel a meeting for Malcolm X at a local high school.

Another memo, dated January 28, 1965—less than a month before Malcolm's assassination—reports on a radio broadcast by Jack Anderson.

Anderson says the FBI has revealed that Malcolm X "has been secretly contacting African Governments to strengthen the ties between African and American Negroes. . . ."

The FBI was trying to portray Malcolm's contacts with African leaders as conspiratorial. But Malcolm made no secret of his intentions to enlist international support for the Black freedom struggle in America. How many other "news stories" did the FBI "leak" to the press to slander Malcolm X?

Although none of these files fall under the FBI "Cointelpro" heading, it's worth noting that using the news media to attack FBI targets was a mainstay of the disruption program.

Fear of radical links

As previously released FBI files have documented, one of the government's major concerns was preventing the growth of socialist ideas within the Black movement.

The current files note with apprehension the relationship between Malcolm and the Socialist Workers party.

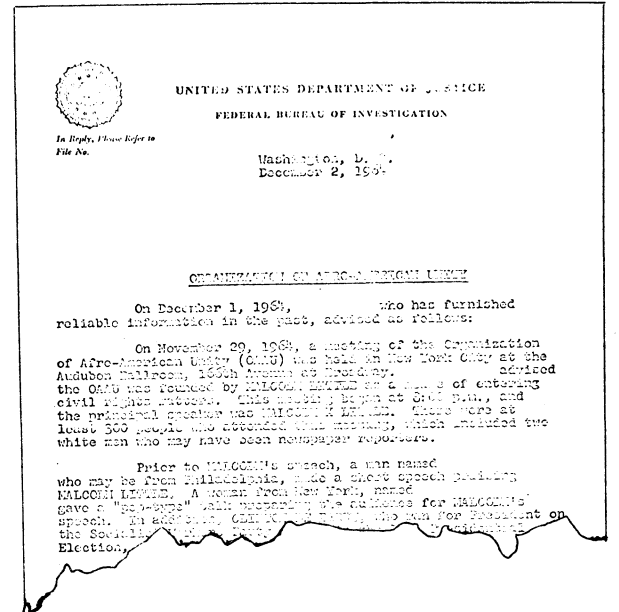
A May 8, 1964, memo contains a section titled "Relationship With Subversive Organizations." Malcolm was a speaker at the Militant Labor Forum on April 8, 1964. This the memo lists as "possible support." "Apparent non-support," however, was the analysis the memo made of "a board meeting of the New York District of the Communist Party."

The memo says that several speakers at the board meeting "were worried by MALCOLM X's ideas" and believe "he is hurting the integration program."

A July 15, 1964, memo reports on SWP members' presence at the founding meeting of the OAAU:

"The NYO has no information indicating that the LEROY MC RAE and FNU [first name unknown] DE BERRY, reported as present at this meeting [blank], are identical to Socialist Workers Party (SWP) member LEROY MC RAE [blank] or SWP member and presidential candidate CLIFTON DE BERRY."

A July 29, 1964, memo reprints a statement from



Militant reporter John Hawkins examines 1,300 pages of files. Memo above shows FBI interest in Malcolm's relations with socialists. SWP 1964 presidential candidate Clifton De Berry talks to Malcolm in photo below.



a four-month-old issue of the *Militant*:

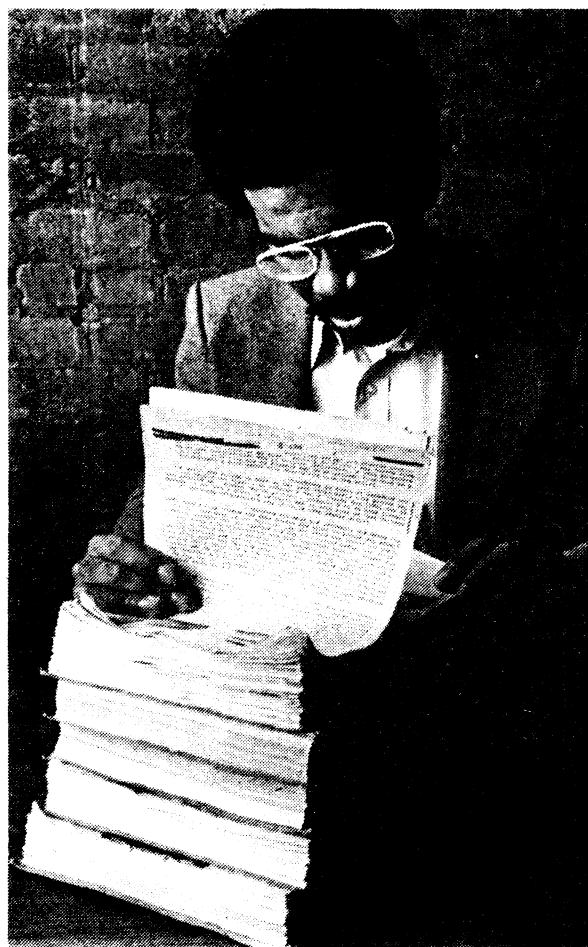
"Clifton De Berry, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for President, today lauded the declaration by Malcolm X that he would seek to develop black nationalist political strength and would actively support the civil rights struggle."

Other memos include reports on meetings of the New York local of the Socialist Workers party where plans for building anti-police-brutality demonstrations with the OAAU were discussed.

Three years after the period covered by these files,

MALCOLM X

every move assassination



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Malcolm's message for today

Militant staff writer Omari Musa released to the press on February 9 more than 1,300 pages of FBI files on Malcolm X at the beginning of a six-city tour in Baltimore.

Musa spoke on the meaning of Malcolm X for the Black struggle today and the challenge to the official version of Malcolm's assassination contained in a new Pathfinder Press book, *The Assassination of Malcolm X*, written by George Breitman, Herman Porter, and Baxter Smith.

As part of his presentation on Malcolm X, Musa showed the twenty-two-minute film documentary *Malcolm X and the Struggle for Freedom*. The majority of the film is devoted to an interview with Malcolm after one of his trips to Africa.

Musa spoke to nearly a dozen campus audiences, several of more than 100 students. He was the featured speaker at Militant forums in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and Philadelphia.

Musa taped four half-hour radio interviews in Boston and was interviewed by the Philadelphia Tribune, that city's most prominent Black newspaper.

Articles on Musa's tour appeared in the Durham, North Carolina, *Carolina Times*, a Black newsweekly, and the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Printed below are excerpts of Musa's speech.

Malcolm X was assassinated twelve years ago. I think it is to our advantage to look at Malcolm's ideas and judge whether they are valid and useful for us today in the struggle for Black freedom.

In my opinion the main ideas Malcolm left us are those he emphasized in the year before his assassination.

A cornerstone of Malcolm's perspective was the need to internationalize the Black struggle in the U.S. Specifically, that meant linking the Black struggle in the U.S. to the national liberation struggles in the colonial world.

Malcolm saw a worldwide struggle going on between the oppressed and the oppressor. He pointed out that the tide of revolution was rising and that the Black struggle in the U.S. was part of the world revolution.

Malcolm visited Africa and the Middle East twice. Imagine, if you can, in 1964 Malcolm went to Africa as an ambassador of Afro-Americans.

Then look at Andrew Young. Is he an ambassador of the Black community going to southern Africa to solidarize himself with the struggle for Black majority rule? Of course not.

Malcolm X represented the oppressed Blacks in the U.S. trying to link up with the international struggle for freedom. Andrew Young represents the oppressor—American big business and their government—trying to continue the oppression of sisters and brothers in Africa.

On his trips to Africa, Malcolm tried to get the independent African states to condemn the U.S. government's denial of Black human rights before the United Nations. He wanted to bring the moral weight of the world to bear against the oppression of American Blacks.

Malcolm knew this wouldn't solve the problems of Black people. But he correctly saw it as a way to expose and pressure the U.S. government.

At the same time Malcolm was trying to win support for the Black struggle in America, he was busy winning Black Americans to support the liberation struggles in Africa.

Malcolm denounced the U.S. role in the Congo. He blasted the so-called UN operation in the Congo as "made in USA."

It was financed with American dollars. Cuban exile pilots, trained by the CIA, flew American planes and dropped American napalm on the Congolese freedom fighters.

Malcolm exposed and denounced this criminal butchery engineered by the U.S. government and sought to mobilize Black support for the Congolese freedom fighters.

Malcolm condemned the U.S. invasion of South Vietnam just as strongly. Those fighters in the Congo and South Vietnam, he said, were our sisters and brothers in struggle.

Often Malcolm invited international guests to speak at rallies of his Organization of Afro-American Unity. By doing this he sought to open the eyes of sisters and brothers here to the worldwide scope of the fight against oppression.

One of those invited couldn't make the OAAU meeting December 13, 1964. But he sent instead this revolutionary message:

"Dear brothers and sisters of Harlem, I would have liked to have been with you . . . but the actual conditions are not good for this meeting. Receive the warm salutations of the Cuban people and especially those of Fidel, who remembers enthusiastically his visit to Harlem a few years ago. United we will win."

This message was from Che Guevara. It gives you an idea of the kind of international links Malcolm was trying to forge. This in 1964!

Malcolm's internationalism set him apart from most other Black leaders of the time. His intransigent opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties also set him apart. It formed the core of Malcolm's political outlook.

In Malcolm's words both parties had sold us out. He pointed out that the Democratic party ran the government. They were responsible for the continued denial of Black rights. And Black people were not going to get a thing by supporting the Democratic or the Republican party.

These parties had about as much chance of ending Black oppression as a chicken had of laying a duck egg, he would say.

There is an interesting parallel between the 1964 election that Malcolm spoke so much about and the 1976 election.

In 1964, the Democratic party put up a white southerner named Lyndon B. Johnson. Johnson was a well-known racist. He had voted against civil rights legislation from the day he set foot in the Senate. He was in no way a friend of Black people.

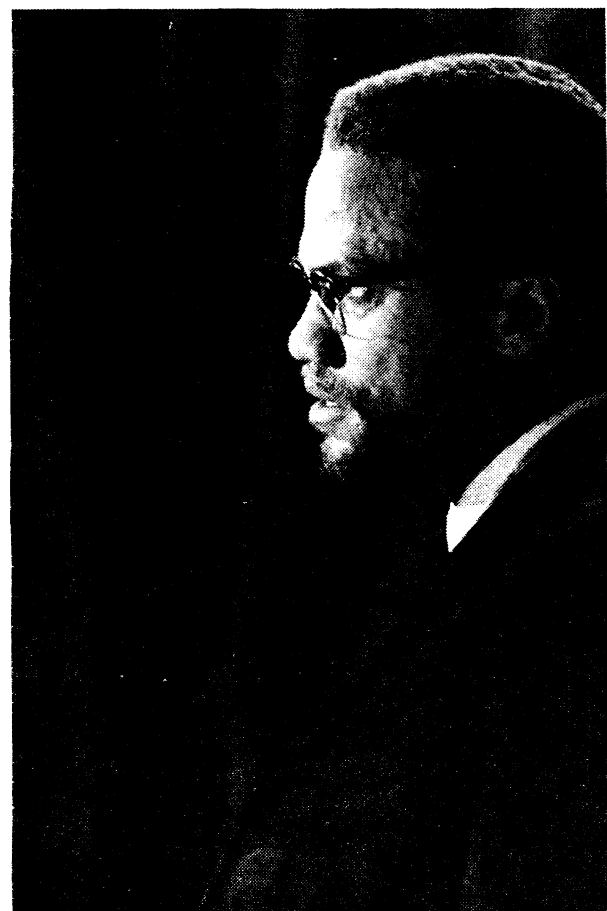
In 1976, another cracker from the South,

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Militant/Alex Chis

OMARI MUSA



he FBI officially set in motion its Cointelpro operation against the Black movement. In memos in the new program the FBI spelled out its goals: "The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters. . . ."

Another memo tells FBI agents to make sure
Continued on next page

...FBI and Malcolm X

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Black nationalists did not "consolidate their forces or recruit new or youthful adherents. . . . No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations."

Perhaps the most infamous passage—which stated a central FBI aim—was the following:

"Prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement."

It is now known that in Los Angeles in January 1969, FBI agents operating under Cointelpro guidelines incited a gun battle between Black Panthers and members of the US organization that left two Panthers dead.

In Chicago the FBI tried to use the Blackstone Rangers as the spearhead of their drive to get Black Panther leader Fred Hampton.

While the new documents contain no proof of such dramatic conspiracies, they do reveal that the FBI followed closely all antagonisms between Malcolm's organizations and members of the Nation of Islam.

Sowing dissension

At a June 7, 1964, meeting at the New York City mosque, according to one memo, an FBI informer said it was "announced that the NOI has 'declared war' on Malcolm X and the MMI, and the MMI is to be driven out of town. NOI members were also instructed by Lieutenant [blank] to 'jump' any MMI members seen on the street."

The new documents report on speeches by Elijah Muhammad critical of Malcolm X.

"During speech," one memo says of a talk Muhammad gave in Houston, "ELIJAH MUHAMMAD alleged white man had offered rewards and money for people to 'lie on the messenger of God' and stated 'this hypocrite is going to get blasted clear off the face of the earth.' MUHAMMAD also stated on the 24th of this month he was going to show the world."

The documents also reveal that Malcolm X repeatedly urged his followers to avoid any physical confrontations with Nation of Islam members, despite what appeared to be attacks by them.

Also included in the files are numerous reports on purported assassination attempts that the FBI attributes to the Nation of Islam.

A June 15, 1964, memo says that Nation of Islam members in Boston had threatened OAAU people in a car en route to the city's airport. This is linked in the files to a June 12, 1964, phone call received by the Boston police saying Malcolm X "is going to be bumped off."

A December 29, 1964, memo reports on another purported "assassination plot." Again the blame is laid on the Nation of Islam.

"[Blank] stated Malcolm Little would be hit by a bullet outside the radio station. . . . [Blank] in past had told [blank] NOI members would attempt to kill Malcolm if he came to Phila."

There is another side to the inclusion in the files of the reports on confrontations and alleged assassination plots.

All files the FBI reveals must be viewed with care. The fact that the FBI chose to make these files public should be seen in the context of attempts to bolster the official version of Malcolm's assassination, which says that the Nation of Islam was responsible.

What FBI is covering up

The glaring omission of any documents on the actual assassination plot continues the cover-up of the facts surrounding Malcolm's death.

If all the files were released they would undoubtedly shed light on a number of outstanding questions:

- What role did the New York City police play in the FBI's "investigation" of Malcolm X? What information did they exchange? How did they cooperate in their infiltration of the Nation of Islam and other organizations Malcolm belonged to?

It is known that the FBI cooperated very closely with the New York City police, especially its so-called subversive squad, which in 1964-65 was

called the Bureau of Special Services (BOSS). BOSS agent Gene Roberts was among Malcolm's bodyguards at the time he was killed.

- Did the FBI have their own agents inside Malcolm's organizations?

On a recent broadcast of the CBS television program "Who's Who," reporter Dan Rather announced that CBS had information proving that the FBI did have an agent in Malcolm's OAAU.

- Why is there absolutely no mention of the actual plot that culminated in Malcolm's assassination?

Following the February 1965 assassination of Malcolm X, New York City police officials stated that they knew about the plot a month before it took place. If the New York City police knew about it, then so did the FBI.

- Were the FBI's agents under special orders that month to report on Malcolm's security arrangements?

The files report on numerous threats, plots, and even rumors. But what is left out is what would have been most important to anyone closely watching Malcolm at the time—the details of his security arrangements.

- Was this information on Malcolm's security arrangements passed on to the people planning to kill Malcolm X?

Somehow his assassins got a great deal of information about those arrangements. This is demonstrated by the fact that only one of the killers was caught at the scene of the assassination—and that was a fluke.

The current set of files leaves these questions unanswered. The FBI, CIA, and all other government spy agencies must be forced to turn over all the files on Malcolm X and his assassination. The information in them would without doubt shed light on the question: "Who killed Malcolm X?"

...message for today

Continued from preceding page

Jimmy Carter, was the Democratic party presidential candidate. He actively supported segregated education in Georgia. He supported the racist war in Vietnam while governor of Georgia.

Jimmy Carter, like Johnson, was portrayed during the election race as a friend of Black people. He was the great white hope.

In both 1964 and 1976 almost all the so-called leaders of the Black community lined up behind these racist Democratic party politicians.

What did we get in 1965?

Murderous attacks on Black people all over the country. FBI counterintelligence programs designed to disrupt, discredit, and neutralize Black leaders and the Black movement. Thousands of brothers killed and wounded in Vietnam.

And today—in 1977—Jimmy Carter has yet to come out with a program to end unemployment in the Black community. Carter is not for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe or South Africa—Uncle Andy Young notwithstanding.

Malcolm made it clear that the Democratic party is a racist party. The Democratic party has not stopped being racist. It is as racist today as it ever was.

What produced the gains won by the Black movement in the 1960s was the mass mobilization of the Black community for jobs, equal employment opportunity, school desegregation, and open housing.

It was the power of tens of thousands of Black people in the streets that forced the capitalist rulers to make some concessions. Not dependence on the liberals—Democratic or Republican.

Following his break with the Nation of Islam in March of 1964, Malcolm's aim was to provide consistent leadership to this upsurge of the Black movement. He wanted to keep it mobilized—in the streets where we had some power, not tied to the Democrats and Republicans who only wanted to defuse it.

In my opinion, what Malcolm was trying to do with the Organization of Afro-American Unity was to build an independent Black political organization to lead the fight for freedom on all fronts.

The OAAU was a beginning attempt to organize

Black political power. That's why Malcolm tried to forge links with the Freedom Now party in Michigan—a Black party that was running candidates in the 1964 elections there against both Democrats and Republicans.

But Malcolm's assassination cut this process short.

If you look around today you will notice that most Black leaders of the 1960s are either dead, sold out, or into all kinds of schemes to escape the struggle.

A sister asked me: "Where is the new Black leadership going to come from?"

I tell you the same thing I told her. The new leadership of the Black movement is beginning to take shape in the high schools, factories, offices, colleges, and prisons.

You are part of that new leadership. You are the ones who will organize an independent Black party.

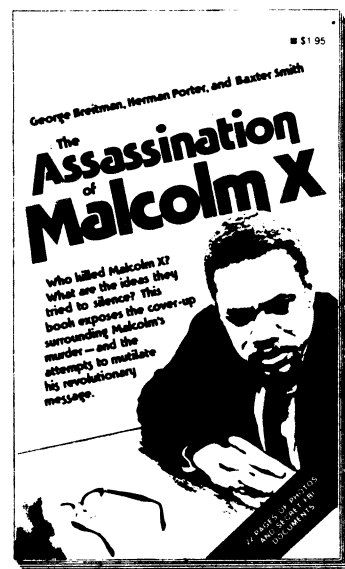
You are the sisters and brothers who are coming to socialist conclusions on how to solve the problems confronting the Black community.

You are not only the new leadership of the Black struggle, but the potential leadership for the working class as a whole in the U.S.

How well you meet the test, the example you set, will affect everybody else fighting for freedom. Today as in Malcolm's day the struggle is worldwide.

And the struggle still needs the consistent leadership Malcolm sought to provide it. The best way to help provide it is by joining with others who share the same aim, the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers party.

WHO KILLED MALCOLM X?



THE ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X

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World Outlook

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

MARCH 25, 1977

50,000 protest atom power plant in West Germany

In protest against unsafe development of atomic power plants, between 50,000 and 60,000 persons demonstrated February 19 at two sites in the area where an atomic reactor is being built in Brokdorf, West Germany.

Roughly twice as many persons participated in these recent rallies as in the country's first mass protest against atomic power plants, which was held in Brokdorf on November 13, 1976.

Thus, in three months the movement against atomic power has grown significantly, despite a witch-hunt campaign in the capitalist press against the demonstrators and severe police intimidation.

The February 19 demonstration would probably have been even larger if several Maoist groups had not forced a split by insisting on a rally right next to the heavily defended plant site, and by refusing to give assurances that they would not try to break through police lines to occupy the grounds.

As a result of the Maoists' operation, two separate demonstrations occurred. The Maoist groups organized a rally in Wilster, within sight of Brokdorf. The groups determined to avoid a confrontation with the police demonstrated in Itzehoe, further from the building site. These included the Communist party, the local Socialist party organization, the Young Socialists, the Socialist Student League, and the Liberal Student League.

The Trotskyists of the GIM (Gruppe Internationale Marxisten—International Marxist Group) participated in the Itzehoe demonstration, stressing the importance of uniting and broadening the movement.

In its February 24 issue, the GIM's paper *Was Tun* reported:

By far the largest part of the Itzehoe demonstration consisted of forces that had not previously participated in mobilizations against the atomic plants. For the movement against the Brokdorf plant, and especially for those who demonstrated in Brokdorf [Wilster] on February 19, it is a vital task not to lose these forces.

Trade-union role

The Itzehoe demonstration marked the beginning of participation by sections of the trade-union movement. *Was Tun* reported:

By far the best speech was given by Heinz Brandt, former editor of the magazine *Metall* [of the steelworkers union]. The massive applause that frequently interrupted him showed that he was able to give conscious expression to the political tendencies hidden in the assembled crowd. He tried to show the real social and economic context of pollution. And he aroused the sympathy of the audience when he condemned the opportunism of the party and union bureaucrats both East and West. Only a few boos could be heard, which showed strikingly the relationship of forces

in the crowd. If the CP had really mobilized its forces and participated in a self-confident way, it would never have tolerated such "radical" speeches.

Despite the bluster of the Maoists, the organizers of the Wilster demonstration avoided confrontation with the police:

The authorities were hoping demonstrators would try to occupy the site so that they could carry out an exemplary action, breaking up the demonstration, staging a scene of violence so as to isolate the left as "wildmen," and thus break the back of the movement against the Brokdorf plant. They also wanted to show that the police attack on the November 13 demonstration was justified, because they discredited themselves by that operation and provoked a surge of support for the fight against the atomic power plants.

But the outcome was quite different. The demonstrators did not fall into the trap set by a provocative display of power. There was no battle in Brokdorf—to the profound disappointment of Springer, Boehnisch, and Co. [the gutter press]. Instead, there was a demonstration of the strength of the opposition to atomic power plants that far exceeded past performance. The effect . . . was such that the politicians and the capitalist press have been forced to start asking the question: "How can the Brokdorf plant be built in the face of such resistance?"

'Terrorist threat?'

The authorities staged an unusual display of repressive power. The building site was turned into a fortress. Swarms of armored vehicles and helicopters were brought in. Behind the barricades stood about 10,000 police, border guards, and the special commando units supposedly developed to meet the "terrorist threat."

Was Tun noted that the February 19 operation marked the first application of the Emergency Powers Law (*Notstandsgesetz*) passed in 1968, which among other things permits the government to use "military force" to meet "domestic danger."

Parallel to the growth of the movement against atomic power plants, a mass movement has been developing against political repression, which is more extensive in West Germany than the other major advanced capitalist countries. After the February 19 rallies, it became clear that the two movements are reinforcing each other.

Successive West German governments developed their apparatus of repression on the pretext that it was needed to defend the society against "terrorism" and "fanatical ultra-leftists." The fact that they have tried to use this massive police power against a broadening social movement has highlighted its anti-democratic nature.

Democratic rights

Furthermore, trying to develop atomic energy on a wide scale poses threats to democratic rights. The most obvious



Itzehoe, West Germany: part of demonstration of 50,000 February 19. Was Tun



Nuclear protest sign: 'Better active today than radioactive tomorrow.'



Nuclear protest sign: 'Lichtenmoor atomic factory: deformation from radioactivity.'

is that a few capitalists in blind pursuit of profit are endangering the whole society and future generations. But also, in view of the security complex around atomic energy, widening its use raises the danger of an extension of police surveillance.

Immediately after the February 19 actions, a scandal broke out over the illegal bugging of the home of Dr. Klaus Robert Traube, former top engineer at Interatom, a nuclear power company owned by the Siemens trust.

The first sixteen pages of the February 28 *Der Spiegel* were devoted to the Traube case, which the authoritative weekly magazine compared several times to Watergate.

Because he had chance personal contact with a few persons allegedly implicated in terrorist actions, a giant

spy operation was launched against Traube. This cost him his job, although no evidence against him was ever produced.

Der Spiegel gave a detailed account of the operation, with police maps on which Traube's house was designated "radioactive waste." He was referred to as the "target person," and a hunting cabin from which his home was watched was called "Conspiratorial Center."

In an editorial raising an alarm about the threat posed to the constitution by such an illegal operation, publisher Rudolf Augstein began by quoting a speech at Itzehoe by Robert Jungk: "I am worried not just about the environment . . . but about democracy. We are already on the road to the atomic state. And the atomic state means surveillance of everyone."

N. Ireland 'peace movement' loses momentum

By Stuart Paul

LONDON—In her traditional Christmas Day message, Queen Elizabeth II gave a special note of recognition to the "peace women" of Northern Ireland, thus adding her name to a long and varied list of their declared fans in Britain.

No doubt the queen would like to see the peace women regain the momentum they had in British politics before their march and rally in London last November. For while support for the Peace People (as they call themselves) still ranges from the entire bourgeois media and both Tories and Social Democrats in Parliament to the Communist party of Great Britain, the enthusiasm is waning.

The march, held in London November 27, failed to match the predictions of its backers. Projected to draw more than 100,000 persons, it actually mustered only 10,000 to 12,000 (on the police count) despite massive publicity and government support for the event. Only ten days before, the public-service trade unions mobilized the biggest-ever midweek demonstration (80,000) to protest the Labour government's austerity policy. The November 29 *Guardian* described the Peace People's action as "a most orderly well-dressed and predominantly middle-aged affair reminiscent—for comparative demowatchers—of the big anti-abortion rallies."

Counterdemonstration

The march and rally were marked by a notably unspirited crowd. The organisers' strict ban on expression of political ideas was broken only by counterdemonstrators chanting "Troops out now!" The police moved in on the dissenters—organised by the Peace Through Freedom Committee—as soon as they expressed their view that peace could only come by withdrawing British troops from Ireland. Their banners were seized and several of their number arrested for chanting or leafleting.

Though the rally failed to mobilise enthusiastic participation, this alone cannot be taken as a sign of failure for the movement's backers in the British media and government. The impact which the press campaign and widespread backing of the peace movement has had on British politics is far-reaching. Support for the peace women was counterposed to calling for withdrawal of British troops at the annual



NOT A PRAYER FOR BRINGING PEACE: Protestant and Catholic 'peace women' support British army's role in Ireland.

Labour party conference in Blackpool on October 1, leading to a massive rejection of a motion raising the demand of "troops out." While the Communist party has given total backing to the Peace People, the issue of support has divided pacifists, students, and feminists. The response in Britain's Irish community has ranged from suspicion to hostility.

For British TV audiences, violence in Northern Ireland is as common as "Match of the Day" soccer highlights and news of the sinking pound. While continuing to present this one-sided image of a situation without solution, the TV news and press cultivated an image of the peace women as a voice of reason arising from "the ordinary folk" fed up with violence in Ulster.

'We back the army'

If there was any doubt about whether the prominent coverage of the peace movement in the capitalist press marked a shift from its virulent terrorist-baiting of Republicanism or uncritical praise for the British army, the answer was made clear in the media response to two statements made last October by peace leaders Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan.

Following the murder of thirteen-year-old Brian Stewart by a plastic bullet, fired by the army, and another plastic bullet incident in which troops had wounded a pregnant woman in her home, neighborhood women

chased the two peace leaders from a meeting at Turf Lodge on October 10. The next night Williams and Corrigan told a British TV reporter that they were grateful to the Provisional IRA for safely conducting them from the meeting and that they would add the British army to the list of violent organisations they were campaigning to isolate. The stunned reporter concluded that as a result of thanking the IRA and criticising the army, "the honeymoon is over for the peace women."

Williams and Corrigan retracted their comment in a few days, however. The October 14 edition of the *Daily Mirror* expressed its joy with the headline "We Back the Army Say Peace Women." This statement, clearly designed to reassure their prominent British backers, said, "We fully support the rule of law and order in Northern Ireland . . . the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)¹ and the other security forces are the only legitimate upholders of law and order."

The day before this item appeared in the *Mirror*, the *Financial Times* reported a press conference of Mrs. Jane Ewart-Biggs, wife of the British ambassador to Ireland assassinated in Dublin last August, to launch a special fund in her husband's memory. She was flanked by the author of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA)², Roy Jenkins. When the Peace People announced plans for their London rally she was named official organiser of the event along with prominent antiabortion campaigner Lord Longford.

Labour party role

The government also has made clear that its support for the peace women is simply an extension of its hard line against any opposition in Britain to its repressive presence in Northern Ireland. The Labour government indicated its disapproval of the Labour party conference even discussing the issue.

1. It was the RUC attacks on peaceful civil rights marches in 1968 and 1969 which started the current wave of violence in Northern Ireland. The RUC is the Protestant police force.

2. Under the PTA, police may detain persons for up to seven days without charge. Natives of Northern Ireland who have not been resident in Great Britain for twenty years can be deported to Ireland by order of the home secretary without trial. (See *Intercontinental Press*, December 1, 1975, p. 1680.)

An editorial in the *Irish Times*, reprinted in the October 10 *International Herald Tribune*, said, "There was an almost insulting downgrading of the debate by its position at the end of the conference, and by the absence of any Government speaker." The editorial, however, did not miss the fact that "of course it would be naive to equate the general level of understanding of the issues at Blackpool with the degree of concern of Mr. Callaghan's Government."

The Labour government also showed its position in decisions surrounding the London peace rally. For more than four years, the use of London's traditional political rally site—Trafalgar Square—has been banned for any rally on the issue of Northern Ireland. The ban was lifted for the peace women. However, when the Peace Through Freedom Committee, a coalition of groups committed to withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, applied to hold a rally miles away in Hyde Park, the government banned their rally. Police monitoring the peace march told me they had been given instructions to bend their usual rules for the Peace People. While Peace Through Freedom leafleters were arrested for breaking park rules at the march assembly point, Peace People leafleters were in abundance throughout the area.

The government has also continued using the PTA to harass the Irish community. The night Provisional Sinn Féin leader Maire Drumm was killed (October 8, 1976) the TV news showed a major police raid on the Irish community in Reading, during which several Irish people were picked up under the act.

Communist party

But while it is clear that the government has had no change of heart in arriving at its support for the Peace People, many forces in Britain with a record of opposition to British rule in Ireland have come out in support of their movement.

The Communist party was quick to announce support for the peace movement, claiming it would isolate the paramilitarists in Ulster and combat sectarianism. The party's student members, who hold the leadership of the National Union of Students (NUS), moved away from their two-year inaction on Ireland and began campaigning for NUS members to support the peace movement. This was despite the fact that an NUS fact-finding delegation to Ireland in September had been told by Loyalist paramilitary leaders themselves that they welcomed the peace movement because they thought it would reduce support for Republican groups.

In fact, the Stalinists have practically ceased to mention the army at all, dropping their call for a campaign to withdraw British troops to their Ulster barracks. Instead they advocate mobilising to back the Peace People and the "Better Life for All Campaign" of the Irish trade unions. This campaign advocates British aid to the Ulster economy and also avoids any mention of British troops.

If the Communist party has lined up with the government, they have not done so without opposition. In the student movement, an open conference, called to "build a massive campaign of peaceful, legal but direct action by the student movement against British repression in the North of Ireland," decided after two days' debate that the only way to do so was



G.M. Cookson

DEFENDERS OF IRISH FREEDOM DEMONSTRATE IN LONDON, JANUARY 30: Support to 'peace movement' is used by opponents of demand for 'British troops out.'

on the political demand of "Troops out now!" The November 13-14, 1976 conference, which was the first national assembly of students on Ireland since the army went onto the streets of Belfast and Derry in 1969, voted to support the Peace Through Freedom counterrally against the Peace People and to work to win NUS to taking action to "Get Britain out of Ireland."

Even the Communist party has had to temper its support for the Peace People in Britain's Irish community. Its organisation for Irish residents of Britain, the Connolly Association, admitted in the December issue of its paper, the *Irish Democrat*: "There have been complaints by some of our English friends that the Irish community in Britain have shown themselves lukewarm towards the women's peace movement. This is quite true. . . . The enthusiasm of the British Government also made them suspicious. The ban on talking about Ireland in Trafalgar square was hastily lifted. The BBC couldn't find epithets complimentary enough for the 'courageous women.' . . . Again all the emphasis is on nationalist violence; there is little said about Unionist extremist violence. . . ."

Feminist reaction

Some feminists were originally taken in by the "women's" image cultivated by the movement. But the presence of figures like Lord Longford and Mai-

revolution," lamented, "there seemed no choice but to support the Peace People and their rally last Sunday. The whole movement felt to have so much in common with the origins of the anti-bomb years—much of the 'for life' rhetoric is very similar—and springing from torn and warring communities the movement is in many ways a pacifist's dream." The British section of the internationally known Fellowship of Reconciliation supported the march for much the same reasons.

Joan Baez

However, many pacifists could not turn a blind eye to the Peace People's support for the British army. Pat Arrowsmith, probably Britain's most well-known pacifist, commented that "if the word 'peace' has any meaning, and for me, a pacifist, it certainly has, then surely those who call themselves Peace People shouldn't approve of armies of occupation." Both Arrowsmith and McAliskey tried to dissuade Joan Baez from joining the march. McAliskey pointed to the contradiction of opposing Washington in Vietnam and yet supporting the British army in Ireland. Baez joined the rally anyway, singing "We Shall Overcome" while police dragged away people chanting "Ireland is Britain's Vietnam."

Groups to the left of the Communist party have generally been opposed to supporting the Peace People. The International Marxist Group and students from the Troops Out Movement



BRITISH TROOPS IN IRELAND: the real issue

read Corrigan, both longstanding campaigners against abortion rights, is likely to help dampen feminist support for the Peace People. The leading British feminist magazine *Spare Rib* printed a letter from the Belfast Socialist Women's group criticising the movement in no uncertain terms. Irish militant Bernadette Devlin McAliskey has also taken up this point on numerous occasions. Both stress the failure of the peace women to take up the role of the British army.

An article on Irish women in the November 25 British Trotskyist newspaper *Red Weekly* pointed to the role Britain plays in oppressing Irish women and concludes "while women in this country can assist the development of a women's movement in Ireland, we have a greater contribution to make. That contribution consists of throwing our weight behind immediate British withdrawal from Ireland and building solidarity actions demanding the release of all women political prisoners in the North and South."

British pacifists continue to be deeply divided on the issue of support. The December 3 issue of *Peace News*, a magazine committed to "non-violent

jointly presented the resolution which carried at the November Student Movement Conference on Ireland.

The International Socialists have been affected by the terrorist-baiting of the bourgeois media aimed at whipping up an anti-Irish hysteria. They urged their student members to boycott the student conference and appeared at the first British peace rally with a leaflet which added the slogan "Stop the Bombings" to a "troops out" position. "Bombings" refers to Irish, not British, violence. By the time of the London rally, the IS opposed the Peace People, although they did not have a strong presence at the counterdemonstration.

After picking up more than £500,000 (US\$850,000) in international donations off the crest of publicity they rode at the end of last year, the Peace People have announced they will hold no more rallies. Their press coverage is thus likely to decline. But the British imperialists will no doubt try to keep alive the memory of a movement which allowed them to tell the British people: you can support peace in Northern Ireland and the British army too.

World news notes

Argentine unionist kidnapped

Oscar Smith, general secretary of the Light and Power Workers Union in Argentina, was kidnapped February 11 as he left his home. Union members in the country's major power stations responded with a protest strike, despite the fact that the Videla dictatorship deployed helmeted police with rifles to keep watch over the buildings following the kidnapping.

Members of the 100,000-member Light and Power Workers Union have been staging a work slowdown since mid-January to protest junta attempts to cut the standard of living of public workers. Fringe benefits were eliminated and the military tried to impose a longer workweek.

Videla initially tried to blame the kidnapping of Smith on the Montoneros, a Peronist guerrilla group. But *New York Times* reporter Juan de Onis, in a February 20 dispatch from Buenos Aires, said, "Not one of the guerrilla groups has claimed responsibility for Mr. Smith's disappearance, and political opinion is that he was seized by hard-line rightists who operate without fear of control by the security forces."

Economic sanctions threatened by the junta had failed to end the slowdown, and finally Labor Minister Horacio Tomás Liendo announced he would begin arresting the leaders of the slowdown if functioning did not return to normal starting February 10.

Another source of concern for the junta is the reaction of rail workers to a wave of layoffs expected to affect several thousand jobs. Rail workers have formed a coordinating committee encompassing all the trades in the industry, and the junta fears a united response.

British unions halt ban

Following a court injunction issued January 27, top leaders of the Union of Postal Workers (UPW) called off a proposed week-long ban on communication services to South Africa. The injunction, and the UPW leaders' decision to comply with it, has put into question the right of British trade unionists to take industrial action without the threat of interference from the courts.

The ban, originally due to begin on January 17, had been agreed to unanimously by the executive of the UPW.

The proposed boycott was part of an international week of action called by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. As an affiliate, the Trades Union Congress (TUC), Britain's trade-union federation, had called for action to persuade British employers involved in South Africa to recognise Black trade unions. The boycott action was attracting the support of other unions in Britain, including the National Union of Seamen, the Transport and General Workers Union, the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, and the General and Municipal Workers Union.

By their reluctance to stand four-squared in defence of this elementary right gained over many years of struggle, not to mention their half-hearted concern with the rights of Black workers in South Africa, the conservative-minded top leadership of the UPW and the TUC have opened the trade-union movement to continuing legal action and victimisation by the courts.

In a moment of insight, Tom Jackson, general secretary of the UPW, seemed to have grasped the logic of the court ruling: "If the Appeal Court judges are right it looks as if we have just lost our right to strike."

Paraguayan CPers released

Antonio Maidana, head of the Paraguayan Communist party, was released from prison January 27. Along with two other members of the CP Central Committee—Alfredo Alcorta and Julio Romas—Maidana had been held since 1958.

Paraguay's Interior Minister Sabino Montanaro said that seventy prisoners held for shorter periods of time had also been freed since September 1976. However, the International League for the Rights of Man estimates there are 500 to 1,500 political prisoners in Paraguay, several of whom have been held for years without trial.

N. Koreans name 'successor'

The North Korean Workers party Politburo has ratified President Kim Il Sung's decision to name his eldest son, Kim Jung Ell, as his successor, according to a February 23 dispatch from the Kyodo news agency of Japan. The North Korean leader announced in February 1976 that he intended to have Kim Jr. take over when he died.

To justify such regal action, the North Korean CP cooked up yet another Stalinist version of Soviet history:

"Lenin appointed Stalin his successor, but Stalin did not name his successor," said a North Korean document quoted by Kyodo. "As a result, revolution and construction fell into revisionism and the people are undergoing suffering."

Some dissent may have been registered. According to a source quoted by Kyodo, "anti-party [elements] and divisionists who had long been hiding within the party to block establishment of sole leadership by Comrade Kim Jung Ell have been completely crushed."

Israel: Rabin narrowly elected Labor party chief

By David Frankel

After a bitter fight, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was reconfirmed February 23 as head of the Israeli Labor party. It was the first time that a ruling prime minister had been openly challenged for the party leadership.

Rabin edged out Defense Minister Shimon Peres by only 41 votes of nearly 3,000 cast. He will now have to lead his divided party into the national election scheduled for May 17. In this fight as well, Rabin faces stiff opposition.

Labor party prime ministers have ruled Israel since the state was founded in 1948. But the party's plurality underwent a significant erosion after the October 1973 war. Since then, Israel's growing international isolation has resulted in further dissatisfaction with the party.

At the same time, the Israeli economy is in deep trouble. The inflation rate in 1976 was 35%, and the government admits that the rate this year is likely to be at least 25%. The gross national product for 1977 is expected to remain virtually stagnant, expanding by only 1.2%—the fourth year in a row of slow growth. Moreover, analysts are predicting a balance of payments deficit of \$3.3 billion in 1977.

Like capitalist governments everywhere, the Israeli regime has responded to the economic slump by telling the workers to sacrifice. This has resulted in an upsurge of economic struggles.

Finally, the Labor party has been rocked by scandal. Only a few hours before the congress opened, Asher Yadlin, a former top Labor official, was sentenced to five years in jail and a \$28,000 fine for receiving bribes and kickbacks.

Yadlin was the general secretary of a holding company that owns industries and businesses accounting for about one quarter of Israel's entire economy. He was also general manager of the health insurance plan covering almost half of Israel's population. Both of these huge economic enterprises are controlled by the Histadrut (General Organization of Jewish Workers), which also claims to be a trade-union federation.

But the Histadrut itself is controlled by the Labor party, and Yadlin insisted during his sentencing that he had channeled bribes and kickbacks into the party coffers. He also implicated two cabinet ministers in the scheme.

All this has encouraged politicians to cash in on the widespread dissatisfaction in Israel. Yigael Yadin, a



VICTORIOUS RABIN SHAKES HANDS WITH PERES: Their differences reflected dissatisfaction with Zionist policies they both support.

former army chief of staff turned archeologist, has founded what he calls the Democratic Movement for Change. *Washington Post* correspondent H.D.S. Greenway said in a February 24 dispatch from Jerusalem:

"Dissatisfaction with old political customs and scandals has become endemic in Israel. Hardly a week goes by without some well-known public figure announcing that he has quit his former party and is throwing in with Yadin."

A less sympathetic observer, quoted by *New York Times* correspondent William E. Farrell February 23, called

Yadin's movement "a 'supermarket of generals and freelancers,' representing the loose ends of the establishment."

The point is that neither Peres, Rabin, Yadin, nor Menachem Begin of the right-wing Likud bloc can solve the problems facing Israel. The economic burden sharpened by huge military expenditures, the country's international isolation, the insecurity resulting from being on a constant war footing—all these ills have the same objective origin. Like South Africa, Israel cannot escape the fact that it was established at the expense of a dispossessed people.

Afro-Arab parley shows pressures of struggles

By Ernest Harsch

The conference of Arab and African representatives held in Cairo March 7-9 was a reflection, however much distorted, of the rising freedom struggles in the Middle East and throughout the African continent. It was the first time that delegations from fifty-nine African and Arab regimes had gathered for such a summit meeting.

Before the conference opened, a meeting of African and Arab foreign ministers adopted a resolution condemning "Zionism and apartheid and all forms of religious and racial discrimination, especially in the forms in

which they appear in Africa, Palestine and the other occupied Arab territories."

The same theme was stressed by nearly all the speakers during the conference itself. On the opening day, Yasir Arafat, the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), denounced the "unholy alliance between South Africa, Rhodesia and Israel." He told the African delegates, "Our struggle is inseparable from your struggle."

The growing solidarity between the Palestinian and African freedom struggles comes at a time when the racist Israeli, South African, and Rhodesian regimes have begun to collaborate more closely. All three regimes are

colonial-settler states, based on the suppression of the original inhabitants.

However, the only concrete measure taken during the conference to aid the freedom struggles against these racist regimes was the provision of \$6 million to the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, which disburses funds to some of the African liberation groups. In contrast, the representatives from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, and the Union of Arab Emirates pledged to give more than \$1.4 billion in aid to help the Black capitalist regimes of Africa out of their economic difficulties.

None of the liberation groups in

southern Africa, moreover, were invited to send official representatives to the conference.

President Anwar el-Sadat, who just six weeks before the opening of the meeting crushed a series of massive protests against his regime, was a principal organizer of the conference.

Clearly, despite its verbal denunciations of "imperialism, colonialism, Zionism [and] apartheid," the conference showed that the neocolonial rulers in Africa and the Middle East fear the potential impact that successful struggles against the Israeli and white minority regimes could have on class relations within their own countries.

Washington aims to back Portugal's austerity plan

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Testimony before a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee February 25 made clear that the Carter administration is preparing to play a bigger and more open role in Portugal.

The U.S. Treasury Department has already advanced \$300 million in short-term credits to the Portuguese government. The Carter administration is now proposing an additional \$30 million in military aid, and it has taken the lead in organizing a consortium of imperialist powers to raise \$1.5 billion in medium-term loans. The loans would be made available at a relatively low rate of interest to bolster the government of Prime Minister Mário Soares.

Frank C. Carlucci, the American ambassador to Portugal, and Richard N. Cooper, Carter's nominee for under secretary of state for economic affairs, were among those testifying before the subcommittee.

Cooper took note of the economic problems caused by the loss of Portugal's African colonies, the worldwide economic downturn, and the flight of capital following the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship. According to Cooper:

Portugal is adopting politically difficult but necessary recovery measures. Prime Minister Soares himself told his Socialist Party congress last fall that without economic stabilization there can be no democracy. Acting on this premise Portugal has:

- enacted laws to restore private sector confidence;
- imposed tax surcharges and prior deposit arrangements on imports to save foreign exchange;
- increased prices charged for government services such as transportation and power;
- announced a limit of 15% on all private and public sector wage increases in 1977, a level well below the rate of inflation; and
- passed a 1977 budget which, by cutting

real public expenditures and raising taxes, reduces the budget deficit by 20% in real terms compared with 1976.

Having made this progress report, Cooper warned the senators that "if substantial foreign loans do not materialize, the Portuguese Government will be faced with the extremely difficult task of trying to impose suddenly an even more severe austerity program, risking public protest, growing influence and agitation by the extreme left, and possible loss of public support for democratic institutions."

Carlucci, when asked about the impact of high inflation and unemployment, replied that the Soares regime is "sufficiently stable to move ahead with what I would call a phased economic program," with emphasis on increasing worker productivity.

"No austerity program is pleasant," he added. "Obviously there is going to be a certain amount of reaction, perhaps some unrest."



MARIO SOARES

N. Orleans cops kill Black youth

By Derrick Morrison

NEW ORLEANS—While city officials and business leaders here were claiming this was the biggest Mardi Gras of all, Mardi Gras day—February 22—meant death for a nineteen-year-old Black youth, Wayne Smith.

Smith got into a fight with a white man in the city's French Quarter. A few punches were thrown. Two cops came up and clubbed Smith, then dragged him away. The Black youth was beaten so badly he had to be taken to Charity Hospital.

After an operation on his head, Wayne Smith died March 1.

The cops claim they only hit Smith on his shoulder. But the operation was on his head.

An eyewitness has contradicted the police version of the incident. According to the New Orleans daily *States-Item*, William Hernández decided to come forward after seeing inaccurate accounts of the beating in the press.

Hernández said the blow sounded like "pool balls breaking up on a table."

Hernández said a second officer congratulated the one who clubbed Smith. The two then dragged Smith off and escorted the white man away.

On Thursday, March 10, the People's Defense Coalition and the Ad Hoc Committee for an Accountable Police held a funeral for Wayne Smith and combined it with a protest. Fifty to sixty angry citizens marched on police headquarters.

Kalamu Ya Salaam, head of the PDC, and Bill Rouselle, coordinator of the Ad Hoc Committee, urged participants to continue the protests. "Wayne Smith may be dead but he is not forgotten," Kalamu said.

Rouselle called for participation in a March 26 rally against police brutality. The protest will demand a citizens' committee to investigate the cops.

According to Rouselle, the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice has expressed a willingness to investigate the case. A letter requesting such an investigation was sent by New Orleans Black state legislators.

"Carter is raising the question of human rights in the international arena while human rights are being violated and trampled upon here in New Orleans," Rouselle told the *Militant*.

Wayne Smith's death is also under investigation by the district attorney's office.

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Appeal to Czech CP leader

'It is you who commits a crime'

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Fifteen public figures—all socialists—have condemned the victimization of the Charter 77 human rights advocates in Czechoslovakia.

In an open letter to Czechoslovakia's President Gustav Husak, the fifteen declare that persecution of Charter 77 supporters makes "a mockery of socialist democracy."

The signers of the letter, published in the March 2 *Los Angeles Times*, were:

- Paul Jarrico, Alvah Bessie, Albert Maltz, and Ring Lardner, Jr., members of the Hollywood Ten. The ten were film industry figures jailed in the 1950s for opposing McCarthyism. Jarrico initiated the letter.

- Dorothy Healey, Communist party leader until her resignation in 1973; she had been identified with the CP for forty-five years. And Al Richmond, founding editor of the CP's West Coast weekly, the *People's World*. Richmond also resigned from the CP in 1973.

- Two actors who were blacklisted by the McCarthyite witch-hunt, Will Geer and Lionel Stander.

- Nobel Prize winning chemist Linus Pauling and Ava Helen Pauling.

- Clinton Jencks, former official of the mine, mill, and smelter union. The union was the victim of a witch-hunt by the government and bosses in the 1950s. Jencks starred in *Salt of the Earth*, a famous film about a strike of this union.

- Writer Jessica Mitford and Rev. Stephen Fritchman of the Unitarian church.

- Ben Margolis and John McTernan, Los Angeles attorneys who have defended many Communist party members and other witch-hunt victims.

Signers interviewed

In telephone interviews with the *Militant*, several of the fifteen signers elaborated their views.

Writer Paul Jarrico said he felt particularly impelled to act because he had been in Czechoslovakia during the 1968 Prague Spring invasion by Soviet troops.

Some of the people now in jail for signing Charter 77, Jarrico said, were people he knew while in Prague.

Further, he said, "I felt very strongly then that [Czech Communist party head Alexander] Dubcek, in trying to give socialism 'a human face,' was making an advance for those who believed in socialism."

"I also think it's terribly important for those who want a different and better form of socialism to resist in the Eastern European socialist countries, and for us to fight against the system here."

Jarrico added: "I think the left has to make its own campaign for civil liberties—here and in the socialist countries. I don't think we should be inhibited by the fact that Carter, for whatever reasons he may have, is campaigning for civil liberties in other countries. I just wish he were consistent and applied that to South Korea, Chile, Iran, and a few other countries."

Recalling how he was railroaded to

prison in the fifties, Jarrico said:

"We were defending ourselves and we found ourselves defending the Constitution. It was a real lesson."

"These so-called bourgeois rights are not 'bourgeois.' They are revolutionary rights. They were established when the bourgeoisie was a revolutionary class, and if the bourgeoisie has turned on these rights it's all the more reason for us to defend them."

"I don't see a division between the fight for individual liberty and the fight for socialism," he concluded.

Albert Maltz said the experience of his own imprisonment during the witch-hunt was obviously a factor in determining his response to the attack on the Charter 77 people.

"I signed the open letter," he said, "because I'm concerned about what's happening in Czechoslovakia. I relate this to what happened to me, and to the repression all over the world today. . . . I hope it will do good."

"If the world is silent, then people who are being oppressed are not helped. They're not always helped when others speak out, but often they are. The only way is to speak."

Dorothy Healey said that issuance of the open letter had almost been postponed because of Carter's demagogic use of the human rights issue.

"Nobody wants to even appear to coincide with what Carter's doing," she said. "He, of course, is not concerned with human rights, either in the United States, the Soviet Union, or any other country. . . ."

"The capitalist politicians are always going to use any gimmick they can to discredit socialism."

On the other hand, she said, "The only approach some people take toward the Soviet Union, toward the socialist countries generally, is to note their negative features. That's as distorted and one-sided as attempting to ignore these features."

"But," she said, "neither that kind of problem, nor the problem of capitalist politicians should, in the last analysis, be the determining question."

'Open Letter to Gustav Husak'

This is addressed to the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

We who fight for socialism in our own land are shamed and crippled by the violations of socialist legality in your land.

We appeal to you to honor the commitment you made in signing the Helsinki Accord of 1975—a solemn commitment to respect the human rights of your citizens.

We condemn the jailing, blacklisting and harassment of those who signed Charter 77.

They perpetrated no crime in petitioning you to keep your word.

It is you who commits a crime in abrogating your treaty obligations. And an even greater crime in making a mockery of socialist democracy.

Do not tell us your internal affairs are none of our business. During the McCarthy period, when we ourselves were jailed, blacklisted and harassed, it was international outrage that helped us to regain our rights.

Taking such a stand as in the open letter, Healey said, "can be utilized by opponents of socialism, and this problem has to be considered."

"But in the last analysis," she concluded, "the more important question is fidelity to truth—which is a splendid Leninist concept."

Rev. Fritchman said he signed the letter to Husak because he believes that "civil liberties are indivisible."

Without taking such a stand, he said, "I don't see how one can advocate the kind of right of dissent that Americans have professed, and often practiced."

Writer Alvah Bessie had a ready response when asked to comment on Carter's stand on the issue.

Cites Castro

He read from a Havana dispatch by *Washington Post* editor Benjamin Bradlee.

In an interview with Fidel Castro, Bradlee had asked the Cuban premier to respond to Carter's assertion that the Cubans would have to show a greater concern for human rights if there was to be a normalization of relations with the United States.

Bradlee wrote: "The message [from Castro] came through loud and clear. . . . What does Cuba have to learn about human rights, he asked, from a country that has mounted an invasion of Cuba. . . . What does Cuba have to learn about human rights, he asked, from a country that has waged a reckless war in Vietnam. . . . And finally, he asked, what does Cuba have to learn about human rights from a country that has supported every totalitarian regime in Latin America."

Bessie said, "I would like to associate myself with that statement by Mr. Castro, as against Mr. Carter's stated concern about human rights."

"I've tried to defend civil liberties all my life," Bessie continued. "I spent some time in prison for doing it. I'm concerned about civil liberties in every country in the world, socialist or non-socialist."



DOROTHY HEALEY



AL RICHMOND



JESSICA MITFORD

WHAT HAPPENED TO CARTER'S ERA PLEDGE?



By Ginny Hildebrand

Last year, when Jimmy Carter was still a candidate, he promised "to see that the [Equal Rights] Amendment becomes law, and to set a style of leadership that clearly and unmistakably makes equal rights and equal opportunity national goals."

This pledge swept many feminists into the Carter campaign.

For the most part, women's organizations, including the National Organization for Women (NOW), abandoned organizing pro-ERA marches, picket lines, and rallies. Instead, they campaigned for Carter and other self-avowed pro-ERA Democrats and tried to defeat ERA opponents at the polls.

From April 21 to 24, NOW is holding its national conference in Detroit. Discussions before and at the conference offer NOW members an opportunity to assess this ERA strategy.

Many members are questioning whether relying on politicians to deliver on campaign promises can advance the goals of the women's movement after all.

Their doubts have been deepened by the treacherous performance of the Democratic party over the last two months.

- On January 12 the Georgia Senate tabled the ERA. The next day local NOW leaders charged "betrayal" by Democratic politicians. Senators, the NOW leaders said, had guaranteed ERA approval in exchange for a promise from the feminists to keep a "low profile"—no demonstrations. This deal, the NOW leaders implied, had Jimmy Carter's blessing.

- In Virginia the ERA was brought to a senate vote January 27. Pro-ERA lobbyists were shocked when one senator they'd counted on cast a no vote, leaving the ERA one vote short of ratification.

- On February 11, eleven Nevada Democrats switched their earlier votes and defeated the amendment in the state assembly. All of them had taken campaign contributions from groups supporting the ERA.

- On February 8 Idaho became the third state to vote to rescind the ERA.

- In North Carolina the senate rejected the amendment March 1 and voted to postpone reconsideration for two years.

During all this, what was President Carter up to? The press has pictured Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter as tireless crusaders for the ERA. What has their crusade consisted of? A few last-minute phone calls to Democratic party colleagues, played up to the hilt by the mass media.

Do It NOW, NOW's national newspaper, has also bathed Carter in undeserved praise. After the one big ERA victory this year—ratification in Indiana—the paper gave Carter a "special thanks" for his "efforts on behalf of the ERA."

The article also said, "The Indiana ratification was made possible by NOW's campaign efforts in the 1976 State House Elections. It is very clear that was the key difference."

But electioneering and relying on Carter was also the strategy of NOW leaders—along with ERAmerica, and the Women's Political Caucus—in Georgia, Virginia, Nevada, and North Carolina.

The balance sheet shows that this strategy was a dismal flop in those states.

Yet after the defeat in North Carolina, NOW President Karen DeCrow said she hoped Carter would "immediately turn his full attention to the human rights crisis in our country."

"Without his direct intervention," she told the press, "the amendment might not get ratified."

Carter came back with another promise. He is going to reevaluate his strategy of last-minute phone calls, a White House aide told the *New York Times*, in favor of "a more prolonged effort."

'No pressure'

Carter's first chance to outline his new strategy came on March 5, during his radio-broadcast phone conversations.

But, when an anti-ERA caller accused him of interfering with "states' rights," Carter buckled.

"Although I have made a few telephone calls since I've been in office, and have talked to some [legislators] personally and to some governors about the passage of the ERA," Carter apologized, "I haven't tried to interfere or put pressure on them."

This didn't sound like a man preparing to launch a bigger fight for the ERA. In fact, when the *Militant* called the White House to get some clarification on Carter's new strategy, we were told

that the president plans "no shift" in his approach.

The truth is, Carter's "campaign" for the ERA has been a fake from the start. It was designed to suck women into his election campaign and demobilize the ERA movement.

The charade was also aimed at providing cover for a wave of attacks on past gains of the women's movement, particularly abortion rights.

Carter, for example, instructed Joseph Califano, the new head of the Health, Education and Welfare Department, to work on behalf of the Hyde amendment. This congressional ban on Medicaid-funded abortions is currently tied up in the courts.

Carter has also announced that any national health plan he proposes will exclude funds for elective abortions.

Intimidated by the well-organized, right-wing anti-abortion movement, and deluded into thinking that Carter would "give" women the ERA, some NOW leaders have made the dangerous mistake of soft-pedaling the abortion issue.

They have insisted that everything else must be dropped until the ERA is won. In some cities, NOW has been afraid to even mention the word "abortion" at pro-ERA events, claiming it will "turn off" legislators.

This has simply played into the hands of Carter and other forced-motherhood advocates. It has also cut NOW off from Black and other working women most threatened by the anti-abortion drive.

New strategy needed

The national NOW conference needs to reassess the "low profile" strategy for the ERA and the "no profile" strategy for defending abortion rights.

Many NOW activists are outraged by the backstabbing performance of the Democratic party.

At a recent board meeting of Pennsylvania NOW, women who had supported Democratic candidates denounced their "sell out" of the ERA. This sparked a discussion and debate over how to focus women's anger in an effective fight to win ratification in three more states.

In Florida, NOW is planning marches for April 3 and other activities to demand that the state legislature ratify the amendment this year. The reason for the actions, NOW leaders say, is to return the ERA movement to "visibility" in the streets.

Similar discussions are taking place in many NOW chapters in preparation for the national conference.

One conference resolution, submitted by Dianne Feeley, chairperson of New York NOW's ERA subcommittee, proposes that NOW organize massive protests to defend women's rights.

The resolution says that last May 16 NOW "took the lead in organizing supporters of women's rights into a massive demonstration for the ERA." Through this national demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, "we got our message across loud and clear that women want equal rights now."

Feeley calls on NOW to organize local demonstrations on August 26, the anniversary of women's suffrage, leading up to a national demonstration in Washington, D.C., in the fall.

"We need to strengthen and deepen our visible campaigns for women's rights, and that is why a national demonstration becomes crucial," states the resolution. "We can only say 'no' to the anti-abortion forces, to the opponents of child care, to the enemies of affirmative action, to the STOP-ERA forces by launching nationally coordinated activity."

This kind of action campaign, says Feeley, "would enable NOW to expand its influence and build important links with the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican movements, the students, and the labor movement."

One of the best arguments for this strategy was unwittingly made by Jimmy Carter last year. During the Democratic party convention, he said, "As civil rights was to Lyndon Johnson, so women's rights will be to the administration of Jimmy Carter."

Johnson's legacy as a "Black rights fighter" is bunk. He did nothing to push for the Civil Rights Act or any other Black rights legislation *until* the civil rights movement pushed him to the wall.

Only when Blacks showed they would no longer endure Jim Crow, and when they organized hundreds of thousands in mass demonstrations, rallies, and boycotts was Johnson *forced* to sing "We Shall Overcome" and begin to outlaw race discrimination.

The same will hold true for Carter and the women's movement. We have to focus visible, massive outrage on all the Democratic and Republican politicians—from President Carter to the senators in North Carolina—to *force* them to get the ERA ratified.

Civil rights groups back death penalty rally

By José G. Pérez

Two nationally prominent civil rights organizations have become cosponsors of a national demonstration against the death penalty initiated by the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Martin Luther King Center for Social Change are urging people to participate in the Witness Against Executions to be held in Atlanta, Georgia, April 8, 9, and 10.

"As one whose husband and mother-in-law have both died victims of murder and assassination, I yet stand firmly and unequivocally opposed to the death penalty for those guilty or presumed guilty of capital offenses," said a statement by Coretta Scott King, head of the King center and widow of the slain Black leader.

"We have the right to protest for right," she said. "I call upon all Georgians, all Americans, to

resist the legalized violence which has been put upon us."

The Rev. Bernard Lee, executive vice-president of the SCLC, explained the position of that organization: "We are opposed to the death penalty. We believe human life is sacred and no one has the right to decide who should live and who should die."

The SCLC was founded in 1957 by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and has chapters in fifteen major cities.

Other recent additions to the list of sponsors include the Church of the Brethren; Prisoners Solidarity Committee; United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice; and the National Coalition of American Nuns.

Previous endorsers of the protest include the National Coalition Against the Death Penalty; American Civil Liberties Union Capital Punish-

ment Project; Southern Poverty Law Center; Socialist Workers party; Fellowship of Reconciliation; National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; National Student Coalition Against Racism; American Friends Service Committee; and numerous religious and prisoner solidarity groups.

The central focus of the April 8-10 weekend of protests is a march to the state capitol and a rally Saturday, April 9.

Other activities for the weekend include: an informal gathering April 8 to assign housing to out-of-town protesters and to make banners for the march; Saturday evening workshops on capital punishment and how to fight it; and an Easter Sunday sunrise religious service.

Posters, leaflets, and more information on the protests can be obtained from: Witness Against Executions, 369 Connecticut Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia 30307. Telephone: (404) 373-3253.

Support jailed Dominicans

By Arnold Weissberg

The government of the Dominican Republic is systematically starving four political prisoners to death.

That alarming news comes from a group of eight Dominican women seeking to save the prisoners' lives.

The four are Jorge Puello, Plinio Matos Moquete, Alcides Encarnación, and Castillo Pujols. They have been jailed for years—in some cases without trial—on a variety of political charges.

Originally held in Santo Domingo, the four were transferred to prisons in a remote district on the Haitian border, far from the capital city and their relatives.

This isolation creates serious hardship. As in most Latin American countries, the prisoners are forced to provide most of their own food. However, because of the distance from Santo Domingo, it is very difficult for their families to supply them with food.

The prison diet is grossly inadequate. Jorge Puello, for instance, has lost eighty pounds, subsisting only on a cup of water and a banana daily.

Only a few close relatives are allowed to visit, and

then only ten minutes weekly.

The four are subjected to physical and psychological abuse. They are never permitted outside, and are denied even the elementary enjoyment of a radio. All reading and writing materials are forbidden.

The group of eight women carried out a hunger strike last year to get the prisoners—there were five then—brought back to Santo Domingo.

The campaign failed, despite wide support in the Dominican Republic.

But when a second fight began, the government transferred Augusto Alvarez to La Victoria prison in Santo Domingo.

The other four remain in isolation.

The eight women have formed a new group in the Dominican Republic. Their supporters in the United States have formed the Committee for the Defense of the Prisoners of the Frontier.

The committee seeks the transfer of the four to Santo Domingo, adequate medical care for them, and protection of their constitutional rights.

Convinced of the prisoners' innocence, the committee also seeks to win their freedom.

For more information, contact the committee at 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York 10003, or call (212) 254-6062.

Shanghaied in New York

By Cliff Conner

Jerome Williams, a twenty-four-year-old Black man, wanted his seventy-five cents back. He had lost it in a broken peep-show machine in a Times Square "adults only" emporium. Maybe he should have known better, but he decided to ask for a refund.

A witness later said that Williams "spoke in a low-keyed, totally civilized manner." Nevertheless, the cashier suddenly punched Williams in the face and grabbed him in a headlock. Two security guards rushed up and began beating him with nightsticks.

The witness, a British businessman unfamiliar with American folkways and customs, was shocked at what he saw. He ran out into the rainy night to call the police from a telephone booth.

The police came right away . . . and arrested Williams. The Britisher was astonished to see them "manacle him and throw him into the police car like a bag of beans."

"Obviously you're not going to arrest this man!" the naïve onlooker said to the officers. To no avail. Williams was charged with stealing twenty-five dollars by force from the cashier. The witness later noted that the police and the peep-show manager seemed to be "buddy buddy."

A typical story? Not quite. The ending has a twist. The Englishman was so upset by what he'd seen that he canceled his business engagements and went to court to talk to the judge. As a result of his testimony, charges against Williams were dropped.

The *New York Times* put this story on the front page to illustrate that the U.S. legal system, though imperfect, ultimately produces justice.

But it doesn't take much reflection on the incident to reach the opposite conclusion. The whole operation of the arrest was so smooth, so routine, so well rehearsed. Just like a "shanghaied on the docks" scene from an old movie. How many times a week is it repeated?

And what a fluke it was that a businessman—a person of the proper social class to be considered "respectable" by a judge—would be willing to intervene in this case, though it meant drawing public attention to his own patronage of an X-rated establishment.

Imagine a Black man telling the police, "Obviously you're not going to arrest this man!" He would have been charged with interfering with an arrest.

Most of all, this little episode reveals how "criminals" are created from victims. And how the so-called criminal justice system serves as a means of intimidation—as a "deterrent" not so much of crime as of human dignity. Next time a vending machine cheats you out of a dime, you'll think twice about asking for a refund. What the hell, you might wind up in prison.

Aztecs & anthropologists

By Tim Wohlforth

American Indians face enough problems these days. They are forced to live on reservations under conditions of semistarvation. Their lands are denied them. And they face discrimination, unemployment, and low wages off the reservation.

Now a professor of anthropology at New York's New School for Social Research, Dr. Michael Harner, has added insult to injury. He

AS I SEE IT

has attacked the cultural heritage of American Indians, Chicanos, and Mexicans by slandering—some 500 years later—Aztec civilization.

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores, Aztec culture flourished over much of Mexico and Central America. In addition, the advanced culture of the American Indians who built pueblos in the Southwest is thought to have been influenced by Aztec culture.

Dr. Harner's thesis is that Aztecs resorted to cannibalism to supplement their meager diet. He claims that other anthropologists are guilty of a sort of 500-year-late Watergate to cover up this "fact." Harner's report on the matter appears in the current issue of *American Ethnologist*, a journal of the American Anthropological Association.

After reading Harner's accusations in the *New York Times*, seventeen prominent anthropolo-

gists who specialize in Aztec studies answered him.

These anthropologists do not deny the existence of cannibalism. However, they insist it existed only for religious purposes, as in many other cultures.

They have produced documentation that Aztecs had a very good diet and did not need human flesh as a supplement. In fact, Dr. Nancy Troike of the University of Texas stated, "The Aztec diet before Conquest was an awful lot better than what the Mexicans are eating today."

This is an important point. Because what is true of North America is also true for the rest of the world outside capitalist strongholds in Western Europe and Japan. The "civilizing" mission of the white man amounted in country after country to wiping out indigenous civilizations. Some—as in the case of the Aztecs, the Incas in Peru, or African kingdoms—were on a very high level.

The conquerors reduced the masses to living conditions inferior to what they had known before. The culture of whole areas was largely destroyed, their potential of an indigenous development toward industrial society cut off, and the wealth of the areas drained.

No wonder American Indians and others wish to cling to what remains of their cultural heritage.

Of course, there is no way now back to these old cultures. The only way forward for these peoples, as for all of humanity, is socialism. But in the struggle for socialism, we must defend the right of all peoples to determine their own course of development, to restore their true history, and to defend their cultural traditions.

HARLAN COUNTY U.S.A.



Brookside leader Lois Scott confronts the local sheriff at the picket line in 'Harlan County U.S.A.'

Harlan County, U.S.A. Directed and produced by Barbara Kopple.

I hadn't been to Harlan County for three years. But last night I returned to the coalfields via Barbara Kopple's excellent new film, *Harlan County, U.S.A.*

This is a documentary of the 1973-

Film

1974 United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) strike in Brookside, Kentucky. As the film began, with the camera zooming along a conveyor belt through a thick seam of coal, I recalled my first visit to Brookside in November 1973. I had gone to cover the strike for the *Militant*.

Houston Elmore, a UMWA strike organizer fresh out of the mines himself, took me out to the Brookside coal camp, the "living quarters" graciously rented to the miners by the Eastover Mining Company.

He stopped us as we were crossing a wooden bridge and pointed to the

shacks clustered along the bed of a nasty, yellow creek. "These are proud people," he said. "They don't have much, but they're proud of what they have."

We followed a muddy path down to the home of Mary and Ray Widener, two strike activists. Outside their cabin, an effigy of a scab plastered with UMWA stickers was hanging.

Mary invited us to sit down at the kitchen table while she poured cups of coffee. Ray was silent. I offered him a copy of the *Militant*, which had a story that week on the jailing of Brookside women for their strike activity. He took it without a word and went into the next room to read it.

A few minutes later, Ray emerged from the living room. He was ready to talk now. He and Mary began pouring out their story of why the Brookside miners were fighting for recognition of the UMWA as their union. Why they wanted to get rid of the company union, the Southern Labor Union. What it would mean to have decent medical insurance. Better pay. More safety on the job. A union leadership they could trust.

The Widener home consisted of a

cramped kitchen, a living room, and one bedroom—for four people. There was no bathroom. Several days later, when the creek rose to flood level, the swirling waters into which all the outhouses emptied would wash up into their home, just like every year at flood time.

Next morning before dawn we drove up to the picket line. The pickets seemed relaxed. It was close to 7:00 a.m., and that meant the scabs probably weren't going to try to run the line that morning. Everyone had been there since 5:00 a.m. in case they did.

The men seemed shy about talking to reporters, but the women gathered around to tell about their Brookside Women's Club. They had set up the club after a coal boss-judge handed down an injunction limiting picket lines to six strikers.

The injunction was a green light for the company to send their strikebreakers in by the busload. Something had to be done and it was the women of Brookside who did it. Since they weren't members of the union, the injunction didn't apply to them. Once the Brookside Women's Club began holding regular meetings every morning on the picket line, the scabs were

stopped dead in their tracks.

Barbara Kopple and her film crew are clearly inspired by the women in this strike. These are the women who watched their grandfathers die of black lung and waited in fear each night hoping their husbands would return home from the mines in one piece. The generations of exploitation embodied in their own lives boiled over into rage when the Brookside strike broke. The women moved to the front lines of the battle.

The Brookside Women's Club took a decidedly unladylike approach to the presence of scabs on their turf. This was no passive women's auxiliary—not by a long shot. They were tough when it came to facing the company's machine guns, sly when it came to outmaneuvering the courts, and above all, confident that *their* class could win in this confrontation with the hated coal operators.

One of my favorite scenes in the film is when Lois Scott, leader of the women, organizes a picket line at a nearby mine to block a car caravan of scabs armed with rifles. She not only turns back the gun thugs, but browbeats the local sheriff into arresting the mine foreman, Basil Collins.

That particular incident ends without violence, although the gun thugs were armed to the teeth and out for blood.

But violence has been a way of life for the coal bosses of eastern Kentucky, as Kopple's intersplicing of film clips from the 1930s illustrates. You'll see footage from the old battles that gave "Bloody Harlan" its name—and then Kopple will startle you with a scene from "Bloody Harlan 1974."

The screen goes pitch black. It's 5:00 a.m. on the highway outside the mine. Suddenly, machine gun fire rips across the blackness. Screams. Shouts. More shots.

And then, dramatically, Kopple's camera moves in on Basil Collins' truck, which is slowly looming toward the defenseless strikers. Collins leans out the window, with that irrepressible snarl on his face, and aims his pistol right at the camera. He doesn't shoot—this time.

Kopple has a bold eye for the truth. She knows which side she's on. And for that reason, she won the confidence of the miners.

Every time I visited Brookside, she was there. Her crew lived in the homes of miners for months while making this film. Because they trusted her, we are given the rare opportunity to see footage of strike strategy sessions, meetings of the Brookside Women's Club, and visits on the porch with old-timers.

IMPACT ERA

The Equal Rights Amendment Project of the California Commission on the Status of Women has compiled an interesting, if uneven, collection exploring the legislative, political, economic, social, and psychological impact of the federal ERA.

Impact ERA: Limitations and Possibilities, published by Les Femmes Publishing in California, is an important sourcebook for anyone interested in learning about discrimination against women.

Without passage of the ERA, sex discrimination is legal. As Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger is quoted in the book, "In the absence of a firm Constitutional foundation for

equal treatment for men and women . . . women seeking to be judged on their individual merits will continue to encounter law-sanctioned obstacles."

Two especially informative articles in the collection deal with women's legal status within the family. Lenore Weitz-

Books

man summarizes the unwritten marriage contract that is rooted in a legal tradition based on sex-role stereotypes. And Anne Bingaman details the inequities of marital property laws.

Two other feminists document how

and why the multi-billion-dollar insurance industry has helped finance Stop ERA activities. Barbara Brown and Ann Freedman summarize the unequal coverage and benefits women get from insurance today.

In another article Harriet Katz pinpoints how women's lower status in society is reinforced in prison. Women convicted of crimes often serve longer terms in facilities that provide even less access—if that can be imagined—to school and job training than facilities for men.

One thread that runs through the collection is the idea that the struggle to implement the ERA once it passes will be just as important as the struggle to ratify it.

Articles by Ruth Cowan and Anne Miner, for example, show how current antidiscrimination laws have not been enforced. In some cases these laws

exclude more categories of women than they include. In other cases, the government has failed to provide an adequate system of enforcement.

Although several articles include documentation on working women, I wish that the collection had dealt more extensively with this topic. One article points out that in 1973, 45 percent of women over sixteen were in the work force.

This new reality—and especially the tremendous number of working mothers—challenges the assumption that women are only marginal workers.

But *Impact ERA* overlooks the rising militancy among working women who are fighting to upgrade their working conditions, and the legal battles waged by these women under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. Certainly these are relevant to the fight for ERA ratifica-

There's one scene of a women's meeting during a low point in the strike. Many months have passed with negotiations at an impasse. The turnout at picket lines has begun to drop off. Some people have given up hope.

One woman at the meeting is chewed out for missing picket duty. She retorts with a personal insult. Charges fly back and forth. Hold it! shouts a young woman. She reminds everyone that they have a job to do and personal conflicts can't get in the way. The meeting comes back to order.

Kopple seems to be able to get her camera almost everywhere. She even films and records snatches of conversations among the scabs, including their racist cracks against "nigger" miners. The audience feels like they're right there on the picket line—face-to-face with the state troopers and the scabs cowering behind them.

Kopple also gives us a taste of the history of the mine workers union. There are old newsreel shots of John L. Lewis speeches and of federal troops taking over mines. You'll notice the significant number of Black miners in those past struggles, a reminder of the role Afro-Americans played in building the UMW.

There are some, but not many, Blacks in the rest of the film. The Eastover Mining Company refused to hire Blacks at Brookside. Early on in the strike, however, they hired one Black man to use him as a strikebreaker. He didn't know the mine was struck. But when he met the picket line on his first day of work, he immediately cast his lot with the union and joined the strike.

Interspersed through the film are scenes from the Miners for Democracy campaign that put a new, reform leadership at the head of the union. Miners around the country identified the reform victory with the struggle of the Brookside strikers. It was one and the same cause.

The soundtrack is punctuated with music from the mountains, songs based on the lives of the people of Appalachia. Most are written and sung by miners. A highlight is the scene in which Florence Reese sings "Which Side Are You On?" at a strike rally. Reese composed this now famous labor ballad during the thick of a union organizing drive in the 1930s.

I wish Kopple would put her soundtrack out as an album. I for one would buy it.

The film ends with shots of thousands of wildcatting miners in West Virginia in 1975. It seems to be Kopple's way of saying that by winning the Brookside strike and throwing out the corrupt old union leadership, the miners have just begun to tackle the job of creating a decent life for themselves and their families.

But you leave the theater convinced that the ingenuity, imagination, and courage displayed by the women and men of Brookside offers the hope of victory in their struggle and the struggle of all working people.

—Cindy Jaquith

tion and implementation.

Moreover, because the book was written primarily by lawyers and academicians, much of the discussion is on an abstract plane. It ignores the fact that the ERA will be won and implemented only by masses of women struggling against inequality.

None of the authors clearly assesses the dynamic of women in action. That is a big weakness of the collection.

Nonetheless, *Impact ERA* is a primer for anyone who wants to learn why the ERA is so vitally necessary.

—Dianne Feeley

Dianne Feeley is chairperson of the ERA subcommittee of the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women and a member of the Socialist Workers party.

The Communist party and 'independent' politics

By Cliff Conner

Although the Communist party was on the New York ballot in the 1976 elections, one of its leaders ran on another ticket.

Amadeo Richardson's campaign for state assembly in the Sixty-fourth Assembly District was carried out separately from the official CP campaign. Before the election, the CP's *Daily World*—for which Richardson is a staff writer—carefully avoided noting any connection between his bid for office and the CP's Gus Hall-Jarvis Tyner presidential ticket. After the election, however, that newspaper proclaimed: "Running openly as a Communist, Richardson ran on the Independent Party line on the ballot."

Did this reflect a difference of opinion within the CP leadership over how to take part in the 1976 elections? Not at all. A number of postelection articles in the *Daily World* assessing the Richardson campaign make clear that it was an initial experiment in a form of electoral action the Stalinists hope to expand and develop in the future.

One article, noting that Richardson received 6.4 percent of the vote in the district—located in the Chelsea area of Manhattan—said that "he and his supporters now see the chance for a permanent political force to challenge the encrusted Democratic machine."

Under a front-page banner headline proclaiming "CP urges new moves to unite independents," party leader Gus Hall stated: "The time is here for a new, united independent political formation."

In a later article, Hall cited the Richardson campaign and Eugene McCarthy's presidential bid, among other things, and concluded: "We have to assess the support the idea for a new, mass people's party received whenever it was raised in the campaign. . . ."

"Such a formation, whether it be a coalition or a party, can win elections in 1977-78. Therefore, we must take the concrete steps to give it a 'go,' seriously to test it out in life."

Reading these lines, one might think that the CP is breaking with its four-decade practice of supporting capitalist candidates—mainly liberal Democrats—and striking out on a course politically independent of the capitalist ruling class. Unfortunately, that is not the case.

First of all, the sponsorship of "independent" campaigns is projected as but one aspect of an overall electoral strategy that includes support to certain "progressive" Democrats.

Secondly, the CP's call to independent politics is intentionally abstract. Independent of what? The only plausible meaning that the word has for socialists is freedom from the parties and policies of the capitalist ruling class. But that is not what the CP is talking about.

The CP aims to give the appearance of breaking with capitalist politics by giving voice to dissatisfaction with the two-party system and seeking to organize a "third force" to pressure the Democrats.

The idea is that such "independent" action will help transform the Democratic party into a real "people's party," or—failing that—lead to a third party at some remote point in the future.

The CP's policy is carried out totally within the framework of the two-party system. It has nothing in common with the idea that working people—either the labor movement or oppressed national minorities—should form their own independent party to challenge the domination of the capitalists' two-party rule.

Amadeo Richardson's campaign illustrated how to appear to be breaking with the Democrats without really doing so. By not running in the primaries and by filing as an independent candidate, he was in formal opposition to the Democratic and Republican party candidates. But at the same time his campaign sought to establish ties not only with disgruntled Democrats but also with Democratic candidates for other offices.

The CP, in conjunction with a few reform Democrats, was the initiating force behind an organization called the Committee for Independent Political Action. CIPA is the prototype of the coalitions the CP hopes to build elsewhere. At its conference in New York last June, CIPA endorsed a slate of state and local candidates for the September Democratic party primary and November general



Richardson (right) campaigns in Chelsea area of Manhattan.

election. One endorsement went to Amadeo Richardson, but most went to Democrats running for state senate and assembly.

Richardson personally played a prominent role in the conference. When a proposal to endorse incumbent Democrat Frank Barbaro's campaign for the assembly was challenged by participants objecting that Barbaro had distributed antibusing material in his district, Richardson argued in favor of the endorsement—and won. CIPA issued a statement favoring the antibusing candidate, saying, "We recommend an endorsement (priority) of the candidacy of incumbent Assemblyman Frank Barbaro. He is a leading force behind a small handful of truly progressive legislators now in Albany."

This kind of political horsetrading permeated CIPA maneuvers. In spite of its efforts, however, the CP was unable to attract any Democrats into running with Richardson on the "Independent party" ballot line in the November election. (Even candidates who had won the Democratic party primary were encouraged to accept the "Independent party" designation. Had any done so, their names would have appeared on the ballot twice—or three times, if they also had the Liberal party nomination.)

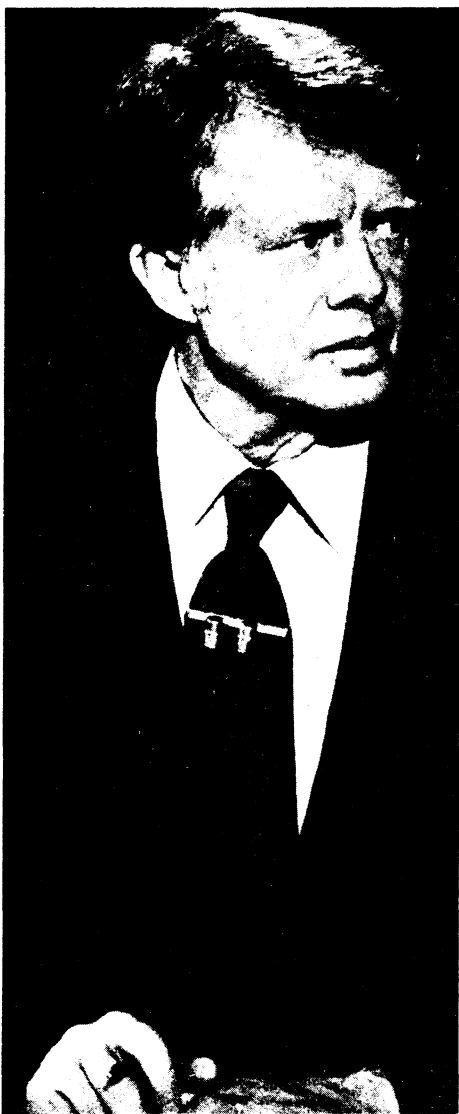
The Richardson campaign itself was a model of what independent working-class political action should not be. Its program—a watered-down version of Hall and Tyner's platform of capitalist reform—was kept within the bounds of what would be acceptable to the reform-Democratic clubs it sought to influence. National and international issues were ignored, as if South African apartheid or Puerto Rican independence were irrelevant to the Chelsea community. Questions of vital interest to women, such as the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights, went unmentioned.

What was left was a list of proposals for local reforms regarding housing, health care, education, welfare, and day care. These are important issues around which many people in New York City are waging struggles.

Richardson's campaign, however, was designed to attract these people into a coalition with politicians tied to the very forces responsible for the cutbacks. Every single Democrat endorsed by CIPA—no matter how liberal, no matter how "progressive"—accepts and propagates the lie of the "shrinking economy" that serves as the capitalists' rationale for closing down hospitals, schools, and day-care centers.

In short, the Richardson campaign was a standard community reform campaign, not a thrust toward independent working-class political action.

The Stalinists are right in their forecast of massive dropouts from the two-party system. But their "independent" tactic—which we are sure to see more of—is designed to lead the dropouts back into capitalist politics through the back door. The interests of working people can only be served by avoiding that trap.



CARTER

Warnke nomination: why the fuss?



WARNKE

By Dick Roberts

Paul Warnke's credentials for the job are impeccable. He graduated from Yale College and Columbia Law School.

He served in the Pentagon during the height of the Vietnam War as assistant secretary of defense in charge of international security affairs.

He is a partner in the prestigious Washington law firm of Clifford, Warnke, Glass, McIlwain & Finney. This firm represents Northrup and General Dynamics—two of the nation's largest missile and bomber manufacturers.

And Warnke is a member of the Trilateral Commission, the New York think tank financed by David Rockefeller that has so far given us thirteen members of the Carter administration. They include Carter himself, Vice-president Walter Mondale, Secretary of the Treasury Michael Blumenthal, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

When Carter picked Warnke to head up the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and be the chief U.S. arms negotiator abroad, one would have thought he was a shoo-in.

But the Senate confirmed Warnke as SALT negotiator by a slim majority of fifty-eight to forty. The issue appeared to divide the government. Various organizations on the left took sides as well.

The *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist party, portrayed Warnke as a supporter of "peace" and called his opponents "hawks" opposed to détente.

Penn Kemble, a top leader of the Social Democrats USA, went before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to testify against Warnke.

Warnke's opponents claim that he favors disarmament, is "soft" on the Russians, and wants to undercut U.S. military readiness.

McGovern campaign

These charges stem largely from Warnke's role during the 1972 presidential campaign as Democrat George McGovern's chief military adviser.

At that time, in response to the immense pressures of the anti-Vietnam War movement and in an effort to derail that movement, the Democratic slate pretended to favor big cuts in the military budget.

McGovern, Warnke, and others went

so far as to claim they would cut the war budget by \$30 billion—five times as much as Carter claimed he would cut the budget, one of Carter's most flamboyant lies.

Since 1975, however, Washington has been drastically increasing the war budget. And Carter's proposed military expenditures of \$109.7 billion continue this process that the Ford administration began. Carter's proposed arms package for this year is 9 percent higher than last year's military expenditures by the Ford administration. In fact, it is the highest war budget in U.S. history.

And Warnke was one of the architects of this budget.

Weapons systems

So one thing that is *not* under debate in relation to Warnke's nomination is the need for massive military spending.

Also not under debate is whether Washington should be "Number One" in military might.

"I have suggested repeatedly and I would continue to take the position that we could not yield strategic nuclear superiority to the Soviet Union," Warnke told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In Warnke's two days of testimony before this committee and in three further days of testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, it became clear that the only differences concerned the effectiveness of alternative weapons systems.

Warnke, for example, was often questioned about his avowed opposition to the B-1 bomber. "I have expressed my concern about the B-1 bomber as *not being the optimum replacement bomber*," Warnke answered (emphasis added).

"In that respect, of course," Warnke continued, "similar comments have been made by President Carter. . . .

"If the B-1 bomber turns out to be the optimum bomber to replace the B-52," Warnke said, "then that is the bomber we ought to buy."

Warnke opposes the Trident submarine, but not the Trident nuclear missiles it would launch: "The Trident submarine struck me as being quite questionable as *the appropriate follow-on submarine* because of its size and unit costs," he said (emphasis added).

"I have consistently supported the Trident missile, because that's what gives you the increased capability."

Warnke favors smaller submarines.

One other example is Warnke's opposition to the new MX-1 tank. "Given the experience of the Yom Kippur War of 1973 and the obvious gains that have been made in smart bombs and smart missiles . . . we ought to consider whether *we perhaps should go for more and cheaper units*, rather than individual units perhaps in fewer numbers but greater cost" (emphasis added).

Technical differences

The five days of testimony covered virtually all of the major weapons systems being developed by the Pentagon. In every case Warnke's differ-

ences were entirely of a technical nature. He favors the most efficient, most destructive weapons with the most advanced technology.

Warnke was also asked about Carter's professed desire a month ago for a world ultimately free of nuclear arms. Answering with ill-disguised contempt for the question, Warnke said, "We are so far from that at present point that we can just regard that as being more in the nature of a prayer than a practicality."

A second line of questioning in the Senate hearings on Warnke concerned the U.S.-USSR SALT (arms limitations) talks. Here the present positions of the U.S. government are highly secretive, and Warnke did not disclose his or anyone else's stands.

There was one interesting point, however. That is, contrary to what the press and politicians have led most people to believe, Warnke *opposes* major aspects of previous SALT agreements. These placed numerical limitations on the "defensive" nuclear weapons built by Moscow and Washington, in which the Soviet Union ended up with more—although apparently less sophisticated—weapons.

"Any agreement," said Warnke, "which appears to give the Soviet Union a numerical lead is not one which is going to be very well received by our friends I thought the agreement was reached too soon and in that respect, as well as in many respects, was full of loopholes."

The Stalinists of the *Daily World* portrayed the votes against Warnke in the Senate as votes against "peace" and détente with the Soviet Union.

But détente was not up for discussion in the Senate debate on Warnke. The rulers of this country and of the Soviet Union are of one mind in seeking secret agreements to preserve the global status quo. More is at stake for both sides in these agreements than nuclear arms limitations.

In return for trade and technological help for the USSR, Washington demands Moscow's aid in restraining revolutionary struggles by oppressed peoples.

Moscow would not be able to fulfill this counterrevolutionary role if its diplomatic agreements became known, so this crucial aspect of the détente is never publicly discussed by the rulers of this country.

In the five days of open Senate hearings on Warnke's nomination, détente was barely mentioned.

Yet President Carter, the media, many politicians, and the Stalinist and Social Democratic press pretend that in the Warnke debate the questions of disarmament and détente were at stake.

Actually, different people were grinding different axes.

For Carter and the liberal Democrats, the debate provided an ideal disguise—which they seized—to appear as "doves," while they actually increased the war budget and military systems to all-time highs.

Carter declared in the news conference the day Warnke was confirmed

that the opposition consisted of "those who don't want to see a substantial reduction in nuclear weapons."

Yet Carter and the Democrats are not proposing any reduction in strategic arms at all. *They are proposing more nuclear arms.*

The Stalinists of the *Daily World* help Carter keep up his cover. They also whoop it up that the Carters and Warnkes are for disarmament. The only reason that arms spending escalates—the *Daily World* would have us believe—is that "ultraright" forces somehow win out in the end.

This phony propaganda gives Moscow a certain amount of cover in its secret dealings with the Democrats.

Anticommunism

The right-wing Social Democrats joined forces with Warnke's conservative Senate opponents to stir up anti-Soviet and anticommunist sentiment. They long for the days when witch-hunting hysteria could be used to silence all radical expression.

Based on the Meany wing of the trade-union bureaucracy, the right-wing Social Democrats hope that anticommunist propaganda can help them deflect the increasing challenge to their positions by the Ed Sadlowskis and other union dissidents who are throwing off the shackles of cold war passivity and collaboration with the bosses.

Working people have nothing to gain by taking sides in such a debate, which is mainly fake to begin with. It won't change the actual policies of imperialism at all whether Paul Warnke or some other ruling-class expert with similar credentials makes the decisions. The central question for any such expert will be how best to advance the interests of U.S. capitalism.

The positions of the pro- and anti-Warnke politicians are basically the same. Both oppose the advance of revolutions on a world scale, and both seek the best means to defend and extend capitalism's markets.

The Social Democratic attack on Warnke lends Carter a cover for carrying out precisely the proimperialist policies that the Social Democrats advocate. The Stalinist defense of Warnke is aimed at leading workers into the trap of believing that liberal Democrats are somehow less interested in imperialist designs than their conservative critics.

DSOC convention

Sticking with Carter through thick & thin

By Bob Schwarz

CHICAGO—Appealing to President Carter to “let someone else speak for the corporations,” Elizabeth McPike told an audience of 250, “It must be Carter and the Democratic Congress who mobilize the forces that make social change possible.”

McPike is coordinator of the Illinois district of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. She was addressing a rally in Chicago February 18 that launched the third national convention of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

Other speakers at the DSOC rally included Irving Howe, editor of *Dissent* magazine, and James Farmer, former head of the Congress of Racial Equality, assistant secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for a time under Nixon, and now the associate director of the Coalition of American Public Employees.

During the three days that followed, about 200 delegates and observers heard reports on DSOC's significant organizational progress and voted to reaffirm the organization's support for Carter and its class-collaborationist strategy for achieving social change.

DSOC and Carter

McPike's plea to Carter symbolized the political problem that DSOC confronts. Having thrown themselves wholeheartedly into Carter's election campaign, many DSOC members are disappointed by the unabashedly pro-business economic policies that Carter has adopted.

The eclipse of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, touted by DSOC as a major step toward full employment, was typical of Carter's “retreat” in the eyes of many DSOC leaders and activists.

In reality, Humphrey-Hawkins was little more than an election-year gimmick dreamed up by Democratic politicians trying to nail down the labor vote. Once that objective was accomplished, Democratic support for Humphrey-Hawkins evaporated.

Despite such setbacks, the DSOC convention launched “Democracy '77.” This is a follow-up to DSOC's “Democracy '76” campaign, which focused on lobbying for liberal planks in the Democratic platform and working to elect a Democratic president and Congress. The new effort will center on full employment.

Under the “Democracy '77” rubric, DSOC plans to hold a conference in Washington this fall. According to DSOC National Chairperson Michael Harrington, the conference aims to generate support for a program that can then be taken to the Democratic national convention scheduled for 1978.

Harrington stressed DSOC's perspective of acting as a left pressure group within the constellation of forces supporting the Carter administration. “The first step, then, is to mobilize the Carter majority and the nonvoters in a democratic Left coalition of trade unionists, the minorities, feminists, political and social activists.”

He continued, “In the foreseeable future, the tactic of that movement should be one of struggle to help, or if necessary push, the president to fulfill the key promises of the Democratic platform and campaign of 1976.”

“Clearly, there are forces hostile to that undertaking within the administration—and just as clearly, there are those who are friendly to it. We are simply, but most emphatically, demanding that the administration live up to its own promises.”

Fatal flaw

Harrington promised his listeners that this “democratic Left” would eventually “move to a full socialist



MICHAEL HARRINGTON

In These Times/Jane Melnick

position.” But for the “foreseeable future,” Harrington's strategy restricts the social goals of DSOC activists to those measures that can win the ear of DSOC's “friends” in the Carter administration.

There is a fatal flaw in this perspective. It ignores that the Democratic party is a *capitalist* party, organized to defend the interests of big money in the political arena.

While Democratic politicians may call for “full employment” to get elected, as Carter did in 1976, they will continue to carry out the ruling-class policy of cutting back the previous gains of workers. No effective movement for jobs can be built by relying on the Democratic party.

DSOC's strategy has been tested in the New York City crisis. Victor Gotbaum, a leader of DSOC who addressed a luncheon at the convention, is the head of AFSCME District Council 37, one of New York's most powerful unions.

He attempted to deal with threatened cutbacks and layoffs by exerting “pressure” on Democrats like Mayor Beame and Governor Carey. The end result was the loss of tens of thousands of jobs and severe reductions in social services.

Far from mobilizing a movement against layoffs and cutbacks, Gotbaum's ties to the Democratic party crippled any resistance by city workers.

DSOC's adherence to the Democratic party can be better understood in the light of its origins and social base.

DSOC is a social-democratic organization. It believes that capitalism can be gradually transformed into socialism through a series of reforms, and that this process can be fostered through supporting the Democratic party.

Origins

DSOC emerged from a 1972 split in the Socialist party over how to work in the Democratic party.

One wing (now called Social Democrats USA) supported the Vietnam War. It sympathized with George Meany's refusal to endorse Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern, because of his “dove” stance.

Michael Harrington and others who became leaders of DSOC identified with Democrats who criticized Nixon's war policy. They supported McGovern.

(A third group, the Socialist party USA, also emerged out of the breakup of the old Socialist party. Led by former Milwaukee Mayor Frank Zeidler, it advocates independent electoral campaigns on a reformist program.)

Despite their many differences, SDUSA and DSOC are both expressions of the class-collaborationist outlook of the

U.S. trade-union officialdom.

SDUSA identifies with figures like Meany and American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker.

DSOC looks to more liberal trade-union leaders, like Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists.

The standard of living of these officials—higher as a rule than the most highly paid workers in the union ranks—and their frequently cozy relationship with the bosses and capitalist party politicians makes them fearful of any mass struggle that might lead workers to break with the Democratic party and disrupt the “normal” course of labor-management collaboration.

These labor misleaders fear that a mass upsurge of the workers around jobs, for instance, might spill over into demands for union democracy that could threaten *their* jobs.

The union bureaucrats, therefore, prefer to “solve” the problem of unemployment through appeals to the Carter administration, however unavailing these prove to be. It is the class-collaborationist outlook of this layer that underlies DSOC's submersion in the Democratic party.

Who belongs?

This is reflected in DSOC's social composition. Although the organization has grown substantially since its first gathering in 1973, union officials and full-time staff members of liberal and Democratic party organizations continue to predominate in the membership.

Representation from the union ranks, or from the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, has thus far been negligible.

Some discussion at the conference centered on correcting this imbalance in the membership. National Secretary Jack Clark particularly stressed the importance of recruiting nonwhites in his report on organizational perspectives.

The only way for DSOC to decisively change its composition would be to throw itself into the struggles of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos for full equality and self-determination.

It would require DSOC to actively join the fight for school desegregation and the fight against racist hiring practices and layoffs.

Consistent support for such struggles, however, would bring DSOC into sharp conflict with trade-union bureaucrats who seek a base for their class-collaborationist policies by defending the privileges of relatively better-off white workers against oppressed minorities.

It would mean a confrontation with

the Democratic party, which defends racial oppression.

'Deracializing' politics

Despite frequent expressions of concern about growing attacks on civil rights gains of the 1960s, DSOC leaders are unwilling to do much to resist these setbacks.

This was indicated in the Friday night talk by James Farmer. Farmer called on DSOC to reach into the Black community to help overcome the “separatist spirit” of the sixties and “deracialize the issues.”

The call to “deracialize” politics has become rather popular today among liberal politicians and labor leaders. They are seeking a justification for their refusal to defend school desegregation, affirmative-action programs, and other civil rights.

In the context of a racist society like the United States, the proposal to “deracialize the issues” leads to accepting the white domination of American society, while seeking to achieve reforms for Blacks solely within that context.

On the issue of women's rights, where DSOC has made its most positive showing in the past, the convention marked a retreat.

DSOC members are prominent in the Coalition of Labor Union Women and other women's organizations. They played an important part in building the May 16, 1976, demonstration in support of the Equal Rights Amendment in Springfield, Illinois.

Although there was much talk about the need to fight male chauvinism, there was no discussion at the convention on how to combat government attacks on women's right to abortion, such as the Hyde amendment, which if upheld would bar Medicaid-funded abortions.

No stress was placed on the importance of mobilizing women to assure passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

It was hard to avoid the suspicion that DSOC's support for the Carter administration—which has pledged to restrict the availability of abortions for poor women and which claims to be doing “all it can” for the ERA—may explain DSOC's decision to place such issues on the back burner.

The convention voted unanimously to endorse the boycott of J.P. Stevens products called for by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. J.P. Stevens has resorted to illegal methods to block a union organizing drive in its mills.

International issues

DSOC's positions on international issues also reflect its orientation toward the Democratic party. It remains a firm supporter of the Zionist state of Israel, calling on Washington to provide continued military aid to the Israeli rulers.

However, like some “moderate” Zionists both in Israel and this country, DSOC proposes that Israel withdraw from “substantially all” Arab territories occupied during the 1967 war—provided the territories are demilitarized, Israel is recognized by the Arab regimes, and measures are taken to put an end to Palestinian “terrorism” against Israel.

Following the Democratic liberals, DSOC calls for reductions in the U.S. arms budget.

DSOC also reflects the illusion that the imperialist U.S. government is capable of carrying out a “democratic foreign policy,” fostering human rights and economic equality on a world scale.

Growth

DSOC has registered significant growth during the past year. Jack Clark reported that the group now has

Continued on page 30

Gov't withheld key evidence in nurses' trial

By Arnold Weissberg

New evidence has poked more holes in the government's already flimsy case against two Filipino nurses charged with murdering patients at a Veterans Administration hospital in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez have been charged with suffocating two patients by drugging them. They are also charged with trying to poison seven others.

Both women have denied their guilt.

The hospital was plagued by an outbreak of patient suffocations, or "respiratory arrests," during the summer of 1975.

The two women, both highly trained, were charged because they had attended many of the patients who died.

Last February their former supervisor, Betty Jakim, committed suicide. Jakim, who had cancer, had been under psychiatric care.

According to the *Detroit Free Press*, Jakim told her psychiatrist before she died that she had killed the patients.

The paper also reported that Jakim's suicide note exonerated the nurses.

Defense attorneys are considering filing for a dismissal, charging that federal prosecutors had withheld Jakim's confession.

The government's case was already weak, relying almost entirely on circumstantial evidence. The prosecution had been forced to drop several murder counts for lack of evidence.

Following their indictment, Narciso and Perez won wide support. Students at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor organized to defend them.

An Ann Arbor newspaper suggested that the FBI went after Narciso and Perez because the bureau wanted to avoid another "humiliating failure."



FILIPINA NARCISO



LEONORA PEREZ

Calendar

BERKELEY, CALIF.
RACISM, SPORTS, AND SOCIOLOGY. Speaker: Harry Edwards, professor of sociology and author of *The Sociology of Sports*. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 653-7156.

DENVER
WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK: WHICH WAY FORWARD? Speaker: Katherine Sojourner, organizer Salt Lake City SWP and member NOW. Sat., March 19, 8 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL EDUCATION: A PRIVILEGE OR A RIGHT? Speaker: Miguel Pendas, Militant staff writer. Sat., March 26, 8 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign and Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

KANSAS CITY, MO.
FILM ON FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA: 'LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA.' Also a talk by Shirley Smith, SWP. Fri., March 25, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

LOS ANGELES
THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. Speaker: Tsietzi Mashini. Special performance by South African Black '77 Theater Project. Mon., March 21, 7:30 p.m. Golden State Life Insurance Auditorium, 1999 W. Adams (at Western). Ausp: March 26 Coalition. For more information call (213) 828-9324.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW
FILM ON FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA: 'LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA.' Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

NEWARK: BROADWAY
SOUTH AFRICA: BLACK MAJORITY IN REVOLT. Speaker: Omari Musa, Militant staff writer. Fri., March 25, 7:30 p.m. 256 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

NEWARK: WEEQUAHIC
FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. 403 Chancellor Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 923-2284.

NEW ORLEANS
THE SOCIALIST MAYORAL CAMPAIGN OPEN HOUSE. Meet the candidates: James Harris, recent SWP candidate for Andrew Young's Georgia congressional seat and member of SWP National Committee; Joel Aber, SWP candidate for mayor of New Orleans. Sat., March 26, 7 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Ausp: 1977 Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX
SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Hear Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for mayor of New York, and other speakers. Sat., March 19, 8 p.m. (Reception begins at 7 p.m.) To be held at the newly opened Militant Bookstore/Libreria Militante, 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: The Bronx Socialist Workers Election Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

SOUTH AFRICA: RACISM & REVOLT. Speakers: Connie Thet'el, former teacher in Soweto school; representative of NSCAR. Fri., March 25, 7:30 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

NEW YORK: CHELSEA
SOUTH AFRICA: BLACK MAJORITY IN REVOLT. Fri., March 25, 7:30 p.m. 200 1/2 W. 24th St. (off 7th Ave.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE
THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL ON THE LOWER EAST SIDE. Speakers: Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for mayor of New York City; Nicomedes Sanchez, candidate for community school board, School District One; others. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B & Ave. C). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Lower East Side Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NEW YORK: QUEENS
THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speakers: Osborne Hart, YSA National Committee; others. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica (just off Jamaica Ave.).

Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

PASADENA, CALIF.
IN COMMEMORATION OF MALCOLM X. Langston Hughes Players performing plays written by Frank Greenwood about the lives of Malcolm X, Paul Robeson, and Langston Hughes. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. 363 E. Villa St. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 793-3468.

PHOENIX
SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m.: *Prospects for Socialism in America*. Speaker: Fred Halstead. Sat., March 26, 10 a.m.: *Which Way Forward for the Women's Movement?* Speaker: Olga Rodriguez. 1 p.m.: *Chicanos & the Labor Movement*. Speaker: Gus Gutierrez. 3 p.m.: A panel on *The Fight for Bilingual Education in the Phoenix Union High School System*. All events at 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$1 per session/\$3 for entire conference. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

PORTLAND, ORE.
THE FIGHT FOR GAY RIGHTS IN OREGON IN 1977. Speakers: Nedra Bagley, board member, Portland Town Council; Rita Moran, chairperson, Oregon SWP. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

SAN DIEGO
FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speakers: Dr. Tony Ngubo, sociology department, Univ. of Calif. at San Diego; Joey Rothenberg, SWP. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4639.

SEATTLE
WOMEN AND THE FBI. Speakers: Jeannie Reynolds, SWP; Betty St. Clair, ACLU and Coalition Against Government Spying. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way NE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

TWIN CITIES
SADLOWSKI'S CHALLENGE IN STEEL: WHAT IT MEANS FOR U.S. POLITICS. Speaker: Joel Britton, SWP National Committee. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. Native American Center, 1530 E. Franklin Ave., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929 or 825-6663.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
ISSUES FACING THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT. A Two-day Conference. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m.: *Issues and Answers*. Speaker: Rhonda Rutherford, Black feminist, member of SWP, and of NOW. Sat., April 2, noon to 2 p.m. Workshops: *Roots of Black Women's Oppression*. Speaker: Laura Moorhead, SWP; *Abortion Rights Under Attack*. Featuring a panel of abortion rights activists; *Feminism and Socialism*. An informal discussion with members of the SWP and YSA. All sessions held at 2901 14th St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Washington, D.C., Area SWP. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

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...DSOC

Continued from page 29
2,000 members in twenty-five chapters.

Among the prominent figures who have joined DSOC recently are James Farmer; George State Representative Julian Bond; New York State Assemblyman Seymour Posner; Zolton Ferency, former head of the Michigan Human Rights party; and Gloria Steinem.

In addition, certain "new left" forces formerly clustered around the New American Movement have turned toward DSOC.

Harry Boyte, a NAM leader, now serves on DSOC's national board. In *These Times and Socialist Revolution*, two "new left" publications that once looked to NAM, have recently moved toward DSOC's orbit.

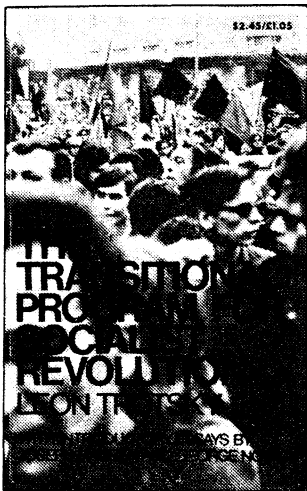
DSOC's international alliances have firmed up in the past year. It has been accepted as a member of the Socialist International, which includes the ruling parties of

Britain, Israel, and West Germany (as well as the SDU-SA).

Within this formation, many DSOC leaders feel close to forces that give their reformism a more leftist coloration, such as the Swedish and Japanese Socialist parties and the grouping in the British Labour party around the newspaper *Tribune*.

At the convention, DSOC leaders showed interest in the development of "Eurocommunism." Harrington specifically endorsed the Italian Communist party's call for a coalition government based on a "historic compromise" with the ruling Christian Democrats.

DSOC's growth reflects the growing feeling among many Americans that more deepgoing social change is needed than the Carter administration can provide. DSOC's program and strategy, however, aim at keeping such people trapped inside the Democratic party.



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FARM WORKER VICTORY

Teamster tops call it quits in fields

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The decision of the Teamster union officialdom to withdraw from agriculture is a victory for farm unionism. It will strengthen the embattled United Farm Workers and the struggle by field hands for human dignity.

On March 10 top Teamster and UFW officials signed a formal, no-raiding jurisdictional agreement. The agreement ends a seven-year period during which the Teamster bureaucrats have been mercenaries in the growers' war to destroy the United Farm Workers.

"The benefits to farm workers will be enormous, tremendous," said UFW President César Chávez at the signing. "We think the agreement will open the door for our union to concentrate our energies on organizing farm workers."

There have been several aborted pacts between the UFW and Teamsters in the past. But Chávez noted, "This is different. Now we have the top leadership in the West and the international president [of the Teamsters] blessing this agreement."

Following are the reported terms of the pact:

- The UFW will have jurisdiction over all workers covered by California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act. This includes "farming and all its branches."

- The Teamsters union will maintain jurisdiction in industries such as canning, food processing, and freezing of food. (The UFW had never tried to organize in these industries.)

- Jurisdictional disputes will be settled by binding arbitration. If one union is found to have damaged the other, it can file for court damages.

- The agreement will remain in force for two years. Further terms will be agreed upon for an additional three years.

- The pact covers the thirteen states under the Western Conference of Teamsters. (Teamster officials never tried to "organize" agriculture outside California.)



Teamster's Fitzsimmons (left) and UFW's Chávez at signing of jurisdictional agreement. Pact ends Teamster officials' collaboration with grower plots to destroy UFW.

- The Teamsters will not try to renew their agricultural contracts when these expire. (Several lettuce contracts are exempted, including the one at the huge Bud Antle ranch. The Teamsters have held that contract since 1961, before the UFW was on the scene.)

These terms do not include any significant UFW concessions. In effect the UFW will now be free to fight the growers without interference.

The record of the Teamster bureaucrats in California agriculture is a shameful chapter in American labor history.

In 1970, after a successful five-year boycott of scab grapes, California's grape industry signed contracts with the UFW.

With that historic victory under their belt, the union turned to the huge lettuce industry. The lettuce growers responded by bringing in the Teamster bureaucrats and signing sweetheart contracts behind the backs of the

workers.

The UFW responded with a strike of 7,000 lettuce workers in the Salinas Valley. The growers obtained an injunction against the strike, and it was broken.

Two years later, the California Supreme Court ruled that the UFW walkout had been legitimate because the grower-Teamster pact was the product of illegal collusion. But the sweetheart contracts remained in force.

In December 1972 Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons made a shameless public appearance at the convention of the virulently antilabor American Farm Bureau.

Fitzsimmons announced a Teamster "organizing drive" in agriculture. He offered growers an "alliance" against the UFW, which he branded a "revolutionary movement."

In April 1973 the UFW grape contracts began to expire. Growers refused to renegotiate with the UFW, saying

they had already signed pacts with the Teamsters.

Throughout that summer, the UFW struck the vineyards.

Teamster bureaucrats helped run in scabs and hired \$67-a-day goons who joined with sheriff's deputies in assaulting UFW strikers. Cops jailed UFW members by the thousands. Two strikers were murdered: one gunned down on a picket line, the other clubbed by a deputy.

The strikes were defeated, and the union turned to a renewed grape boycott.

In 1975 California's farm labor law was passed. Providing for secret-ballot, union representation elections, it was the beginning of the end for the Teamster-grower conspiracy.

Now the bureaucrats and growers could not simply sign back-door agreements. First, the Teamsters would have to win representation elections.

Despite the overwhelming resources of the Teamsters union compared to those of the UFW, and despite backing from the growers, the Teamsters could not beat the UFW. The UFW outpolled the Teamsters by an overall margin of better than two-to-one. The state agency charged with enforcing the farm labor law has certified the UFW as winners in 151 elections to the Teamsters' 41.

As a result, the Teamster officials became less and less useful to the growers. So the bureaucrats called it quits.

But Les Hubbard, a spokesperson for the powerful Western Growers Association, made clear that the agribosses are far from calling it quits. Hubbard said that now it might be easier to mount "no union" campaigns.

"It's difficult for an employer to mount a 'no union' campaign when there are two unions [because] the employer is seen as antiunion."

But by centering their fire on one union, Hubbard said, it is possible to win "no union" votes and "not necessarily be perceived as antiunion."

UFW fights farm labor board ruling

By Mark Schneider

SAN DIEGO, Calif.—Led by United Farm Workers President César Chávez, eighty-five people sat in at the regional office of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board here March 2. Seventy-five activists returned the following day to picket the building.

The farm workers were protesting an ALRB decision to put a company union on the ballot in a union representation election in the Imperial Valley, one hundred miles east of here.

They were also protesting the arrest of UFW leader Marshal Ganz and twenty-seven other union activists on "suspicion of unlawful assembly." Ganz and the others had staged a similar protest March 1 at the ALRB office in charge of the election.

When Chávez walked into the ALRB office here March 2, a state cop told him the regional director was out of town and could not be reached. Other ALRB officials refused to talk with the UFW delegation, claiming they weren't authorized.

Chávez said he had sent a telegram

to Gov. Jerry Brown asking why the governor had used the state police against the UFW for the first time. "So far he hasn't answered," Chávez reported.

ALRB general counsel Harry Delizonna responded to the UFW's charges by saying his investigators found "no substantial evidence" that the Agrupación Independiente de Trabajadores de Royal Packing Company was a company union.

Last December the ALRB had ruled a group at Royal Packing off the ballot because it was a company union, as required by state law.

Delizonna gave his go-ahead to the March 3 elections. Predictably, the company union won.

"This election sets a dangerous precedent," Carlos Legerrette, San Diego UFW organizer, told the *Militant*.

Continuing protests are being held at nine ALRB offices across the state. Thirty farm workers are sitting in at the San Diego office. "We will stay here until they answer us or take us to

jail," Legerrette told the *Militant*.

In addition, on March 8 the UFW filed a \$2.1 million civil rights suit in federal court against ALRB officials and state cops.

ALRB counsel smears UFW

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The general counsel of California's supposedly impartial Agricultural Labor Relations Board has launched a slanderous smear attack against the United Farm Workers.

In a March 4 news release, Harry Delizonna alleged that UFW organizers had engaged in "violent and disruptive activity" during a March 3 protest in El Centro, California in the Imperial Valley.

"UFW organizers and sympathizers were whipped into a frenzy by UFW chief organizer Marshal Ganz," Delizonna said.

The release claimed that "during

the attack, ALRB agents were kicked by UFW organizers."

"Ganz and his band have pierced the peaceful veil that once was used by the UFW," Delizonna added.

The release offered no evidence for its claims beyond the alleged assertions of an unnamed ALRB "agent." There were no charges of assault or other violence filed against UFW members for the incident.

The question suggests itself: When is Gov. Edmund Brown—who claims to be a friend of the farm workers—going to remove an appointee who has so clearly disqualified himself for a position with the "impartial" ALRB?