

# THE MILITANT

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

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April 2-8**  
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## Hands off Zaire U.S. WAR DANGER IN AFRICA

This weekend in cities across the country thousands are joining in protest under the banner, "Get the U.S. out of southern Africa now!"

Our protest comes at a good time: the Carter administration has undertaken the first steps toward a new military adventure in Africa.

The State Department has rushed \$2 million worth of "nonlethal" military goods to Zaire (the former Belgian Congo). Washington's NATO allies—Belgium and France—are also airlifting

*This statement was released March 23 by Malik Miah, a member of the Socialist Workers party National Committee and director of the party's work in support of the Black liberation struggle.*

massive quantities of war material to the reactionary regime of Gen. Mobutu Sese Seko. Mobutu has launched a military drive to crush secessionist rebels in mineral-rich Shaba province (formerly Katanga).

Wary of profound antiwar sentiment in the United States, and the deep feeling of solidarity with Africa among American Blacks, Carter is moving cautiously. But his actions pose the danger of full-scale imperialist intervention in Africa.

The big-business news media are already preparing the way. The rebellion is pictured as a "communist invasion"—staged from neighboring

Angola, led by Cuban troops, and backed by the Soviet Union.

"... if southern Zaire were to secede and be brought into the Soviet camp," warned a story in the March 23 *New York Times*, "then pro-Moscow Marxist states would form a belt through the heart of the continent running from Angola and Congo on the Atlantic to Mozambique on the Indian Ocean."

It was under the same battle cry—"Halt communist aggression"—that three presidents marched thousands of American young people to their deaths in Vietnam.

As in Vietnam, the real aggressors in Zaire are Washington and its imperialist allies. Their aim is to maintain their grip on Shaba's copper and cobalt resources and to check the liberation struggles mounting throughout southern Africa.

We must stop them. Our protests this weekend must mark the start of a redoubled campaign to strengthen and broaden our movement.

Members of Congress, liberal columnists, and others have already noted the danger of Carter's new moves. Similar warnings have been sounded by the *Daily World*, *Guardian*, and other radical newspapers.

We must go forward to organize this sentiment into larger, powerful, united actions to halt Washington's war aims.

U.S. out of southern Africa now!

Hands off Zaire!



Militant/Eric Simpson

**SAN FRANCISCO—Rally March 19 condemns U.S. role in southern Africa. March 26 actions in many cities will demand U.S. stay out of Zaire.**

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**SHAKUR TRIAL GOES TO JURY:** On March 23 a jury began deliberation on charges that Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) killed one state trooper and wounded another during a May 2, 1973, shoot-out on the New Jersey Turnpike.

During the last days of the trial, Shakur's legal defense team, headed by attorney William Kunstler, called three medical experts to the witness stand. The three testified that the location of wounds inflicted on Shakur by cops proved she was shot while her arms and hands were in the air. This backed up Shakur's denial that she had shot anyone or even handled a gun during the incident.

Defense attorneys also requested that Superior Court Judge Theodore Appleby subpoena FBI Director Clarence Kelley and U.S. Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho) to testify at the trial on FBI surveillance and harassment of Black activists. Kunstler says the shoot-out "was a setup, a deliberately arranged situation."

After Appleby turned down the subpoena request, Kunstler told him, "Your bias is so demonstrable. You must hate us to the bottom of your core."

## Skyhorse-Mohawk trial



WIN ROUND IN FIGHT AGAINST FRAME-UP: Skyhorse (left) and Mohawk.

By Dave Brown

VENTURA, Calif.—American Indian Movement activists Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk won a change in the location of their trial March 18. The trial will be moved to Los Angeles, sixty miles south of this small city.

Defense attorneys argued that racism made it impossible for the two Indians to get a fair trial in Ventura. For example, at the November 1976 meeting of the Ventura Bar Association, members of the district attorney's staff took part in a skit ridiculing defense of the AIM activists. The skit was called "The People vs. Tonto."

Skyhorse and Mohawk have been framed up on charges of murdering a cab driver in 1974.

**CHICAGO DISCUSSION ON CHINA:** The University of Chicago Student Government Speakers Committee is sponsoring a discussion on "What's Happening in China?" Panelists at the April 3 event are: Les Evans, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party; William Hinton, author of *Fanshen*; and Jack Smith, managing editor of the *Guardian*. The meeting will begin at 2:00 p.m. at the University of Chicago's International House, 1414 East Fifty-ninth Street. A one-dollar donation is asked. For more information, telephone: (312) 939-0737.

**WENDY YOSHIMURA SENTENCED:** On March 17 Wendy Yoshimura was sentenced to one to fifteen years in California state prison. Yoshimura was charged with illegal possession of explosives and weapons discovered in a garage she rented in 1972. The thirty-three-year-old Japanese-American artist was arrested along with Patty Hearst on September 18, 1975. Yoshimura says she "was not tried for the charges in 1972 but for my association later with Patty Hearst. . . ."

Yoshimura is free on bail pending an appeal. Her defense lawyers requested—unsuccessfully—that three years Yoshimura spent in a U.S. concentration camp for Japanese-Americans during World War II be counted as time served against her sentence.

*Because of this week's extensive coverage of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government spying, the April International Socialist Review, originally scheduled to appear in this issue of the Militant, will appear next week instead.*

**U.S. SAYS IT WON'T CHARGE AGEE:** The U.S. Justice Department decided March 18 that it would not prosecute Philip Agee if he returns to the United States. Agee, a former CIA agent whose book, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, exposed many illegal CIA operations, is fighting

deportation from Great Britain on charges that he is a danger to "national security."

Justice Department officials say they can find no grounds to prosecute Agee under the Espionage Act.

**DEMAND FREEDOM FOR DACAJEWEIAH:** In December New York Gov. Hugh Carey proclaimed that he was granting pardons and commutations to end all prosecutions stemming from the September 1971 uprising at Attica prison.

But after a campaign by prison guards and other right-wing forces, the New York State Parole Board blocked release of Dacajeweah (John Hill), the last Attica defendant still in prison. Dacajeweah is serving a life sentence on charges stemming from his role in the Attica protests.

The Attica Committee to Free Dacajeweah has called for a demonstration at Carey's New York City offices on April 2 to protest this continued injustice and to support new legal action on Dacajeweah's behalf. The demonstration will assemble at 1:00 p.m. at the United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza.

**HALT TRIALS OF PENDLETON BLACKS:** On March 16 a military appeals court ordered a temporary halt to court-martial proceedings against nine Black marines at Camp Pendleton, California. The nine were among fourteen marines charged with assault after they attacked what they thought was a meeting of the Ku Klux Klan on base.

The Black marines say they can't get a fair trial at Camp Pendleton. They want the charges against them dismissed and say they are preparing to file civil rights suits against the marines and individual officers. The government has until May 2 to answer these charges.

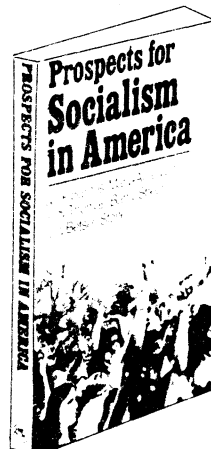
**BOSTON RACISTS ATTACK COAST GUARDSMEN:** Several Black Coast Guardsmen have asked to be transferred from their Boston North End area base following a series of racist attacks. Coast Guard spokesperson Richard Griggs said that on March 12 one Black serviceman was accosted at gunpoint by a group of whites. On February 19, Griggs reported, two Black Coast Guardsmen were attacked by thirty white youths. Four days later, a Black serviceman was beaten with a club by six whites. On February 24, he said, another Black was shot at by whites with a gun.

**FOOD FOR THOUGHT DEPARTMENT:** The following is a March 20 UPI dispatch from Des Moines: "Most of the people in Iowa could have been killed or crippled by highly toxic PCB that was mistakenly trucked into the state as oil to be spread on gravel roads, an official of the State Department of Environmental Quality says."

—Peter Seidman

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Plan to top 10,000 goal

'Militant' sets sales target week April 2-8

By Larry Seigle and Andrea Baron

Dates: April 2 through 8
Target: To top the 10,000 mark in sales of the Militant.

This "target week" has been set for an all-out effort to go over the national goal we have set for this spring's Militant sales drive.

Linda Jenness, New York City SWP organizer, is confident that socialists in New York will go well over their quota of 1,100.

The New York City SWP local executive committee is organizing the sales drive on a city-wide basis.

"On Saturday, April 2, we will mobilize the whole party, along with other supporters of Catarino Garza, our candidate for mayor, to get the Militant into the hands of working people in this city.



Militant/Sid Fine

The sales drive was launched on February 12, despite the bitter cold weather in many areas of the country, to make sure that the Militant got into the hands of steelworkers at the height of interest in the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign of Ed Sadlowski for president of the union.

Fight Back activists around the country came to see the Militant as the most reliable and complete source of news about the Fight Back campaign.

Plant-gate sales

One of the big accomplishments of the sales campaign so far has been the expansion of plant-gate sales and the growth in the number of SWP branches that have been able to establish these sales on a permanent and regular basis.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, the SWP branches have succeeded in maintaining regular, weekly sales at the big U.S. Steel plant in Pittsburg, California. A team of three salespeople at shift changes usually sells twenty or thirty copies.

These teams have been going out weekly since the sales drive started. They also include copies of the pamphlet The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel in their sales.

The SWP branch in Oakland, California, is doing some of the most successful plant-gate sales in the country. In addition to participating with other Bay Area branches in the sales in Pittsburg, the Oakland branch sends two morning teams each week to other steel plants.

In Indianapolis, the Militant is sold regularly at the Stokely Van Camp plant, which is organized by the Steelworkers. Dave Ellis, the sales director in Indianapolis, reports that "steelworkers now know the Militant from its coverage of Sadlowski."

Nationally, the sales campaign has already led to a substantial increase in the number of copies sold over the level of last fall. This week's scoreboard, with a total of 7,357, is the highest so far. However, it will still take a substantial effort to boost the weekly sales to the 10,000 mark.

The target week, which will come about halfway through the drive, is aimed at accelerating the rate

of increase in sales, and stepping up the level of organization in each city. If successful, it will pave the way for going over 10,000 a couple of more times in the second half of the campaign.

The sales drive requires, in many ways, a higher level of organization than the kind of subscription drive we ran last fall. Instead of one goal to reach by the end of the drive, every city has a goal that must be made every week.

During the subscription drive, a particularly good week would mean you could ease up the next week and still stay on schedule. But the sales drive means every area needs to organize its activities so as to keep sales high each week.

This requires establishing Militant sales on a regular and permanent basis. It also means that the goal can't be maintained by only a few people. Bobbi Medoff, who has organized the sales campaign in the Weequahic branch in Newark, puts it this way: "We don't have any supersellers. The way we make it is everyone sells."

Mass-circulation weekly

The goal of all our sales and subscription efforts is to move toward the establishment of the Militant as the mass circulation socialist weekly in the United States.

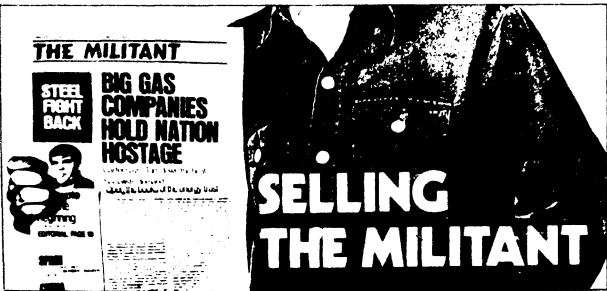
In his book Letters from Prison, written in 1944 when he was serving time under the Smith Act, James P. Cannon, one of the central leaders of the SWP, summed it up this way:

"Our distributors and sub canvassers should swarm like bees at every labor and radical gathering. . . . Our aim should be to swamp all relatively progressive articulate circles with the volume of our propaganda; to psychologize them with the impression of our energy and aggressiveness. This is a weapon."

Cannon's words then are equally applicable today. "What we have to do next," he wrote, "is to reach more and more new people, catch their attention at the moment when they are just awakening from political indifference, and try to reach them with our message regularly."

The Militant, he said, must become "not just another radical paper, but the national paper, dominating the radical labor field."

The April 2-8 target week will be another step toward this goal.



"We'll be at housing projects, on street corners, at the hospitals and plant gates, selling the paper and organizing support for the Garza campaign. We're urging each of the six party branches in the city to set up a special committee for the week, to coordinate the largest possible participation in sales and Garza campaign activities."

One reason Jenness is optimistic about the 2,000 figure is that sales throughout the city have been good in recent weeks. "Last week in Harlem, four of our members, in one hour, sold fifty copies of the issue with the headline on Malcolm X (March 25 Militant)," Jenness said.

"And already one of our top salespeople, Evan Siegel, has pledged to sell 200 copies of the target week issue!"

New York isn't the only place raising its goal for the special week. The new SWP branch in Kansas City, Missouri, which has been near the top of the scoreboard almost every week, plans to boost its quota from 100 to 150 for the target week.

Another new branch, in Salt Lake City, is also upping the ante, from 100 to 115. Recently, the Salt Lake City branch made its goal of 100 for the first time.

"We went door to door in the Northwest part of the city, which is mainly Chicano, Native American, and Black," reports Katherine Sojourner, the branch organizer. "The first team of three people that went out sold twenty-one papers in less than one hour. One of our members, Bill Hoyle, went to fifteen homes and sold ten Militants."

In Boston, the Roxbury SWP branch, which has been meeting its goal of 125 each week, plans to raise its bundle to 300 for the week of April 2-8.

Twofold objective

The sales drive began in February and will continue until May. The purpose of the drive is twofold: to substantially increase the overall sales each week, and to expand and regularize sales of the Militant to industrial workers.

Last fall, we conducted a big subscription drive, winning more than 20,000 new readers for the Militant. With the subscription campaign successfully completed, we decided to focus our efforts this spring on a big single-copy sales drive. These sales have not kept pace with the growth and expansion of the party, and dipped during the fall subscription effort.

At the same time, there are growing opportunities for winning members to the SWP and expanding the readership of the Militant, as working people look for ways to defend their rights and their standard of living in the face of the offensive from the ruling class.

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	%	Detroit	395	309	78.2	Oakland, Calif.	250	105	42.0
Kansas City, Mo.	100	115	115.0	St. Paul	80	62	77.5	Chicago	650	259	39.8
Indianapolis	100	112	112.0	Boston	520	393	75.6	Milwaukee	250	87	34.8
Dallas	125	136	108.8	Salt Lake City	100	75	75.0	Total	10,000	7,357	73.6
Cincinnati	125	134	107.2	Cleveland	200	149	74.5	March 18 issue			
San Diego	200	210	105.5	Pittsburgh	175	127	72.6				
San Antonio	125	126	100.8	Washington, D.C., Area	400	285	71.3				
Los Angeles	650	636	97.8	Louisville	125	89	71.2				
St. Louis	300	290	96.7	Baltimore	150	106	70.7				
Richmond, Va.	75	70	93.3	New Orleans	200	138	69.0				
Phoenix	125	113	90.4	Miami	75	51	68.0				
Philadelphia	400	352	88.0	Portland, Ore.	200	126	63.0	Young Socialist teams			
Tacoma, Wash.	70	61	87.1	Seattle	215	122	56.7	Northern California	90	96	106.6
Albany, N.Y.	75	65	86.7	Toledo	100	55	55.0	Northeast	90	83	92.2
Atlanta	400	336	84.0	Denver	200	109	54.5	South	90	75	83.3
San Jose	200	168	84.0	New York City	1,100	588	53.5	Mid-Atlantic	90	56	62.2
Raleigh, N.C.	40	33	82.5	Newark	225	119	52.9	East Great Lakes	90	50	55.5
San Francisco	550	444	80.7	Minneapolis	300	157	52.3	Southwest	90	49	54.4
Houston	400	318	79.5	Berkeley, Calif.	250	127	50.8	Total	540	409	75.7
								Combined total		7,766	



## Rallies, meetings demand:

# U.S. out of southern Africa



800 rally against apartheid at Kimball Park in San Francisco

Militant/Eric Simpson

## San Francisco

By Juan Martinez and John Studer

SAN FRANCISCO—South African student leader Tsietsi Mashinini spoke at a spirited outdoor rally of nearly 1,000 people here March 19. The protest was held at Kimball Park in the city's largely Black Western Addition district.

The rally, organized by the March 19 Committee to Support the Black Majority in Southern Africa, demanded an end to U.S. complicity with the white minority regimes.

Mashinini's rally speech capped a successful three-day tour of the Bay Area. Mashinini was the first president of the Soweto Students Representative Council. He was a central leader in the June 16 student rebellion that



TSIETSI MASHININI Militant/Barry Chann

rocked South Africa's apartheid regime.

At the rally fifteen speakers voiced their support for the growing movement against U.S. complicity and for Black majority rule in southern Africa. Joseph Hall, president of the San Francisco NAACP chapter, chaired the rally.

Among the many organizations and individuals who endorsed and helped publicize the rally were members of the San Francisco NAACP Executive Board, Rev. Hannibal Williams, Rev. Cecil Williams, Rev. Jim Jones, Service Employees International Union Locals 400 and 535, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10, and Transport Workers Union Local 250. Fourteen churches in the Black community also endorsed.

"Are you hostile?" Mashinini asked, opening his speech. "No," the crowd responded.

"Are you friendly?" "Yes."

"Are you sympathetic?" "Yes!" the crowd roared back.

Mashinini stressed that the major task here in the United States is to force the government to get out of

southern Africa. This message was repeated by many of the speakers, who also paid tribute to Mashinini and the other leaders of last year's upsurge in South Africa.

Several speakers lashed out at President Carter's hypocritical stand on human rights.

The Rev. Cecil Williams drew applause when he said, "Jimmy Carter should take care of human rights in his own church before he takes care of those in other countries."

The most moving presentation was that of Dennis Banks, a leader of the American Indian Movement. Banks said that the Bantustan policy in South Africa is the same as placing Indians on poverty-stricken reservations here—the subjugation of native populations to inhuman conditions.

"The Native American people stand together with the people of South Africa," Banks said.

"Through the words of Tsietsi Mashinini I hear the words of Geronimo, Sitting Bull, Pancho Villa, Paul Robeson, and other fighters for justice."

Speaking for the San Francisco Student Coalition Against Racism, Shirley Peña drove home the message that the campaign against racism stretches from the fight at home against the death penalty, segregated schooling, sterilization abuse, and attacks on abortion rights, to the fight of the Black majority in southern Africa.

Other speakers included Rev. Amos Brown of the Third Baptist Church; Leonard Mudhavanhu of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU); Berkeley Prof. Harry Edwards; Mattie Sheppard, mother of Tyrone Guyton, a young Black victim of police murder in Oakland; and Karen Reed, vice-president of the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women.

Also, Tony Thomas, Socialist Workers party; James Bell of the Hastings Black Law Students Association; Joe Diones, president of the Tenants Association at the embattled International Hotel in San Francisco; and Rev. Jim Jones of the People's Temple, which brought hundreds of its members to the rally.

Earlier in the week Mashinini spoke at a rally of 700 at the University of California at Berkeley.

The rally was opened by Harry Edwards, a Black sociologist who is fighting a racist attempt to deny him tenure. Edwards is a leader of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee.

Also speaking at the rally was Lawrence Meyers. Meyers was an ROTC student at UC who was recruited to serve as a mercenary for the racist regime in Rhodesia. He reported on the brutal repression against the Black majority that convinced him to desert.

Mashinini spoke to a total of 700 students at three other area campuses:

Stanford University, City College of San Francisco, and San Francisco State University.

The liveliest discussion took place March 18 at a meeting of 100 high school students at Opportunity II High School in San Francisco. The city school board unanimously endorsed the meeting as a unique opportunity for students to hear from a South African student leader.

Oakland community leaders and the Student Coalition Against Racism cosponsored a public protest meeting of more than 500 people in that city.

Speaking with Mashinini were Gregory Banks of the Student Coalition Against Racism, Leonard Mudhavanhu of ZANU, and the Rev. J. Alfred Smith.

## Washington DC

By John Hawkins

WASHINGTON—More than 350 people attended a conference here on liberation struggles in southern Africa March 18-19. The conference was sponsored by the National Black Assembly and United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice.

The weekend conference opened with a Friday night rally. Speakers included: Koko Farrow, conference chairperson; Rev. Doug Moore, Washington, D.C., city council member; Ron Daniels, NBA chairperson; and Stokely

Carmichael, All-African Peoples Revolutionary party.

Speakers at a Saturday morning panel on the struggle in southern Africa were: James Turner, head of Cornell University's African studies department, panel chairperson; David Sibeko, Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa); Aubrey Nkomo, African National Congress (South Africa); Khotso Seatlholo, Soweto Students Representative Council (South Africa); Tapson Mawere, Zimbabwe African National Union; Essiah Zhuwarara, African National Council (Zimbabwe); Callistus Ndlovu, Zimbabwe African Peoples Union; and Clement Kieta, representative of the newly formed Southern Africa Research Center.

The conference also heard greetings from Judge William Booth, president of the American Committee on Africa; Bob Brown, All-African Peoples Revolutionary party; and C.L.R. James, author of the *Black Jacobins*.

The Saturday afternoon session projected an October national demonstration at the United Nations to raise



KHOTSO SEATLHOLO Militant/Susan Ellis

the issue of human rights in southern Africa and the United States.

National Student Coalition Against Racism activists participated in conference sessions and staffed one of several literature tables. They received a warm response to NSCAR's open letter appealing for unity in the south-

## 3,000 march in London



Red Weekly/G.M. Cookson

On March 6, 3,000 people marched in London demanding an end to British government collaboration with the racist regimes in southern Africa. The day before 700 marched in Glasgow, Scotland. The demonstrations were called by the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The AAM has a membership of 3,000 and the affiliation of 300 organizations, including 17 national trade unions and many local Labour party branches.

Among the national unions participating in the march were the National Association of Local Government Officers; Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers; Association of Scientific, Technical, and Managerial Staffs; and Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. The National Union of Students and African Students Union (UK) participated, as did Ethiopian, Zimbabwean, Iraqi, and Iranian students.

The Communist party, Socialist Workers party (the new name adopted by the International Socialists), and International Marxist Group—British section of the Fourth International—organized contingents in the march.



ern Africa solidarity movement.  
Militant salespeople sold conference participants ninety-one copies of the March 25 issue.

## Fort Knox, Ky.

By Debby Tarnopol

FORT KNOX, Ky.—U.S. military officers here kicked South African student leader Khotso Seatlholo off base March 18. Seatlholo had been invited to speak at a Black Expo on base about his experiences as a leader of the June 16 Soweto student upsurge in South Africa.

Seatlholo got up to speak after a showing of the anti-apartheid film *Last Grave at Dimbaza*.

"I'm a little nervous," the student leader admitted to the audience, "because in South Africa men wearing green uniforms like yours mean death." Most of the listeners were Black GIs, with a sprinkling of civilians who had been invited on base for the Expo.

After Seatlholo had spoken a few minutes, the Black sergeant in charge was "tearing out his hair," according to observers.

The sergeant said that Seatlholo had to either get off the stage or be taken off. Admitting that what Seatlholo said was true, the officer nonetheless said he could not allow the student leader to tell the story of Washington's complicity with South Africa on a U.S. Army base.

As Seatlholo left the stage, a GI shouted, "Why can't the brother finish speaking?" Several GIs surrounded him to ask questions, but the group with Seatlholo quickly ushered him out.

Earlier that day, 300 people jammed the University of Louisville auditorium to hear Seatlholo. He explained that without U.S. aid the South African government could not continue its rule of terror over the Black population.

Seatlholo blasted the hypocrisy of Jimmy Carter's "concern" about Idi Amin's violence. "I'm not saying that Idi Amin is not violent," he said. "I'm saying that the South African government is many times more violent and Carter says nothing about this."

## Other cities

By Marty Boyers

DALLAS—Tsietshi Mashinini spoke to a total of 300 students at Southern Methodist University here and at the University of Texas in nearby Arlington.

Mashinini blasted United Nations representative Andrew Young, who has suggested that American corporations in South Africa can play a role in ending apartheid.

"We do not need the corporations in South Africa," he said. "They are there to strengthen the white government. We appeal to the American community to help get the American government out of South Africa."

By Jeff Powers

CLEVELAND—Khotso Seatlholo spoke to 450 people here March 10-11.

He was the featured speaker at a community protest meeting of 200 demanding that the U.S. get out of southern Africa. Other speakers included Butch Johnson, president of Cleveland State University's Students for Afro-American Unity; Liman Jangha of the All-African Peoples Revolutionary party; and Jo Carol Stallworth of the Student Coalition Against Racism.

After Seatlholo's talk at Cuyahoga Community College's Metro campus, he received a one-minute standing ovation from the 190 people attending that meeting.

During the second and third weeks of March, Mashinini and Seatlholo also spoke to large audiences in New Orleans; Portland, Ore.; Tacoma, Wash.; Detroit; and Los Angeles.

# S. Africa steps up propaganda

By Omari Musa

South Africa's white supremacist government is on an all-out campaign to clean up its image in the United States.

In March 1976 the South African Department of Information hired the New York public relations firm of Sydney S. Baron Company to direct this propaganda blitz. Baron's contract pledged it to "make every effort to encourage the American business and financial community to become acquainted with the economic opportunity offered by the Republic of South Africa. . . ." Baron also agreed to "assist the [South African] Department of Information in the preparation and distribution of press releases, publications, analyses, reports, films and other communication vehicles. . . ."

To handle the South African account, Baron and Company hired Andrew Hatcher, a Black, to be its vice-president international. Hatcher was a former associate White House press secretary for John F. Kennedy.

Not long after taking the job, Hatcher appeared on NBC-TV's "Today" program along with George Houser of the American Committee on Africa, a group that supports Black majority rule in southern Africa.

"I went to South Africa, where I talked to Black South Africans whose views I want to expose in order to save them from the George Housers of the world," Hatcher said. "Before accepting the South African account [with Baron and Company], I wanted to see the situation myself, and it was encouraging."

Hatcher devotes much of his time to getting small newspapers—especially those directed at the Black community—to print articles favorable to South Africa. "We know if we get enough [of them] to examine the South African situation, we can make a case for negotiated settlement of grievances," Hatcher told *Washington Post* staff writer Walter Pincus.

### Junkets and 'fact' sheets

Donald DeKieffer, a partner in the Washington law firm of Collier, Shannon, Rill & Edwards, is a lobbyist for the South African Department of Information. One of his main jobs has been to organize junkets for Americans to South Africa—especially for U.S.

congresspeople. Both Democratic and Republican politicians have taken these expense-paid trips.

Last September when a House resolution condemning apartheid was coming up for a vote, DeKieffer scurried around Capitol Hill delivering pro-South Africa "fact sheets." Of the eleven House members DeKieffer had treated to trips to South Africa, ten voted against the resolution. The measure failed.

The floor leader against the resolution was William Ketchum (R-Calif.). Ketchum had visited South Africa in January 1975. Werner Ackerman, a South African millionaire businessman, bankrolled Ketchum's trip.

Representatives Richard Ichord (D-Mo.) and John Dent (D-Pa.) went to South Africa and Rhodesia in April 1975. Ackerman sponsored their trip too. Five months later a resolution was introduced in the House to repeal the Byrd amendment, which allowed Washington to buy chrome from Rhodesia in defiance of a United Nations trade embargo on the illegal white regime.

Dent and Ichord successfully led the opposition to repeal. (The Byrd amendment was finally repealed several weeks ago.)

DeKieffer also made two contributions to Dent's election campaign.

### All the news that's fit . . .

DeKieffer has also found allies for the South African regime among journalists in this country.

Lester Kinsolving, an Episcopal minister and syndicated columnist, accepted \$2,500 in corporate stocks from DeKieffer in 1975 and 1976. In return, Kinsolving attended meetings of corporation stockholders where representatives of the National Council of Churches had organized protests against U.S. corporate investments in South Africa. During those two years Kinsolving denounced the anti-apartheid church group at thirteen such meetings.

On March 9 Kinsolving publicly admitted having taken the payoffs.

The South African Information Services—with offices in New York, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C.—spends hundreds of thousands of dollars each year to bolster apartheid. Its eleven attachés tour the United States seeking contacts with coopera-

tive journalists.

Carl Noffke, head of the group's Washington office, is pleased with the results. He claims that before visiting South Africa most journalists know of the country only "through selective reports that portray it as the outcast of the world. Whatever they see has to be impressive."

Aside from subsidizing trips for U.S. journalists, South African Information Services also produces books, pamphlets, radio programs, ready-made news stories, and even high school teaching kits.

### Kruggerand

South Africa's most widely known propaganda effort here has been its campaign to sell the Kruggerand gold coin. This campaign was handled by New York's Doyle, Dane & Bernbach advertising agency.

After testing their ability to sell the coin in three cities (Los Angeles, Houston, and Philadelphia), the agency went on a three-month, \$4 million drive in twenty-five cities last fall to sell one million of the coins. At last fall's foreign exchange rates, the South African government stood to haul in \$130 million from the project.

### 'Ipi Tombi'

An even more insidious aspect of the South African regime's campaign was the production of the musical *Ipi Tombi* in New York City earlier this year. Billed as "Happiness is an African musical called Ipi Tombi," the play portrayed Black South Africans as happy with their lot.

When opponents of apartheid got wind of the production, they organized the Emergency Committee to Protest the South African Production of *Ipi Tombi*. Nightly picket lines urging a boycott of the show succeeded in putting the musical's financial backers in the red, causing them to close down after little more than a month's run.

South Africa's lavish propaganda drive in this country makes it even more important for anti-apartheid forces to step up activity opposing Washington's complicity with the racist regime.

The March 25-26 protests called by the National Student Coalition Against Racism provide an opportunity to do just that.

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## Moscow's next target in Africa

CAN the West learn from Angola's tragedy, or are we condemned to repeat the experience? What the Russians learned from Angola is that war by proxy pays off. They will be strongly tempted to use the same technique in other places—and almost certainly in the assault on Rhodesia and South-West Africa.

The Cubans are Moscow's all-purpose mercenaries, but they are not the only proxy soldiers who are being employed in the widening war for southern Africa.

The Nigerians are said to be heavily involved in Angola. Western intelligence sources report that Nigerian troops were present at the battle of Cuito Cuanavale, and the Cubans moved south last year. According to UNITA sources in Faria, the Nigerian strength has since been reduced.

UNITA sources claim to have tapes of radio intercepts showing that at least 5,000 Nigerian troops have been employed in Angola. They are operating far south as Mocimboa, and are on hand in Lobito, Luanda and the eastern diamond mining town of Namibe de Carvalho. UNITA claims to have intercepted radio communications in English the common language between the Cubans and the MPLA, in the Rio Haina and Fimela districts, and in a form of pidgin Creole that could indicate the presence of forces from Sierra Leone as well.

An intriguing sidelight is that UNITA also claims that a British shipping line played a key role in ferrying Nigerian troops and military supplies to Angola. Nigeria, rich in oil and boasting an army of some 200,000 men, can clearly afford to be more than rhetorical in backing the guerrilla movements of southern Africa.

The Tansanians have also moved into the region. President Nyerere has put 1,400 of his troops into northern Mozambique to help the FRELIMO Government to suppress the major revolt of the Makonde tribes led by the Vatsonga.

non-aligned countries' news pool and the role of the Cuban intelligence service, the DGI, in orchestrating the Vatsonga.

Now that the MPLA have been repulsed their new masters, some 10,000 South-West African troops, are said to be operating in the region.

money will be printed. On the coffee plantations, Cuban supervisors are said to operate a system of forced labour: workers are shifted from one place to another, or from one job to another, without notice or appeal.

platinum, copper and other industrial metals are rich stakes to play for. Geoprospecting is just as important a natural resource. If the Cape route, which carries about 70 per cent of all South African exports, is required by the

Where the pressure points are

South Africa's next target in Africa

Paying the price for Angola—by ROBERT MOSS

Every thinking man woman in

Central to South Africa's propaganda is the "red menace." An example appeared in an advertisement in the March 15 *New York Times*. The ad was paid for by a group of businessmen with investments in South Africa who dub themselves the Club of Ten.

The ad reprints a full-page London *Sunday Telegraph* article by right-wing journalist Robert Moss and a one-third-page appeal to the British

and U.S. governments.

The ad warns of a "Russian plot" in southern Africa to deny "the West" shipping around the tip of Africa, thereby threatening NATO's supply of "strategic materials."

Donald Boddie, who calls himself the Club of Ten's editorial consultant, says the group is "very concerned indeed about the preservation of the right way of life in South Africa," according to a report in the

March 17 *New York Times*. Boddie described the club's members as "people who move about the world all the time, not in personal mini-jets but in big personal jets."

They laid out \$100,000 to place the ad in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *London Times*, and *London Guardian*.

Boddie predicted that the Club of Ten will be more active in the future.

—O.M.

## Twin Cities NOW debate

# Women hit racist affirmative-action report

By Ilona Gersh

MINNEAPOLIS—Feminist supporters of affirmative action for Blacks and women have publicly condemned a report issued by the Employment Task Force of Twin Cities National Organization for Women (NOW).

"The Position of Women as a Disadvantaged Group in Minnesota State Government Employment," published last October, compared women's employment status in Minnesota with that of Blacks. The NOW report concluded that "disadvantages due to sex are greater than those due to race." It also concluded that "current affirmative-action efforts are directed disproportionately toward racial minorities."

Opponents of the report who are members of Twin Cities NOW held a news conference March 16.

"I'm an activist in the struggle for Black liberation," Lorraine Page told reporters. "I am also a feminist and a member of NOW. I can tell you, this report issued by Twin Cities NOW is racist."

Page and another Twin Cities NOW member, Gillian Furst, announced plans to present a resolution to the national conference of NOW scheduled for Detroit April 21-24.

### Equal Justice Resolution

Called the Resolution for Equal Justice for Women and Oppressed Nationalities, it calls on NOW to disassociate itself from the report and for Twin Cities NOW to withdraw its name.

"Regardless of the intention of the report," the resolution states, "its effect has been to divide the women's movement from the Black movement. . . ."

"The document places our Black sisters, and sisters of other oppressed nationalities, in an impossible position. They are forced to choose their allegiance to either the Black struggle or the women's movement, rather than being wholeheartedly supported by NOW in their fight to overcome discrimination against both women and Blacks in employment."

"In addition, the report compromises the position of all NOW members who stand firmly on the side of oppressed



Lorraine Page (left) and Gillian Furst, members of Twin Cities NOW. 'Regardless of report's intention, it has divided women's movement from Black movement.'

nationalities in their struggle for human rights."

Since the report's publication, it has been condemned by leading Black and women activists, including those in the Minneapolis Urban League, Urban Coalition, and NAACP. NOW President Karen DeCrow sent a telegram to the NOW chapter here disassociating herself and national NOW from the report.

Before taking their Equal Justice Resolution to the public, sixteen members of Twin Cities NOW presented it to a chapter meeting February 27. The meeting was called specifically to have a full discussion of the report.

### Undemocratic procedures

Unfortunately, undemocratic procedures were used to prevent the resolution from even reaching the floor.

A paid professional parliamentarian ruled the meeting, which was restricted to chapter members only.

Although in recent months no meeting of Twin Cities NOW has had a quorum, chapter President Sharon Fitzgerald-Law opened by calling for a quorum. Not enough members were

present, thus preventing any formal action from being taken.

A motion that no resolutions be discussed narrowly passed by one vote.

"Are we able and willing to defy the Black community?" began Charlotte Striebel, a professional statistician and chief author of the report. She said that NOW had fought the Catholic church and the High School League and should now be prepared to fight the Black community for jobs.

After the meeting, Fitzgerald-Law added, "It's time we ceased from making alliances with persons who work against our best interests. The women's movement has always offended some of our citizens. When we stop offending, we will have given up the fight."

"Just because the civil rights movement made some gains that women haven't achieved yet is no reason to attack Black affirmative action," countered Chris Frank during the discussion. Frank is a member of Twin Cities NOW and of the Socialist Workers party.

"In fact, the struggles of our Black sisters and brothers before us helped

pave the way for the feminist movement to make the gains, and we should applaud these gains and defend them, at the same time fighting for our own needs."

Other speakers emphasized the need to launch a campaign to win more affirmative-action programs for women, but not at the expense of jobs already held by Blacks.

### 'Real enemy'

"Who is our real enemy?" asked one NOW activist. "Certainly not the Black community. More than 40 percent of Black youth are unemployed. Our common enemy is the government and big employers who keep both Blacks and women either out of work or in low-paying job categories."

After the March 16 news conference, reporters called supporters of the report to get their reactions.

According to the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Striebel charged that the report's opponents "have not read the report."

"Their motives are simply to try and gain credibility in the Black community," she told the reporter. "They are essentially members of the Socialist Workers Party."

The article continued, "[Gillian] Furst acknowledged she is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and has long been a civil rights and feminist activist."

"I'm proud to be a member of the SWP," Furst told the *Militant*. "We participate in NOW and other feminist groups. We have a long history of support for women's rights."

"But supporters of the Equal Justice Resolution come from many different political persuasions, as do members of NOW as a whole."

At the news conference Furst explained, "We don't know if we are a minority in the chapter or not because a vote was not taken on either the report or our resolution."

"But I suspect that if there had been a discussion on the report before it was made public that it would never have been published. And I'm sure we'll win substantial support from chapters all around the country for our resolution at the national conference."

## California Mujeres Unidas conference: 300 respond to attacks on Chicanas

By Andrea Lubrano

LOS ANGELES—More than 300 Chicanas and Latinas attended a statewide women's conference here March 4-6. The meeting was called *Mujeres Unidas por la Liberación del Pueblo* (Women United for the Liberation of the People).

*Mujeres Unidas*, an organization formed last March by Chicana students in the Los Angeles area, sponsored the three-day event.

Chicanas and Latinas in the Southwest—like their Black, Puerto Rican, and working sisters nationally—have been the chief victims of the current government attacks on women's rights.

This conference, coinciding with International Women's Day, was an important response.

One of the most serious attacks on Chicanas is the Hyde amendment, a measure passed by Congress last fall to prohibit the use of Medicaid funds for abortion.

Both the Hyde amendment and continuing sterilization abuse are real threats to the right of Chicanas

to control their own bodies.

The conference passed a resolution to "oppose the Hyde amendment. . . . We have the right to abortion as a woman's own choice and demand the funds to provide it."

Another resolution encouraged Chicano student organizations, particularly MEChA chapters, to organize activities against the Hyde amendment and forced sterilization as part of *La Semana de La Raza*, a traditional week of activities held around May 5.

The conference decided to send a copy of these resolutions to the National Organization for Women to open lines of communication between Chicanas and the women's liberation movement.

Conference participants voted unanimously to oppose the Bakke decision, the California Supreme Court ruling against special university admissions programs for oppressed nationalities.

One resolution condemned the Catholic church's sexist dogma on contraception, abortion, and sterili-

zation as an interference with women's right to control our own bodies. This was voted down by a small margin.

Representatives of the Communist party opposed this resolution. They instead introduced a proposal attacking the church's positions, but deleting all references to the right of women to decide these matters. This resolution passed.

Desegregation is currently a hotly debated issue in Los Angeles. Opponents of busing have attempted to pit the Chicano community against the Black community by charging that busing would take away much-needed bilingual education programs. This was reflected at the conference by confusion over busing and by a lengthy debate.

Busing supporters explained that white schools get more money than barrio schools and therefore offer the opportunity for better education for Black and Chicano children. Desegregation should not be counterposed to bilingual education, they argued. Both are needed.

The meeting voted to support busing in Los Angeles as a means to desegregate the schools and achieve equal education.

Unfortunately, the conference was marked by a lack of thorough political discussion. Many important resolutions passed with little or no discussion on the floor.

Yet there is considerable debate in the Chicano movement over the women's liberation struggle, spurred by the increasing interest among Chicanas in feminist ideas.

A thorough discussion of how women's liberation is related to national liberation can only strengthen the new rise of Chicana feminism.

The *Mujeres Unidas* conference helped begin this process. The large turnout was a sign that many Chicanas want to fight for their rights as women. It illustrated for the entire women's movement the opportunities to combat the current attacks on women, and the important role Chicanas can play in this fight.



# 'We must all fight for each other'

One thousand women marched in New York City March 12 to demand an end to the assault on women's rights. The following are excerpts from four speeches delivered to the International Women's Day rally.

**Elizabeth Colón, member of Manhattan's District One Community School Board.**

Buenas tardes a mis hermanos y a mis hermanas [Good afternoon, my brothers and my sisters].

As a former day-care director in the Lower East Side for four years, I was able to realize what day care was doing in the community. We were providing a decent and productive education for preschool children. [Also] we were, in a sense, formulating new ideas in the minds of the women and the families that we serviced.

The political forces, realizing that basic fact, made a strategic blow against the women's movement. That is how I see the elimination and defunding of more than seventy-five day-care centers in New York City. Gov. [Hugh] Carey's new budget will mean the elimination of an additional 135 day-care centers in New York City.

What happens to the women in those communities? Women will have to stay home. What is that to us? A direct blow against the women's movement.

Right now up at 162nd Street and Amsterdam Avenue there is a day-care center named Discovery Rooms for Children. The landlord has just dispossessed them.

Women are sitting in at that day-care center. They are not allowing the police to take out the furniture, to take out the equipment. And, they are continuing to provide services.

Many of these women don't even know perhaps of the existence of the National Organization for Women or other women's rights organizations. But nonetheless, they are in the struggle because they see that their rights have been abrogated.

These women in the communities—the minorities—are struggling because they have been the hardest hit by the cuts. These are the struggles that we must join.

**Sylvia Law, attorney who argued in court for the injunction**



ELIZABETH COLÓN (left), MARGIE SANTIAGO (top), PAT WRIGHT

**won against the Hyde amendment.**

Congress is considering the reenactment of the Hyde amendment, which says no Medicaid money for abortions.

We have a lot of power on our side in fighting this vicious law. One thing we have is the fact that most Americans, including most Catholics, support the right to choose. Despite [this and other factors on our side] we're not winning.

One reason, I think, is that we've come to trust the courts. We can't trust the courts. Courts are political bodies. A great American jurist once said, "The Supreme Court reads the newspapers."

The Supreme Court would never have decided the *Roe v. Wade* case the way it did [the 1973 ruling legalizing abortion] had there not been thousands of women out in the streets. But that's not there anymore.

A second reason we're not winning is that the women's movement has, to a large extent, been a middle-class, white women's movement. And when Con-

gress attacks the rights of the poor, the rights of minorities to obtain abortions, it doesn't affect us directly.

Well, we can't be a movement that allows that kind of division. We have to be a movement where we all fight for each other.

**Margie Santiago, women's commission of the Puerto Rican Socialist party.**

"To love me is to love my country."

These are the words of one of the five Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners, the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

Of most significance on this occasion is the fact that she is a woman. A woman who is an example of valor and sacrifice for the Puerto Rican women who have joined the struggle for the national liberation of our country and who have joined the struggle for women's rights.

We are asking you here today to join us to demand the unconditional release of Lolita Lebrón. We are also asking

you to join us to demand the end of colonial oppression of the people of Puerto Rico, and to the end of colonial oppression against the Puerto Rican woman, which has manifested itself in the form of sterilization of more than 33 percent of Puerto Rican women of reproductive age.

We are also here in solidarity with minority women and other organizations and individuals who are fighting for women's rights, who are fighting against job discrimination and sterilization abuse, and are fighting for better and more day care, for abortion rights, education, employment.

The women's movement is a revolutionary movement. And as one of our most illustrious fighters for the working people once said, the success of a revolution is measured by the degree of the integration of the woman in that struggle.

**Pat Wright, day-care worker and Socialist Workers party leader.**

All of the things that we've won and fought for over the past ten years are under attack.

We're facing a decrease in abortion rights, in child care, in affirmative-action programs. Forced sterilization is being stepped up. The Equal Rights Amendment has still not passed.

What are the government and big business trying to do? They're trying to push us out of the work force and back into the home.

Our priority has to be to reach out to all Black, Puerto Rican, and other working sisters, who are bearing the brunt of the attacks on women's rights.

An attack on one is an attack on all—that we cannot forget. We've got to let the government know that we're not going to stand for their divide-and-conquer strategy. This is what the politicians are trying to do with the Hyde amendment.

You know, Jimmy Carter says he's going to give us the ERA in a couple of states. Well, we can't afford to sit back and wait for Jimmy Carter to "give" us our rights. If we'd sat back and waited for men to give us the rights we've been fighting for, we would still be sitting back waiting for them.

We've got to rely on our own strength. Organizing demonstrations and rallies, like this one right here, is what we've got to continue to do.

## Women say no to attacks on their rights

**By David Keepnews**

SAN FRANCISCO—The second annual Day in the Park for Women's Rights drew 1,000 people to Golden Gate Park here Sunday, March 13.

Three Black women, all local television-news reporters, chaired the rally.

Joan Shelley of the San Francisco Federation of Teachers outlined her union's intention to fight for maternity rights, affirmative action, and expansion of child-care services in the upcoming contract.

Ester Talavárez from the Sterilization Abuse and Informed Consent Project called for making health care—including the decision whether or not to have children—"a right, not a privilege."

Although San Francisco voters approved a ballot initiative in 1973 to expand child care in the city, Sylvia Weinstein told the rally, the city's board of supervisors placed the issue again on last November's ballot and managed to get it defeated.

Weinstein is a leader of Child and Parent Action. "Still," she continued, "the sentiment for child care is strong enough that the city government hasn't dared put their rotten fingers on one child-care center."

Other speakers included Karen Reed,

Third World Task Force of the San Francisco National Organization for Women; Inez Garcia, who was recently acquitted for killing a man who helped rape her; Mariana Hernández-Alarcón, Socialist Workers party; and women representing the Office and Professional Employees International Union and Service Employees International Union.

**By Gale Shangold**

In addition to International Women's Day activities reported pre-

viously, the *Militant* has received reports from the following cities.

At a March 12 rally in **San Diego's** Balboa Park 350 women and men rallied in defense of women's rights.

Speakers focused on the danger of the California Supreme Court Bakke decision, which threatens affirmative-action programs in the state university system.

Nearly thirty groups endorsed the action, including National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, MEChA at San Diego City College, Black Federa-

tion, Centro Familia, Federally Employed Women, San Diego National Organization for Women (NOW), Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the Socialist Workers party.

"What do we want? The right to choose. Why do we want it? We got a lot to lose!"

So chanted fifty people on March 12 at a **Toledo** picket line in defense of abortion rights.

The protest occurred outside the Hill Crest Hotel. Heartbeat, a Catholic anti-abortion organization, is headquartered there.

## Protest against FBI spying

**By Karen Newton**

NEW ORLEANS—More than forty people picketed city hall March 8. Sponsored by the Louisiana affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union, the protest was in response to the recent release of documents revealing that the FBI spied on the women's movement.

Picketers' signs read, "The FBI is the criminal, not the women's move-

ment," "Defend the Bill of Rights," "The FBI is a threat to national security," and "ERA not FBI."

After a rally, demonstrators marched to the local FBI offices. A delegation presented local FBI Director Francis Mullen with a letter signed by the protesters.

The letter demanded an immediate halt to all infiltration and surveillance of legal political organizations.

Sexism and Racism was the title of a panel discussion in **Philadelphia** March 8. Forty women participated in a lively discussion on the roots of racism and sexism and on how to end them.

On March 12 in Philadelphia, NOW sponsored a panel discussion on the assault on women's rights. It was attended by more than 100 women.

Nearly 200 women attended a Women's Unity Festival in **Pittsburgh** March 12. Thirty organizations sponsored tables and displays.

Included in festival activities was a panel on the attacks on women's rights.

## Hits 'smoke screen' for cutbacks

# N.J. SWP runs Ariza in governor's race

By Andy Farrand

TRENTON, N.J.—“The field of candidates for governor of New Jersey grew again yesterday with the entrance of a young shipping clerk from Newark who supports abortion, opposes the death penalty, calls for nationalization of the energy industry and believes the state income tax should be reformed. . . .”

The March 16 *Trenton Times* was describing Rich Ariza, the candidate of the Socialist Workers party. Ariza announced his campaign March 15 at a news conference here in the state capital.

New Jersey Public Television reported that “the Socialist Workers party is running Ariza as an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, which they see as parties of big business.”

Ariza used the extensive newspaper, radio, and television coverage to denounce the phony debate between Democrats and Republicans on whether New Jersey should maintain its state income tax or impose severe budget cutbacks. The March 16 *Newark*

*Star-Ledger* reported Ariza's charge that this bluster is “a smoke screen concealing a successful attack on the living standards of working people.”

Ariza told reporters that each budget alternative proposed by the Democrats and Republicans “attempts to bleed more money out of working people, especially those least able to afford it—like Blacks and Puerto Ricans.”

The *Asbury Park Press* reported one of Ariza's examples. “In 1976, the state budget cut \$101 million from education and yet paid out \$70 million in interest payments on bonds, welfare for the rich.”

The *New York Times's* “Trenton Topics” reported Ariza's alternative tax proposal: “The Ariza formula: no tax on incomes below \$30,000 a year, and a graduated income tax beginning at \$30,000 and reaching 100 percent at \$50,000.”

Ariza also calls for the restoration of all cuts in social services imposed by the 1976 budget and a moratorium on interest payments to wealthy bondholders.

Six billion dollars of the \$16 billion New Jersey workers pay in federal taxes goes to the Pentagon budget, Ariza says. This is three times the total budget of the State of New Jersey. “We need money for jobs, schools and hospitals,” the *Asbury Park Press* quoted him as saying, “not wars, military coups and assassinations.”

Several reporters noted that Ariza is also the only candidate to denounce the notorious racist from Newark's North Ward, State Sen. Anthony Imperiale. Imperiale is running for governor as an independent candidate.

“I live in Imperiale's area,” Ariza told the *Trenton Times*, “I counsel Puerto Rican students part-time at Baringer High School in the North Ward. I know the tension that Imperiale has injected into that neighborhood.”

Unlike his Democratic and Republican rivals, Ariza has been a longtime activist in the struggles of working people and Puerto Ricans to defend their living standards and fight racist attacks. A delegate to last year's



RICH ARIZA

Militant/Lou Howort

Congreso Boricua (the Puerto Rican Congress, a New Jersey Puerto Rican social service agency), Ariza was one of those who sponsored a motion calling for Puerto Rican political action independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

## Socialists urge political independence

# St. Louis debate: Democrats or Black party?

By Norton Sandler

ST. LOUIS—“Socialist Workers party comptroller candidate Mary Pritchard has been calling on leaders of the Black community to unite, break with the Democratic party, and form a massive independent Black political party,” commented newscaster Betsey Bruce during the March 12 local TV show “Newsmakers.”

What about this “third factor”? she asked Black community leader and Democratic party strategist Ernest Calloway.

Momentarily stunned, Calloway quickly answered that the SWP is “not a factor in the election” but that a Black party is “an interesting idea.”

The following evening, listeners of the Black radio station KKSS discussed the SWP's call for a Black party on the popular call-in show “Metro-Line.”

This debate on independent Black political action was prompted by the defeat of incumbent Comptroller John Bass in the Democratic primary March 8.

Bass is the highest Black elected official in St. Louis. He was defeated by the city's racist sheriff, Raymond Percich.

Bass and U.S. Rep. William Clay then launched a write-in campaign for the April 5 general election. Clay, also a Black Democrat, is running for mayor, and Bass for comptroller.

“We're opposed to the system that exists within the Democratic party where racism is pervasive,” Clay stated.

“What is happening on April 5 just might be the beginning of the breaking up of the Democratic party.”

Despite their rhetoric, Clay and Bass are still Democrats. In fact, these remarks were made just after they had appealed to a meeting of the St. Louis Democratic party Central Committee for funds to finance their write-in drive. The request was denied.

### Socialists respond

Pritchard has responded to Bass's defeat and the write-in campaign by explaining the need to break once and for all with the racist 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,” she said in a statement released to the media.

Clay and Bass held a rally here March 18. Walking toward the church where it was held, I noticed that SWP campaign posters along Page Avenue were plastered over with Clay-Bass stickers.

SWP supporters passed out Pritchard's statement to those entering the church. (Campaigners have distributed 11,000 leaflets in all.) The crowd grew to 300—mostly older, almost all Black.

A man behind me said he likes the SWP's call for



Militant/Pat Hayes



PRITCHARD (top), CLAY (left), BASS. April election has raised question of what course for Blacks disgusted with racist Democratic party.

a Black party. “That's why I'm here,” he added.

A member of the Communist party passed out a leaflet issued by the “Labor Committee for Clay/Bass.” It ends with the slogan “Right-on to the write-ins.”

Two themes pervaded the rally: 1) The Democratic leadership is racist; 2) Those Black Democrats who support the regular slate are “house niggers” and “sellouts.”

Clay made his intention to stick with the Democratic party clear, however. “Our campaign is a fight between the Black community and the insensitive, uneducated white Democratic party leaders,” he said.

At one point Clay handed the chairperson, Black Alderman Wayman Smith, an SWP leaflet. Minutes later Smith said, “They should pass out their literature for their candidates for mayor and comptroller somewhere else than here. We don't need to swap one white party for another. The last time I looked at Russia I didn't see any Black faces.”

Some applauded these remarks, many didn't. Smith dodged the issue of an independent Black party. He made no response to the proposal in Pritchard's leaflet.

### Socialist campaigning

The SWP campaign committee has paid for sixteen radio ads on Black stations here. Rush-hour drivers now hear Pritchard's voice call on Black leaders to convene a conference that could form a Black party.

A Black truck driver given a leaflet near the Westend campaign office said, “I've heard her on radio and I'm voting for her.”

At Forest Park Community College a young woman told a campaign worker, “I heard that woman on KKSS and I want to join that party, the Socialist Workers party.”

Shortly after the ads began, more than twenty people called the campaign office. “They all supported the idea of a Black party, but many wanted to join the SWP,” a campaign worker explained.

SWP campaigners are going door to door in Black neighborhoods.

One campaigner knocked on the door of Mary Hamilton, director of Wesley House, a community center where Pritchard and SWP mayoral candidate Helen Savio spoke earlier in the campaign.

Hamilton leaned over her mother's shoulder to say, “That's Helen Savio and Mary Pritchard's campaign. Let her in.”

Hamilton then invited Pritchard back to the Wesley House meeting two nights later to discuss her call for a Black party.

In Walnut Park a Black woman on Social Security said, “It's no wonder Bass was beaten. He never did nothing for us, and that's why nobody turned out to vote for him.”

Throughout the week socialist campaigners are at busy intersections in the Black community passing out leaflets. One campaigner was invited to ride the city bus a few blocks for free to hand leaflets to riders.

### Black 'progress'

“Clay and Bass still measure Black progress by how many Black Democratic party elected officials we have,” Pritchard told the *Militant*.

“They're not about to break with the Democratic party. But this radical rhetoric about the racist Democratic party has a dynamic of its own. Many Blacks see the logic of breaking with the two big-business parties and starting an independent Black party.”

“That's why we've received such a favorable response to our call for a Black party.”

“We're having an impact on Blacks in this city, and we're going to continue our campaign blitz and urge people who want to fight for Black rights to break with the Democratic party and vote for us.”



## Voters reject dictatorship

# Indira Gandhi defeated in India balloting

By José G. Pérez

In an overwhelming repudiation of dictatorial rule, Indian voters swept Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her Congress party out of office in general elections March 16-20.

On March 22 Gandhi resigned after it became clear that the Congress party—which has ruled since India won independence from Britain thirty years ago—wouldn't win anywhere near a majority of the 542 seats in the lower house of Parliament.

Whoever controls the lower house of India's Parliament also controls the government.

The election was a stunning political reversal. In 1971 the Congress party had won big with promises to "abolish poverty." But six years of Gandhi's rule brought no improvement to the bulk of India's 600 million people.

In June 1975—rocked by a Watergate-style scandal and mounting

workers' struggles—Gandhi decreed a state of emergency, suspended freedom of the press, and imprisoned tens of thousands of her political opponents.

The employers, with the aid of the government, launched a campaign to drive down the standard of living of India's workers.

There were signs of mass discontent with these policies before the general election. Mass protests against forced sterilization programs erupted in several provinces. And in October 1976, 100,000 textile workers in Bombay went on strike.

In January of this year, Gandhi called elections, hoping to channel popular discontent into a tightly controlled electoral farce. But the elections provided a vehicle for opposition to Gandhi's regime. This led to splits in the Congress party and widespread protests against the government.

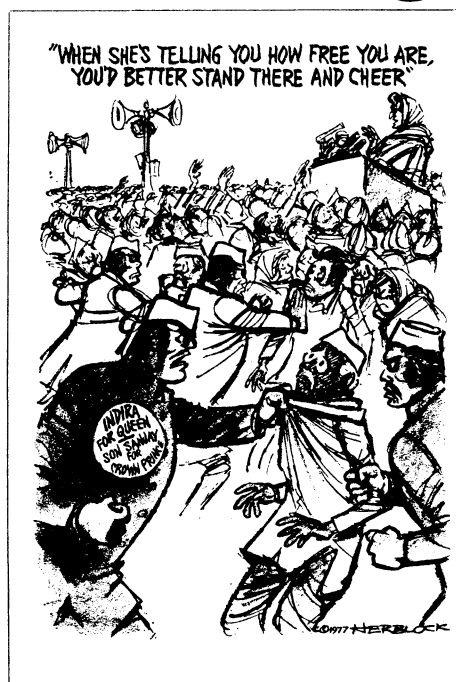
Following initial results of the elec-

tion, India's president formally lifted the state of emergency. The Janata party—the hodgepodge bloc that won the election—has promised to release political prisoners, revoke press censorship, and review the Internal Security Act, under which many people had been held without trial, with a view to revoking it.

The election results surprised many who had contemptuously dismissed the bulk of India's population as uncaring about democratic rights.

But the sentiment of the workers and peasants was captured by one farmer who said in an interview a few weeks before the balloting:

"Just because a man is poor and maybe cannot read does not mean that he cares nothing for his human rights. The Congress government has tried to shut my mouth, and therefore the Congress loses my vote."



## U.S. aid to Zaïre: first step to new Vietnam?

By Joseph Hansen

The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.

The situation in Zaïre remains obscure. Dictator Mobutu claimed that on March 8 "foreign mercenaries" from Angola had invaded his country with the objective of seizing Shaba Province (formerly named Katanga). On March 14, the State Department announced that Mobutu had appealed for emergency aid from the United States. With Carter's personal approval, the State Department responded the following day by rushing shipment of \$2 million worth of supposedly nonlethal matériel.

It was reported March 17 that the Belgian government would send thirty planeloads of lethal military supplies.

The main unknown in the situation is the nature of the forces accused of invading Zaïre. Their size has been estimated in the press as ranging from 500 to 5,000. The consensus is that they are former Katangese soldiers who were involved in the secessionist movement of the early 1960s backed by Wall Street against the leftist government headed by Patrice Lumumba.

When Mobutu seized power in 1965-66 the Katangese soldiers rebelled, were defeated and about 6,000 of them fled to Angola.

According to the press, the present "invaders" of Zaïre consist of some of these soldiers. However, their objectives, particularly their political program, have not yet been publicized.

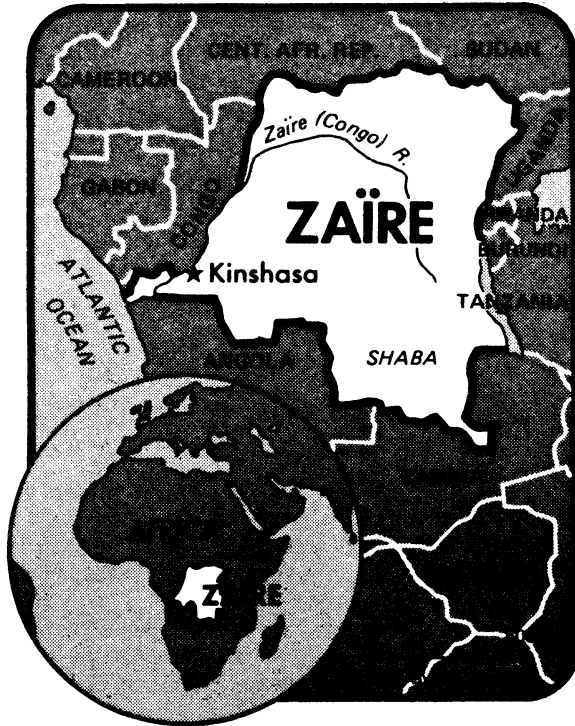
The CIA, of course, may be well informed. Stansfield Turner, the director of the spy agency, said in an interview on CBS television March 20 that the CIA "has a good idea" of what is going on in Zaïre. However, he declined to say more than this on the subject.

In describing what is really at stake, the American commentators have stressed the resources of the area. For example, H.J. Maidenberger wrote the following in the financial section of the March 20 *New York Times*:

"The name of the game in strife-torn Zaïre may be politics, but a key goal is control of the central African country's vital supply of cobalt.

Cobalt, Maidenberger explains, "is a vital substance used in the metals industry, space exploration and in the construction of nuclear power facilities. Zaïre is the source of roughly 60 percent of the world's cobalt supply, or 17,000 tons a year."

Charges have been made that Moscow is behind the invasion and that it is being led by Cuban troops. Don Bonker, a congressman from the state of Washington, considers this to be dubious. In an article in the March 20 *Washington Post* he said: "It is entirely unconfirmed, however, that Cubans are participating or even Angolans themselves. . . . It requires only due skepticism to note that, to judge from press accounts, the solitary source of the rumors of



Cuban involvement is Zaïre's Azap News Agency.

Besides cobalt, the Shaba area contains rich deposits of copper. The province is the source of 10 percent of the world's supply. And there is uranium. In 1960, according to Dick Roberts (in a pamphlet *Revolution in the Congo*), a single company, Union Minière du Haut Katanga, produced 60 percent of the West's supply of that metal used in nuclear reactors.

High on the list of imperialist investors exploiting these resources appears the name of the Rockefellers.

Cyrus Vance, who was appointed secretary of state to replace Kissinger, spoke in tune with the imperialist moneymakers in testimony before the House International Relations Committee March 16. He put it succinctly: "If something should happen to the copper mines, it would be a very serious blow to the Republic of Zaïre."

However, he assured the committee that no thought is being given by the administration to including U.S. troops in any African peace-keeping force, either in Zaïre or elsewhere on the continent.

Two things should be noted about Carter's move. First was the speed with which he acted to send support to Mobutu. White House representatives told the press March 15 that "it was imperative to demonstrate friendship with Zaïre."

Evidently Mobutu meets Carter's specifications concerning upholders of human rights. The State Department recently mentioned the Mobutu regime in the following laudatory way: "Generally, however, after interrogation non-political prisoners are not subjected to repeated beatings."

Political prisoners are handled less leniently. According to the report, allegations have been made of brutal treatment, extended incarceration

without trial, "and even of death of prisoners under interrogation."

The second thing to note about Carter's move was its cautiousness. The situation in Zaïre interferes with Carter's immediate political objective, which is to restore popular confidence in the White House. To become involved in another foreign adventure like Vietnam would utterly destroy Carter's efforts along this line.

White House press secretary Jody Powell said: "We're not sending arms. . . . We're sending batteries and shoes and britches and matters of that nature."

He also insisted that Carter was giving "no consideration to sending ground troops" to Zaïre.

Whatever the nature of the conflict in Zaïre may be, what Washington fears is the effect of added instability. Even if the forces struggling against Mobutu stood on the same basic platform as Mobutu—upholding capitalism—Washington fears that the downfall of the dictator could have an explosive effect, unleashing forces that could not be repressed or contained.

Carter would then be faced with the dilemma—escalate American involvement as in the case of Vietnam, or acknowledge that Africa has become so unstable that neither the CIA nor the Pentagon can control the drive toward revolutions in a number of countries.

Bonker put it as follows: "Maybe it can be argued that our aid at least has the effect of promoting stability and preventing what might be the worse alternative: chaos, bloodbaths, and inroads by Angola, Cuba or some unworthy internal dissident faction. But that is second-guessing. At the moment, we find ourselves in the embarrassing position of propping up a regime of corruption and repression, which actually may be guilty of waging the same aggression against Angola that it charges is being waged against itself."

Carter's decision to take steps toward shoring up the Mobutu regime are reminiscent of those taken by Kennedy at the beginning of involvement in Vietnam. The public reaction, however, is quite different. Even the reactionary *New York Daily News* acknowledged this in an editorial March 17:

"With memories of Vietnam still fresh in American minds, any U.S. intervention may cause nervous twinges. The nation is fearful of slipping, step by step, into another overseas quagmire."

Mary McGrory, a liberal columnist, voiced this sentiment in her March 21 column, saying among other things: "The most ominous and intriguing aspect of the situation is that Jimmy Carter, who will talk to anyone about anything, is tongue-tied about Zaïre. What 'national interest' is he pursuing? Is he saving Shaba's copper mines for the free world and the corporations which own them?"

This is a typical expression of the suspicion Carter's move has aroused. It is a healthy suspicion that ought to be encouraged.

## Vietnam reparations

The U.S. delegation to Vietnam headed by Leonard Woodcock is just the latest example of Washington's hypocrisy.

For fifteen years the U.S. government waged a murderous war against the Vietnamese people. When liberation fighters triumphed in 1975, they turned to the task of rebuilding their war-devastated homeland. The United States has a moral duty to help them.

But what was Woodcock doing in Vietnam? He was demanding an accounting of American soldiers listed as missing in action. Like the Ford administration, Carter is cynically manipulating the MIA issue to justify the continuing U.S. trade embargo, vetoes of Vietnam's admittance to the United Nations, and refusal to make reparations promised in the 1973 Paris peace accords.

Washington spent \$200 billion destroying Vietnam. Reparations can never make up for the bomb-scarred countryside, the leveled cities, or the two million slaughtered Vietnamese.

But the Vietnamese who survived continue to suffer from Washington's bloody legacy. The United States can and must alleviate that suffering—*immediately* and *with no strings attached*.

As Vietnam's Deputy Foreign Minister Ngo Dien told Woodcock, "This is not just a question of money, but of national responsibility and honor."

## Carter & abortion

Carter took his down-home version of the presidency to a well-staged media event in Clinton, Massachusetts, March 16. The audience cheered, whistled, and greeted him like the "good ole boy" he claims to be.

But there was nothing folksy or chatty about his pronouncements against abortion rights. Carter grabbed the chance—before a nationwide TV audience as well as 700 Clintonians—to step up his anti-abortion drive. He called on Congress to do all it can to cut Medicaid funds for abortion.

This is the real direction Carter and his administration are headed in—despite his cover of pro-Equal Rights Amendment activity. The women's movement should make no mistake about what Carter has in mind for women.

The majority of Americans support a woman's right to choose. Carter is determined to take away that right—today from poor women, tomorrow from all women.

Women must answer these attacks visibly, in the streets. It is necessary to show that women won't tolerate Carter's plan to roll back abortion rights.

The National Abortion Rights Action League has called for local actions on May 8, Mother's Day, in support of women's right to choose. This is women's chance to tell Carter that they will not return to the days when the choice was between forced motherhood or back-alley abortions.

## Knifing the jobless

The Democrats ran in last November's elections as the party that cared about the unemployed, the party that would provide jobs. So when unemployment rose by 225,000 last month, the Democratic-controlled Congress promptly took action.

It cut unemployment insurance benefits.

Specifically, it cut benefits to those who are suffering the most—the long-term unemployed.

Workers can draw state unemployment benefits for a maximum of thirty-nine weeks, if eligible. Then there is a federal program of supplemental benefits. It used to add another twenty-six weeks, maximum. But now the House has passed and sent to the Senate a bill to cut that in half.

The excuse is that the economy is improving and such emergency aid programs are no longer needed. Scant comfort for the hundreds of thousands who have been unemployed for more than a year, cannot find work, and will now lose their last source of aid.

The House bill also aims to force workers to accept low-paying, substandard jobs by denying them benefits if they refuse an offer of "suitable" work. "Suitable" is defined as including jobs with "lower pay and lesser skills than the worker's usual occupation."

Meanwhile the Democrats and Republicans are voting more than \$100 billion for Pentagon armaments. That's enough money to provide jobless benefits at union-wage levels for the full duration of unemployment. Better yet, it is enough to provide jobs for all.

But neither capitalist party is about to do that. It's going to take independent action by the labor movement.

### 'Abandoned' children?

The last thing a young mother who's having trouble coping with three children needs is to be charged with child abandonment. The case of Laurie Edwards of Kingston, New York, reported in the March 10 *New York Times*, points up the predicament women are in when they are the sole responsible parent with no help from either the children's father or anyone else.

When Ms. Edwards left her children sitting in a welfare office with a note explaining that she could no longer care for them, she was putting out SOS signals, not expecting to be arrested.

Two suicide attempts later, she is still in prison accused of "abandoning" her children.

It seems to me that with the problems she already had plus the guilt resulting from the decision to leave the children in someone else's hands, she may well have been pushed over the brink to suicide by the criminal accusations made against her.

The woman has admitted that she needs help. It is the responsibility of the social services and other authorities to give her that help, not burden her with more problems.

Ann Wilcox  
Washington, D.C.

### ERA and NOW

I really appreciated the article on the Nevada vote on the Equal Rights Amendment (*Militant*, March 4). One additional point needs to be made.

The National Organization for Women unfortunately was also among those groups that subscribed to the strategy of electing "pro-ERA" candidates. NOW considered a low-key campaign to be more effective than mobilizing the supporters of the ERA in the state.

The defeat has sparked discussion here since California NOW chapters were active in the Nevada campaign for the ERA. Articles such as this are very helpful for people interested in a successful strategy to win the ERA.  
Claudette Bégin  
San Jose, California

### Warnke and secrecy

While writing the article on Paul Warnke (*Militant*, March 25) I came across an interesting exchange in his testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee that was not directly pertinent to the article.

Warnke was being questioned by Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia, the Democratic majority leader.

Byrd asked Warnke if he had favored prosecuting Daniel Ellsberg. It was Warnke's copy of the Pentagon Papers that Ellsberg made public.

"Mr. Warnke: I favored a prosecution; yes.

"... Senator Byrd: ... Your complaint about Dr. Ellsberg, as I understand it, is that he had accepted top secret clearance.

"Mr. Warnke: And obtained access to the documents by doing so.

"... Senator Byrd: But if he had stolen those documents having not had top secret clearance, then I gather from your previous answer that you would view that differently; is that correct?

"Mr. Warnke: It would raise a different question because he would not have violated his top secret clearance. ... Supposing instead of that—and this is just hypothetical—supposing instead of that that a reporter had found in an airplane terminal a packet which contained the Pentagon Papers.

"Now, what law would that violate if he were then to read them and publish them in a newspaper article? We don't have an Official Secrets Act and I have difficulty thinking of any provision of law which would have been violated under those circumstances."

The notorious British Official Secrets Act allows the government to declare at will whatever it wants secret and to prosecute any violator of its decrees. We should take note that the Warnkes and Byrds are speculating about such a law.

It reminds me of the crucial necessity of secrecy in the inner circles of an imperialist government. They haven't forgotten Ellsberg and Woodward and Bernstein.

Whatever Carter might mouth about an open government, his officials are searching for more ways to keep it closed.

Dick Roberts  
New York, New York

### Undocumented residents

The *Militant* has clearly and consistently opposed the deportation of undocumented residents—who are predominantly Mexican immigrants. It has also explained the racist and anti-working-class aspects of the term "illegal alien." It has explained that the term is used by *la migra* [federal Immigration and Naturalization Service], other government officers and agencies, and by the establishment news media to divide one section of workers from another.

It is with the understanding that the *Militant* is on the side of undocumented residents that I criticize your use of the term, even in quotes, on the front page (*Militant*, March 11).

*Militant* headlines are much like picket signs, which put forward a point of view. The use of the term "illegal alien" was, in my opinion, ill-advised. People shouldn't use that term.

I much preferred the headline "Mexican immigrants are our brothers and sisters" (*Militant*, March 18). I found that people immediately understood the paper's position and apologies about the language were unnecessary.

Mariana Hernández-Alarcón  
East Los Angeles, California

### Bertram Wolfe

Bertram Wolfe died February 21, at age eighty-one. Wolfe has been portrayed as an expert on communism by the capitalist media. I'd like to relate experiences I had with him, his wife, and some of his colleagues.

I met Wolfe twice while I was selling the *Militant* at a Palo Alto supermarket. Both times he refused to discuss politics at all. The first time he only mentioned his name and the fact that he knew James P. Cannon and Trotsky.

The second time he accused me of "supporting Russia in the Angolan civil war."

I met Ella Wolfe several times. She once bought a *Militant* from me, but the next time I saw her she told me I "should have my head examined." She later apologized, claiming she was upset at seeing a "young man wasting his time on a lost cause."

Ella Wolfe also refused to sign a petition to put the Socialist Workers party on the California ballot.

Wolfe collaborated with Alexander Kerensky at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University. A frequent visitor was Sidney Hook. Ella Wolfe once commented approvingly to me on an article Hook wrote for the *Wall Street*





### Beware of 'blue eyes'

Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of New York.

Imagine living in constant fear of blue-eyed men. Whether you are at home, on the way to work, in the subway, at a restaurant, or walking with your children, at any moment those blue-eyed men could grab you and take you away—because you're not blue-eyed and because your skin is darker than theirs.

Countless thousands of Latinos live each day looking around for blue eyes, for officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service who might tear them from their families and send them away.

Some people might think the INS operates only in the Southwest, where thousands of Mexicans live. But there are immigrants without visas living in daily fear throughout the country.

The problems of undocumented workers were discussed in detail on February 25 at a conference at New York University, the National Consultation on Undocumented Migrants and Public Policies. About 300 people attended the conference, some coming from as far away as California and Texas.

Father Bryan Karvelis of the Transfiguration Parish in Brooklyn described the daily horrors of some of his parishioners in Brooklyn.

Among the featured speakers was Margo Cowan of the Manzo Area Council in Tucson, Arizona. She was one of four people indicted for counseling undocumented workers. On March 8 the government dropped the charges.

U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.) spoke about migrants in New York City who come from Latin America. Latinos in the New York area are undercounted by about 750,000 by U.S. Census Bureau figures, Badillo said.

Giving the conference a historical overview of migration to the United States, Badillo called it part of a general migration from Latin America, with Puerto Ricans among the first in 1945.

Badillo pointed to the "example" of Puerto Rico,

where more people now return than leave, for a way of stopping this migration. That is, to industrialize Latin America with a plan similar to "Operation Bootstrap" in Puerto Rico.

Unfortunately, Badillo left the conference and didn't get to hear Father José Stevens Arroyo from the Bronx take issue with this solution. He pointed to the real facts—that most Puerto Ricans who return to Puerto Rico can't become part of the work force, that unemployment in Puerto Rico is 40 percent, and that up to 70 percent of the population gets by only by using food stamps.

Another Puerto Rican who spoke at the conference was Frank Bonilla of the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños (Center for Puerto Rican Studies) of the City University of New York.

He gave a scathing indictment of the President's Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens. Early this year it issued a Preliminary Report on Illegal Aliens.

This report proposes measures to cut down Latin American and Asian immigration and to encourage European immigration. Interestingly, even this anti-Latino government committee had to admit several facts—among them that "illegals" have no deleterious impact on the U.S. economy and only a slight effect on unemployment.

The presence of Puerto Ricans at the conference, as trade unionists and as community activists, and the coverage in the Puerto Rican press, is an indication of the growing awareness among Puerto Ricans of the necessity to support undocumented workers.

Closer ties within the Hispanic community against attacks upon any section of the community are a prerequisite if we are to defend our rights.

As Puerto Ricans we owe a historic favor to the people of Latin America who have solidarized with our struggles in the past. And as workers we owe support to any section of our class that faces persecution and fights back.

*Journal* opposing a pardon for Alger Hiss.

Another colleague of Wolfe's at the institution told me I should be sent to Russia where "they would take care of me."

Those are the kind of people you work with—and that's how far you go—when you accept the bourgeoisie's anticommunism.

Greg Hodges  
Palo Alto, California

[Editor's note—An article on Bertram Wolfe appears on page 12.]

#### Puerto Rican coverage

Because I live in Seattle, where there are few Puerto Ricans, I've relied on the column "La Lucha Puertorriqueña" to get informative and analytical coverage of the Puerto Rican struggle.

In New York's continuing economic crisis, I am sure that the Puerto Rican community is bearing the brunt of the cutbacks. I'd like to know about activity in the Puerto Rican community against the cuts. I'd also like to know about the response of Puerto Ricans to ex-President Ford's attack on our right to self-determination.

I see a need for the column to help spread the word about the special oppression of Puerto Ricans in this country and also to keep those of us away from home in tune with political developments in our community. No one does this like the *Militant*.

Carmen Maymi  
Seattle, Washington

#### Wants more on gay rights

I am a regular subscriber to the *Militant* and I enjoy reading and learning from your articles. However, I think that more coverage ought to be given toward the gay movement. In my opinion, gays are the most oppressed minority in this country, and I think you could help alleviate this problem.

Kermit Cuff, Jr.  
Los Altos Hills, California

#### New reader

This is the first copy of the *Militant* I've ever read. The constant snob appeal in current magazines and newspapers makes them annoying in general, and I find myself questioning their integrity.

The *New York Times* slogan is "all the news that's fit to print." What is that supposed to mean?

*Militant*, I wish you a wide readership.

Kelly McCaskey  
New York, New York

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

## By Any Means Necessary

### John Hawkins



### Aimin' at Amin

When news of the deaths of three Ugandan leaders—two politicians and one archbishop—reached Jimmy Carter's ears late last month, he just couldn't restrain himself.

Because he is a most religious man, moved by all violations of human rights, Carter denounced Idi Amin for the "horrible killings" that "disgusted the entire civilized world."

"Horrible killings." "Civilized world." Taking their cue from the commander in chief, the American press launched a crusade to defend Western civilization from a heathen Black barbarian.

Delirious with rage, they opened up on their new target with all their racist passion.

On the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal*, Amin became a "madman" who had a nasty "habit of butchering his countrymen." The mouthpiece of America's biggest big business heard Amin "emitting grumbling noises," like some insensate jungle beast.

*Time* magazine plastered its front page with a call-to-arms headline, "The Wild Man of Africa."

*Newsweek* magazine warned of Amin's "beaming smile," which "can quickly turn to a snarl," and of his "absurd behavior," which can "tarnish the image of other Black African nations."

The well-known cartoonist Oliphant, taking up the sword and cross, depicted a grotesque Amin standing against a backdrop of tombstones all inscribed "Shot." With his foot propped up on a tombstone labeled

"Archbishop Luwum. Accident," Amin explains to readers, "Course you gotta remember, the bishop here, he was a bad driver."

When was the last time Pinochet, the butcher of Chile, was held up as an embarrassment for all Latin Americans?

Has the shah of Iran's "beaming smile" ever turned into an animal "snarl"?

Why didn't the *Wall Street Journal* hear Vorster "emitting grumbling noises" as he and his regime bathed in the blood of Soweto?

Were it not for their control of the state and powerful mass media, you could simply dismiss Carter and his echoers.

But these men are deadly and serious.

Carter showed that when he sent the U.S. aircraft carrier *Enterprise* off the Ugandan coast under the pretext of rescuing 200 Americans—white Americans—from the itchy clutches of old Idi Amin.

There is another element, however, to their deadliness.

Their racist crusade against Amin bolsters racist prejudices here. It fuels white fears of Black rule, whether in American cities or in southern Africa.

Carter knows this. The *Wall Street Journal* knows this. And so does United Nations ambassador Andrew Young, who joined in the hysteria around Amin.

There's nothing like a good crusade to bring out the best in the American press and government.

# Miami: fight for gay rights heats up

By Jeff Feather

MIAMI—Stacked in the wood-paneled, plush-carpeted offices here of Save Our Children, Inc., thousands of petitions and flyers announced, "There's nothing Gay about Homosexuality."

The petitions and flyers marked the beginning of a major campaign by Save Our Children to force repeal of recently passed gay rights legislation.

Dade County's gay rights ordinance was passed as an amendment to legislation already on the books outlawing discrimination against Blacks and other minorities.

The bill bars discrimination against anyone on the basis of "affectional or sexual preference." It was approved by Dade County commissioners in January.

Save Our Children is headed by singer and TV orange-juice peddler Anita Bryant. Bryant maintains that the bill promotes child molesting by gay people. She adds that it will enable gays to "recruit young children to homosexuality." These absurd contentions fly in the face of all evidence.

Bryant and Save Our Children have declared a holy war against all homosexuals. She insists that "God will help me in my fight." She is supported by ultraconservative leaders of the Catholic church.

In February, Save Our Children launched a campaign to gather 10,000 signatures on petitions in opposition to the ordinance. More than twenty churches circulated the petitions in a successful effort to force a public referendum on the bill. The vote will be June 7.

Pro-gay rights forces have made it clear that the issue is gays' democratic right to their own sexual orientation and their right to be free from harassment and discrimination.

Supporters of the bill point out that "child molesting" and "recruiting children to homosexuality" are false issues introduced by Bryant to whip up antigay hysteria.

Bryant says that Dade County is just the beginning. She plans to go to Washington to initiate nationwide lobbying efforts against gay rights.

Supporters of the gay rights law here are fighting to keep it on the books. The struggle is spearheaded by the Dade County Coalition for the Humanistic Rights of Gays, which is made up of the Metropolitan Community Church of Miami, Lesbian Task Force of the National Organization for Women, Gay Community Services of South Florida, and others.

The law is also backed by the American Civil Liberties Union, Clergy and Laity Concerned, and other groups.

The coalition has distributed more than 15,000 leaflets supporting the ordinance.

Kent Naaz, president of Gay Community Services of South Florida, told a March 4 meeting sponsored by the Militant Forum, "If we lose sight of the importance of this bill we are opening ourselves up for another witch-hunt like the 1950s, when gay people won't be able to safely walk the streets."

# Cop attack fuels Houston protest

By Gene Lantz

HOUSTON—Demas Benoit, a twenty-one-year-old Black construction worker, was hurrying home March 11 to take medicine for his migraine headache.

Twenty police cars chased him home. When he got out of the car, the cops grabbed and handcuffed him, charging that he had "evaded arrest."

Benoit explained that he only wanted to get his headache medicine.

"We're going to make your head hurt worse," one of the cops said as they began pounding his head against the concrete steps of his porch.

Benoit's mother called the family priest. Father Jack McGinnis arrived moments later and witnessed the beating.

Mrs. Benoit tried to tell the cops about her son's headaches. But a cop pushed her to the ground. "Nigger woman, get down," the cop snarled, drawing a gun.

Cops also threatened Benoit's

father and sister and kicked his two younger brothers, aged twelve and thirteen.

About forty police armed with pistols, rifles, and shotguns held the family at bay during the beating.

Witnesses later found blood on the sidewalk.

Benoit was charged with several traffic violations, including driving without a license, although his license was in his pocket the whole time.

A rookie cop at the scene—A.D. Nichols—was so revolted by the beating that he told the truth to the press. Other cops claim that no beating took place.

Demas Benoit wasn't surprised at the treatment he received from the Houston cops. He was also arrested and beaten last year—that time on a phony theft charge. Cops wouldn't drop the charges until Benoit threatened legal action.

Benoit asked Democratic party Mayor Fred Hofheinz—who was elected in large part by votes from the Black community—for help after

his first arrest. But Hofheinz never responded.

Another reason Benoit wasn't surprised is because he lives a few blocks from where cops shot down an unarmed young Black man, Milton Glover, last year.

Father McGinnis and the entire Benoit family have joined efforts here to put an end to police brutality. They plan to work with the Independent Commission on the Death of Milton Glover.

Meanwhile, A.D. Nichols has been transferred to a desk job. Yet the cops who beat Demas Benoit are still loose on the streets.

Sentiment in Houston's Black community for a visible protest against police brutality came to a head after the Benoit beating. After hearing from members of the family, the Independent Commission on the Death of Milton Glover called for a protest march on April 3. The demonstration will take place at 7500 Hirsch Road, near the site of Glover's murder, at 3:00 p.m.

# Fannie Lou Hamer dies in Miss.

Fannie Lou Hamer died of cancer March 14. She was sixty years old.

Hamer emerged in the 1960s as a leader of the struggle for Black rights in the South. She continued to live in her hometown of Ruleville, Mississippi, until her death.

The granddaughter of a slave, Hamer entered the civil rights movement when she was forty-five years old. Before that she had been a sharecropper all her life.

In the summer of 1962 Fannie Lou Hamer went to a meeting called to discuss voter registration. She volunteered to go try to register. Later she recalled what happened next:

"I went into the courthouse to register. Well, after I'd gotten back home, this man that I had worked for as a timekeeper and sharecropper for eighteen years, he said that I would just have to leave. . . . So I told him I wasn't trying to register for him, I was

trying to register for myself. . . . I didn't have no other choice because I wanted things to be different."

After being ordered out of her home,



FANNIE LOU HAMER

Hamer became a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. SNCC members were in the front lines of the battle against segregation, and most were much younger than her.

Hamer was jailed as a result of her civil rights work. On one occasion she was put into a cell with five male prisoners who were ordered to hold her down and beat her with a blackjack.

In 1964 she was a leading spokesperson for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party in its unsuccessful bid to be seated in place of the regular delegation at the Democratic party convention.

More recently Hamer helped shape the Mississippi delegation to last year's Democratic party convention.

Former civil rights leader Andrew Young, now U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, preached her funeral oration in Ruleville March 20.

# Bertram Wolfe: the souring of a radical

By Fred Feldman

Bertram Wolfe died in San Jose, California, on February 21 at the age of eighty-one. A socialist who supported the Russian revolution, Wolfe became a founding member of the American Communist party in 1919.

Like many others who joined the Communist party with a sense of devotion to the socialist revolution, Wolfe was politically demoralized and corrupted by the degeneration of the regime in the Soviet Union after Lenin's death.

Wolfe became a prominent leader of a faction headed by Jay Lovestone that sought to assure its control of the CP by slavishly supporting the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR in its fight against Leon Trotsky and the Bolshevik Left Opposition.

During that period, Wolfe wrote *The Trotsky Opposition: Its Significance for American Workers*, a typical exam-

ple of the Stalinist campaign of falsification and distortion of the struggle to restore Leninist norms of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union.

Lovestone and Wolfe presided over the abolition of internal democracy and the right of dissent in the American CP. They headed the CP majority that in 1928 expelled James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern, founders of American Trotskyism.

The very next year Lovestone and Wolfe were themselves expelled. There crime was having delayed too long before denouncing Nikolai Bukharin, the former head of the Communist International. Bukharin had been Stalin's ally in the fight against Trotsky, who was deported from the USSR in 1929.

After maintaining a small radical group for some years on the CP's

fringes, Wolfe and Lovestone became enthusiastic supporters of U.S. imperialism and fanatic anticommunists.

Lovestone became AFL-CIO President George Meany's chief trouble-shooter in international affairs, developing close ties with the State Department and CIA.

Wolfe became a prominent intellectual crusader for the cold war, authoring such books as *Strange Communists I Have Known*, *Six Keys to the Soviet System*, and *Three Who Made a Revolution* (the latter, despite the author's antagonism to the Russian revolution, is not without some value as a history). He also authored a biography of the painter Diego Rivera.

In his later years, Wolfe joined the stable of anticommunist scholars maintained by the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University.



# Carter's first two months



Magnum/Mark Godfrey

## By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—One of Jimmy Carter's most enthusiastic apologists, *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis, complained rather defensively March 3 that criticism of the new administration has begun to surface. "People are already heard to express impatience with Jimmy Carter, to wonder where his new programs are," Lewis said.

Noting that "it is just six weeks since the inauguration," Lewis gave the standard argument of all reformists: "there seldom is an instant way to effect significant social or economic change in this country."

Lewis, of course, ducked the real issue. The point is that Carter is *against* significant social or economic change in this country—instant or otherwise. It is only necessary to look at Carter's actual policies since he took office to see where he stands. The differences between Carter and Ford are purely cosmetic.

One of the first tests for Carter came with his budget proposals for 1978. During his campaign Carter had flatly promised to cut military spending by \$5 to \$7 billion. But even that token reduction of the \$110 billion arms budget went by the boards—instead, Carter proposed an increase in the war budget of \$10.2 billion.

Similarly, Carter's campaign claim that the B-1 bomber "should not be funded and would be wasteful of taxpayers' dollars" was converted into nearly \$2 billion in funds for the new nuclear bomber.

Throughout his campaign Carter also said that CIA scandals involving past administrations were a result of the American people being "excluded" from making foreign policy. "If the CIA ever makes a mistake," he promised, "I'll be the one, as president, to call a press conference, and I'll tell you and the American people this is what happened."

Of course, once Carter got into office,

he tried to stop publication of news about the CIA's shady deals. When that failed, he proposed that fewer people be allowed access to information on CIA operations. Now Carter's newly appointed CIA chief is floating trial balloons about possible criminal penalties for leaking information about the government's secret crimes.

Finally, rather than call a news conference to tell "the American people this is what happened," Carter refused to talk about specific CIA operations on the grounds that these were secrets.

What about human rights? Does Carter's rhetoric set his foreign policy apart from that of Ford and Nixon?

It is certainly true that Carter is willing to talk about human rights around the world—although even on this level he is highly selective. But at the same time, the U.S. government provides indispensable support for literally dozens of dictatorial regimes from Iran to Haiti.

Such demagoguery is nothing new. The American people were dragged into World War I under the slogan of "make the world safe for democracy." And John F. Kennedy called the war in Vietnam the defense of "an outpost of democracy in Asia." Many of the Vietnam war criminals in Carter's cabinet are old hands at this game, having used it for all it was worth when they served under Johnson.

## Human rights

Carter's real attitude toward human rights was explained rather sharply to one hapless official who took the propaganda for good coin and told the United Nations Human Rights Commission March 8 that the U.S. delegation wanted to "express our profoundest regrets for the role some [U.S.] government officials, agencies, and private groups played" in helping to overthrow the Allende regime in Chile.

Responding the same day in what *New York Times* correspondent Graham Hovey called "unusually strong language," the State Department said the statement "was not approved in advance and is not an expression of the Administration's views."

The offending delegate, who was recalled to Washington the following day "to make sure he understands the ground rules," explained that he was only speaking "in the spirit of the Carter government foreign policy as I understand it."

Although the State Department reiterated previous denials of direct U.S. involvement in the overthrow of Allende, last October Carter himself attacked the Republican administration in a televised debate, charging that it "overthrew an elected government and helped establish a dictatorship" in Chile. On this point at least, Carter was right. Under U.S. law, the person who hires a killer is just as guilty as the one pulls the trigger.

## Profits too low?

Nor have Carter's economic policies been appreciably different from Ford's. While Carter was increasing military spending to record highs, he cut \$5 billion from social service programs in his proposed 1978 budget. Payments for health care, student loans, milk for schoolchildren, and various Social Security benefits all were cut back.

Carter's personal attitude to the problems facing working people was expressed February 23 when he said it was "understandable" that "natural gas is withheld from the market" by producers looking for the highest profits. The president said he would do the same thing if he were running an oil company.

Schools closed, hundreds of thousands of workers were laid off, and people literally froze to death for lack of fuel supplies this winter. But as far as Carter can see, there is no reason for outrage. In his view, all this is "understandable." Profits come first.

Moreover, the Carter administration has made clear that it thinks profits are not high enough. Paul Lewis reported in the March 4 *New York Times* that "the Carter Administration

yesterday endorsed the idea, strongly espoused by the outgoing Republicans, that American industry was running short of investment capital and needs tax concessions and other Federal aid to stimulate fresh investment."

## Corporate counsel

Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal—formerly chief of Bendix Corporation—told an audience of 150 top corporate executives March 3 that the Carter administration will seek their "counsel" in working out its economic programs. Included in the audience were Carter supporters such as J. Paul Austin, chairman of the Coca-Cola Company, and Irving Schapiro, chairman of the Du Pont corporation.

It is hardly surprising that even the slavishly pro-Democratic-party AFL-CIO bureaucrats took exception to Carter's woefully inadequate job proposals.

One of the biggest tests for Carter has been the New York City financial crisis. What is really involved here is Carter's attitude toward the millions of working people—especially Blacks and Hispanics—trapped in decaying urban areas across the country. Although New York's problems are bigger and more advanced than other cities', they are basically no different.

Once again, Carter's policy is the same as Ford's, although couched in less abrasive terms. The essence is simple—no increases in federal aid. In an article in the March 14 issue of *New York* magazine, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak quoted New York-based financial consultant Eliot Janeway, an early Carter supporter with "close contact with the highest levels of the administration."

## 'Not one cent for subsidy'

According to Janeway: "My estimate is that Carter has told Beame they can have any headline they want, providing it doesn't cost any money. Billions for publicity, but not one cent for subsidy."

Like Ford, Carter is demanding that the standard of living of the working people be driven down. As Blumenthal put it, "In our view, a lot has been done by the city—cutting the budget, stripping away expenditures, freezing wages—and all that is very good. But there have to be renewed efforts to deal with unfinished parts of the city budget."

In other words—more cutbacks.

Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed minorities, along with women, are going to be the ones who are hardest hit by Carter's economic policies. What they have to look forward to was also indicated by the appointment of segregationist Griffin Bell as attorney general.

## Desegregation

Now, Carter is following up that appointment by naming Pittsburgh Mayor Peter Flaherty to the number two spot in the Justice Department. An outspoken antibusing bigot, Flaherty went to school board meetings to speak out against a 1971 desegregation plan in Pittsburgh.

The Pittsburgh NAACP said Flaherty urged antibusing forces not to comply with the state-mandated desegregation order in 1972. They added that the power of the Justice Department post "should not be surrendered as a political payoff to a public official who already has demonstrated contempt for the law." The national NAACP has also opposed his nomination.

Carter has tried to paper over his reactionary policies with public relations flim-flam like the White House call-in show March 5. Carter billed the stunt as part of "a continuing effort to make himself available to the people of the country to answer their questions."

However, as the impact of Carter's real policies sinks in, the president is going to find the questions posed by the American people increasingly difficult to answer, and increasingly insistent.

## Plans 'humane' deportations

# Chicano Democrat will head 'la migra'

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The Carter administration has picked a Mexican-American Democrat, Leonel Castillo, to be director of immigration. Castillo is currently Houston city controller.

Although the appointment has not been formally announced, unchallenged press reports—confirmed by numerous government sources and by the appointee—say that Castillo will replace Leonard Chapman as commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

The move is an ominous one.

Carter's aim is not to increase Chicano representation in government. Rather, he wants to provide cover for his projected crackdown against Mexican immigrants who lack residence permits—those the government brands "illegal aliens."

Carter hopes the appointment will blunt the charge of racism that his antialien drive will inevitably—and justifiably—provoke.

For example, the *Christian Science Monitor* headlined its story on the appointment: "Carter placates Hispanics." The *Monitor* quoted a Carter spokesperson who said the administration wants a "lowering of rhetoric" about undocumented Mexican immigrants.

Such publicity is intended to disorient Chicanos and to promote false hopes that the drive against *mexicanos* will not be as harsh as feared.

In February Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall explained that he and two other cabinet members had been put in charge of Carter's crackdown. The government's plan, Marshall said, includes making it illegal to hire undocumented workers.

To enforce the jobs ban, he said, counterfeit-proof identification cards would be issued to all U.S. workers. Such internal passports are traditionally associated with police states. All Blacks in South Africa, for example,



Border cops arresting immigrants. Leonel Castillo, who has been picked to head immigration service, wants 25 percent increase in border patrol force.

are required to carry them.

Castillo is an influential figure in Mexican-American Democratic politics. He is the only elected Chicano officeholder in Houston, a city with a large Chicano population. He has carefully cultivated the image of being more than a token—of being concerned with issues affecting Chicanos. In terms of concrete accomplishments, however, there is little behind the image.

Castillo's eagerness to take the job shows that he is ready to do what's expected of him. For example, he has already made an astounding about-face in his attitude toward undocumented immigrants. The reversal took place in early March, as soon as his appointment became known.

According to the March 6 *Houston Chronicle*—before the appointment—Castillo said that no Chicano would

ever turn in an undocumented immigrant to *la migra*.

"It's a gut feeling you can't help having, that somehow they're my kin, somehow they're my people," Castillo said.

But after his appointment, Castillo stridently denied charges that he is "biased in favor of illegals."

Challenged that he "condones the hiring of illegal aliens," Castillo shot back: "No, that's false. It's against the law. I couldn't condone it."

Castillo explained that he is opposed to a Texas bill making it illegal to hire undocumented workers because it exempts farm labor and household service from its provisions. He also objects to provisions imposing prison sentences on employers, saying this will make it difficult to obtain convictions.

Castillo feels Texas should wait for

the full Carter program before passing its own law.

But Castillo has no reservations about massive roundups and deportations: "If instead of Texas hiring 1,000 persons to investigate employers, the U.S. hired 500 more border guards, you'd do a lot more."

Last year the INS's 2,000 border cops deported 870,000 alleged "illegal aliens."

The *Houston Post* reported: "Basically, Castillo said, his stance on illegal aliens centers on treating them 'humanely,' granting them their rights until it is proven they are in the country illegally" (emphasis added).

In other words, he would cover *la migra's* iron fist with a velvet glove.

Additional confirmation of Castillo's political somersault came in a March 13 article in the *Houston Chronicle*. Castillo and Attorney General Griffin Bell made the rounds to several key members of Congress to talk about his confirmation hearings.

Among those who reportedly had no objection to Castillo's appointment were such "friends" of the oppressed as Senators Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), James Eastland (D-Miss.), Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), and John Tower (R-Tex.).

Rep. Peter Rodino (D-N.J.), sponsor of the national bill that would make it illegal to hire undocumented workers, said he felt "terribly positive" about Castillo. Rodino looks forward to "a long, productive relationship" with this "man of great abilities."

Castillo knows full well what his new job entails. He says some of his friends advised him not to take the job, calling it "political suicide."

"They might be right," Castillo told *Los Angeles Times* reporter Frank del Olmo. "I do know that it's a high risk job, but with high risks come high gains."

## Requires ID check of all workers

# New bill against hiring 'aliens' in U.S. Senate

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—Oregon Sen. Robert Packwood announced March 14 that he is enlisting in the war against immigrant workers. Sounding the alarm against the "silent invasion of the American work force," Packwood proposed legislation that would make it illegal to knowingly hire an undocumented worker.

Packwood's Senate bill goes further than similar legislation proposed in the House of Representatives. It would require all employers to check the Social Security cards of their workers. Additional identification such as a driver's license or birth certificate would also be required. The Small Business Administration would enforce compliance through spot checks.

When reached by phone, Mark Gorman, a member of Packwood's legislative staff, presented the Social Security card requirement as an alternative to the Carter administration's scheme for federally issued, counterfeit-proof identity cards. In reality, however, Packwood's proposal dovetails with the identity card idea.

Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall spelled out the connection in an interview with *New York Times* columnist James Reston that appeared March 13. Marshall explained, "You can't punish employers for hiring illegals if they have no secure way to

tell who is illegal and who is legal, which brings you to the problem of making the Social Security cards really secure."

In an attempt to reassure civil libertarians concerned about the police-state implications of the incipient pass system, Marshall claimed: "No policeman would have the right to stop you on the street and ask to see your card, because you don't have to have your card to be here; you have to have a card to work."



SECRETARY OF LABOR MARSHALL: Wants mandatory ID cards for all workers.

Who does Marshall think he's fooling? Aside from the minor detail that most of us have to work in order to live, it is an everyday occurrence for cops in Black and Hispanic communities to stop and frisk people on the streets and demand identification from them.

Although ostensibly directed against the employers, the \$1,000 penalty proposed by Packwood for those found guilty of hiring workers without papers would simply be taken out of the wages of immigrant workers. The bigger the fine, the lower the wages.

Asked about the increased victimization of undocumented workers as a result of such legislation, Packwood aide Gorman told the *Militant*: "Well, I don't know. I don't think we ever gave that much consideration. It's kind of interesting."

Later, Gorman concluded that the Packwood bill would not increase exploitation of immigrant workers because "it will discourage them from coming here. If they're going to make \$2,000 or \$3,000 a year less, they won't come."

Of course, the fact is that undocumented workers will continue to come to the United States because the conditions in their own countries are unbearable. And the capitalists will continue to hire them because it is profitable to do so.

Packwood himself was solicitous of

the interests of the employers, noting in his statement in the Senate that he had no intention of "leaving crops literally rotting in the field. Therefore, I have provided a limited five-year exemption to permit the continuance of alien employment in agriculture and animal husbandry at locations where there are not sufficient laborers who are legally entitled to employment."

This is the old capitalist formula that really applies to all workers—workers are used as long as it is profitable, and then tossed aside like a bag of old clothes. It is simply applied more openly and more brutally in the case of immigrants.

All this is defended by Packwood and the others in the reactionary "hire American" chorus by saying that it will help reduce unemployment among American citizens. As far as they are concerned it makes all the difference in the world whether somebody was born a mile north or a mile south of the border.

Attempts to escape the problems of the economic crisis by shoving them onto the backs of foreign workers or immigrant workers are simply part of the attempts to make Blacks, women, and other oppressed layers of the working class bear the biggest burden. The anger and indignation should be aimed where it belongs—against the rich and powerful who profit from unemployment, not against their victims.



# Chapman scraps ban on counseling 'illegals'

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has revoked a directive that would have made it impossible to counsel undocumented immigrants.

The directive asserted that no one could counsel an undocumented person "until such alien has presented himself to the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service or the United States Border Patrol."

The net effect of the order would have been to end immigration counseling.

The directive stemmed from the Manzo case in Tucson, Arizona.

As one of its social service programs, the Manzo Area Council had advised undocumented immigrants who can become legal residents on the basis of having a spouse or other immediate relative who is a U.S. citizen. Manzo helped people to prepare legal documents necessary to obtain residence permits.

Last October, the government indicted four women associated with Manzo for this counseling. On March 8 these charges were dropped following mounting public protests of the indictments.

But Manzo took the position that even though they had escaped prosecution, the existence of the anticounseling directive was a serious threat to the rights of undocumented people.

They organized a "Pilgrimage for Justice" to Washington, D.C., to demand revocation of the directive. When it arrived at Washington, the delegation—headed by Cathy Montañó, one of the defendants—obtained an appointment with INS Director Leonard Chapman.



Militant/Harry Ring  
CHAPMAN TO MANZO COUNCIL: 'Well, you won.'

In a March 15 telephone interview, Margo Cowan, Manzo director and one of the original defendants, told the *Militant* that she had just learned of the decision to revoke the directive.

According to Cowan, when the delegation entered Chapman's office he said, "Well, you won."

He explained that the order had already been rescinded.

## 800 hit Texas jobs-ban law

By Arturo Yañez Martinez

HOUSTON—More than 800 people gathered at the Lienso Charro Miguel Aleman (Mexican Rodeo Grounds) here March 15 to raise funds to fight a proposed law making it illegal to knowingly hire undocumented workers.

The proposed statute, House Bill 816, is modeled after the federal Rodino bill, except that the Texas law specifically exempts farm and domestic labor.

That is, the law is specifically designed to reinforce the status of undocumented Mexicans as the most exploited workers, confined to the lowest-paying, most unsafe, and most distasteful jobs.

Opposition to HB 816 has been organized by Tejanos de Houston, an affiliate of a statewide Mexican-American lobbying group. The group plans to take at least two busloads of

people from Houston to Austin, the state capital, when the bill comes up on the floor of the legislature. So far, Tejanos de Houston has limited its perspectives to lobbying against the bill.

A statement by the Socialist Workers party said, "We welcome this public and visible activity. We must continue to fight against discrimination and deportations."

The socialists said additional large protests are needed to defeat the bill: "People traveling to Austin should rally in front of the capitol building and have a visible opposition to this law."

"HB 816 and other bills like it blame the Mexican for the high unemployment rate. But Mexicanos do not cause unemployment. The big corporations cause it," the SWP statement said.

## Perspectiva Mundial on 'aliens'

By José G. Pérez

The March 21 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language news magazine produced by socialists in the United States, features extensive coverage of the Carter administration's plans to crack down on Mexican immigrants without residence permits.

The magazine includes translations of several *Militant* articles: "Carter aide announces crackdown on 'illegals,'" by Harry Ring; the *Militant's* editorial on the proposal to require all U.S. workers to have computerized ID cards to get a job; and interviews with several antideportation and Chicano movement figures blasting the Carter plans.

"This hasn't received much coverage in the news media," says *PM* editor Mirta Vidal. "But I think there will be widespread interest in this issue of *PM* in Spanish-speaking communities all over the United States."

*Perspectiva Mundial* is published every other week. Yearly subscriptions cost ten dollars, and bundles can be obtained at thirty-five cents per copy for orders of three or more. Cover price is fifty cents.

All requests should be sent to: *Perspectiva Mundial*, Post Office Box 314, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

## Steel notes...

**INTRODUCING 'STEEL NOTES':** With this issue the *Militant* is introducing "Steel notes"—a column of news and opinion about the fight for militant and democratic unionism in steel. We welcome contributions, anecdotes, and comments from all steelworkers and other supporters of the Steelworkers Fight Back movement. Send material to Andy Rose c/o Militant Editorial Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

**MICHIGAN FIGHT BACK NEWSLETTER:** Volume 1, Number 1, of *District 29 Steelworkers Fight Back* is an attractive, four-page printed newsletter now being distributed by the thousands at plants in District 29 (Michigan). This first issue gives a detailed report of the voting in District 29, which the Sadlowski team carried by a 60 percent to 40 percent majority. It also summarizes Fight Back's charges of vote fraud in the international election.

**'WHAT WE STAND FOR':** The District 29 newsletter says it is "a continuation of the District 29 Steelworkers for Sadlowski and carries on the ideas which brought us together in the election campaign. We won over 60% of the vote in this district and now we are beginning the job of molding an on-going movement to bring about the changes the members expressed a desire to see with their votes. . . ."

"Because we stand for democracy this newsletter will be a place for discussion," it says, noting that *Steel Labor*, the official union paper, "will not print the views of the Fight Back campaign."

**CHICANO GRIEVANCEMAN VICTIMIZED:** The newsletter reports an ominous case of petty reprisals against Salvador Mendez, vice-chairperson of the grievance committee of Local 1299 (Great Lakes Steel) and the only Chicano in the elected leadership of the local. Mendez was also the only Sadlowski supporter in the local leadership.

Now Mendez is again "one of a kind," the newsletter reports. "He is the only one of the full time staff of elected officials of the local who will not be able to have some one cover his assignments while he is in Washington for the basic steel negotiations."

The newsletter ridicules the idea that the McBride stalwarts in the local officialdom have suddenly become economy-minded. "How many people were paid by the local to go out and campaign for McBride?" Refusing to provide a replacement for Mendez is really "stealing the members' right to have grievances taken care of. . . ."

"This kind of petty theft of the members' rights doesn't make Sal look bad. It makes the union look bad. And that is a lot worse than petty theft."

**HOW TO GET IT:** The address of *District 29 Steelworkers Fight Back* is Box 633, Wyandotte, Michigan 48192. No subscription price is listed, but the Michigan steelworkers would probably welcome donations to help keep their newsletter going.

**IN TEXAS, TOO:** Steelworkers in District 37 (Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas) have issued a four-page mimeographed Fight Back newsletter. They summarize what they stand for:

- "1. We want a union run by the membership—not the officers and staff.
- "2. We want open conventions and conferences where all points of view can be heard and discussed.
- "3. We want membership vote on all major decisions, especially contracts.
- "4. We want fair election procedures and honest vote counts in every election.
- "5. We want an end to physical intimidation and reprisals against steelworkers who speak their mind.
- "6. We want staff representatives who are elected, not appointed."

The first issue reports on the international election protest and a District 37 USWA conference, described as "a pep rally for the 'official family.'" It also includes letters from Houston steelworkers on contract language and problems of women workers.

District 37 Fight Back can be reached at Post Office Box 66652 Fairview Station, Houston, Texas 77006.

—Andy Rose

## Unions hit Argentine repression

By Kurt Hill

Two locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees have joined the growing list of supporters demanding freedom for José Francisco Páez and other imprisoned trade unionists in Argentina.

Both Local 1930 of District Council 37 in New York City and Local 1164 in Minneapolis endorsed a resolution circulated by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Another recent supporter of the drive to free Páez was John Denton, city council member in Berkeley, California.

The resolution points out the grim features of the repression directed at the Argentine trade-union movement:

"... Argentina's labor movement has been particularly struck by the military occupation of its headquarters, the persecution of its leaders through murder and widespread deten-

tion without trial, the abrogation of its right to engage in collective bargaining or its right to strike when necessary. . . ."

Páez is one of Argentina's best-known trade unionists. He was a leader of the auto workers union in the industrial city of Córdoba. Páez has been imprisoned since January 1976 on charges of "illegal associations" and possession of "subversive" literature.

As is the case of thousands of other political prisoners of the Videla dictatorship, Páez was jailed without legal recourse.

Earlier endorsers of the Páez defense included Nobel Prize laureates George Wald and Salvador Luria, linguist Noam Chomsky, and numerous trade-union leaders from other countries, including Bob Hawke, president of the Australian Labor party.

For more information on the campaign, write or call the USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003.

## Opposition to Shanker

# Urge vote for United Fightback in New York City teachers election

By Ed Berger

NEW YORK—On March 7 most members of the United Federation of Teachers received a brochure from incumbent President Albert Shanker's Unity Caucus about the upcoming union elections.

Ballots were mailed out to New York City teachers March 18 and voting continues until April 5.

In the brochure, Shanker calls his opposition scabs who would surrender control of the schools to the communities.

Shanker assures teachers that the experience and leadership the Unity Caucus has provided in the past will win back for them everything that has been lost.

He neglects to mention that it was under the leadership of the Unity Caucus that teachers lost what Shanker now promises to win back.

And what has been lost is considerable. It includes 15,000 laid-off teachers, a wage freeze, increased class sizes, and a spectacular deterioration in working conditions.

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

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The Unity Caucus brochure discusses none of these problems confronting teachers. It only tries to discredit opposition candidates through appeals to racist sentiment against the Black and Latino communities.

How do the opposition groups relate to the problems teachers face in New York City? Two groups are running slates against the Unity Caucus. They are New Directions, headed by Marc Pessin for president, and United Fightback, an electoral coalition of the Teachers Action Caucus and the Coalition of New York City School Workers. United Fightback is headed by Anne Filardo for president.

The programs of these two groups have many points of similarity. Both reject the argument that there is no money for education and other social services. They urge a fight against the cutbacks.

Both New Directions and United Fightback see union democracy as a major issue for teachers. They call for a rank-and-file voice in union affairs, including opening the UFT newspaper to different views and giving minority views a hearing and proportional representation at conventions.

(Currently, no minority representation is allowed at delegated conventions. A vote of 51 percent to 49 percent would leave the majority with all the delegates.)

Both call for extensive reforms in the teachers' pension fund. This includes ending the massive purchases of city bonds by the fund, which endanger its security and create a conflict of interest for the union.

Both groups call for repealing the punitive measures of New York State's antiunion Taylor Law.

Both call for an end to corruption and waste at the central board of education. Shanker's policy is complicity with the board.

Both call for building the independent strength of the union instead of relying on the good will of politicians.

It is on the key question of racism, within the union and within the school system, that the Fightback slate presents a clearly superior alternative to New Directions. None of the problems UFT teachers face can be solved until the union reverses the dismal record of Shankerism in this area.

Building the independent strength of the union will remain an impossibility as long as the union remains a white job-trust in a majority nonwhite school system. Already many young teachers, Black teachers, and Latino teachers refuse to join the union. Shankerism means that number is certain to grow in the future.

Even with a strong and united union, teachers can not turn back the attack on education by ourselves. We need allies.

Our real allies are not Democratic and Republican politicians, but those who are hurt by the cuts in public education—that is, the parents and students of the Black, Latino, and Asian communities of New York City.

Shankerism has created a teachers union that is an enemy to these communities and thus an enemy to itself. In doing so it has placed public education and every New York City public school teacher in desperate peril.

United Fightback says teachers need to reach out and involve the Black and Latino communities in the fight to preserve education. They correctly call for an end to racist practices in the New York City school system.

The United Fightback platform calls for: "Bilingual and bicultural education available to all children whose parents desire it, for as long as they wish."

This is quite different from Shanker's idea of bilingual education, which he sees as a transition until the student can function in English, at which point the student would discard his or her native language.

The United Fightback platform raises a number of ways in which minority teachers could be increased in the New York City school system.

- Restore the career ladder program, designed to enable paraprofessionals to become teachers.

- Abolish the board of examiners,

which has always served to keep minorities out of the school system.

- Full support to open admissions and free tuition in the city university.

There is no discussion of racism anywhere in the platform of New Directions. It takes no position on the racist attacks the Shanker leadership has committed against the Black and Latino communities.

It has no statement on bilingual education.

It supports strict seniority, which has resulted in discriminatory layoffs of minority teachers.

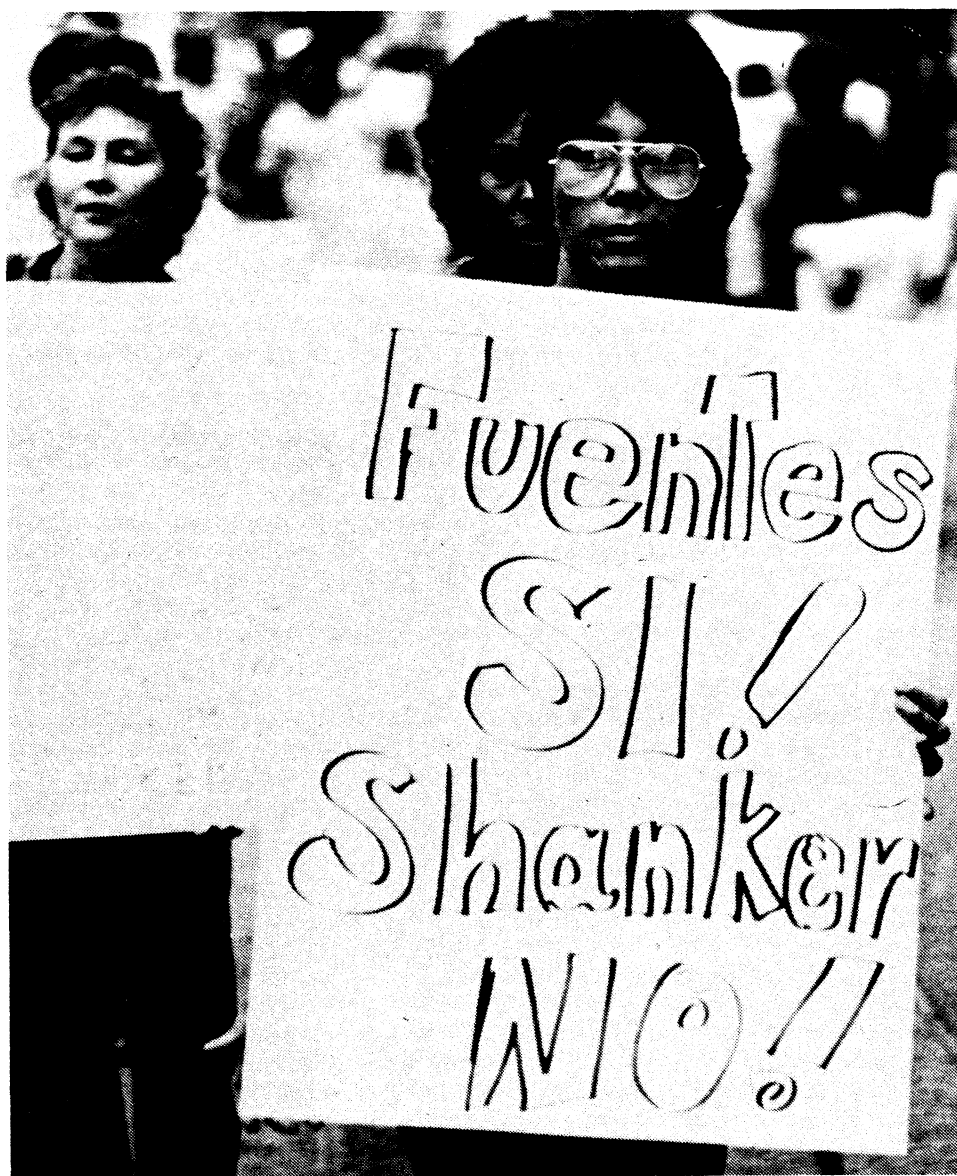
The United Fightback platform also has serious weaknesses on this question. It fails to call for affirmative action in the hiring and recall of laid-off teachers to increase the percentage of minority teachers.

It calls for: "The hiring of every laid-off staff member, plus a campaign to recruit and hire more minority staff." This position is essentially the same as Shanker's. It implies that before any action can be taken to hire more minority teachers, all currently laid-off teachers must be rehired through strict seniority.

Shanker's attacks on the opposition as advocates of community control should have prompted both New Directions and United Fightback to stand up and support genuine community control of the schools by the oppressed minority communities.

Unfortunately neither group takes up this issue, even though many of their members were among the 11,000 UFT members who crossed picket lines in refusing to support Shanker's racist 1968 strike against community control.

Despite its weaknesses United Fightback represents an alternative to the dead-end policies of Shanker's Unity Caucus. United Fightback deserves the vote of all teachers in this election. A large vote of "no confidence" in Shanker will show that teachers are no longer willing to tolerate his no-win strategy.



Militant/Michael Baumann

Demonstration in 1973 for community control of schools in District One, New York City.

## UAW strikes Allis-Chalmers

By Linda Kraft

MILWAUKEE—Thousands of organized workers at Allis-Chalmers, the giant industrial and farm equipment manufacturer, walked out on strike March 13.

The biggest plant is in West Allis, Wisconsin, an industrial suburb of Milwaukee. Here 3,400 members of United Autos Workers Local 248 are on strike. Four smaller Allis-Chalmers shops, organized by the UAW and located mainly in the South, joined the walkout.

The strike follows four months of contract extensions and more than six months of negotiations in which the company refused to discuss any of the UAW's key demands.

The big issue is job security. In 1959 there were 9,000 employees at the West Allis plant. Since then Allis-Chalmers

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*Linda Kraft is a shop steward in UAW Local 248 at Allis-Chalmers.*

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has eliminated 5,600 jobs by subcontracting work out to smaller, mainly nonunion shops, and by moving whole departments and operations to the nonunion South or overseas.

Like General Motors, Allis-Chalmers has a "Southern strategy" to weaken and eventually eliminate unions.

The UAW is demanding:

- no subcontracting while any employee is laid off;

- provisions for employees to move with their jobs; and

- a conceptual pledge that Allis-Chalmers will remain "neutral" toward UAW efforts to organize its nonunion shops.

The UAW won such a "neutrality" pledge from GM after a twelve-hour "mini-strike" last November. Since then the union has won bargaining rights and a contract at a GM plant in Monroe, Louisiana, raising average wages there eighty dollars a week.

Allis-Chalmers refuses to accept the pattern settlement reached in recent UAW contracts with other agricultural implements producers, such as John Deere, Caterpillar, and International Harvester.

It claims that because it also makes motors, switches, and other electrical equipment, it should instead follow the pattern set by General Electric and the electrical workers unions. Allis-Chalmers says GE is its main competitor.

Facts released by Allis-Chalmers itself show otherwise. In 1975 its vehicle group, which includes farm, material-handling, and lawn and garden equipment, accounted for 46 percent of its sales worldwide. Mining and pollution-control equipment was 36 percent of sales. Electrical products totaled only 18 percent of sales.

But there is a simple reason for Allis-Chalmers' bizarre attempt to convince employees they are making electrical products instead of tractors. Electrical workers get about *three dollars an hour less* in total wages and benefits than workers under UAW contract in agricultural implement companies.

The past several contracts at Allis-Chalmers have been reached after strikes of less than two weeks. But in the three years since the previous contract was settled, there has been a series of union-busting attacks against Wisconsin unions, including the Milwaukee meatcutters, machinists, and most recently the Racine teachers.

Thus the belligerence of Allis-Chalmers fits into an ominous pattern. The ranks and leadership of Local 248 will have to be prepared for a possibly long and serious battle to win their demands.



# Carter aide attacks school busing

By John Hawkins

Assistant Attorney General Drew Days, the Justice Department's first Black civil rights division head, spelled out the Carter administration's school desegregation policy March 18.

"The existence of schools predominantly attended by members of one race does not in itself amount to racial discrimination," Days said in a friend-of-the-court brief filed with the U.S. court of appeals in Philadelphia.

He argued for strict limits on busing between Wilmington, Delaware, and its eleven New Castle County suburbs.

The Justice Department brief struck at the heart of last May's federal court order desegregating Wilmington-area schools.

That three-judge panel had ordered cross-district busing between Wilmington and suburban schools. They also ordered that each school in New Castle County have between 10 and 35 percent Black student enrollment.

Although the judges did not hand down a detailed busing plan, only such a remedy could achieve meaningful desegregation and meet the enrollment goal the court had set. Wilmington's schools are now about

90 percent Black and Latino. The suburban schools are about 90 percent white.

The state of Delaware and nine suburban school districts appealed the desegregation order to the U.S. Supreme Court last year. In November the court dismissed the appeal on technical grounds, leaving the door open for an appeals court review.

During arguments before the Supreme Court, however, Ford's Solicitor General Robert Bork presented the same position used in Days's brief. In fact, according to the March 19 *Washington Star*, Days's brief is almost identical to Bork's.

Days's brief is the Carter administration's first formal action on school desegregation. It signals no change from Ford's antibusing policy.

The brief follows by little more than a month Attorney General Griffin Bell's statement on the CBS television program "Face the Nation" that recent Supreme Court decisions have changed the law on school desegregation.

Bell contended that the court had placed new and stricter limits on lower courts' use of busing.

Days's arguments in the Wilming-



ASST. ATTORNEY GENERAL DREW DAYS

ton case could just as easily be put forward in the Dayton, Ohio, desegregation case, which the Supreme Court recently agreed to review. The school board there also claims that its current desegregation plan involves "too much" busing.

A decision by the Carter administration to intervene on behalf of the Dayton school board would be yet another step toward returning to the days of "separate but equal" schools.

# California, Illinois SWP win election law victory

By Geoff Mirelowitz

Socialists in California and Illinois recently scored victories in the fight to be exempted from undemocratic campaign finance disclosure laws.

## California

The California Fair Political Practices Commission agreed at the beginning of March to exempt Socialist Workers party campaign committees in Los Angeles and Oakland. The socialists objected to disclosing the names, addresses, and places of employment of individuals contributing more than fifty dollars to their campaigns.

In hearings before the commission, representatives of the SWP campaigns argued that turning over this information could subject their supporters to illegal government harassment.

They pointed to massive evidence documenting the FBI's forty-year surveillance and attempted disruption of the SWP.

The candidates included in the contributor exemption are Los Angeles SWP mayoral candidate Sam Manuel and school board candidate Virginia Garza; and Oakland SWP mayoral candidate Paul Boutelle and city council candidates Jude Coren and Clifton DeBerry.

A Communist Labor party candidate for Los Angeles school board won a similar exemption.

These decisions are to apply temporarily and will be reviewed later in the spring.

This gain for smaller parties has provoked a move in the California state legislature to eliminate exemption provision from the campaign law. Both Democrats and Republicans have proposed such legislation, which would be a serious blow to the rights of smaller parties.

The CBS television affiliate in Los Angeles has already editorialized in favor of the legislators' proposal.

Los Angeles SWP campaign manager Sherry Smith appeared on CBS with an editorial reply.

"Channel 2 is wrong," Smith said. "Supporters of our election campaigns have been fired from their jobs, ousted from apartments and offices, beaten, burglarized, bombed, and intimidated. . . .

"The government has testified it provided the FBI with lists of contributors to previous Socialist Workers campaigns. . . .

"The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that the rights of minority parties must be protected."

## Illinois

In Illinois SWP campaign committees went to court in 1975 seeking exemption from disclosure provisions.

The state moved to dismiss the case, arguing that the SWP failed to prove its charges of possible harassment to contributors.

On February 11 Federal District Court Judge Prentice Marshall denied the state's motion, stating:

"The complaint details specific examples of past harassment to the Socialist Workers Party. . . . Federal officials have harassed and surveilled the Party. City police officers have infiltrated its ranks. Private groups have intimidated and burglarized, raided and bombed Party campaign offices."

The socialists contend that the state board of elections will now have to reconsider granting an exemption to the SWP campaign committees.

# Houston women hit council attack

By Dorothy Sand

HOUSTON—City council chambers here were packed for the council's March 16 meeting. More than 100 people spoke. Hundreds more crammed into the room and the halls outside.

The all-male council listened to debate on its March 9 decision to reduce the salary of Houston's official advocate for women's rights to one dollar a year.

Women's Advocate Nikki Van Hightower supported and spoke at the International Women's Day demonstration here March 5. Her activist role provoked the attack.

At the March 9 council meeting, opponents of women's rights blasted Van Hightower for promoting rights such as abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment.

Both sides mobilized for the March 16 meeting. Of the 100 speakers, about half were for Van Hightower, half against.

Those who spoke against Van Hightower opposed abortion rights and decried the ERA, which—they charged—would require men and women to use the same toilets. They also denounced gay rights.

Among those speaking for women's rights was seventy-five-year-old Ann Wharton. "I have suffered discrimination as a woman since before most of you were born," she told the council.

"For decades mine has been a history of lost causes. But no more. In

the 1970s things have changed—I am often on the winning side now. And it feels good. I'm often proud."

During the lunch recess, nearly 200 people rallied outside to oppose the council's attack. "Some people have said this is an attack on me personally," Van Hightower told the crowd. "But it is an attack on the whole women's movement."

Van Hightower was clearly victimized for her activity in support of women's rights. If the city council and its right-wing allies succeed in shutting her up, who will be next?

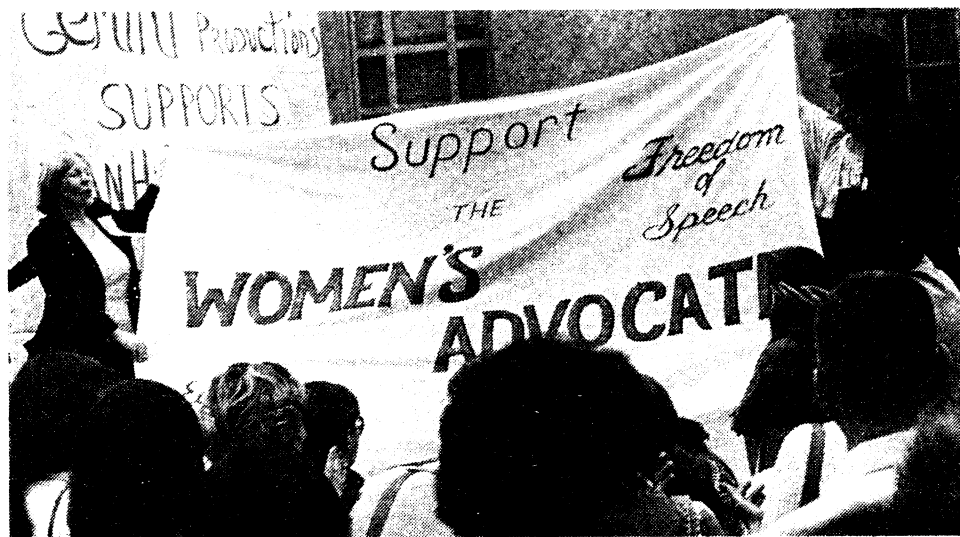
Since the legality of the salary reduction for Van Hightower is ques-

tionable, the council is trying to abolish the post altogether.

Action on a motion to do so, however, was postponed for two weeks.

Nearly 200 gathered for a rally to defend Van Hightower the evening of the council meeting. Speakers included Billie Carr, a Democratic party national committeeperson; Pat Cearcy, Coalition of Labor Union Women; and Diane Sarge, representing the Socialist Workers party.

"Now is not the time to pull back," Sarge said. "We need more actions like the International Women's Day rally that Van Hightower was attacked for attending."



Protesters defend right to free speech for women's advocate

Militant/Stu Singer

# Gov't case weak in frame-up of Mass. unionists

By Diane Wang

The government's frame-up trial of two trade unionists in Springfield, Massachusetts, is not doing well in court. Prosecution witnesses repeatedly contradicted themselves during the trial of Alex Markley and Tony Suares March 21 and 22.

Markley, an organizer for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE), and Suares, a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, are charged with conspiring to "damage and destroy" trucks.

Supposedly, in 1975 the two unionists gave an undercover agent of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau

four bombs to "take care" of scab trucks that crossed a UE picket line.

Leslie Moore, the ATF informer who introduced the undercover agent to Markley, told several conflicting versions of his story.

Thomas O'Reilly, the ATF agent, also contradicted himself when cross-examined. Defense attorneys forced O'Reilly to admit that he was the one who raised the topic of explosives with the unionists and that Markley and Suares had not actually agreed to any bomb plot.

Messages of support can be sent to the unionists at the Markley-Suares Defense Committee, Post Office Box 5001, Holyoke, Massachusetts 01040.

# Mich. students demand: Stop spying on us

By Meg Hayes

MT. PLEASANT, Mich.—Officials at Central Michigan University admit serving "quite often" as informers for the FBI, and students here are demanding that they stop.

The controversy follows the release March 2 of FBI documents showing that the bureau kept tabs on the CMU Young Socialist Alliance chapter from 1971 to 1975. The FBI carefully recorded names, addresses, and telephone numbers of YSA members, along with information about meetings and other campus activities.

CMU President Harold Abel and past President William Boyd were both quick to disavow any connection with the spy operation.

"It appears to be true," Abel told a reporter from the *Michigan State News*, "that the FBI monitored activities of the YSA. But that university administrators were involved is purely speculation."

Boyd, president of CMU from 1968 to 1975, was even more defensive. If collusion between university administrators and the FBI did occur, Boyd said, "it occurred outside of my range of interest."

However, CMU's campus security chief, John McAuliffe, told a somewhat different story. Citing official university policy approved by the president, McAuliffe said that the campus Department of Public Safety "served as a channel" of information on student activities for the FBI on many occasions.

"It may be inappropriate for the FBI to keep that kind of information," McAuliffe told the *Central Michigan Life*, "but I don't feel it was inappropriate for us to give it out."

The *CM Life* editorial board disagreed. "Students, and the rest of the University community," it wrote March 2, "should be concerned and upset about the fact we do not know what information has been released about ourselves and the groups to which we belong."

Commenting on McAuliffe's statement that supplying information to the FBI is a "routine procedure," the editorial said, "... We cannot condone

releasing confidential information regarding a person's or group's political activities or beliefs."

Also on March 2, the CMU Student Association Board of Directors decided to establish a task force to investigate spying on campus. The task force intends to interview administrators, campus security officers, professors, students, and FBI agents in order to find out the whole truth about past and present surveillance.

"During the time the YSA was being spied on," board member Lynn Connell told the *Militant*, "they were involved in activity against the war in Vietnam, for repeal of abortion laws, and in the UFW [United Farm Workers] pickets and boycotts. A lot of other CMU students and organizations

were active in these same movements.

"We need to find out the whole truth about FBI surveillance at CMU, and probably many students were victims of this surveillance who were not members of the YSA."

The student association is urging members of campus Black, Chicano, gay, and women's groups to participate in the task force.

On March 8 President Abel responded to student protests by announcing that he would start his own "investigation" of the spy scandal. According to the *CM Life*, Abel has requested that the Department of Public Safety provide lists of the "types of inquiries" received from "sources outside the University," "types of information" given out, and

"guidelines" on "what information requires the approval of higher authorities before release."

Abel has also taken pains to brush aside the obvious question of whether CMU's cooperation with the FBI played any part in the administration's decision last October 20 to arrest three Young Socialist Alliance members who were distributing literature on campus.

"I made that decision," Abel told the *Detroit Free Press*, "and I have not talked to anyone from the FBI."

Although Abel says he can now see that he was "interfering with free speech" by ordering the arrests, he insists, "... I have no intention to drop the charges as long as [the socialists] claim they're in the right."

## Chomsky backs campus free speech fight

By Arnold Weissberg

Noted linguist and political activist Noam Chomsky has added his name to the growing list of supporters of three Young Socialist Alliance members arrested at Central Michigan University last October.

Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith were arrested while

distributing socialist literature outside a public speech by former CBS news correspondent Daniel Schorr.

The three had been selling the *Militant*, hawking pamphlets, and handing out materials for Socialist Workers party candidates for public office.

Charged with trespassing on university property and disrupting a university function, the three face possible six-month jail terms and \$1,650 fines.

The three socialists filed suit against CMU charging that the regulations under which they were arrested are unconstitutional because they bar free speech.

Explaining his decision to support the defense effort, Chomsky said the arrests constitute "a clear infringement of elementary rights of free speech and political freedom."

"It is particularly ironic," Chomsky said, "that this apparent effort to impede the free dissemination of ideas should take place on a university campus. Contrary to much rhetoric, the fact is that

American universities have generally tended to operate within a fairly narrow ideological framework and have rarely tolerated, let alone encouraged, free inquiry and study of politically sensitive areas.

"But this particular attempt to prevent the distribution of literature and punish those guilty of the crime of trying to make their views available to a wider audience is unusual, extreme, and intolerable in its blatant violation of basic democratic rights and the principle of an open university," Chomsky concluded.

Other supporters of free speech at CMU include student government leaders from around the country, as well as journalist I.F. Stone; writer Dwight MacDonald; Edith Tiger, head of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; writer Murray Kempton, and many more.

Support for the three socialists is organized by the Committee for Free Speech. **Contact the committee at Box 626, Mount Pleasant, Mich. 48858, for more information or to become an endorser.**



NOAM CHOMSKY

## Saccharin's not so sweet

By Arnold Weissberg

"No additive shall be deemed to be safe if it is found to induce cancer when ingested by man or animal or if it is found, after tests which are appropriate for the evaluation of the safety of food additives, to induce cancer in man or animal. ..."

This sentence is part of the Delaney clause, one of the Food Additive Amendments passed by Congress in 1958.

It was under this clause that the U.S. Food and Drug Administration recently announced its ban on saccharin.

The giant U.S. food industry has sought to overturn the Delaney clause ever since its

Critics of the FDA decision, consciously or unconsciously echoing the food chemical industry, have charged that the Canadian study on which the FDA decision is based isn't valid because animals, not humans, were tested. Newspapers have been quick to blare the "fact" that humans would have to drink 800 bottles of diet soda daily to consume the same amount of saccharin that gave the test animals cancer.

The truth is, however, that the tests on saccharin were scientifically identical to tests carried out on dozens of other substances, including cyclamates—another artificial sweetener banned in 1970.

Since it is impossible to test vast numbers of lab animals, researchers routinely feed a relatively small number—in this case 100—a high dose of the chemical under examination. For the purposes of detecting cancers, this method is equivalent to giving a small dose to a large number of animals. If a chemical produces cancer in humans, it will also produce a cancer in test animals.

The saccharin test results—three bladder cancers in the test rats and bladder cancers in 14 percent of their offspring—reveal the presence of a powerful carcinogen.

Of course, 14 percent of the children of people who use saccharin won't get bladder cancer. But the 5 million pounds consumed in the United States each year will produce some cancers. Estimates vary, but the number could be as high

as 6,000 a year or as low as 60.

And it doesn't matter if you drink only one bottle of diet soda a year. There's no such thing as a "safe" level of a carcinogen.

The food chemical industry has had other sugar substitutes in the works for a while. But as *Time* magazine put it, research has been "hit-or-miss." The industry hasn't concerned itself with the safety of its products, only with their profitability.

Saccharin has been suspect for twenty years. Why the sudden fuss?

Because the real target is the Delaney clause. The food industry wants freedom to dump more chemicals into our food—chemicals that may cause cancer, but also mean fatter profits.

Congress will soon get a bill to "modernize" the Delaney clause. The *New York Times* wants to dilute it to permit "rational decision-making."

That would give FDA bureaucrats leeway in deciding what additives to ban. But the agency is already notorious for the sympathy with which its top officials view the "economic problems" of the food industry.

FDA officials—and their superiors in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—have publicly expressed opposition to Delaney.

The FDA is like many other federal regulatory and protective agencies. It rarely regulates or protects. But that's no reason to allow the repeal of a safeguard that can be used to force the FDA into even occasional action.

## AS I SEE IT

passage. The FDA has catered to these corporations by taking a lackadaisical attitude toward enforcement.

The FDA's ban on saccharin, however, has precipitated a downpour of abuse on the Delaney clause. What is really at stake in this controversy?

Today saccharin is the most widely used artificial sweetener. Americans consume about 5 million pounds yearly, mostly in diet soda.



# What the CIA really fears

## In answering false charges of terrorism, Jack Barnes reveals what's behind CIA secrecy

### Introduction

What's behind the CIA's claims that its criminal activity must remain secret from the American people? That's the question posed by the CIA's refusal to release details of its self-confessed illegal spying against the Socialist Workers party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Fourth International.

In the 7,500-word affidavit reproduced on the following pages SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes answers that question. At the same time he systematically refutes totally false charges introduced by the CIA to bolster their claims to secrecy: that socialists are advocates of terrorism.

Barnes signed the affidavit on March 17 for a lawsuit brought by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against the CIA and other political police agencies. The suit seeks an injunction against government harassment and disruption of the socialists' activities, as well as \$40 million in damages.

Since 1973, when the legal challenge began, the socialists have forced the government to make public some 200,000 pages of political spy files. Most of the files were from the FBI—revealing details of its Cointelpro disruption operations, burglaries, and informer network.

Now the SWP and YSA are trying to get this kind of evidence from the CIA. In response, the government has tried to fortify the CIA's secrecy with legal arguments. The CIA argues that a clause in its charter exempts it from being called to account for its crimes against American citizens. Diane Wang, in the article at right, explains what is at stake.

The government has tried to justify its cover-up with a series of outrageously false charges against the SWP and the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization. Specifically, the government claims that the Fourth International is a "worldwide network which supports revolutionary violence and political terrorism" and that sections of the group have been guilty of "notorious acts of terrorism."

Barnes's statement is an answer to the government accusation that socialists say one thing in public while plotting violence in private.

In refuting CIA allegations of terrorism, the affidavit touches on a wide range of examples—from the American Revolution to the Warsaw Ghetto uprising.

Barnes reviews the historical record of revolutionary socialists on terrorism. He includes extensive and illuminating quotations from Leon Trotsky.

Also included are segments of European Trotskyist leader Ernest Mandel's response to *Newsweek's* accusations of terrorism leveled at the Fourth International.

Barnes concludes by showing that it is the U.S. government that is the actual criminal terrorist.

He examines what the government calls an "instance of revolutionary violence"—the upsurge in France in May-June 1968—to explain what is behind the government's accusations.

In doing this Barnes explains why secrecy is such an important weapon in the CIA's arsenal.

The Barnes affidavit is more than a major contribution to the lawsuit in the courts now. It has lasting value as a persuasive defense of revolutionaries' right to function and to advocate revolutionary change in capitalist society.

### Socialist suit targets CIA

By Diane Wang

The CIA is one of a dozen federal agencies being sued by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance. The socialists are demanding an end to government spying and disruption of their political activities.

Through the case, which began in 1973, scores of FBI crimes—from wiretapping to burglary—have been documented. Now it's the CIA's turn. The CIA has turned over a few files and made sworn statements for the suit. But for the most part it has refused to submit evidence. The government claims that making CIA material public for the case would endanger national security.

In a legal memorandum filed for the socialists on March 7, attorney Herbert Jordan explained the legal basis for demanding the evidence.

A major legal battle is now coming to a head. On one side the SWP and YSA insist American citizens have the right to know what the CIA has done to them.

On the other side the CIA is trying to roll back the U.S. Constitution to keep its wrongdoing secret.

#### Already known

Whether the CIA committed the crimes is not in question. The CIA has already admitted that much.

The outlines of the CIA's Operation Chaos, for example, are already public. Begun in 1967, Operation Chaos was supposed to prove that the Black struggle, antiwar demonstrations, and campus unrest were all foreign plots.

The CIA failed to unmask any foreign plots. But in its seven-year lifetime, Operation Chaos collected information on 300,000 people and groups.

Attorneys for the socialists have questioned Paul Haefner and Richard Ober, two CIA officials, under oath. But with government lawyers objecting to most questions, little information was obtained.

More useful was the affidavit submitted last July by then CIA Director George Bush. He admitted agents had burglarized and wiretapped SWP members who traveled overseas.

And in sworn, written answers to socialists' questions last fall the CIA admitted it had broken into places where SWP members were staying, copied their materials, and opened their mail.

#### Stonewalling

But Bush's affidavit and the CIA's written answers gave no details about these or other crimes.

Government lawyers justified the silence by pointing to a catchall section of the CIA charter that gives the CIA director the job of "protecting intelligence sources and methods."

But, as Jordan's legal memo points out, "it is inconceivable" that the law to protect CIA sources and methods "sets the CIA above the law and renders it unaccountable to the judiciary and aggrieved citizens."

The CIA itself has shown how flimsy its excuse is. While claiming that the release of evidence for the SWP and YSA case would endanger national security, the CIA turned over some very similar material for another lawsuit.

Among the questions the SWP had asked were: Does the CIA seek information about American socialists from foreign governments? Does the CIA hire foreign agents to carry out more dirty tricks? How much do the FBI and CIA collaborate against political dissidents?

These are sources and methods that must be kept secret, the government answered. Yet in another lawsuit, filed by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of some Operation Chaos victims, the CIA released documents providing some answers to these same questions:

One CIA cable ordered its agents to enlist foreign intelligence agencies for Operation Chaos. The CIA encouraged its foreign accomplices to use break-ins, wiretaps, and thefts against U.S. citizens. The cable referred to close CIA-FBI ties.

Another cable set out plans to have foreign spies serve as "penetration agents" inside the United States.

Pointing out that "national security" had not been endangered by releasing these "sources and methods" for the ACLU case, Jordan's memo says, "One can hardly avoid the conclusion that the agency is playing games. . . ."

#### State secrets

The government has tried to bolster its case with another argument. The CIA crimes are classified "secrets of state." Telling what the agents did "might compromise or embarrass our government," the spies' lawyers have insisted.

Jordan's legal brief points out that laws about state secrets deal with military secrets. That's not what is at stake here.

But the government's legal brief defending CIA secrecy relies most heavily on a series

of vicious slanders and lies directed against the SWP and the Fourth International, the worldwide Trotskyist organization. Because a 1940 law, the Voorhis Act, could be used to victimize the SWP if it were a member, the party does not belong to the Fourth International.

#### Fourth International

The SWP does, however, maintain close fraternal relations with the Fourth International. It has demanded CIA documents about the international body because it is convinced they will show what the spies did to SWP members and why they did it.

Government lawyers contend that the SWP wants the files for the benefit of "a foreign revolutionary organization"—not for the purposes of the suit. In cloak-and-dagger language the government claims:

"Such knowledge would no doubt allow this foreign revolutionary group to adjust its plans accordingly and perhaps implement them with deadly effect."

The government lawyers even suggested that socialists, because they are supposedly terrorists, have no legitimate claim to the Bill of Rights:

"No doubt plaintiffs [socialists] would perceive grave threats to their First Amendment rights if any information were ever disseminated to 'chill' the activities of their associates in the Fourth International in support of terrorism."

Jack Barnes's affidavit—printed here in its entirety—answers the slanders about the Fourth International's "support of terrorism."

Jordan's legal brief explains why CIA files on the worldwide organization are necessary for the case.

What the CIA did against the Fourth International must have victimized the SWP, Jordan's brief charges.

In addition, the brief points out, the government uses the SWP's relation to the Fourth International as one justification for its harassment and disruption.

Besides, Jordan asks, if the Fourth International is so irrelevant to this case, why did the government submit twenty-two pages of questions about the Fourth International to the SWP?

Until recently, the CIA operated in almost total secrecy. Now that a few facts have leaked out—or have been dragged out by suits such as the SWP and YSA's—the agency is fighting hard for court decisions legitimizing its cover-up of crimes.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, et al.,  
Plaintiffs,  
-against-  
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED  
STATES, et al.,  
Defendants.  
STATE OF NEW YORK)  
CITY OF NEW YORK) s.s.:  
COUNTY OF NEW YORK)

Jack Barnes, being duly sworn, deposes and says:  
I am National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, and as such, qualified to testify about the policies and activities of the SWP.

The government's memorandum of law on CIA discovery<sup>1</sup> and accompanying affidavit make a series of charges against the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party. These charges read as follows:

A close analysis of various documents produced by plaintiffs in this action indicates that (a) the Fourth International and its constituent sections comprise a worldwide network which supports revolutionary violence and political terrorism; (b) sections of the Fourth International have been responsible for notorious acts of terrorism with the approval, if not the actual connivance of the Fourth International's leadership; (c) the Fourth International takes credit for an important role in at least one major instance of revolutionary violence against an important ally of the United States. (Government's Memorandum at 12.)

The charge of terrorism leveled by the government against the Fourth International is essentially the same one made by Joseph Stalin against Leon Trotsky and others in the infamous Moscow trials of the 1930's. In 1937, an independent Commission of Inquiry, headed by the eminent American philosopher John Dewey, made an exhaustive study of the charges against Trotsky, including taking lengthy testimony from him in Mexico City.

In this testimony, Trotsky reiterated his position, as a Marxist, against individual terror. He summarized this position in his testimony on pages 488-494 in *The Case of Leon Trotsky*. A portion of this testimony states:

According to the indictment, which banks on ignorance and mental laziness, the "Trotskyites" resolved to destroy the ruling group in order in this way to clear for themselves the path to power. The average Philistine, especially if he wears the badge of a "Friend of the U.S.S.R.," reasons as follows: "The Oppositionists could not but strive for power, and could not but hate the ruling group. Why, then, shouldn't they really resort to terror?" In other words, for the Philistine the matter ends where in reality it only begins. The leaders of the Opposition are neither upstarts nor novices. It is not at all a question of whether they were striving for power. Every serious political tendency strives to conquer power. The question is: Could the Oppositionists, educated upon the enormous experience of the revolutionary movement, have entertained even a moment's belief that terror is capable of bringing them closer to power? Russian history, Marxist theory, political psychology reply: No, they could not!

At this point, the problem of terror requires clarification, even though briefly, from the standpoint of history and theory. In so far as I am delineated as the initiator of the "anti-Soviet terror," I am compelled to invest my exposition with an autobiographic character. In 1902, I had no sooner arrived in London from Siberia, after almost five years of prison and exile, than I had the occasion, in a memorial article devoted to the bicentennial of the fortress of Schlüsselburg, with its hard-labor prison, to enumerate the revolutionists there tortured to death. "The shades of these martyrs clamor for vengeance. . . ." But immediately thereafter I added: "Not for a personal, but for a revolutionary vengeance. Not for the execution of ministers, but for the execution of the autocracy." These lines were directed wholly against individual terror. Their author was twenty-three years of age. From the earliest days of his revolutionary activity he was already an opponent of terror. From 1902 to 1905 I delivered, in various cities in Europe, before Russian students and emigres, scores of political reports against terrorist ideology, which at the beginning of the century was once again spreading among the Russian youth.



Trotsky (fourth from left) with exiled revolutionists in Siberia, circa 1900.

Beginning with the 'eighties of the past century, two generations of Russian Marxists in their personal experience lived through the era of terror, learned from its tragic lessons, and organically instilled in themselves a negative attitude toward the heroic adventurism of lone individuals. Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marxism; Lenin, the leader of Bolshevism; Martov, the most eminent representative of Menshevism; all dedicated thousands of pages and hundreds of speeches to the struggle against the tactic of terror.

LEON TROTSKY

Beginning with the 'eighties of the past century, two generations of Russian Marxists in their personal experience lived through the era of terror, learned from its tragic lessons, and organically instilled in themselves a negative attitude toward the heroic adventurism of lone individuals. Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marxism; Lenin, the leader of Bolshevism; Martov, the most eminent representative of Menshevism; all dedicated thousands of pages and hundreds of speeches to the struggle against the tactic of terror.

The ideological inspiration emanating from these senior Marxists nourished my attitude toward the revolutionary alchemy of the shut-in intellectual circles during my adolescence. For us, the Russian revolutionists, the problem of terror was a life-and-death matter in the political as well as the personal meaning of the term. For us, a terrorist was not a character from a novel, but a living and familiar being. In exile we lived for years side by side with the terrorists of the older generation. In prisons and in police custody we met with terrorists of our own age. We tapped out messages back and forth, in the Peter and Paul Fortress, with terrorists condemned to death. How many hours, how many days, were spent in passionate discussion! How many times did we break personal relationships on this most burning of all questions! The Russian literature on terrorism, nourished by and reflecting these debates, would fill a large library.

Isolated terroristic explosions are inevitable whenever political oppression transgresses certain boundaries. Such acts almost always have a symptomatic character. But politics that sanctifies terror, raising it into a system—that is a different thing. "Terrorist work," I wrote in 1909, "in its very essence demands such a concentration of energy upon 'the supreme moment,' such an overestimation of personal heroism and, lastly, such a hermetically concealed conspiracy as . . . excludes completely any agitational and organizational activity among the masses. . . . Struggling against terrorism, the Marxian intelligentsia defended their right or their duty not to withdraw from the working class districts for the sake of tunneling mines underneath the Grand Ducal and Tsarist palaces." It is impossible to fool or outwit history. In the long run, history puts everyone in his place. The basic property of terror as a system is to destroy that organization which by means of chemical compounds seeks to compensate for its own lack of political strength. There are, of course, historical conditions where terror can introduce confusion among the governing ranks. But in that case who is it that can reap the fruits? At all events, not the

terrorist organization itself, and not the masses behind whose backs the duel takes place. Thus, the liberal Russian bourgeois, in their day, invariably sympathized with terrorism. The reason is plain. In 1909 I wrote: "In so far as terror introduces disorganization and demoralization into the ranks of the Government (at the price of disorganizing and demoralizing the ranks of the revolutionists), to that extent it plays into the hands of none other than the liberals themselves." The very same idea, expressed virtually in the same words, we meet a quarter of a century later in connection with the Kirov assassination.<sup>2</sup>

The very fact of individual acts of terror is an infallible token of the political backwardness of a country and the feebleness of the progressive forces there. The revolution of 1905, which disclosed the vast strength of the proletariat, put an end to the romanticism of the single combat between a handful of intellectuals and Tsarism. "Terrorism in Russia is dead," I reiterated in a number of articles. ". . . Terror has migrated far to the East—to the provinces of Punjab and Bengal. . . . It may be that in other countries of the Orient terrorism is still destined to pass through an epoch of flowering. But in Russia it is already a part of the heritage of history."

In 1907 I found myself again in exile. The whip of counter-revolution was savagely at work, and the Russian colonies in European cities became very numerous. The entire period of my second emigration was devoted to reports and articles against the terror of vengeance and despair. In 1909 it was revealed that at the head of the terrorist organization of the so-called "Social Revolutionists" stood an agent provocateur, Azef. "In the blind alley of terrorism," I wrote, "the hand of provocation rules with assurance" (January, 1910). Terrorism has always remained for me nothing but a "blind alley."

During the same period I wrote: "The irreconcilable attitude of the Russian Social Democracy towards the bureaucratized terror of the revolution as a means of struggle against the terrorist bureaucracy of Tsarism has met with bewilderment and condemnation, not only among the Russian liberals but also among the European Socialists." Both the latter and former accused us of "doctrinairism." On our part, we, the Russian Marxists, attributed this sympathy for Russian terrorism to the opportunism of the leaders of European Social Democracy who had become accustomed to transferring their hopes from the masses to the ruling summits. "Whoever stalks a ministerial portfolio . . . as well as those who, clasping an infernal machine beneath a cloak, stalk the Minister himself, must equally overestimate the Minister—his personality and his post. For them the system itself disappears or recedes far away, and there remains only the individual invested with power." We shall presently, in connection with the Kirov assassination, meet once again with this thought, which runs through the decades of my activity.

In 1911 terrorist moods arose among certain groups of Austrian workers. Upon the request of Friedrich Adler, editor of *Der Kampf*, the theoretical monthly of the Austrian Social Democracy, I wrote in November, 1911, an article on terrorism for this publication.

Whether or not a terrorist attempt, even if "successful," introduces confusion in the ruling circles depends upon the concrete political circumstances. In any case this confusion can be only of short duration. The capitalist state does not rest upon ministers and cannot be destroyed together with them. The classes whom the state serves will always find new men—the mechanism remains intact and continues to function. But much deeper is that confusion which the terrorist attempts introduce into the ranks of the working masses. If it is enough to arm oneself with a revolver to reach the goal then to what end are the endeavors of the class struggle? If a pinch of powder and a slug of lead are ample to shoot the enemy through the neck, where is the need of a class organization? If there is any rhyme or reason in scaring titled personages with the noise of an explosion, what need is there for a party? What is the need of meetings, mass agitation, elections, when it is so easy to take aim at the Ministerial bench from the Parliamentary gallery? Individual terrorism in our eyes is inadmissible precisely for the reason that it lowers the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to impotence, and directs their glances and hopes towards the great avenger and emancipator who will some day come and accomplish his mission.

Five years later, in the heat of the imperialist war, Friedrich Adler, who had spurred me to write this article, killed the Austrian Minister-President Sturgkh in a Vienna restaurant. The heroic skeptic and opportunist was unable to find any other outlet for his indignation and despair. My sympathies were, naturally, not on the side of the Hapsburg dignity. However, to the individualist action of

2. Kirov was an official of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who was assassinated in December of 1934.

1. Captioned "Government's Memorandum of Law in Opposition to Plaintiffs' Motion to Compel Answers to Deposition Questions by CIA Witness Haefner, and Memorandum in Opposition to Motion to Compel Answers to Interrogatories and Production of Documents by the CIA and in Support of a Motion for a Protective Order", hereinafter cited as "Government's Memorandum".



Jews being taken to concentration camp after crushing of Warsaw uprising.

It would also be interesting to know how they characterize the resistance movements which sprang up all through Europe against Nazi oppression, e.g., the Warsaw ghetto uprising. To my knowledge, there is only one movement which slandered these heroes as being "bandits" and "criminals": the movement of Hitler and his henchmen.

ERNEST MANDEL

Friedrich Adler I counterposed the form of activity of Karl Leibknecht who, during war-time, went out into a Berlin square to distribute a revolutionary manifesto to the workers.

On the 28th of December, 1934, four weeks after the Kirov assassination, at a time when the Stalinist judiciary did not know as yet in which direction to aim the barb of their "justice," I wrote in the *Bulletin of the Opposition*:

... If Marxists have categorically condemned individual terrorism ... even when the shots were directed against the agents of the Tsarist Government and of capitalist exploitation, then all the more relentlessly will they condemn and reject the criminal adventurism of terrorist acts directed against the bureaucratic representatives of the first workers' state in history. The subjective motivations of Nikolayev<sup>3</sup> and his associates are a matter of indifference to us. The road to hell is paved with good intentions. So long as the Soviet bureaucracy has not been removed by the proletariat—a task which will eventually be accomplished—it fulfills a necessary function in the defense of the workers' state. Should terrorism of the Nikolayev type spread, it could, given other unfavorable circumstances, render service only to the fascist counter-revolution.

Only political fakers who bank on imbeciles would endeavor to lay Nikolayev at the door of the Left Opposition, even if only in the guise of the Zinoviev group as it existed in 1926-1927. The terrorist organization of the Communist youth is fostered not by the Left Opposition but by the bureaucracy, by its internal decomposition. *Individual terrorism in its very essence is bureaucratism turned inside out.* For Marxists this law was not discovered yesterday. Bureaucratism has no confidence in the masses, and endeavors to substitute itself for the masses. Terrorism behaves in the same manner; it wants to make the masses happy without asking their participation. The Stalinist bureaucracy has created a revolting leader-cult, endowing leaders with divine attributes. The "hero" cult is also the religion of terrorism, only with a minus sign. The Nikolayevs imagine that all that is necessary is to remove

a few leaders by means of revolvers, in order for history to take another course. Communist-terrorists, as an ideological grouping, are of the same flesh and blood as the Stalinist bureaucracy. [January, 1935, No. 41.]

These lines, as you have had the opportunity to convince yourselves, were not written *ad hoc*. They summarize the experience of a whole lifetime, which was in turn fed by the experience of two generations.

Trotsky was one of the founding leaders of the Fourth International. His opposition to individual terror sets forth the position of the Fourth International, which the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have always held and continue to hold at the present time.

The Commission of Inquiry found Trotsky to be innocent of the charges made against him in the Moscow trials, including the charge of terrorism, and found the Moscow trials to be monstrous frame-ups. This verdict is today the consensus of informed public opinion.

A more current restatement of the Fourth International's opposition to terrorism is contained in an article by Ernest Mandel, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The article was written in reply to an article in the September 18, 1972, issue of *Newsweek* magazine. Mandel's article was printed in the October 9, 1972, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, which has been furnished to the government in the course of this case. Mandel wrote:

In your Sept. 18, 1972, issue you devote two whole paragraphs on page 34 to the movement I am part of, the Fourth International, and to myself. The only trouble with these paragraphs is that they do not contain a single word of truth.

The Fourth International was not founded two years ago in Brussels, but thirty-four years ago in Paris. It is not a terrorist organization but has always rejected the philosophy and methods of terrorism, opposed to the Marxist principles it stands for. The Brussels conference<sup>4</sup> issued no call to "shoot" on any scale. More modestly, it tried to coordinate the struggle of radical workers, students and intellectuals against the takeover of Europe by a few hundred multi-national corporations, either American or European. The call it issued was for a Socialist United States of Europe, based upon social ownership of the means of production administered not by any top-heavy bureaucracy or state apparatus, but by democratically elected councils of producers, under a multiparty system.

The sentence you attribute to me, reproduced between quotation marks, was never spoken by me, neither at that conference nor anywhere else. On the contrary, foreseeing this type of misrepresentation, I explicitly stated in my conference report that we do not fight by means of dynamite, bombs or the like.

Your attempt to picture us as a "Terrorist International" can therefore only be characterized as a total distortion of the truth.

Equally scandalous is the assertion that "Trotskyites see themselves as the catalysts provoking governments into ever harsher repressive measures. This, they believe, will encourage Fascism and, in turn, produce more radical fanatics and more cracks in established society."

Anybody doing his elementary homework before writing an article could easily have found out that one of the great intellectual and political achievements of Leon Trotsky was that he understood—nearly alone—as early as 1930 the mortal threat fascism represented to the German people. He desperately sought to unite Communists, Social Democrats, and unionists by the millions—and not just a few "fanatics"—to prevent a fascist takeover of that key country. His followers ever since have acted in the same spirit, and are rightly considered by fascists the world over as their most implacable enemies. To accuse such a movement of deliberately wanting to "provoke" the development of fascism is again a complete and unadulterated lie.

It is true that in addition to its above-mentioned basic goals, the Fourth International firmly supports, in a spirit of solidarity with all victims of oppression and exploitation, popular mass resistance movements against oppressors, even if the rulers of these countries leave them no other avenue open for struggle but armed struggle. A similar position of support to such movements, e.g., in the Portuguese colonies, has recently been adopted by the World Council of Churches and the Swedish Social Democracy. You don't taint them with a brush of being "terrorist organizations" for that support. There is no reason to taint us with that brush either.

As a matter of fact, even the editors of *Newsweek* fully identify with at least one armed resistance movement against oppression, called the American War of Independence. Have they therefore adopted the philosophy of terrorism? It would also be

interesting to know how they characterize the resistance movements which sprang up all through Europe against Nazi oppression, e.g., the Warsaw ghetto uprising. To my knowledge, there is only one movement which slandered these heroes as being "bandits" and "criminals": the movement of Hitler and his henchmen.

Nobody should be surprised that terrorists who happen to wield state power and, in that position, pursue their political goals by murdering thousands of innocent people—Hitler was only the most extreme example of them, and by no means the only—call their opponents "criminal terrorists." The political function of this linguistic trick is obviously to facilitate and justify in advance mass repression, mass persecution, mass torture and, if necessary, mass killing of political opponents.

In the 1870s, an obscure terrorist made an attempt upon the life of the German Emperor William I; Bismarck used the occasion to outlaw the Social Democracy for fifteen years. In 1934, the no less obscure Nikolayev murdered the local boss of Leningrad, Kirov; Stalin used that occasion to arrest, and subsequently murder, practically all his political opponents in the Communist movement of the USSR. Neither the German Social Democrats nor the Soviet Trotskyists had actually committed a single act of violence against the regimes of Emperor William I or Joseph Stalin. They were convinced that they could best further their goals under the circumstances through mass education, mass organization, and mass struggle of the working class. This, those terrorist rulers feared much more than desperate and inefficient acts of individual terrorism. Therefore they used the first occasion to suppress these political opposition movements under the pretext of "fighting terrorism."

Today, especially since May 1968, the Fourth International enjoys growing influence among revolutionary youth and workers in many countries. It tries to centralize their generous efforts at social change towards concrete and realizable political goals. This is seen by the rulers as a threat against their rule. So they attempt to organize a growing repression against us. For that purpose, a frameup on the occasion of some terrorist incident is a welcome opportunity.

Police informers and other professionals in the noble art of curtailing freedom of thought, speech,

*Continued on next page*



Palestinian refugees

The government deliberately confuses support to the general struggle of an oppressed people against their oppressors with support to specific terrorist acts committed by an organization that claims to fight on behalf of the oppressed. For example, the government introduces as "proof" of a link to Black September, documents of the Fourth International which support the mass struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland and rights.

4. The reference is to a congress of European Trotskyist groups held in Brussels in November 1970 at which Ernest Mandel gave a report.

3. Leonid Nikolayev was Kirov's assassin.



Continued from preceding page

organization, and travel the world over are experts in this type of frameup. They cannot understand this simple truth: that society can only be changed through the efforts of millions, of broad social forces, and that it is ridiculous to attribute to Marxists the wish to "conspire" and to build socialism without the conscious resolution of the majority of the toilers. This is typical of the police or James Bond-type mind. But it is a disgrace to free journalism that newspapermen cooperate in such endeavors, deliberately or through sheer ignorance.

The government charges that the "Fourth International and its constituent sections comprise a worldwide network which supports revolutionary violence and political terrorism." To back up this false charge, the government attempts to link the Fourth International to the attack on Israeli athletes by the Black September organization at the 1972 Olympic games, to the kidnapping of Pierre La Porte in Quebec by a small group, to the assassination of the fascist Premier of Spain, Carrero Blanco, and to the use of terrorist methods by the Provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army. But the government produces no proof whatever of any such link, for the good reason that no such link exists.

Instead, the government attempts to imply such a link by deduction from quotations from articles and resolutions. The government tries to do this in four ways:

1. It deliberately confuses support to the general struggle of an oppressed people against their oppressors with support to specific terrorist acts committed by an organization that claims to fight on behalf of the oppressed. For example, the government introduces as "proof" of a link to Black September, documents of the Fourth International which support the mass struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland and rights. The Fourth International also supports the right of the people of Quebec to establish an independent Quebec if they so desire, it supports the struggle of Catholics in Northern Ireland who are fighting for their rights, and it stands for the overthrow of the brutal fascist dictatorship in Spain. These political positions in no way imply support to the acts committed by Black September, by the kidnapers of La Porte in Quebec, by the Provisional IRA, or by those who assassinated Carrero Blanco—nor do they imply conclusions drawn by the government, such as "This language [in a political resolution on the Middle East] may evince the Fourth International's dissatisfaction with the growing reluctance of certain Arab governments to shelter Palestinian terrorists, particularly skyjackers, and assist them in evading apprehension." Government's Memorandum at 10a of Appendix, footnote. The government offers no proof of these and similar charges scattered throughout its brief.

2. The government quotes from a January, 1973, article by Hugo Blanco, Peter Camejo, Joseph Hansen, Anibal Lorenzo and Nahuel Moreno, which is a polemical critique of positions the International Majority Tendency in the Fourth International held at that time. In the quotation cited, Blanco and others are critical of the "uncritical view taken of the use of terrorist methods in Ireland, particularly those involving the Provisionals, the more extreme and less political wing of the Irish Republican Army." Taking an "uncritical



When a 17-year-old Polish Jew, Herschel Grynszpan, shot a Nazi official in the German embassy in November 1938, Trotsky wrote: "We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as oppressed nationalities. A single isolated hero cannot replace the masses. But we understand only too clearly the inevitability of such convulsive acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing avengers even though they have been unable to discover the correct road."

view" of certain terrorist acts is not the same as carrying out terrorist acts, and the government offers no proof that any such acts were carried out by the Fourth International in Ireland.

3. The government charges that the position taken by the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria—Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI), a Spanish sympathizing group of the Fourth International, at the time of the assassination of the hated fascist strongman Carrero Blanco, indicates "at the very least" the "willingness to employ such methods as well as its possible complicity in the actual assassination." Government's Memorandum at 10a of the Appendix. No proof is advanced to substantiate either of these false charges.

4. Despite the government's claims, it is possible to oppose terrorist acts at the same time that one expresses moral solidarity with people who may have carried out terrorist acts, when they are faced with brutal government repression. For example, one need not endorse the tactics of members of the PRT/ERP of Argentina to oppose their systematic murder without trial by the Argentine dictatorship.

One can sympathize with the objectives a

terrorist believed he or she was serving, and one can salute the heroism and self-sacrifice of a terrorist, without supporting terrorism. For example, when a 17-year-old Polish Jew, Herschel Grynszpan, shot a Nazi official in the German embassy in November 1938, Trotsky wrote an article which said in part:

We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as oppressed nationalities. A single isolated hero cannot replace the masses. But we understand only too clearly the inevitability of such convulsive acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing avengers even though they have been unable to discover the correct road. Our sympathy becomes intensified because Grynszpan is not a political militant but an inexperienced youth, almost a boy, whose only counselor was a feeling of indignation. To tear Grynszpan out of the hands of capitalist justice, which is capable of chopping off his head to further serve capitalist diplomacy, is the elementary immediate task of the international working class! . . .

In the moral sense, although not for his mode of action, Grynszpan may serve as an example to every young revolutionist. Our open moral solidarity with Grynszpan gives us the added right to say to all the other would-be Grynszpans, to all those capable of self-sacrifice in the struggle against despotism and bestiality: *Seek another road!* Not the lone avenger but only a great revolutionary mass movement can free the oppressed, a movement that will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression and racial persecution. . . . (*Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1938-1939*, pages 191-192.)

Another government charge is that "sections of the Fourth International have been responsible for notorious acts of terrorism with the approval, if not the actual connivance of the Fourth International's leadership." Government's Memorandum at 12.

The government states that it will

. . . summarize for the Court the record developed from documents produced by the plaintiffs concerning the Fourth International's support for revolutionary violence and political terrorism.

A summary of that record can properly begin with the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International. That congress adopted a political resolution which, in essence, concluded that conditions in Latin America were ripe for certain sections of the Fourth International to seize power by "armed struggle." (Government's Memorandum at 1a of Appendix.)

This is not an accurate summation of the document on Latin America. It proposed rural guerrilla warfare as a strategy against brutally repressive dictatorships. This is not the same thing as terrorism. Guerrilla warfare has been utilized as a tactic by oppressed people against tyranny many times in history. The American revolutionaries during the War of Independence made use of guerrilla warfare. Resistance movements fought the Nazis in occupied Europe. Guerrilla warfare was an aspect of resistance in China and Indochina against Japanese occupation. It played a part in the overthrow of the brutal Batista dictatorship in Cuba, and was an aspect of the Algerian struggle for independence. Support to guerrilla warfare in

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South Carolina frontiersmen take on British troops

**Most Americans support the guerrilla warfare of the first American revolutionaries—in fact the Bicentennial spent much effort saluting their deeds—but it would be absurd to say this makes most Americans supporters of terrorism.**

this or that circumstance does not mean support for terrorism. Most Americans support the guerrilla warfare of the first American revolutionaries—in fact the Bicentennial spent much effort saluting their deeds—but it would be absurd to say this makes most Americans supporters of terrorism.

A minority at the Ninth World Congress, including the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, opposed the resolution on Latin America. The minority pointed out that guerrilla warfare was applicable in certain situations, but that this was a tactical question. Attempting to apply it as a strategy would lead to disaster. If this error was not corrected, it would lead to further errors, the minority asserted.

All tendencies in the Fourth International now recognize that the Ninth World Congress document was in error. (See *Self-Criticism on Latin America*, by the Steering Committee of the International Majority Tendency, attached as Exhibit 1.) All tendencies agree that the position adopted at the Ninth World Congress did not politically arm the Fourth International to resist the evolution of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) in Argentina. The PRT had always held positions differing from those of the Fourth International. These differences deepened after the Ninth World Congress. Many PRT activists took part in the broader ERP (Revolutionary Army of the People) formed in 1970, and carried out adventurous and even terrorist acts. This evolution of the PRT away from Trotskyism resulted in its breaking with and denouncing the Fourth International in 1973.

The IMT's *Self-Criticism on Latin America* points out that the Ninth World Congress document did not help the Fourth International to combat the "deviations and political errors" of the PRT. Exhibit 1 at 9. The government claims that the course of the PRT is approved by at least the IMT. The *Self-Criticism on Latin America* demonstrates that this is not the case.

As to the charge that the Fourth International "takes credit for an important role in at least one major instance of revolutionary violence against an important ally of the United States" (Government's Memorandum at 12.), this apparently refers to the role played by Trotskyists in what the government calls the "revolutionary violence which gripped France in May and June, 1968". Government's Memorandum at 13a of Appendix.

The "revolutionary violence" the government is referring to was the massive strike and occupation of factories, offices and other workplaces by almost the entire working class of France. Together with their families, and supporters among the students, farmers and other sections of the population, the strikers represented the overwhelming majority of the people of France. It was a very peaceful movement—there is more violence on an ordinary weekend in New York than in all of France during those days. What violence did occur was confined to that launched by the special police forces. Significantly, in the course of the strike, the heads of the

police associations warned the government that their members could no longer be relied on if they were ordered to attack the workers. And, it is true, General Charles De Gaulle threatened to launch a civil war if the strikers did not back down.

The Fourth International, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance believed this tremendous and powerful movement of the majority was the "greatest opportunity in history for socialist victory" in postwar France, as an article by Joseph Hansen stated. This movement did not succeed because of the treacherous misleadership of the French Communist Party.

It is true that we stood on the side of the French masses in those days, and that we are proud of the role played by the French Trotskyists in this mass movement.

The fact that the government would include this "charge" as one of its reasons why the CIA should be allowed to conceal operations conducted against American citizens is revealing.

It shows that what the government means by "revolutionary violence" is any movement, however peaceful, by however large a majority, towards socialism. It shows that the government considers our "ally," that is France, not as the majority of the French people but rather the minority in power, that is, the capitalists. It shows that the purpose of the CIA's operations is not to defend Americans against terrorism, but rather to defend capitalism against its victims. It shows that the CIA justifies its operations against Americans because they support a movement in another country that goes in the direction of socialism. If the government makes such a justification in the case of another country, it stands to reason that it would employ the same methods against those Americans who, while committing no crime whatever, stand for the establishment of socialism in the United States. This is the fundamental question underlying this entire litigation.

What the government brief amounts to in psychological terms is projection, that is, the attribution to others of one's own characteristics. It has been proven that agencies like the CIA have organized terrorist plots. The CIA tried to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba, among others. It helped install, through coups d'etat, brutal dictatorships in Iran, Greece, Brazil, Chile and dozens of other countries. It has also utilized bribery, mail opening, wiretapping. There is reasonable suspicion that it or other government agencies were involved in the murders of Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King. The actual record of the crimes of the CIA and other governmental agencies remains locked in their files. That is the real reason why the CIA refuses to comply with plaintiffs' discovery motions, not to keep its "methods" secret from "foreign intelligence services"—they are probably fully cognizant of these "methods"—but rather to keep even a part of the truth of its crimes from being disclosed.

The government's brief states that "plaintiffs naturally remain free to deny their relationship with the Fourth International. . . ." Government's Memorandum at 19. This apparently is intended as an insinuation that the SWP denies its relationship to the Fourth International. "Naturally", the plaintiffs are also "free" to affirm what their relationship with the Fourth International is. I described this relationship in my deposition taken by the government lawyers in this case:

Q I take it from what you said that in 1940 with the passage of the Voorhis Act, the Socialist Workers Party withdrew from membership.

A Yes, we organized a convention of the Party with the passage of the Voorhis Act, and were forced to disaffiliate from the Fourth International at it.

Q The SWP thereafter became a fraternal member or fraternal affiliate with the Fourth International, is that correct?

A Probably many different terms have been used by different people and newspaper articles. The essence is that the Socialist Workers Party considers itself a part of the world Trotskyist movement politically. We consider our disaffiliation done not from our free will because we disagreed with the Fourth International, but the Voorhis Act that we were afraid would be used to harass members of the Socialist Workers Party.

Thus, since that time we have not been able to be a member of the Fourth International, and that precludes us from paying dues and having a decisive vote.

However, since that time, we have striven to our utmost to remain internationalists and attend meetings and present our points of view whenever it was allowed and argue our opinions in our newspapers, magazines and speeches and try to talk to socialists from other countries, and try to proclaim as often as necessary the disaffiliation came from the Voorhis Act and not because we changed our

mind about the need. (Deposition of Jack W. Barnes at 84-85.)

In the entire government brief there is no proof whatever of the SWP or the YSA supporting terrorism or having engaged in any illegal actions of any kind. About all the brief has to say on the subject is the following:

The minority's position [including the leadership of the SWP] on why such acts [as kidnapping] are tactically unwise provides scant comfort for those who entertain the hope that the international Trotskyist movement has eschewed violence:

The Marxist movement from its very beginning has always rejected the use of terrorism against individual capitalists or their representatives. The reason is simple. It disorganizes and miseducates the mass movement as to the correct means of struggle, and provides unnecessary excuses to the enemy for responding in kind, particularly in repressing the mass movement. Only under the conditions of civil war, when the rules of war apply, can terrorism be considered as a tactical adjunct to armed struggle on a mass scale. [Emphasis in original.]

Presumably, the revolutionary party will determine when conditions of civil war obtain so that terrorism can then be "properly" employed. (Government's Memorandum at 6a of Appendix, footnote.)

The quotation is from the article by Blanco and several others that was also signed by SWP leaders Joseph Hansen and Peter Camejo. But the quotation itself refutes the government's argument. The point of the quotation is opposition to terrorism. The subsidiary point that terrorism is a part of war, including civil war, is a commonplace statement on the nature of war. Only under conditions of civil war can terrorism be considered as a "tactical adjunct to armed struggle on a mass scale." Presumably, not only the revolutionary party, but most people, even the defendants, can tell when a war is occurring.

Another point the government makes is that the leaders of the SWP supported a motion in the United Secretariat of the Fourth International to condemn publicly the kidnapping and execution of Sallustro by the Argentinian ERP—but, the government charges, the motion supported by the SWP leaders "offered the standard propaganda excuses for the kidnapping and affirmed that the 'Fourth International expresses its solidarity with the courageous militants of the PRT-ERP regardless of their mistaken course . . .'" Government's Memo-

*Continued on next page*



Fidel Castro, target of CIA Christian Science Monitor

What the government brief amounts to in psychological terms is projection, that is, the attribution to others of one's own characteristics. It has been proven that agencies like the CIA have organized terrorist plots. The CIA tried to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba, among others.



Mass demonstration in Paris during May 1968

It is true that we stood on the side of the French masses in those days [May and June 1968], and that we are proud of the role played by the French Trotskyists in this mass movement.

The fact that the government would include this "charge" as one of its reasons why the CIA should be allowed to conceal operations conducted against American citizens is revealing.

It shows that what the government means by "revolutionary violence" is any movement, however peaceful, by however large a majority, towards socialism. It shows that the government considers our "ally," that is France, not as the majority of the French people but rather the minority in power, that is, the capitalists. It shows that the purpose of the CIA's operations is not to defend Americans against terrorism, but rather to defend capitalism against its victims. It shows that the CIA justifies its operations against Americans because they support a movement in another country that goes in the direction of socialism. If the government makes such a justification in the case of another country, it stands to reason that it would employ the same methods against those Americans who, while committing no crime whatever, stand for the establishment of socialism in the United States. This is the fundamental question underlying this entire litigation.

Continued from preceding page

randum at 6a of the Appendix. A reading of this motion (See Exhibit G of the Government's Affidavit.) shows that the "standard propaganda excuses" referred to are statements that the Argentinian military dictatorship "constitutes an illegal regime, ruling in violation of the constitution," that it utilized "brutal methods" such as "suppression of student and workers demonstrations, suppressions of strikes, arbitrary imprisonment of union leaders and union militants, the use of kidnapping, torture, and murder of political opponents."

Perhaps this degenerate dictatorship was another "ally" under the protection of the CIA, but the assertions made in the motion were not a "propaganda excuse" but easily verifiable facts. The expression of solidarity with the members of the

PRT-ERP in the face of brutal and illegal repression by this dictatorship in no way can be twisted into support for the tactics pursued by the PRT-ERP. Concerning the kidnapping of Sallustro, the position of the SWP was clearly expressed at the time, in an article in the April 17, 1972, issue of the *Militant*:

The following statement was issued April 3, 1972, by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

The kidnapping of Oberdan Sallustro by the Revolutionary Army of the People (ERP) created an international sensation, as was to be expected in view of Sallustro's prominence as the general manager of the Argentine branch of Fiat Concord. The sensational aspects were further heightened by the exceptional ransom the guerrillas sought from the government and the company, by the ultimatum of the guerrillas to place Sallustro before a "firing squad" if the terms were not met, and by the decision of General Alejandro Lanusse not to "negotiate" with the ERP even if it meant the death of the hostage.

However, this particular action was only the most spectacular in hundreds of guerrilla actions that have been carried out in Argentina in the past two years by seven guerrilla groups of varied political colorations.

The rise in such actions is ascribable to four fundamental causes: 1) the economic impasse of Argentine capitalism and the efforts of the ruling class to find a way out by further depressing the standard of living of the working masses; 2) the imposition of dictatorial military rule and the banning of political opposition; 3) the use of troops and police against workers who engage in strikes or students and others who initiate protest demonstrations; 4) the arbitrary imprisonment of unionists and union leaders, use of torture on suspects, secret killing of persons seized by the police, and imposition of abysmal conditions on political prisoners held by the hundreds in the jails of the country.

The victimizations under the military junta headed by General Lanusse have led to numerous international protests. We are in full solidarity with this campaign for the release of all the political prisoners in Argentina and an end to the repression.

The anger and bitterness of the youth in Argentina are understandable. Their natural reaction is to turn to revolutionary means to open up a new perspective for Argentina. They have been encouraged in this way by the explosive social tensions that have given rise to repeated upsurges by sectors of the masses.

Unfortunately no mass revolutionary socialist party exists in Argentina that could draw these youth into its ranks and provide them with the most effective avenues of struggle. The example set by the Bolsheviks in preparing for the Russian revolution has become obscured by the repellent policy of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism followed by the Soviet bureaucracy since Stalin's time. Thus, many revolutionary-minded youths are attracted to the examples set by Che Guevara in Bolivia and by guerrilla formations like the Tupamaros in Uruguay.

Under the influence of such examples, the ERP has committed everything to practicing urban guerrilla warfare. In place of powerful actions by the masses themselves, the ERP is attempting to substitute small actions by a tiny group. Their hopes are placed on these actions serving as examples to the people living in the slums. They hope that the dramatic nature of the "exemplary actions" will inspire the masses to begin moving toward toppling the old regime and establishing a government of their own.

In reality, the work of bringing the masses into the political arena in all their invincible power

The actual record of the crimes of the CIA and other governmental agencies remains locked in their files. That is the real reason why the CIA refuses to comply with plaintiffs' discovery motions, not to keep its "methods" secret from "foreign intelligence services"—they are probably fully cognizant of these "methods"—but rather to keep even a part of the truth of its crimes from being disclosed.

differs qualitatively from such notions. It requires deep involvement in the daily life of the masses. It requires patient struggling, under the guidance of a revolutionary-socialist party, to project demands directly linked to the economic, social, and political needs of the masses, and to organize support for these demands in such a way as to raise the self-confidence of the masses and take them through transitional steps on to the road of a socialist revolution.

The primary task at present is to build a revolutionary-socialist party capable of providing effective political guidance in this process. Guerrilla actions like the kidnapping of Sallustro separate the revolutionists from the masses, divert attention and energy from party building and lead to unnecessary defeats.

Of the courage of the ERP guerrillas and their readiness to stake their lives in the cause of socialism, there can be no doubt. Nonetheless, in our opinion, actions like the kidnapping of Sallustro represent a mistaken course, which we urge the ERP and the other guerrilla groups in Argentina to reconsider.

The opposition of the Socialist Workers Party to individual terrorism is clearly demonstrated by our activities, policies and resolutions. Our position is also reflected and explained in more detail in the pamphlet by George Novack entitled "Marxism versus Neo-Anarchist Terrorism" (attached as Exhibit 2), which was submitted earlier in this litigation in connection with the motion for a preliminary injunction against the attendance of FBI informers at the 1974 St. Louis convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

On April 5, 1974, I gave an interview to the *Militant* in which I stated:

[Victor] Riesel and his FBI mentors know very well that the Socialist Workers Party is *not* the "American affiliate" of the Fourth International and has not been since the passage of the Voorhis Act in 1940. This reactionary legislation, which we are fighting to reverse, prohibits the SWP from formal affiliation to the Fourth International.

The witch-hunters also know that there are no tendencies, no "deviations," no "dissidents" and no members in the SWP that advocate terrorism. In view of the traditions of Leninism and Trotskyism and the program of the SWP, support to terrorism is incompatible with membership in the party.

I reaffirm that statement today.

The record shows that the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International are not advocates or organizers of terrorist acts. Thus, it can only be our *political* views and activities that motivate the CIA's burglaries and surveillance, just as our political views and activities motivated the FBI's burglaries and "counterintelligence" programs.

# Taking the CIA and FBI to court isn't easy.

Suing the government's political police has meant years of work compiling evidence, preparing legal papers, getting out the facts.

It's meant hundreds of thousands of dollars.

But it's been worth it. So far the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance suit has pried out some 200,000 pages of the government's secret political files.

We've documented FBI burglaries, wiretapping, poison-pen letters, disruption programs, informer networks. We've forced

the CIA to admit it burglarized and wiretapped U.S. citizens traveling overseas. We're going to do more.

But we need your help. Please help us win this precedent-setting case. Contribute to the Political Rights Defense Fund. The PRDF is a nonpartisan civil liberties group organizing support for this lawsuit. Your contribution to the PRDF will help us to continue to get out the truth about how the CIA and FBI have attacked democratic rights.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**PRDF** Political Rights Defense Fund

BOX 649 COOPER STATION NEW YORK NY 10003 212/691-3270



## Anatomy of a cover-up

The Assassination of Malcolm X by George Breitman, Herman Porter, and Baxter Smith. Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, 1976. 192 pages, paper \$1.95.

Malcolm X was assassinated twelve years ago—February 21, 1965. Why produce a new book on his assassination now? Has anything changed?

Yes. America has changed.

In 1965 the Black community was on the move. The civil rights movement had forced passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Blacks were developing a militant, nationalist outlook.

Malcolm X was the most advanced expression of this new ferment and consciousness.

### Books

The U.S. ruling class was keenly aware of the impact Malcolm's ideas were having on Black Americans, especially on young Blacks. So the capitalist press whipped up a slander campaign to portray him as a "Black racist."

FBI agents and undercover cops infiltrated the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which Malcolm founded.

It was in this atmosphere that Malcolm was murdered.

The new paperback, *The Assassination of Malcolm X*, comes out in a period different from the 1960s. "Most people [then] just could not believe that the government would engage in . . . murder for political reasons," writes Malik Miah in the introduction.

Not so today—after Vietnam, Watergate, and the exposure of CIA assassination plots against foreign leaders.

Given this changing awareness of government crimes, this collection of articles by George Breitman, Herman Porter, and Baxter Smith sets out to raise anew the unanswered questions about Malcolm's assassination. And in doing so, it tells us a lot about Malcolm, his ideas, and the impact of his death.

Breitman has written widely on Malcolm's political ideas. His book *The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary* traces Malcolm's political development during his last months.

Malcolm frequently commended Herman Porter, a former *Militant* correspondent, for the honesty and objectivity of his reporting. Porter attended most of the New York public meetings where Malcolm spoke during the year before the assassination. Porter

also witnessed the assassination and reported on the trial of Malcolm's accused murderers.

Smith, also a former *Militant* staff writer, writes on recent FBI revelations of government disruption of the Black movement.

Pathfinder Press has included a useful chronology of important dates and events between Malcolm's split with the Nation of Islam in 1964 and the sentencing of the three people convicted of his murder in 1966.

Ten pages of photographs and diagrams have been included to help readers picture the events surrounding the assassination. And an appendix reprints twelve pages of documents from FBI files on the Black struggle.

In the first chapter Breitman reviews Malcolm's childhood, his introduction in prison to the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, his work as a Nation of Islam minister, his growth in political consciousness leading to his break with the Nation, and finally his rise as a leader of the Black struggle after that split.

Breitman explains why Malcolm's revolutionary nationalist ideas frightened Washington. He recounts the attempts on Malcolm's life and Malcolm's change of opinion about who was responsible for them.

Breitman points out that the investigation, the trial, and the fading interest of the press in the assassination all strengthen the suspicion of government involvement.

FBI files on Malcolm recently released to the *Militant* add to those suspicions. The files show that the FBI kept careful track of Malcolm's activities, the people and groups he associated with, and any conflicts that developed between him and other Black leaders and organizations.

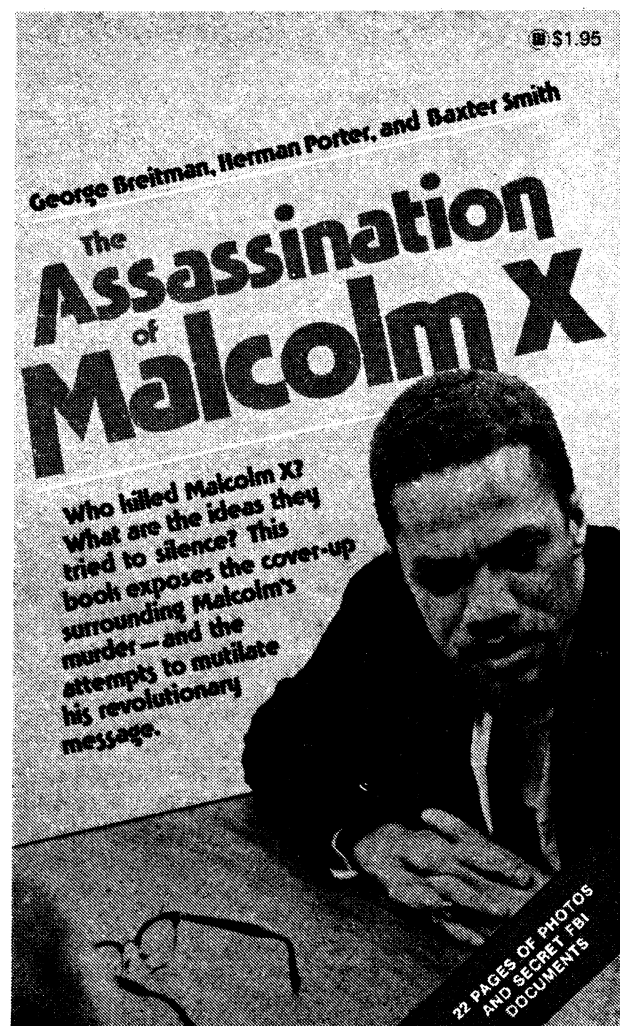
In the section of the book entitled "A 'Scenario' of the Assassination," Breitman takes the known facts and paints a picture of the most logical sequence of events leading up to Malcolm's murder.

Did police know the details of the assassination plot? he asks. If so, why didn't they stop it or provide adequate protection for Malcolm?

Breitman's critique of two other books on Malcolm—in chapters five and six—drives this point home. Two liberals, Louis Lomax and Peter Goldman—one Black, the other white—both published books several years after the assassination. Each sought to justify his own relationship to Malcolm.

Breitman unwinds Lomax's distortions in *To Kill A Black Man*, which dismisses Malcolm. Breitman exposes Lomax as a revolutionary by way of the armchair, who intensely hated serious struggle.

Breitman's dissection of Goldman's *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* lays bare Goldman's shabby



attempt to "clear" the government of Malcolm's assassination.

*Militant* staff writer Omari Musa made some interesting observations on this point following his recent speaking tour on Malcolm X.

Musa found that many people are aware that the FBI had used anonymous letters, wiretapping, and informers against even more "acceptable" Black leaders such as Martin Luther King. Many know about the suit against the government for its role in the 1969 police raid that left Chicago Black Panther party leaders Mark Clark and Fred Hampton murdered.

These revelations have generated public interest in reopening investigations into the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

This new paperback—available in a convenient, pocket book format—is must reading for anyone interested in Malcolm's assassination. Fortunately, it is available on bookstands at many drugstores, supermarkets, and bus, train, and air terminals.

This book will confirm for those who read it that many questions must still be answered about government complicity in Malcolm's assassination. And it will help promote a serious inquiry into that assassination.

—Willie Mae Reid

## 'El Bloque'

*El Bloque*. Written and directed by Willie Sánchez. Produced by the Drama Workshop of La Casa de Don Pedro, Newark, New Jersey.

Newark's North Ward went through a 1974 rebellion against police brutality. It is tagged a high crime neighborhood. Racist cops are a permanent fact of life there.

Writer and director Willie Sánchez and the students who make up the cast of *El Bloque* all come from housing

priest, the degenerate pimp, the good-hearted prostitute, the Puerto Rican boy who wants to be a doctor and his older brother, the distraught mother, the determined *Claridad* (newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist party) salesperson. They could be stereotypes, but in this play they are depicted as real neighbors.

Two gangs, the Black Cobras and

the Puerto Rican Bloods, are portrayed as the meanest and best-armed possible. The single most important scene revolves around efforts to unite the two gangs.

In Newark, where Black Democrats and Puerto Rican Democrats compete for patronage in narrow political machinations, this question of joint community interests is crucial.



The Cobras leader explains the need for Black and Puerto Rican unity against the real enemy so convincingly it should make city government politicians worry how much longer they can use their divide-and-conquer tactics.

Crisis on *El Bloque* is touched off when a cop shoots Pepito, the boy who aspires to be a doctor. The murder ignites a fuse in a community already tense.

A final confrontation of the crowd and cops ends in a bloodbath. At the end, a local prostitute surveys the battle scene and wonders, "What the hell happened here?"

*El Bloque* is a fine posing of just that question. It makes some serious observations about "what the hell is happening" in most cities today, the brutal role cops play, how young peoples' hopes are crushed.

The initial performances of *El Bloque* at La Casa de Don Pedro were such a hit that dozens of people were turned away each night. The group has been invited to perform at several campuses in the area, and preparations are being made to film *El Bloque* for television.

—Judith Montare

### Theater

projects in the North Ward. The play is a fictional drama, but *El Bloque* could be any block in Newark or another big city.

*El Bloque* unfolds with the introduction of characters: the doomed junkies, the "straight crowd," the pompous

Last Hired, First Fired

# Affirmative Action Vs. Seniority

Includes "The Debate Over Seniority and Affirmative Action," "The NAACP and the Struggle for Full Equality," and "The AFL-CIO and the Seniority System."

By Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 32 pp., \$.50

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

## Correction

In the article "Richmond's city council: 'racist to the core,'" it was incorrectly reported that the city council, prior to the March 1 election, was all-white. In fact, two of the nine members were Black.

## May Day socialist educational weekend

American Labor: Yesterday & Today  
April 29, 30 & May 1, New York University.  
Donation: \$3. Ausp: New York and New Jersey  
Socialist Workers 1977 campaign committees.  
For information call (212) 260-6461.

# Calendar

## ATLANTA: EAST

**CHINA AFTER MAO: IMPLICATIONS OF THE POWER STRUGGLE.** Speaker: Mary Anne Lunn, University of Wisconsin social anthropology graduate. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m. 471-A Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (404) 688-6739.

## BALTIMORE

**BETHLEHEM STEELWORKERS SPEAK OUT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION.** Speakers: Plaintiffs in discrimination suit against Bethlehem Steel; John Hawkins, *Militant* staff writer. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

## BOSTON: FENWAY-SOUTHEND

**IN DEFENSE OF SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN DISSIDENTS.** Speakers: George Saunders, editor of *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition*; Gary Cohen, former coordinator of the Committee Against Repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

## CHICAGO: SOUTH

**THE FIGHT AGAINST DEPORTATIONS.** Speakers: representative of Committee of Resistance Against the Eilberg Law; Antonio De Leon, SWP. Fri., April 1, 7:30 p.m. 9139 S. Commercial, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 734-7644.

## DENVER

**BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL EDUCATION: A PRIVILEGE OR A RIGHT?** Speaker: Miguel Pendas, *Militant* staff writer, SWP candidate for Denver school board. Sat., March 26, 8 p.m. 916 Broadway.

Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign and Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

## DETROIT: WEST SIDE

**DETROIT SCHOOL FINANCIAL CRISIS.** Speakers: Tim Craine, Region 4, United-We-Can School Finance Committee; Asah Miah, Cass Tech High School YSA. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

## HOUSTON: SOUTH CENTRAL

**THE FACTS ON UGANDA.** Sat., March 26, 7 p.m. 4987 South Park Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

## MIAMI

**ZIONISM AND THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE.** Speaker: Jack Lieberman, Miami SWP organizer. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m. Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW 26th St. (at 22nd Ave.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 271-2241.

## NEWARK: BROADWAY

**GRAND JURY: GOVERNMENT WEAPON AGAINST THE PUERTO RICAN MOVEMENT.** Fri., April 1, 7:30 p.m. 256 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

## 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

**UNITED FARM WORKERS BENEFIT.** Film showings: *Fighting for Our Lives* and *Migrant Dirt Cheap*. A talk by Juan Irrizarry, director, Northeast organizing of upstate New York farm workers. Thurs., March 31, 7:30 p.m. District 1199 Auditorium, 310 W. 43rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: United Farm Workers. For more information call (212) 799-5800.

## NEW YORK: THE BRONX

**WHAT STRATEGY TO FIGHT THE CUTBACKS.** Speakers: Tati Melendez, Community and Church Coalition to Save Lincoln Hospital, City-wide Community Coalition; Fran Collet, City-wide Community Coalition, SWP. Fri., April 1, 7:30 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Libreria Militante/Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

**CLASSES ON THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM.** Wednesdays, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

## NEW YORK: QUEENS

**ISSUES FACING THE FIGHT FOR PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE.** Speaker: Nelson Gonz lez, organizer of Lower East Side, New York, SWP. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m. 90-43 149th St. (Just off Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

## PHILADELPHIA: GERMANTOWN

**THE ROOTS OF BLACK WOMEN'S OPPRESSION.** A panel discussion. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m. 5950 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 844-2874.

## ST. LOUIS

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Helen Savio, SWP candidate for mayor; Mary Pritchard, SWP candidate for comptroller; Willie Mae Reid, 1976 SWP candidate for vice-president. Sat., April 2, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: St. Louis Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (314) 725-1571.

## SAN FRANCISCO: INGLESIDE

**PROPOSITION T: WHAT ALTERNATIVE FOR WORKING PEOPLE?** Speakers: Juan Martinez, SWP candidate for board of supervisors; Robert Barnes, president of Machinists Lodge 68; Harold Brooks, Hunters Point community activist. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m. 1441 Ocean Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 333-6261.

## SEATTLE

**PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.** Speaker: Nat Weinstein, SWP National Committee. Sat., April 2, 8 p.m. Ethnic Cultural Center, 3931 Brooklyn NE, Chicano Room. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign and YSA. For more information call (206) 524-6670, 522-7800, or 329-7404.

## TACOMA, WASH.

**STEELWORKERS ELECTION AND THE FIGHT FOR UNION DEMOCRACY.** Speaker: Nat Weinstein, SWP National Committee. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m. 1022 S. J St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

## 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 per session. Ausp: Washington, D.C., Area SWP. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

# National N.O.W. Conference April 22-24, 1977

## RALLY for the ERA

With strong voices and banners held high, N.O.W. marches from the Cadillac Hotel to Kennedy Square to greet the Second Decade with a rally for the Equal Rights Amendment. Join us for this public statement and celebration of our strength and unity! Bring state and chapter banners, signs and posters.

Friday, April 22 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. Start in front of Cadillac Hotel

## SPECIAL GUESTS:

Former U.S. Rep. MARTHA GRIFFITHS, "Congressional Sponsor of the ERA" U.S. Rep. Barbara Mikulski, D-Maryland N.O.W. President Karen DeCrow and other N.O.W. Leaders -- plus other surprise speakers

## WORKSHOPS

As N.O.W. enters its second decade, our strength will depend both on learning new skills, and developing those skills we already have. Toward that end, the 1977 National Conference has planned more than 100 workshops, with sections for both "beginners" and more experienced activists. Here's just a sample:

### N.O.W. National Priority Issues:

- ERA Strategy
- Battered Women
- Women in Poverty
- Women and the Media
- Displaced Homemakers
- Lesbian Rights

### The Older Woman

The Homemaker and Feminism  
Women and the Arts

### The Nuts and Bolts of Organizing:

- How to Attract New Members
- How to Run a Meeting

### The Second Decade:

- Forming a Concrete Agenda for N.O.W.

### Personal Needs:

- Relationships With Friends and Family
- Feminist Parenting, the Single Parent

And many, many more...

## ENTERTAINMENT

When thousands of women get together, one of the highlights of the gathering is the sisterhood, joy, and just plain fun that results! And the 1977 National Conference will feature some very special entertainers to help get that spirit moving. Among the exciting performers who will be with us in Detroit are:

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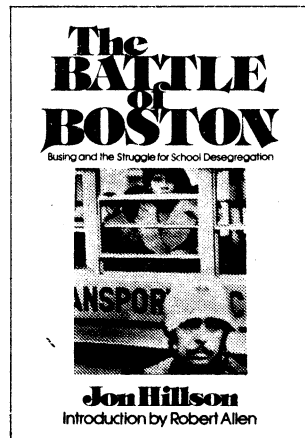
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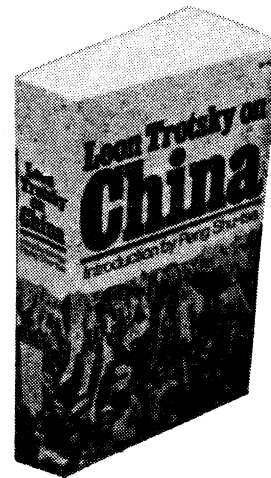
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## STEEL FIGHT BACK

### Sadlowski supporters plan ongoing movement for union democracy

By Andy Rose

Steelworkers all across the country who supported Ed Sadlowski's insurgent campaign for president of the United Steelworkers of America are meeting and discussing how to continue the fight for union democracy.

Throughout the campaign, Sadlowski and his running mates stressed the need to build Steelworkers Fight Back as an ongoing rank-and-file movement, regardless of the outcome of the February 8 election.

**INSIDE:** Steelworkers launch Fight Back newsletters in Michigan, Texas. See 'Steel notes' on page 15.

Sadlowski was credited with more than 238,000 votes, or 42 percent of the total, against administration-backed candidate Lloyd McBride. The Steelworkers Fight Back slate has challenged the count, charging massive vote fraud by the McBride forces.

One of the first tasks taken up by Fight Back supporters is publicizing the challenge and exposing how the election was stolen.

Another is defending Fight Back activists threatened with victimization by the McBride machine or the steel companies.

The basic steel negotiations and many local talks now in progress are another focus. The companies are taking a hard line against improve-

ments in wages, pensions, and working conditions, while demanding big concessions on work rules and scheduling.

The union is weakened by the no-strike agreement signed by outgoing President I.W. Abel. And the union officialdom has signaled its willingness to give up benefits in return for a bogus "lifetime security plan" that would help only a small minority of high-seniority workers.

Steelworkers Fight Back activists plan to be in the forefront of all these struggles to defend the union and defend the rights of the members.

The following are reports from *Militant* correspondents about recent Fight Back meetings.

#### LOS ANGELES

By Robert Mahoney

LOS ANGELES—Forty-five enthusiastic steelworkers and supporters of Steelworkers Fight Back met here March 13 in the first organizational meeting of the group since the February 8 union elections.

The meeting was held at the hall of USWA Local 1845, Bethlehem Steel, a local that supported the Fight Back slate by an almost two-to-one margin. Wilfred Anderson, president of the local, chaired the meeting.

Ignacio "Nash" Rodríguez, Fight Back candidate for international secretary and the first Latino candidate for

international office in the union's history, led off the meeting with a report on the election challenge filed by the Sadlowski slate.

He reviewed several instances of preelection and election-day violations. These included physical attacks on Fight Back activists and company collusion with the McBride campaign.

Steelworkers Fight Back, Rodríguez said, is not going to disappear. He emphasized the need to train people in the conduct of union affairs. He handed out copies of the District 29 Steelworkers Fight Back newsletter as an example of how to continue activity. (See page 15.)

The meeting set up a publicity committee, social/fund-raising committee, and a steering committee. All three were left open for future additions.

The committees met later that week and began work on a fund-raising party and a newsletter for local Fight Back. Also in progress are speaking engagements by Nash Rodríguez on local college and university campuses.

#### CHICAGO

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—On February 27, 150 Fight Back supporters from throughout District 31 met here. Their mood was one of determination to continue the Fight Back movement.

Clem Balanoff, a national organizer

of the Sadlowski campaign, announced that Fight Back will soon publish a twelve-page newspaper. The first issue deals mainly with the election outcome and Sadlowski's challenge, he said.

There was discussion on the challenge and on the McBride machine's attempt to overturn the victory of Fight Back leader Jim Balanoff as District 31 director.

Jim Balanoff gave a report on the opening of negotiations in basic steel.

It was announced that Steelworkers Fight Back will begin to hold regular meetings in District 31. Steelworkers were urged to help in the Fight Back office with the great amount of paperwork involved in documenting the election challenge.

#### BALTIMORE

By Morrie Dietrich

BALTIMORE—More than thirty steelworkers met at the Workingmen's Hall here March 20 to discuss continuing the Fight Back movement.

Reports were given on Sadlowski's challenge to the election results and on a challenge by Dave Wilson, who tried to run for District 8 director but was denied a place on the ballot.

There was discussion about running candidates on the Fight Back program for delegates to the next USWA convention and for local union office.

Those present decided to continue their committee and hold regular meetings.

## Racine teachers defeat union-busting

By Alexandra Topping

RACINE, Wis.—Members of the Racine Education Association (REA) were victorious here in a hard-fought fifty-day strike.

They defeated the Racine school board's attempt to smash their union and forced the board to sign a three-year contract.

During the strike teachers faced court injunctions, mass arrests, and threats of dismissal. The board tried to keep the schools open with scabs, substitute teachers, and administrators. But the combativity of the teachers did not waver.

On March 15 the State Department of Public Instruction told the Racine school board that if teachers were not back in school by the next day Racine schools would lose \$21 million in state aid.

The board held out through the night of March 15 demanding disciplinary action against all 475 REA members who had been arrested on the picket lines. Many of these teachers had sat down in the driveways of the schools

to prevent scabs from entering.

At 5:30 a.m. on the morning of March 16, the board dropped its demand and agreement was reached.

Teachers won a 6 percent wage increase for the first year and a cost-of-living allowance for all three years of the contract.

The REA was forced to compromise on its demand for a union shop. Under the compromise agreement, teachers may quit the union up until August 25, but any teacher hired after August 25 must pay a \$196 yearly service charge to the REA even if they do not join.

The strength and solidarity of the strike make it unlikely that many teachers will drop out of the union—probably even less than the 15 percent who crossed picket lines.

Eleven teachers active in the strike, including the president and vice-president of the union, still face a possible maximum penalty of two weeks' suspension without pay. REA members voted to fully reimburse the eleven for any pay lost due to discipli-



Militant/Sue Hagen

Picketing teachers read of mass arrests. Jailings failed to intimidate strikers.

nary action.

Crucial to the REA victory was the aid of hundreds of members of the United Auto Workers, machinists union, and Coalition of Public Employees who joined the picket lines. Dozens of them were arrested along with the teachers.

*Racine Labor*, the press of the Racine labor movement, served as an unofficial strike newspaper for the REA.

The Milwaukee Teachers Education Association sent \$2,000 to aid the Racine teachers' strike fund.

The REA victory is a step toward reversing the trend of union-busting and setbacks for the labor movement in Wisconsin.

Racine teachers have set an example of how to take on a school board and city government in their attacks on teachers' rights. The lessons of the Racine fight point the way forward for Milwaukee teachers, who are likely to go out on strike soon over similar issues.