

THE MILITANT

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

3,200 meet in Chicago

Union women vow to fight for rights



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Women from 58 unions attended founding conference of Coalition of Labor Union Women, March 23-24. See page 14.

Behind Palestinian 'mini-state' proposal₁₆



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MARTIN SOSTRE DENIED NEW TRIAL: Martin Sostre is serving a 30-year sentence on a frame-up drug conviction. Last year, the key prosecution witness in that trial, Arto Williams, recanted his testimony. Williams said he lied on the witness stand at the insistence of the Buffalo, N.Y., police, who sought to frame Sostre. As a result of this new evidence, Sostre filed a motion for a new trial.

On March 15, Federal Judge John Curtin handed down a decision refusing to overturn Sostre's conviction and denying him the right to a new trial. Curtin said that Williams's recantation was "unworthy of belief" and went on to say that "there is no reason not to believe the testimony of the police officers."

Sostre, who has already served six-and-a-half years of his sentence, has been the victim of six beatings at the hands of prison guards at Clinton Prison, and has spent 14 months in solitary confinement at Clinton. After being attacked and beaten by Clinton guards on May 19, 1973, Sostre was charged with assaulting prison guards. If convicted on this charge, which is still pending, Sostre faces a life sentence in addition to the time he is already serving.

Sostre is currently being held in the Federal House of Detention in New York, where he is testifying in another prisoner's lawsuit against the state prison system. He is fighting to be transferred from Clinton Prison, where he can be returned at any time.

Pathfinder Press is offering readers of The Militant a special sale on a wide selection of pamphlets and books. The literature deals with the basics of socialism, Black liberation, women's liberation, the Mideast, the labor movement, Marxist theory, and other subjects. For details see the ad on page 23.

UNIONISTS PICKET WHITE HOUSE: Five hundred members of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (UE) picketed the White House March 20 demanding that the Nixon administration and Congress halt the continuing assault on their living standards. Although the picketers missed a day of work and pay to demonstrate, they declared in a leaflet, "We can't afford to sit still and watch our living standards being destroyed and our jobs threatened by Nixon's galloping inflation." The leaflet went on to say, "We're tired of making sacrifices so Nixon's pals—Exxon, Gulf, Mobil, Swift, Armour, General Foods and all the rest of the corporations—get richer and richer."

The UE members also called for Nixon's impeachment. The union members came to Washington from UE Districts 1 and 6 (eastern and western Pennsylvania, southern New York, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia).

UNITED FARM WORKERS WIN AT UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON: Supporters of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) won an important victory last week by forcing the University of Washington in Seattle to remove all head lettuce from campus. The victory was the result of a month-and-a-half-long campaign to win support for the UFW at the university.

UFW supporters had launched a successful boycott of the food at the campus food services and collected the signatures of the majority of the dormitory residents.

The UW administration attempted to put off making a decision in favor of the UFW. However, when a group of farm workers supporters occupied the UW president's office on March 19 demanding a positive decision, the UW president gave in.

The University of Washington, which has nearly 35,000 students and 15,000 faculty and staff, was a major user of scab lettuce.

NCLC CONTINUES VIOLENCE AGAINST LEFT: Scott Breen, a member of the Seattle Young Socialist Alliance, was physically assaulted by the National Caucus of Labor Committees while selling the Young Socialist newspaper on March 23. Breen was selling the Young Socialist at the Pike Place public market, when seven or eight members of the NCLC attempted to stop him. Calling Breen a "fascist," one NCLC member grabbed the newspapers and threw them to the ground.

The crowd of onlookers that developed during the scuffle was hostile toward the NCLC, and helped to prevent a more serious confrontation. Among those who came to Breen's defense were Elmer Dixon, chairman of the Seattle Black Panther Party, and Paul Zinsel, who operates a radical bookstore in the market.

Because of the support of the crowd, Breen was able to continue selling his papers, and the NCLC members left.

The NCLC has in the past carried out a systematic campaign of violence against radical organizations.

A VICTORY FOR VETERANS: The Pentagon used to have a system that allowed commanding officers to choose from among 500 secret code numbers to indicate on discharge papers that a serviceman was considered "unsuitable" for the armed services. The code enabled the brass to arbitrarily label people as alcoholics, bed wetters, addicts, and homosexuals, among other things.

Many employers used the code numbers to discriminate against veterans seeking jobs. The veterans often mistakenly thought their honorable discharge papers were a good reference.

However, on March 22, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger abolished this code. All veterans discharged over the last two decades will be given new discharge papers—minus the code, Schlesinger promised.

In addition, no honorable discharge papers issued in the future will have any indication of why the veteran left the service.

This decision doesn't affect less than honorable discharges.

PUERTO RICAN STUDENTS COMMEMORATE 1971 STRUGGLE: Nearly 200 people attended a rally at the University of Puerto Rico in Rio Piedras March 11 to commemorate the day three years ago when UPR students demanded that ROTC be removed from campus. The 1971 actions loosened the colonial hold of the U.S. on Puerto Rico by winning the abolition of ROTC training on campus and an end to conscription of Puerto Rican citizens into the U.S. armed forces.

Humberto Pagan, who was arrested during the 1971 events for allegedly killing a cop, spoke at the rally. Pagan linked his persecution to the colonial repression of the last 75 years and called for unity in action against the repression. Pagan's trial was scheduled to begin March 25.

SUNDIATA ACOLI CONVICTED OF MURDER: On March 11, Sundiata Acoli (Clark Squire), who has proclaimed his membership in the Black Liberation Army, was convicted of murder. This charge stems from a 1973 shootout on the New Jersey turnpike in which a state trooper was killed. Acoli and Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) were arrested and Zayd Malik Shakur was killed following this incident. Although facing the same charges, Shakur is being tried separately.

Acoli was given the mandatory life sentence by Judge John Bachman on March 15. Bachman also imposed additional sentences on Acoli for assault, robbery, and gun possession.

In another trial of an alleged member of the Black Liberation Army, a jury in New York found Henry Brown not guilty of murdering two cops in Manhattan's Lower East Side in 1972.

However, Brown was not set free. He is currently serving a 25-year sentence on a charge of shooting cops in St. Louis in 1972.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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Rulers weigh options

Debate on impeachment vs. resignation

By CAROLINE LUND

As the Watergate plot thickens with no end in sight, the debate is intensifying among the rulers of this country over what to do with Richard Nixon—the man they picked to be president in 1972.

A new flurry of arguments followed right-wing Senator James Buckley's March 19 call for President Nixon's resignation. The various Democratic and Republican politicians are divided over whether resignation or impeachment would be better for "the nation."

But a close look at this debate shows that it has nothing to do with any concern over the interests of the majority of the American people.

First of all, it has taken the politicians in Washington two years just to get around to considering the necessity of taking action against Nixon's criminal activities. Even now that they finally have an impeachment investigation going, they can't decide what is an "impeachable offense."

Buckley accurately explained in his statement how the ruling circles have looked at the scandal: "At every stage since the prelude in June of 1972, we have heard the prophecy: 'Everything will soon blow over.' And this was a reasonable prediction in the early months. As a rule the public attention span is not very long. Most things do blow over in a few months."

But, he noted, Watergate "has shown no signs of receding." To the distress of the Democratic and Republican politicians, Nixon was not successful in covering up his gangster operations. And the "attention span" of the American people proved to be longer than the ruling class had hoped.

Even as Buckley was advising Nixon to throw in the towel, new developments in the scandal were coming fast and furious:

- On March 21 the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that the secret grand jury report on President Nixon's involvement in the Watergate cover-up be turned over to the House impeachment committee.

- The same day, Watergate prosecutor Leon Jaworski announced he had subpoenaed a series of additional documents from the White House.

- The following day two unidentified "government sources" claiming to be familiar with the controversial March 21, 1973, tape said its contents were "explosive" and "not ambiguous." This is the tape of Nixon's discussion with John Dean about hush money for the Watergate burglars.

- Meanwhile, the House Government Operations Subcommittee revealed that Nixon had spent \$17-million of taxpayers' money on fixing up his private estates.

- And the same week, Nixon's two

ex-cabinet members, John Mitchell and Maurice Stans, went on trial for conspiracy, perjury, and obstruction of justice.

Nixon himself embarked upon a desperate new campaign to try to strengthen his position—speaking before hand-picked audiences in Houston and Chicago, and singing and playing with a yo-yo at Nashville's Grand Ole Opry. But, as *Time* magazine noted, even his confrontations with the press weren't convincing to the American people. *Time* wrote that "... his illogical explanations of events, his nonanswers to critical questions, and the familiar litanies of what he has done for the country tend to deepen the disillusion."

The president's approval rating with the American people sank to 26 percent in the Harris poll and 25 in the Gallup poll.

Nixon even resorted to sending letters of apology to some of the persons on his "enemies list."

'Pulled the plug'

The Buckley statement calling for his resignation was a serious blow to Nixon's attempt to mobilize the right wing to come to his defense. "What Buckley has done is pull a plug on the president's most important reservoir," said a representative of the American Conservative Union.

This is the context in which the resignation vs. impeachment debate has broken out among Democratic and Republican officials. This debate is not about the meaning of the Nixon gang's crimes against the American people. Nor does it concern how to rid the country of a government of crooks, gangsters, and liars. Instead, it concerns how best to protect capitalist rule in face of the deepening distrust and anger of the American people as they see the truth about how capitalist government operates.

Buckley spelled out the fears of the ruling class quite well. He said Watergate "has plunged our country into what historians call a 'crisis of the regime.'"

He continued: "A crisis of the regime is not like a political confrontation or labor dispute or economic recession or any other specific and limited difficulty. A crisis of the regime is a disorder, a trauma, involving every tissue of the nation. . . ."

"I speak of the spreading cynicism about those in public life and about the political process itself. I speak of the pervasive and undeniable sense of frustration and impotence that has become the dominant political mood in the nation. I speak of a perception of corruption that has effectively destroyed the president's ability to speak from a position of moral leadership."



But what is Buckley's concern? His objection to an impeachment trial is that the American people would find out too much! He says, "Public opinion would compel the proceedings to be televised. . . . The most sordid dredges dug up by the Watergate miners would inflame the passions of the domestic audience and provoke the guffaws, prurient curiosity, or amazement of the outside world. The audience would hear those magical tapes in full—that could not be avoided."

Many Democrats have taken Buckley's position. Columnist Jack Anderson, citing inside sources, says that most congressmen want to "avoid a nasty impeachment fight." He writes, "They almost always prefer to work out an amicable compromise in the back rooms."

Democrat Wilbur Mills "has even offered to introduce legislation granting Mr. Nixon immunity from prosecution if he will resign," wrote Anderson March 25.

But there are compelling arguments, from the rulers' point of view, on the other side, too. Jacob Javits is one of those who think that impeachment would be better than resignation. Does he mean better for ensuring the exposure of all Nixon's crimes? No, "better for the Presidency as an institution," says Javits.

The *Wall Street Journal* explained this view in more detail. It warned that Nixon's forced resignation "would create a precedent that almost certainly would be turned against future Presidents who take unpopular actions." The *Journal* editors say that what's involved is "overturning an election" and such a drastic step (to their mind) should only be undertaken through constitutional channels.

The *Journal* admits that impeachment would be "a messy business," but says, "The Founding Fathers deliberately made it a difficult process so that it would not be lightly undertaken." That is, they think it should be as difficult as possible for the American people to get rid of a president any more often than their allotted four years. The *Journal* editors fear that a forced resignation might give the masses of people the "dangerous" idea that they can bring down a criminal politician through mass pressure.

George Bush, chairman of the Republican National Committee, agrees. "I worry about the instability that resignation without proof of guilt brings to our system," Bush explained.

What he means, of course, is "instability" for the capitalist politicians in office.

These arguments jibe with Nixon's own defense of his refusal to quit. When asked in Houston about his reaction to Buckley's statement, Nixon said that in his opinion presidents had the right and duty to carry on in office even if opposed by the majority of the people.

Right to bomb

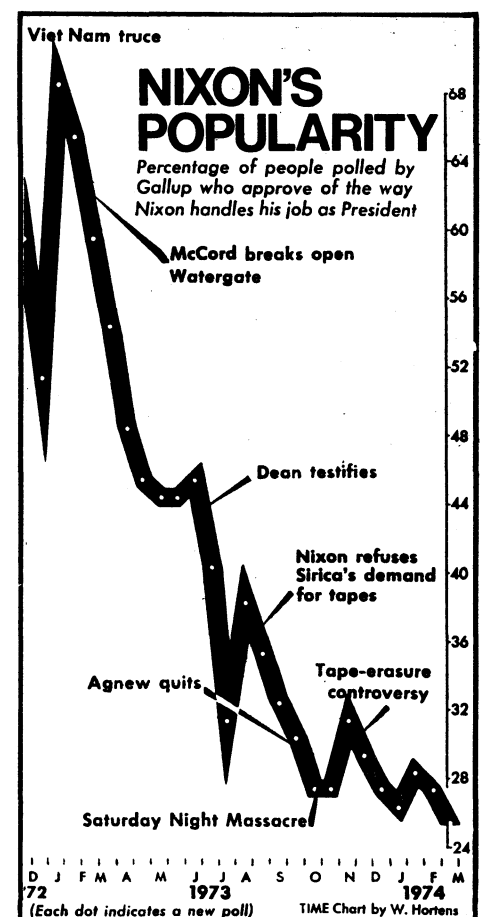
As an example, he proudly cited his "hard decision" to go ahead with the carpet bombing of North Vietnam at Christmas, 1972, despite majority opposition. That is his conception of "democracy."

When these politicians talk about "preserving the office of the presidency" and "protecting our institutions," they mean preventing the American people from drawing the logical conclusion that Watergate, the Vietnam war, and the energy crisis, all stem from those very institutions. By "preserving" capitalist institutions and government, they mean preserving the illusions of working people that this government is run in their

Continued on page 22



Demonstrators greet Nixon in Houston



By FRANK LOVELL

A government report released in January found that an astounding 5.6 million job-related illnesses and injuries requiring more than first aid occurred during 1972. The report covers the first full year of record-keeping under the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970.

One of every nine full-time workers in private nonfarm industry suffered from an accident or illness from work. This survey did not include railroads and most mining.

About half-a-million workers are killed or disabled on the job every year, according to estimates by the Public Health Service. Researchers acknowledge that there is no way of knowing how many fatal illnesses result directly from work because of the likelihood of many job-related diseases not yet discovered.

Doctors Jeanne Stillman and Susan Daum say in their book *Work Is Dangerous to Your Health* that very little research is done on the effects of chemical and physical agents used in industry. Occupational health hazards are not given much attention by the medical profession, few universities have specialized courses on the subject, and there are no large grants from private industry to encourage studies in this field.

Fatal illnesses develop from the use of new materials and untested chemicals. Most of these are not known to the workers who handle them, since the chemical names are kept secret. Corporations generally prefer to give code numbers to the new materials they introduce, citing competition in the plastics and fabric industries as an excuse.

The federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) estimates that about 400 new chemicals are introduced by industry each year, nearly all of them untested as to their injurious effects on workers who handle them.

In January, B.F. Goodrich Company announced that it was "investigating" the deaths of three workers in its Louisville, Ky., plant. They died of a rare liver cancer (angiosarcoma), which is caused by chemicals used in the manufacture of vinyl products. The three workers had an average of 20 years' exposure to the chemicals.

The director of the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), Dr. Marcus Key, says nine cases of the rare liver cancer have been discovered in workers exposed to vinyl chloride for periods of 12 years or longer.

"Some 6,500 employees at 37 plants operated by 23 U.S. manufacturers are potentially involved," according to a report in the March 13 *Wall Street Journal*.

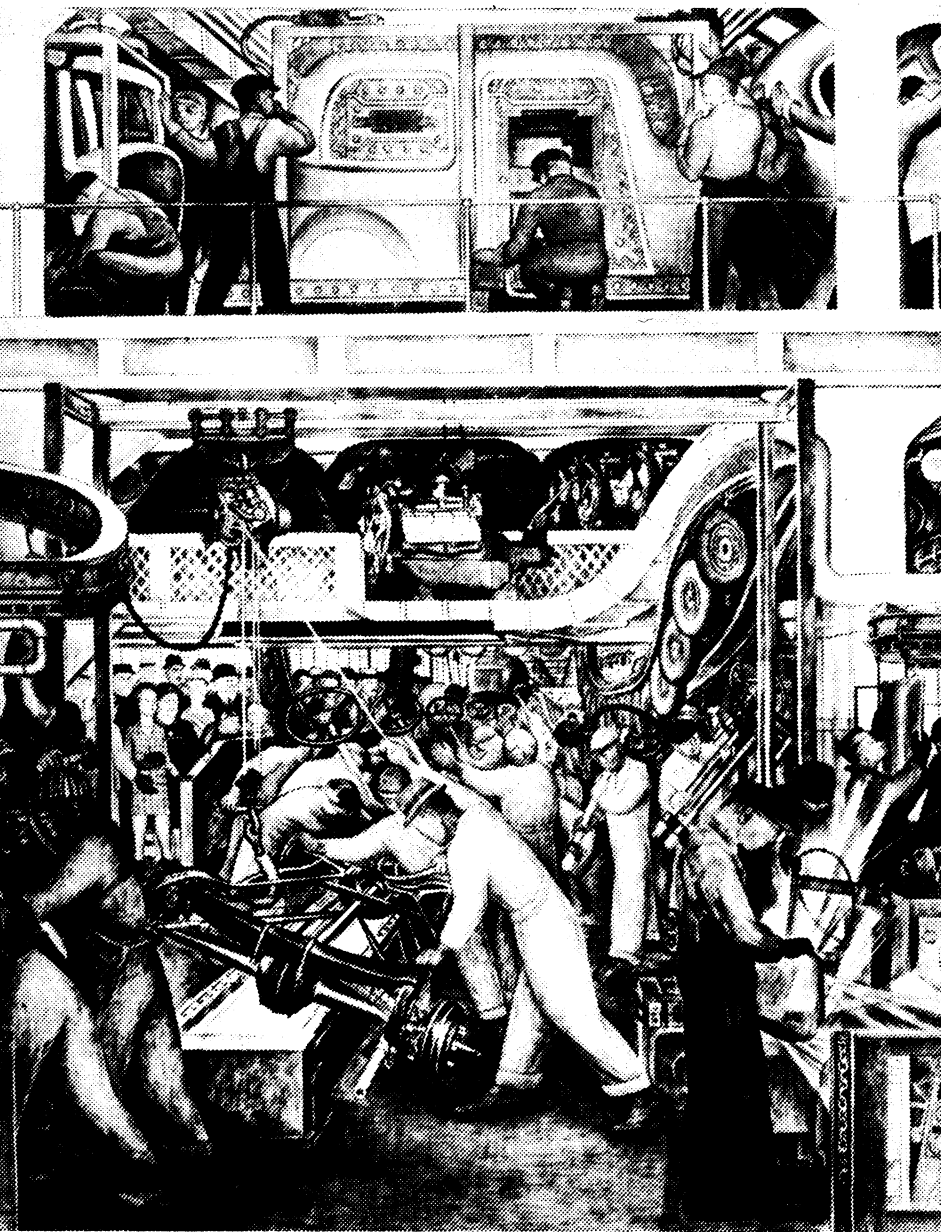
Coke oven workers

The March issue of *Job Health and Safety*, a Labor Department publication, reports that NIOSH has discovered a high incidence of lung and kidney cancer in steelworkers whose jobs are atop the coke ovens in the mills. They must breathe the cancer-causing fumes from the ovens. The death rate for these workers is 10 times higher than normal.

The study found that the incidence of lung and kidney cancer is also abnormally high among residents in communities where the coke ovens are located.

Asbestos dust is another sure cause of slow death from lung disease and cancer. In 1971 a NIOSH team inspected the Tyler, Tex., asbestos insulation plant of the Pittsburgh Corning Corporation and ordered the company to revise its production methods to eliminate all asbestos dust. The company decided the cost would be

Hazards on the job: the hidden killer



Diego Rivera's 'Portrait of Detroit'

too great, and closed the plant instead, plowing under the accumulated asbestos debris.

No visible trace of the plant remains. But medical science knows no way to remove the asbestos dust from the lungs of 869 workers employed at the plant since 1954. Some are already dead. An estimated 300 will die of asbestosis (destruction of lung tissue), lung cancer, or cancer of the colon, rectum, or stomach.

The Jan. 28 *Time* magazine quoted a woman whose husband had recently died of asbestosis: "He hurt with every breath he took, because his lungs were torn and scarred on the inside from breathing asbestos fibers."

Sudden death is common in all industry, caused by faulty equipment, speedup, and dangerous working conditions. In the construction industry the accident rate, always high, is rising.

Charles Greene, director of industrial safety in Washington, D.C., reported March 12 that the accident rate in construction in that city went up 16 percent in one year. He cited 5,457 accidents in the last half of 1973 as compared with 4,703 in the last half of 1972.

Greene attributed the sharp rise in the number of accidents to poor inspection of construction job sites by the Labor Department, which took over the inspection program in the nation's capital last July under provisions of the Occupational Safety and Health Act.

The Federal Mine Enforcement and

Safety Administration, under the Interior Department, is likewise accused of failing to enforce the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, which became effective in 1970. The Nixon administration has refused to provide funds for inspectors needed to enforce these laws.

The employers in manufacturing and in mining are fighting all safety laws, seeking ways to dodge them and eventually to repeal them. Big and small employers alike plead poverty and claim they cannot afford safety devices.

Fear medical research

They fear all medical research that could reveal the fatal effects of their new chemical combinations and compounds. They hope to quash all reports of deadly industrial pollution that threatens the lives of residents in industrial communities as well as workers in the factories.

At a labor-management-government conference on health and safety at the Labor Department March 18, management representatives Frank Barnako of Bethlehem Steel and Paul Hally of Standard Oil tried to further hamper federal safety inspectors by stipulating that inspectors must have approval of their supervisors before issuing citations against dangerous work conditions. They were supported by representatives of the Labor Department and the Nixon administration.

Dr. Marcus Key was at the conference to complain again about the lack of funds for his research programs. He had stated publicly last

year that NIOSH, which he heads, "is getting the proverbial meat ax. . . ."

"Our present laboratory space isn't even adequate for any kind of research . . .," he stated. "We have been frozen on hiring for most of our existence, and we are losing key staff right and left because we don't have the grade points to promote them. . . ."

"I don't think NIOSH is a viable organization at this time," he concluded.

The employers are nowhere interested in research or safety programs of any kind. They are interested only in production research programs and special provisions that allow them to operate in violation of the present federal health and safety laws.

Handcuff inspectors

While spokesmen for Big Steel and Big Oil were at the Labor Department conference trying to handcuff the pathetically few federal safety inspectors who are charged with applying the safety laws (there are only 600 to inspect nearly five million workplaces), over at the Interior Department a lawyer for the National Independent Coal Operators Association was pleading for special dispensation to keep 500 unsafe mines open in violation of the law.

John Kilcullen, claiming to represent small Appalachian coal mine owners, asked that the federal mine safety law be suspended for the benefit of his clients.

James Day, head of the Federal Mine Enforcement and Safety Administration, seemed to take a favorable view of the mine owners' request. He predicted that if it were not granted, 20 to 30 million tons of coal a year would be "lost" and 5,000 to 6,000 miners would lose their jobs. He made no mention of how many miners would be killed if these lethal traps continue to operate as currently with high-voltage electric drilling, digging and hauling machinery.

These are nonunion mines, producing cheap coal at cheap wages, much of it sold to the big coal producers, who turn a handsome profit from it. This is one way the big mine owners have of getting around union wages and government safety regulations.

If these unsafe mines are closed until they comply with safety regulations, the only "loss" will be superprofits of the big companies. Miners will not need to work in the death traps any more and can move on to a better job under safer conditions for union wages. The 30 million tons of "lost" coal will need to be dug, and miners will be needed to dig it.

The union movement is fighting these attacks against federal safety laws on several fronts. The United Mine Workers union is developing its own system of union safety inspection. Other unions, like the United Auto Workers, also have union safety committees in some plants. The AFL-CIO is seeking protection in the federal courts.

A suit filed in U.S. District Court in Washington against Labor Secretary Peter Brennan by the AFL-CIO seeks to prevent transfer of safety law enforcement from federal to state authorities.

AFL-CIO President George Meany charges Brennan with a "single-minded desire to allow the states to take over OSHA without providing adequate protection for workers."

Whatever the results of the court action, however, it is no substitute for alert union safety committees to see that safety laws are strictly enforced. It is a life and death matter on the job.

N.Y. District 1 school board election

'Por Los Ninos' slate launches campaign

BY KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK—On Avenue "B," in the heart of the Puerto Rican community in Manhattan's Lower East Side, a converted storefront has become a center of bustling activity in the struggle for community control of schools. It is the headquarters for the campaign to elect a new District 1 school board on May 14 in a special election ordered by a federal judge.

The special election follows the ousting of a predominantly white board that had been illegally elected in the May 1, 1973, election. The board majority had been backed and financed by the racist head of New York's United Federation of Teachers (UFT), Albert Shanker. The election was thrown out on the grounds of racial discrimination against Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese voters.

The ousting of the pro-Shanker board was an important development for the District 1 community. The question of who will control the schools is a crucial one for the Lower East Side community; the school population is 93 percent Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese.

The schools are alienating, racist institutions that from the beginning are stacked against young Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chinese. The school system—at best—prepares students for the lowest paying jobs, and—at worst—for drug addiction or prison.

Nine candidates chosen

Nine community candidates for school board were chosen by the Presidents' Council, composed of the 20 heads of the district Parents Associations, on the basis of a commitment to a program of community control of schools. Community volunteers, and a full-time campaign staff, are energetically organizing the Por Los Niños (For the Children—in Chinese, Wei-Le Tze-Nu) campaign.

In announcing the Por Los Niños slate to the news media on March 19, Miriam Gonzalez, head of the Presidents' Council, said: "We have carefully screened and chosen these people because of their commitment to better education for the children in this district—to bilingual and multicultural education, to balanced and plentiful lunch and breakfast programs, and to struggle for the ade-



Five of nine candidates on 'Por Los Ninos' slate. From left, Janice Wong, Henry Ramos, Georgina Hoggard, Elroy Jones, and Edwina McLaughlin.

quate funding so badly needed in this district.

"We have carefully screened and chosen these people because they support community control, which means participation by parents in all levels of the education of our children, including selection of personnel, curriculum evaluation and selection, the use of funds, and the establishment of new programs in the schools."

Gonzalez answered a charge of the city's foremost opponent of community control, Albert Shanker: "Some have labeled the struggle of District 1 parents as being 'anti-UFT.' This is not accurate; it is the leadership of the UFT which stands in opposition to the right of the community to have any say in the education of our children."

"The parents of District 1 are by no means antiunion," she continued. "Many people who live in this district belong to various unions. We fully realize the benefits achieved in better wages and better working conditions."

Shanker's response

Shanker had an immediate response to the Por Los Niños slate. On WABC-TV, he said, "These are the people with the 'shirts' [Brownshirts] who are responsible for the ambulances being present at every school board meet-

ing. These people are not in it Por Los Niños; they're in it Por El Dinero [for the money]."

The Por Los Niños slate includes three former school board members: Bertram Beck, chairman of the board of the Citizens' Committee for Children; Georgina Hoggard, who was chairwoman of the 1972-73 community school board; and Henry Ramos.

The other members of the slate are: Carmen Barreto, president of the Junior High School 60 Parent Association and member of the board of the Puerto Rican Family Institute; Francisco Ferrer, former chairman of the Lower East Side Community Corporation; Elroy Jones, a Black activist who is director of the Rutgers Community Center; Edwina McLaughlin, a Black activist and vice-president of the Junior High School 22 Parent Association; Nicomedes Sanchez, an activist in the day-care movement; and Janice Wong, a leading Chinese activist who is a member of the Chinese Advisory Council of District 1.

In addition to extensive media coverage of their announcement, the Por Los Niños slate has gained much city-wide attention. The campaign staff prepared a city-wide leaflet calling for campaign volunteers that has been distributed on most New York campuses. Several community and political organizations have decided to devote their time to the campaign, including the Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace Action (LEMPA) and the Third World Women's Alliance.

In the coming weeks the campaign plans to utilize street corner rallies, a motorcade through the Lower East Side, and sound trucks. Each of the nine candidates will be speaking at different community organizations and political groups in District 1 and throughout the city.

Opposition from city

The enthusiasm of the campaign cannot have escaped the notice of Mayor Abraham Beame's administration and of Shanker.

The three "trustees," appointed by the city to govern the district until a new board is elected have lately tried to enforce a totally ridiculous position: they have instructed Luis Fuentes, the district's Puerto Rican superintendent, and other district personnel that registration of parents as voters is a partisan activity, and that any aid in registration by district employees is strictly forbidden. Fuentes has replied that he will do his utmost to see that the maximum number of voters are eligible to vote in the special election.

This move by the trustees reflects their fear that parents who receive

all the information about the election and who are registered to vote will support the nine candidates on the Por Los Niños slate. It took several weeks and the pressure of a public meeting just to get the city to agree to send a mailing announcing the opening of registration for the May 14 election to District 1 parents.

Despite a request from District 1 parents, the court and the city have refused to permit nonpartisan registration of voters and nonpartisan election inspectors on the day of the election. On May 14 the same two-party "inspection" system that the federal court found had produced a racist election in 1973 will be in effect, with all election officials coming from the Democratic and Republican parties.

The Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese community of the Lower East Side has gained strength and unity from the long struggle for community control against racist politicians and union bureaucrats. In defense against the vicious attacks by the forces out to crush the struggle for community control the community has organized picket lines and demonstrations, mobilized for public school board meetings, and initiated a district-wide boycott of schools last October.

The Por Los Niños campaign is being organized in the same spirit as the struggles that led to the overturning of the illegal May 1, 1973, election. It is a campaign organized by parents, students, and activists throughout the district. Organizations such as the Black Caucus, the Black Educational Defense Fund, and the Chinese Advisory Council play key roles in the campaign.

The campaign is not controlled by or run in the interest of any politician or by the Democratic or Republican parties. It is politically independent of the city administration. It is a campaign initiated by and organized by the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities coming together to fight for community control of the schools.

Those who want to help can go to 34 Avenue "B" at 3rd Street or call (212) 673-8322.

SWP backs community struggle

Katherine Sojourner, an active supporter of the struggle for community control in District 1, is running for U.S. Congress from New York's 18th Congressional District. The 18th C.D. includes much of District 1.

Her campaign committee has issued a leaflet, printed in Spanish and English, in support of the Por Los Niños campaign. The leaflet is being distributed throughout the Lower East Side. It reads, in part: **Hands off District One. Restore the funds that were cut as a first step in providing the millions necessary for the community control program.**

Full implementation of the bilingual and bicultural programs.

An end to racist and sexist curriculum. Community evaluation of teaching materials.

Parents' and students' rights in the schools, including parents' right to classroom observation and students' rights to free speech and organization. Cops out of the schools!

Open up the schools, 24-hour availability to the community.



Katherine Sojourner

Militant/Mary Hendrickson

Twenty-four hour child care.

The right of parents to hire and fire all school personnel.

For a copy of the leaflet, write to the SWP campaign headquarters at 706 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 982-6051.

Dist. 1 forum on Malcolm X

A meeting to discuss the ideas of Malcolm X was organized by two Black community organizations in Manhattan's Lower East Side March 21.

The purpose of the meeting, sponsored by the Black Caucus and the Black Educational Defense, was "to discuss the ideas of Malcolm X and to discuss the need to organize for the May 14 school board election in District 1." The leaflet advertising the meeting urged Lower East Side residents to "vote for the slate endorsed by the Presidents' Council of District 1—vote Por Los Niños."

Clayton Flowers, head of the Black Caucus, chaired the meeting. Ken Miliner, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and an activist in the struggle in District 1, spoke about Malcolm's ideas on Black community control of schools.

Ellen Bradley, a leading Black activist in the struggle for community control in District 1, spoke of the importance of a strong organized effort to elect the Por Los Niños slate to the school board. A film, *Malcolm X, The Struggle for Freedom*, was also shown.

Militant Forum hears lively debate over strategy for Washington, D.C., home rule

By ANNE SPRINGER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — How District of Columbia residents should vote on a so-called home rule charter in a May 7 referendum was the subject of a lively debate at the Militant Forum here March 22.

José Gutiérrez of the Committee to Support the Charter argued that the charter would be a big step toward taking control of D.C.'s municipal affairs out of the hands of Congress and giving control to the city's population, which is 71 percent Black. The charter was passed by Congress last December.

This is the position put forward by most local Democratic and Republican politicians, including Walter Fauntroy, D.C.'s nonvoting delegate to Congress. D.C. will receive the opportunity to elect a mayor and city council," said Gutiérrez. These positions are now filled by White House appointees.

The procharter arguments were refuted by Anton Wood, Statehood Party candidate for nonvoting delegate, and Allan Budka, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council chairman.

Wood insisted that the "home-rule" referendum was "nothing more than a simple fraud which is going to be perpetrated on the people of D.C., who have been hungry for some sort of self-rule for years."

He argued that statehood for D.C., which would provide for an elected local government and voting repre-



Militant/Joe Miles

D.C. cops mobilize to crush ghetto rebellion in April 1968. Racist federal government refuses to grant real home rule for D.C. because it fears allowing Blacks to control their own community.

sentatives in both the House and Senate, was a way to break federal control of the city's affairs.

Wood said statehood was not "a panacea. It's not going to solve everything that's wrong with D.C., or what's wrong with things in the U.S. What we see in it is a means of addressing some basic questions of community control."

Budka explained how, under the charter, D.C. would still be controlled by Congress:

- Congress will have the power to veto any legislation passed by the city council.
- Congress will continue to control the District's budget, although taxes paid by D.C. residents fund 80 percent of the budget.
- The city council will be prohibited from taxing federal property, changing the criminal code, restructuring the courts, or legislating in five other areas.
- The president will continue to appoint judges. In addition, the charter includes a special provision that enables the president to assume control over the metropolitan police for 48 hours at his own discretion, and for 30 days just by notifying Congress.

This police power, which was used to quell the Black ghetto rebellion in the summer of 1968, and to round

up thousands of antiwar demonstrators in May 1971, can be exercised without even consulting D.C.'s elected officials.

The Socialist Workers Party has emphasized that behind the refusal to grant real home rule lies racist opposition to the overwhelming Black majority in D.C. gaining control over its own affairs.

The thousands of Black people employed by the federal government are concentrated in the lowest-paid positions. The median income of Black families in D.C. is 40 percent less than that of whites. With Congress in control of the city, D.C. has substandard schools but the highest per capita expenditure on police of any city of comparable size in the country.

"Our candidates," Budka concluded, "are saying don't put your faith in the Democrats and Republicans." He called for the Black community to "deny its allegiance to the two capitalist parties that have manipulated this city for over a century."

Budka said an independent Black political party could lead "mass political action" for the needs of the Black community, including genuine self-government.

The Committee to Support the Charter is backed by incumbent Democratic Mayor Walter Washington, the D.C.

central committees of both the Democratic and Republican parties, the central labor council, the NAACP, the Urban League, dozens of churches, and the Metropolitan Board of Trade, which represents the business interests in D.C.

All are pushing for a big "yes" vote on May 7. According to Ben Segal, assistant to the mayor and secretary of the committee, the object "is not just to get out enough votes to pass the charter, but to gain an impressive showing."

The five SWP candidates—for mayor, D.C. delegate, and city council—have been explaining the need to oppose the phony "home rule" charter. They and their supporters have attended 18 meetings in the last two weeks to present their position on home rule.

At many of the meetings only supporters of the charter have been asked to speak.

However, when the SWP candidates were able to explain that the charter will not provide genuine home rule, they got substantial support for their views from the audience.

As a Black postal worker said at one meeting, "We're not being given both sides of this bill. What I'd like to know is why we're voting for this charter, if Congress could have passed legislation giving us a mayor and city council anyway."

Another man in the audience responded, "I'm sure Congress didn't put this up for a vote to see whether or not the people wanted it. They did it to appease us."

Following a debate before 1,000 Black students at Cardozo High School between SWP mayoralty candidate Nan Bailey and a member of the Committee to Support the Charter, almost 50 percent of the students voted to reject the charter.

Bailey also addressed 400 seniors at Coolidge High School in another debate.

The SWP campaign is taking advantage of equal time provisions as well, answering an editorial on WRC radio and requesting to answer editorials on three TV stations.

The candidates have also been interviewed on the home rule issue by student newspapers at George Washington University and American University, and on a radio program at Howard University.



Nan Bailey, SWP candidate for mayor, is campaigning for real home rule for Washington, D.C.

Michigan SWP making gains throughout state

By STEVE BEREN

DETROIT—Ninety Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters from cities all across Michigan attended a campaign banquet here March 15.

Robin Maisel and Ruth Getts head the Michigan SWP ticket as candidates for governor and lieutenant governor.

The program was chaired by Hattie McCutcheon, state coordinator of the Young Socialists for Maisel and Getts (YSMG). McCutcheon, who has been touring Michigan campuses with the YSMG team, reported on highlights of the team's activities.

As a result of the tour, YSMG groups have already been established at Central Michigan University in Mount Pleasant and Ferris State College in Big Rapids.

Ann Moring, a Michigan organizer for the United Farm Workers, presented greetings to the gathering.

She said that the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have "made the Farm Workers' struggle their own" and that "the YSA has been a strong force in building boy-

cott activity" on campuses throughout the state.

Moring reported that the boycott has been effective in hurting Wrigley's, a major Detroit-area supermarket chain that sells scab grapes. "Congratulations have come to us from Farm Worker organizers from around the country," she said. "I think these congratulations should be passed on to the SWP and the YSA."

The next speaker was Robin Maisel, who had just completed a four-week tour of Michigan. During his tour, Maisel campaigned extensively on the campuses and high schools, speaking to more than 1,000 students.

While on tour he also participated in a march of 800 Motor Wheel workers and supporters on the state capitol at Lansing. The East Lansing YSMG brought 20 students from Michigan State University to the march.

In his speech, Maisel pointed to the increasing distrust of the government and capitalist politicians. "What Watergate has shown in the political arena," he said, "the so-called energy crisis has

shown in the economic arena—that the American political system and the Democratic and Republican parties are owned lock, stock, and oil barrel by the capitalists."

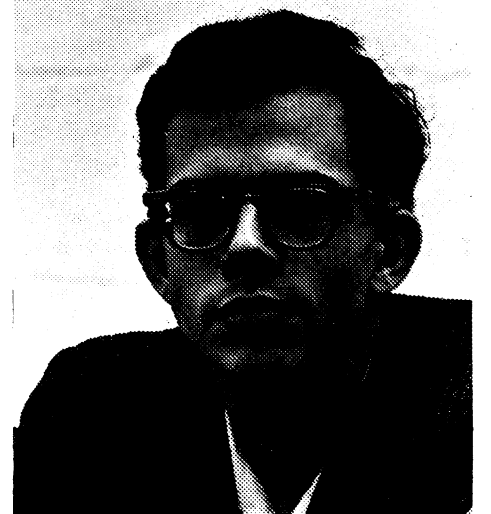
Stephanie Coontz, associate editor of the *International Socialist Review*, spoke next. She called for nationalization of the oil industry under workers control to ensure that oil production would be for the benefit of humanity, not for private profit.

Following Coontz, McCutcheon introduced the other candidates on the SWP slate: Ruth Getts for lieutenant governor; Rachele Fruit for secretary of state; Trudy Hawkins and Lee Artz for state board of education. B.R. Washington, SWP candidate for attorney general, was unable to attend the banquet because he was a delegate to the National Black Political Convention in Little Rock, Ark.

Three SWP candidates for U.S. Congress were announced at the meeting: Meg Hayes in the 6th C.D., Lansing area; Martha Pettit in the 2nd C.D., Ann Arbor-Ypsilanti area; and Hat-

tie McCutcheon in the 1st C.D., northwest Detroit. The 1st C.D. seat is now held by Democrat John Conyers, prominent member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

In response to an appeal for funds those present pledged \$3,300 to the campaign.



Robin Maisel, SWP candidate for governor of Michigan.

Cincinnati school plan draws fire from Blacks

CINCINNATI—A racist "integration" plan by the Cincinnati board of education has provoked opposition in the Black community and among teachers and students here.

The board's plan dictated that 75 percent of teachers must be white and 25 percent Black in every Cincinnati school. This plan is aimed at blocking court-ordered integration of students under the guise of beginning integration with the teachers.

The present conservative board majority was elected last year on the slogan of "maintaining neighborhood schools," which was cover for racist opposition to busing.

Twenty-five percent of Cincinnati teachers are already Black, so the plan would mean no new hiring of Black teachers, but simply shuffling the existing Black teachers around among various schools. Nearly 50 percent of students are Black.

Most of the Black teachers now are in the predominantly Black schools; one of the main reasons the community opposes the plan is that the majority of their Black teachers would be removed and sent to other schools.

More than 1,000 teachers, parents, and students packed into a board of education meeting March 11. Opposition to the board's plan was virtually unanimous.

Representatives from community groups, the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, People United to Save Humanity, the United Black Association from the University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, and Cincinnati Teachers Association all spoke out against the plan.

The first speaker was Charles Mitts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 1st C.D. Mitts stated, "As a teacher, a member of the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, and candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, I condemn the board's decision, which in effect is a decision to ignore the needs of the Black community and its desire for equal, quality education."

Mitts called for the board to "recognize the right of the Black community to decide its own future." He said a special referendum should be held to determine the Black community's wishes on the integration controversy, with the board obligated to carry out the community's decision.

To provide quality education for Black students, Mitts called for "a federally funded crash program to build new fully equipped and adequately staffed schools in the Black community."

He said that "administration of this crash program, as well as of curriculum, personnel, and all other decisions about how the schools in the Black community are run should be controlled by the Black community."

The following week the board of education came up with a "compromise" that was little different from its initial plan. There is slightly more flexibility in the teachers proportions, and full implementation is delayed until September 1975.

While this new plan was accepted by the Cincinnati Teachers Association, other groups, including the NAACP and the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, have taken court action demanding integration of students.

Campaigning for socialism

NEW YORK SWP ENDORSER DRIVE: Supporters of the New York SWP election campaign are collecting signatures for an ad that reads as follows:

"Had enough? Disgusted with Watergate, racism, government lies, gas lines, skyrocketing prices . . . ? Support the socialist alternative to the Democrats and Republicans. Vote Socialist Workers in '74. Finch for U.S. Senate. Morrison for Governor."

"We endorse the Socialist Workers Party New York State ticket as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, although we do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the SWP platform."

The ad will be placed in newspapers and reprinted as a leaflet. The tar-

the Democrats are doing anything to solve people's problems, he was interrupted by applause.

Rayson went on, "It doesn't matter which party is in the White House—it could be Lyndon Baines Nixon or Gerald Ford Nixon, it's just more of the same. We need an alternative," Rayson said, "a socialist alternative." This statement was met with even greater applause.

Bush apparently decided that Rayson was stealing the show. He burst out, "What do you know about politics? You're just a sideline critic. When have you ever run for office?"

"Right now," Rayson retorted, "I am the Socialist Workers Party candidate for land commissioner of Texas." The students roared with approval.



Militant/Charlie Rosenberg

Young Socialist teams are touring campuses from coast to coast, organizing support for SWP candidates. Here, Carol Knoll explains campaign of Nancy Brown for governor of Ohio.

Oregon socialist backs steelworkers' strike

PORTLAND—Robin Mace, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Portland city council position 3, has obtained ballot status in the formally nonpartisan primary scheduled for May.

After filing for the office, Mace spoke at a well-attended news conference on the steps of city hall.

She voiced support for a strike by 1,000 steelworkers at Portland's Esco Corporation, who are fighting to keep a cost-of-living clause in their contract.

SWP campaign supporters have been distributing literature and selling *Militants* to Esco pickets.

One reporter commented that the SWP campaign was the most active in the state. "Yours is the only campaign that cares about people," the reporter said. "No other candidates bothered to go down and talk to Esco workers; no one else is concerned about them."

In another campaign development, SWP candidate John Lemon became the first person to file for the statewide position of superintendent of public instruction.

Lemon, a student at Portland State University, issued a statement opposing recent hikes in tuition approved by the state board of higher education. He called for a halt to U.S. war spending and for a 100 percent tax on the profits of the oil monopolies.

Such measures, Lemon said, could provide funds for a free education for all through the university level.

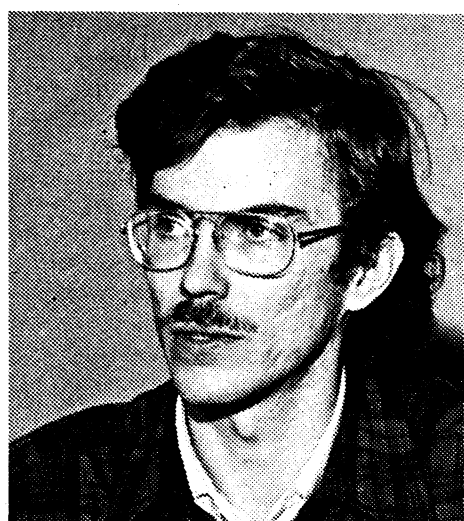
Lemon also hailed the strengthening of teacher unionization in the light of recent union elections at the majority of Oregon community colleges.

"I wholeheartedly support the right of all teachers to collective bargain-

ing," he said, as well as their right to "use whatever means necessary to win decent working conditions and a living wage, up to and including strikes."

The Oregon SWP candidates have already spoken to students in five high schools and at the University of Oregon in Eugene, Eastern Oregon College in La Grande, and Portland State University. At one school, as many students came to hear Stacey Seigle, SWP candidate for governor, as attended a talk by major Democratic contender James Redden.

National Lawyers Guild attorney Don Chambers and PSU Black studies professor James Rogers are among those who have recently signed cards supporting the SWP candidates as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.



John Lemon, first candidate to file for post of superintendent of public instruction.

get date for completion is April 22.

Signatures are being solicited from student government figures, campus newspaper editors, trade-union activists, leaders of Black and Puerto Rican organizations and women's groups, professors, authors, Arab and Haitian activists, farm workers, gay activists, and others.

To add your name to the endorser list, or to help circulate copies of the ad, write to New York State SWP campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS: The Pennsylvania Young Socialist team and other SWP campaign supporters recently organized a successful meeting for gubernatorial candidate Roberta Scherr at Pennsylvania State College. Afterward three people joined the Young Socialist Alliance, and a new YSA chapter will soon be formed there.

Joel Hodroff of the Minnesota YS team spoke at Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter on "What Socialists Stand For." Among those attending the meeting were students from Liberia, Ethiopia, Bangladesh, France, New Zealand, and the Netherlands.

SOCIALISTS CONFRONT REPUBLICANS: Republican national committee chairman George Bush and former attorney general Elliot Richardson were featured speakers recently at Tulane University during a week of special activities and speakers.

The Texas-Louisiana Young Socialist team was also at Tulane, and team member Bill Rayson took on the Republican leaders in the question period after they spoke. When Rayson declared that neither the Republicans nor

That evening the team sold 50 *Militants* and *Young Socialists* and a number of pamphlets. Apparently still trying to make a hit with the students, Richardson bought a *Militant* and Bush got a *Young Socialist*.

CALIFORNIA CANDIDATE DENOUNCES DEATH PENALTY: A statement recently released by Laura Moorhead, SWP candidate for California attorney general, says in part: "The Los Angeles District Attorney's office has announced it will seek the death penalty for Ronald Sims, a 22-year-old Black man accused of shooting a Hamburger Hamlet employee."

"As a candidate for California attorney general I will be campaigning to abolish the death penalty. Before being ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1972, capital punishment was used only against poor people, and nine times out of ten in California against Blacks and Chicanos."

Moorhead asserted, "It is the victims of this society and not the real criminals who are sentenced to death or who spend years rotting in California's overcrowded prisons. . . . Meanwhile there are some genuine criminals walking around."

The socialist candidate said that as attorney general she would investigate and prosecute "the police and FBI agents who have illegally infiltrated, framed up, and violently attacked radical groups and Black organizations." As examples she cited the right-wing Cuban exiles who firebombed the SWP headquarters in Los Angeles in 1970, cops who killed Black Panther Party activists, and provocateurs who infiltrated the Los Tres Defense Committee.

— ANDY ROSE

Campaign 'reforms': trick to strengthen dominance of Democrats & Republicans

By LARRY SEIGLE

A grand fraud is being cooked up in Congress. The master chefs are the leaders of both capitalist parties, and they are advertising the recipe as "The Answer to Watergate."

The dish? Reform of campaign financing, including tougher reporting laws, new restrictions on raising and spending funds, and some form of public financing.

The promoters are ecstatic. "At a single stroke," promises Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), "we can drive the money lenders out of the temple of politics. We can end the corrosive and corrupting influence of private money in public life."

Unfortunately, there is no Truth-in-Packaging Law that applies to the fast-sell doubletalk of politicians promoting new legislation. If there were, the proposals being talked up so glibly by Kennedy and his colleagues would be required to bear a notice: "'Reform' value—nil. And watch out! This bill is hazardous to your political rights."

Bills under consideration

The campaign reform issue has been brewing a long time. Two federal laws have already been passed. The first, which took effect April 7, 1972, requires campaign committees to make full disclosures of all contributions over \$100. In addition, expenditures must be itemized.

The second law, the income tax checkoff, will provide money to finance the presidential campaign in 1976.

Currently under debate in Congress are new proposals to enact maximum amounts that can be contributed, put overall limits on spending, and provide tax money for candidates for Congress as well as for president.

The measures vary in the degree to which they would modify the existing setup. Nixon, for example, proposes tightening up reporting provisions (to end "dirty tricks") but opposes government funding: "One thing we don't need is to add politicians to the federal dole," says Tricky Dick, who is familiar with the ins and outs of the problem.

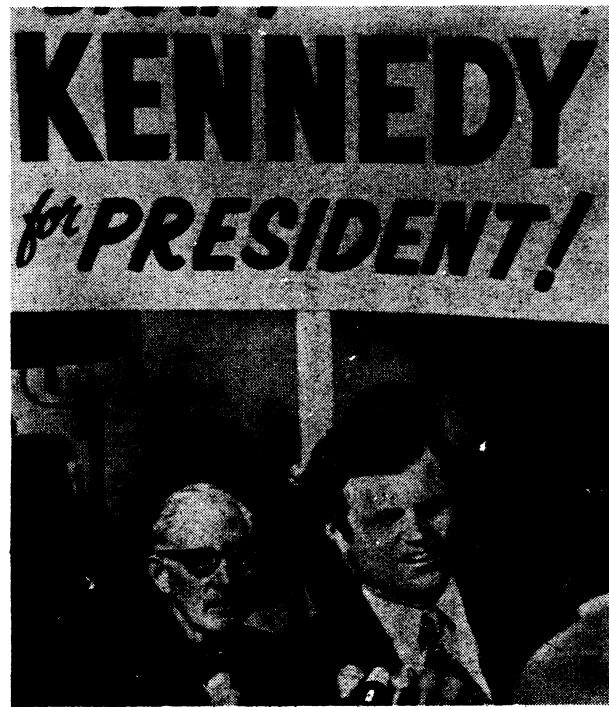
But the reformers generally have bipartisan back-

ing and are winning enthusiastic praise from newspaper columnists and editorial writers, who paint the reforms as the way to end corruption.

A close look at the proposals gives a different picture. The "good" they will produce is an illusion, and the dangers they contain are real.

Strengthening two-party monopoly

Let's start with the tax checkoff bill. This law gives money only to the Democrats and Republicans, excluding all smaller parties. This is done through the device of defining a "major" party as



KENNEDY: 'We can end corruption at a single stroke.'

one that got at least 25 percent of the vote in the last election.

To be sure, there is a provision for "minor" parties to get money. All you have to do is get 5 percent of the vote (nearly four million votes based on 1972 returns). As the clever lawmakers well know, *this definition excludes all existing smaller parties.* (And if, in the future, a party running against the twin parties of capital should approach the 5 percent mark, the requirement can always be lifted to 10 percent, or higher.)

This law is a further step toward chartering the existing capitalist parties as the *only* legitimate parties. This "reform" will tighten the monopoly of the Democrats and Republicans in the electoral arena.

The discriminatory definitions in the bill will be used by state legislatures and the courts to justify laws keeping smaller parties off the ballot. And they will be used by the capitalist-owned media as further excuse to avoid providing coverage to the viewpoints of smaller parties.

Also, those who urge a break with the existing parties—for example, advocates of an independent Black party—will be met with the new argument: "Why should we leave the Democrats and strike out on our own? We'll never get 5 percent the first time out, and our opponents will get all that money."

These considerations are undoubtedly what prompted our reform-minded Senator Kennedy to reassure his cronies that "public financing is not a nail in the coffin of the two-party system. . . . [It] will in fact be a useful counterbalance to the forces driving the party system apart and splintering modern politics."

Stiffer reporting requirements

One who still believes that the politicians are, under public pressure, trying to clean up politics might say at this point, "Okay, the public financing proposal is unfair. But surely some progress will come from forcing public disclosure of campaign contributions, won't it?"

No, it won't. Moreover, the disclosure provisions will hurt smaller parties even more than the unfair public financing.

Let's take one example. Under this law, the Socialist Workers Party has had to report to the government the name, address, and workplace of all contributors of more than \$100 to SWP elec-

tion campaigns. At the same time, the government claims that because the SWP is "subversive," anyone who is "affiliated" to the SWP is fair target for FBI surveillance and harassment. And "subversives" can be fired from government employment and many private companies with government contracts or their own version of the blacklist.

Thus, anyone who contributes has got to be ready to accept this harassment.

"But," our friend might argue, "the law applies equally to everyone." That's the catch. There is no "equality." Contributing to the Democrats and Republicans is not going to lose anyone a job, or get a file opened by any of the multitude of snooping agencies in Washington. But donating money to the SWP, or to the Communist Party, or the People's Party, or La Raza Unida Party may very well.

'Cleaning up politics'

And as for "cleaning up" politics through forcing disclosure, this is the biggest fraud of all. As experience has shown, the only result of tightening controls on campaign financing is to drive the corruption further underground, not to end it.

Illicit financial deals are diverted to more indirect routes. Money is "laundered" through Mexican banks or foreign subsidiaries of U. S. corporations. If limits are put on contributions, big donors simply break them down and have 10, 50, or 100 "friends" make the gifts.

Illegal? Of course. But equally uncontrollable. And after all, the administrators of the law are the very same politicians and parties who are supposedly being controlled.

More important, no amount of "campaign reform" is going to change the fact that the capitalist parties serve the interests of the capitalist class and do its bidding. The class loyalties of the Democratic and Republican politicians can't be "reformed."

An additional unfair burden falling on the smaller parties is the monumental job of bookkeeping and paperwork that compliance with the new law requires. This is no problem for the capitalist parties, who have teams of lawyers and accountants at their disposal. But complying with the law is a huge task for smaller parties.

However, all the existing inequities pale by comparison to what may happen in the future. The likelihood is that the Democrats and Republicans



will soon be getting public financing, bringing an end to their private fund-raising. *This means that the reporting provisions may soon apply only to opponents of the two capitalist parties.*

Good intentions?

Are these considerations merely accidental side effects that the "reformers" in Congress didn't foresee? I don't think so. I think the capitalist parties have been taking advantage of the widespread revulsion at the corruption revealed by Watergate to sneak through some additional obstacles to independent political action.

While posing as crusading opponents of corruption to strengthen their public image, these shysters are reinforcing the most corrupt aspect of U. S. politics—the virtual stranglehold maintained by the two capitalist parties.

The fake reform bills now on the books, and the new ones likely to be passed, should be exposed and opposed by all those who believe in freedom of political expression and choice, and especially by those who support parties directly hurt by the new legislation.

'Equal time' law

One side effect of the movement to "reform" campaign laws is likely to be the end of the equal-time provision. Nixon has proposed repealing this requirement as part of his package of reform measures.

The equal-time provision, one of the few laws protecting the rights of smaller parties, has been emasculated since its enactment through a steady stream of "exceptions" to the law. But it still leads to some air time for smaller parties.

The provision is often used by incumbents as an excuse not to debate their capitalist challengers on the air, since such a debate would lead to equal time for opponents of the Democrats and Republicans.

In 1972, the Democrats wanted to repeal equal time for the presidential race (in which they faced an incumbent) but not for congressional races (in which they generally were the incumbents).

Nixon opposed the repeal measure then; now he's for it. The equal-time provision, at least for presidential campaigns, will be gone before 1976 unless a powerful outcry greets this new attempt to further erode the rights of smaller parties.



Socialists are forced to picket for equal time.

Militant/Ellen Lemisch

Edelstam tour on Chile terror draws big response in Canada

By JON COLE

TORONTO, Mar. 26—The cross-Canada speaking tour of Harald Edelstam, former Swedish ambassador to Chile, has been a major success. Meetings held for him in Montréal, Ottawa, and Toronto have been the largest meetings on Chile since the tour last November of Hortensia Allende.

Edelstam distinguished himself after the Sept. 11 coup in Chile by rescuing hundreds of fugitives from the military junta. His humanitarian efforts led to his expulsion from Chile in December.

The speaking tour was initiated by the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (CLA) and has been cosponsored by a wide range of groups and individuals.

In Montréal, Edelstam spoke in French to a meeting jointly sponsored by CLA and the Québec-Chile Solidarity Committee, and in English to a McGill University meeting sponsored by a large number of university faculty and organizations. More than 300 people attended the McGill meeting.

In Ottawa on March 20, Edelstam addressed a meeting of 250 at Carleton University. The meeting was chaired by university president Michael Oliver. On March 21, he met with members of the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee. He emphasized to them the plight of the thousands of Chilean refugees who have still to find new homes.

From Ottawa he appeared on the CBC radio program "As It Happens," the television show "Canada AM," and on the national news of both Canadian television networks.

The largest meeting to date was in Toronto on March 22. Six hundred people packed the auditorium of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education to hear Edelstam describe his experiences under the Chilean junta.

The meeting was sponsored by a broad number of organizations. These included CLA, the Latin American Working Group, the United Church of



Edelstam helped hundreds escape repression in Chile.

Canada, the Toronto Chilean Association, Amnesty International, the Canadian Council of Churches' Committee on International Affairs, the League for Socialist Action, and the Young Socialists.

Individual sponsors included New Democratic Party member of parliament Andrew Brewin; Liberal senator Eugene Forsey; former Greek cabinet member Andreas Papandreu; and the Reverend T.M. Anthony, secretary of the Latin American desk of the Anglican Church.

In addition to Edelstam, the speakers were Linda Blackwood from the CLA; Dr. Floyd Honey, general secretary of the Canadian Council of Churches; Cliff Pilkey of the United Auto Workers; the Reverend E.W. Scott, primate of the Anglican Church;

John Foster of the Toronto Welcome Committee, and a representative of the Toronto Chilean Association.

The overflow crowd gave Edelstam two standing ovations and interrupted his speech with applause as Edelstam described his efforts to save people condemned to death by the military. He also described the events leading up to the coup, including the truck-owners' strike and the campaign by the military to disarm the workers' progressive organizations.

Edelstam said he had visited Allende 11 days before the coup. Edelstam asked Allende "if he expected trouble from the military. He said 'No.' That the military had sworn to be loyal and would defend the government. This was his fatal mistake. He believed in the army so he did not arm the workers. This is why the coup was completed so quickly."

The audience contributed more than \$800 to a special fund Edelstam has established to aid blacklisted workers, orphans, political prisoners, and refugees in Chile.

In Toronto, Edelstam also met with the board of directors of Oxfam, a worldwide relief organization, spoke to the congregation of Grace Church on the Hill, and met with 75 refugees from Chile who have settled in Canada.

Edelstam will also be speaking in Winnipeg and Edmonton.

Among the most important of the groups that has sponsored the cross-country tour of Edelstam is the Legislative Caucus of the British Columbia NDP, headed by British Columbia Premier David Barrett. The caucus has invited Edelstam to speak before them, and he will be formally introduced to the legislature in session on March 27.

This will be followed by a public meeting at the Unitarian Church in Vancouver. The meeting is being sponsored by the CLA, the Chile Solidarity Committee, Canadians for Democracy in Chile, and many other organizations.

Notables support W'gate lawsuit

By CONNIE PIPER

NEW YORK—Actor Tony Randall, author Joseph Heller, and New York City Commissioner for Human Rights Eleanor Holmes Norton were among the notables who sponsored and attended a recent "Evening for the Bill of Rights" to benefit the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Eighty people attended the cocktail party and contributed more than \$5,000 to the PRDF's efforts in support of the suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government Watergating.

At the party were five people on the White House "enemies list," including philanthropist Stewart Mott and Diana Lewis, in whose Park Avenue home the gathering took place.

The evening's three well-known speakers urged support to the socialists' suit as an effective way to protect the constitutional rights of all who protest administration policy.

The Very Reverend James Parks Morton, dean of the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine in New York, said "this case tests our commitment to defending political rights. . . this suit defends all of us from a threat that endangers our nation's entire political and ethical life."

Victor Rabinowitz, of the law firm Rabinowitz, Boudin and Standard, attorneys in the case, credited today's Watergate-dominated political climate and "the administration's all-time low credibility" with "making it possible for the SWP to file its unprecedented and winnable lawsuit."

"The SWP is carrying the ball for everyone else. The core of this case is whether the government has the right to interfere with the rights of free speech and political association. The suit seeks to establish First Amendment rights for *everyone*," Rabinowitz said.

In her fund appeal, journalist Francine duPlessix Gray referred to a "unique and precious quality of this suit. The process of this case already has and will continue to uncover secret government documents and memos of disruption and sabotage against protesters."

Other prominent sponsors of the benefit included playwright Arthur Miller, cartoonist Jules Feiffer, author Ring Lardner Jr., and attorney Conrad Lynn.

Elsewhere, PRDF supporters in Houston staged a day of activities—dubbed "Enemies Day"—to publicize the suit during President Nixon's recent visit to that city. Nixon is one of

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Wounded Knee trial

Hearings focus on FBI wiretap

By BILL ONASCH

ST. PAUL, Minn.—After months of denying the existence of any wiretaps at Wounded Knee last spring, the government on March 23 finally released a log of conversations recorded there.

Since March 18, Judge Fred Nichol has been hearing testimony on the illegal wiretap set up by the FBI at Wounded Knee and the government's suppression of evidence related to its illegal surveillance of the Wounded Knee defendants. Such illegal government surveillance led to dismissal of charges against Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon papers case, and could lead to a similar result in this trial.

A new element was added to the hearings on illegal surveillance March 23 when a key defense witness was threatened with death. The threat was against Joe Pourier, an employee of the Bison Telephone Company, who had installed an extension phone on the only line into Wounded Knee at the direction of the FBI.

Just before midnight on March 23 Pourier and a group of friends were confronted by five men in Rushville, S.D. The five threatened to kill Pourier, but retreated when his party pretended to be carrying pistols.

Defense attorney Mark Lane told

Nichol in court March 25 that Pourier's would-be assailants were part of a goon squad working for Pine Ridge Reservation tribal chief Richard Wilson.

Complaints by Pine Ridge residents about such attacks is what prompted the Wounded Knee seizure by American Indian Movement members and supporters in the first place.

Defense lawyer William Kunstler informed the judge that the defense has no confidence in the ability of the FBI or federal marshals to protect Pourier and his family. Kunstler called on Nichol to appoint special deputies, including AIM members, to protect defense witnesses. The judge stated that he is taking this under advisement.

The issue of illegal surveillance was raised as long ago as last October when defense attorneys specifically requested logs of any conversations of the defendants that were monitored without their knowledge. Chief prosecutor R.D. Hurd denied the existence of any such logs several times during the trial. Hurd now claims that he discovered them only in the last few days.

Nichol has also ordered Hurd to examine the FBI file on informants,

which has not been opened to the defense, to see if any government agents had overheard confidential conversations between the defendants and their attorneys. Hurd told *Minneapolis Tribune* reporter Dennis Cassano that Justice Department officials in Washington had earlier informed him that it was "not necessary" for him to see even a summary of their informants file on the case.

The same lawyers representing Dennis Banks and Russell Means in the present Wounded Knee trial also represent more than 100 other persons awaiting trial on similar charges. If Nichol rules that the monitoring of conversations between the defendants and their attorneys constituted a breach of the confidential lawyer-client relationship, then all the indictments would have to be dropped.

In an additional development, defense attorney Douglas Hall has announced uncovering a tape recording of radio communications between FBI agents and U.S. marshals that includes a background conversation about equipment being used for tapping a telephone. Experts are at work trying to make this conversation more audible.



Militant/Norman Oliver

Among those at PRDF benefit was Eleanor Holmes Norton.

Inquiry into killings of Black leaders

"A mandate to commit murder." That is how Chicago civil rights leader Jesse Jackson has aptly characterized the recently released FBI documents ordering disruption and "neutralizing" of the Black liberation movement. The deadly implications of these "COINTELPRO" documents were confirmed by the exposure that the 1969 police raid on an apartment of Chicago Black Panthers—during which Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed—was initiated by the FBI as part of its national "counterintelligence" program.

On the basis of these and other recent revelations, Jackson has called for a new investigation into the murders of Dr. Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and the Chicago Panthers. He has also called on other Black leaders to join him as plaintiffs in a class action suit to bring to light all the secret COINTELPRO documents. A suit by Hampton's relatives is demanding the release of further FBI records on the raid against the Panthers.

Earlier, a statement was released by Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee, calling for formation of a Black commission of inquiry "to investigate the many unresolved questions about government involvement in the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King." Dixon is a plaintiff in a suit by the SWP, which is demanding documents on the FBI's "SWP Disruption Program" as well as on the White House 1970 secret spy plan aimed at Black, antiwar, and socialist groups.

Jackson's call for an investigation reflects the growing outrage in the Black community at the recent FBI disclosures. The newest documents, which were printed in the March 22 *Militant*, have been given extensive coverage by many Black newspapers.

Millions are learning for the first time how the government directed its police apparatus to secretly sabotage the development of any organizations fighting for a better life for Black people. These revelations expose as pure sham the claim that this capitalist system is democratic or that it will grant freedom to Black people.

Moreover, the documents the FBI has released so far are only those the bureau considered "safe" to reach our eyes, and even they are heavily censored. What crimes are still hidden in their secret files?

One of the first steps in fighting back must be to demand the full truth. Let us see *all* the COINTELPRO memos! Let us know the *censored-out names* of the FBI targets the rulers see (or saw) as "potential messiahs" of Black people! Release all police and FBI files on King, Malcolm X, and the Chicago Panthers!

The most recent disclosures will add even more momentum to the demand for a halt to the use of such murderous, illegal operations.

In hundreds of cities and towns, Black organizations, socialist groups, alternative newspapers, and other radical groups and individuals have faced harassment from the local police, working in league with the FBI. A good example of how to fight back can be seen in Houston. There the Socialist Workers Party has taken the initiative in demanding that the mayor release all city police files relating to infiltration of Black and radical groups, bombings of these groups' offices, and police connections with the Ku Klux Klan.

SWP candidates for public office throughout the country will be using every opportunity to expose these police-state methods against the Black and socialist movements and to urge united protest against them.

What is needed is a national commission of inquiry to probe the most horrendous of the many blows against the Black movement: the killings of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and Fred Hampton. Such a commission should be initiated by and responsible to the Black community.

Congressional committees of Democrats and Republicans cannot be depended on to bring out the full truth. The COINTELPRO operations were carried out under *both* Democratic and Republican administrations.

One of the recently released documents orders FBI agents to "prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups." It warns: "In unity there is strength." Yes, in unity there *is* strength. An independent commission of inquiry could draw together many segments of the Black movement. It could organize to get nationwide publicity for its findings and bring out the truth about these crimes.

Secret-police plotting against the Black movement must not go unanswered!

For prisoners fund

Recently I heard ex-Attica inmate Red Murphy at the Socialist Workers Party kickoff rally in New York, and I was impressed by the courage of all the Attica brothers. I can't begin to imagine what it would be like in such a prison, but I'm sure I couldn't take all that without cracking. So here's a check for your prisoners fund so that some prisoners will make some use of their time in jail.

R. T.

South Bound Brook, N.J.

Some praise

Many of our members (The African American Culture Organization at Ohio State Reformatory) receive your publication. We find *The Militant* a very knowledgeable and informative paper. We use *The Militant* as one of our chief frames of reference in our current events class.

However, because of our increase in membership, we have become short of relevant material. We are hoping that you can issue subscriptions to the following 19 inmates (names enclosed) so that we may keep abreast with the struggles of third world and oppressed people today. We commend you for the job you are doing and extend to you our solidarity.

A prisoner

Ohio

Some criticism

I want you to cancel my subscription because of your anti-Soviet views. The USSR has been the only barrier against U.S. imperialism.

Ken Mills

Philadelphia, Pa.

From a farmer

I have read *The Militant* for about a year now, having worked at grass roots politics as a Democrat for 25 years. I believe I understand the system quite well. As a farmer and rancher I see no hope under a capitalist system. This malignant cancer will destroy the world if not checked. Enlightenment is our only hope. This is not an easy or a quick solution but we must keep working at it.

B. C.

Sturgis, S. D.

82nd Airborne

Operation Garden Plot—the 82nd Airborne Division's standby plan for domestic military intervention—was initiated in late January.

Rumors have been circulating that an alert and move-out were imminent. Since March 1, most of the infantry units on post have been undergoing intensified riot control training. Sergeants have been telling men to get their personal affairs in order and to get their personal equipment up to par because "there is going to be an alert and movement pretty soon."

It is important to note the strategic role of the 82nd, as the international fire brigade of the ruling class. The 82nd has been used in virtually every major civil distur-

bance in the last decade.

The Division Ready Force, the DRF—is a rotating duty program that guarantees that the 82nd has at all times 1,000 men packed and ready to embark in airplanes within 60 minutes. In the October alert, the entire division was ready for deployment in 15 hours, all 15,000 men.

Fort Bragg GI Union

Spring Lake, N. C.

Wants a subscription

I received a copy of your newspaper this evening at the Indian Center, where Dennis Banks and Russell Means spoke. Enclosed is \$5 for a one-year subscription.

M. M.

Denver, Colo.

Pop is a male chauvinist

Your readers might be interested in a news item in a recent *Washington Post*. According to Makiko Tanaka, the daughter of Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, her father is a male chauvinist.

The *Post* writes: "In an interview about Japanese women Miss Tanaka says that after three years in a Philadelphia high school, she returned to Japan and began arguing with her father about politics. At times, she discloses, 'he would shout at me, claiming that we have a Communist in the house.'"

"During a recent Southeast Asian tour, her father refused when Makiko asked to go along to meet Thai student leaders in Bangkok.

"This was serious business," the Prime Minister's aides told Makiko, 'certainly, no place for a woman.'"

D. K.

Washington, D. C.

Found to be enlightening

I have received my first issue of *The Militant* newspaper. I find the newspaper very enlightening because the paper expounds on and elaborates on current events that are not included in the regular propaganda newspapers. Keep up the good work.

A prisoner

Pennsylvania

San Francisco strike

Perhaps the readers of *The Militant* might be interested in this incident that happened during the recent strike of city workers in San Francisco.

The Jr. Museum, a small children's museum, was shut down by the custodian, who is a city worker. It is a one-man job, and he simply placed an "On Strike" sign on the building and shut it down.

We often meet because I walk my dog in an area behind the museum, and we always nod hello.

When I saw him during the strike I asked him how it was going. He yelled in a loud, defiant voice, "We're going to shut this city down!" Then he gave me the clenched fist, in triumph.

I thought to myself, here is a custodian, the lone striker in this place, and yet he feels powerful enough to threaten to shut down the whole city.



Women at the CLUW conference

That's what labor unity does for the workers. It makes a cook, a janitor, or a custodian as powerful as a transport worker or a dock worker.

That same feeling of power was expressed by many workers who I talked to during the city-wide strike here.

S. W.

San Francisco, Calif.

Gendarme for imperialism

I have noticed with great interest various so-called radical readers who have attacked your Middle East position to the point of canceling subscriptions. Also the slanderous campaign waged by the religious establishment and others to harass and intimidate Daniel Berrigan for recent criticisms leveled at Israel.

Most of these people still are dominated by the Zionist mystique which throws a veil over Israeli society. Your paper is one of the few in this country that fights the racist slanders and distortions of our media on the Palestine question. Your principled position in support of the dispossessed Palestinian masses should be supported by all clear-thinking radicals.

Continue to expose Zionism for what it is: a colonialist movement that expelled and expropriated an entire people, and which serves as the gendarme for world imperialism in the Middle East, a policeman carrying out Uncle Sam's bloody work of repressing revolutionary social movements.

John Gutermann

Long Island, N.Y.

Sincere and frank

While at a party recently I was handed a copy of *The Militant*. As I leafed through its pages, I became more and more interested, with the discovery that we share many of the same opinions. Your paper is refreshingly sincere and frank. Congratulations on your courageous journalism.

Ralph Shunk

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Strip mining

To me your March 15 article on strip mining was as strong as any on the capitalist system's necessity of profit motif. With the oil companies' increased worry about profit comes land desecration, disregard for the people they employ and for their consumers.

Your articles explore the pros and cons of the capitalist system. Whether socialism is the answer may be doubtful, however the worth comes in presenting the inadequacies of our present system.

M. A. R.

Burlington, Vt.

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.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) conference in Chicago last weekend was a memorable event. Nothing quite like it has happened before. Three thousand two hundred union women came together to discuss the special problems they face. They set up a national organization and adopted a basic statement of purpose as a first step.

The women came from all across the country, from many different unions, and represented a wide range of experience. Some who were present had been through the labor struggles of the '30s and '40s; others were recently out of college. There were women who barely made the minimum wage and others with high-paying jobs. Some came with their unions footing the bill. Others took up collections in their shops to defray the cost. Still others paid their own way.

Some of the women had long been involved in the union movement, or had participated in the antiwar or women's liberation movements. For others this was their first conference. One young woman, a graduate of an expensive women's finishing school in Massachusetts, said this was her first political activity. "If my parents knew I was even in a union they would kill me," she commented.

One of the most striking aspects of the conference was the seriousness with which all the women approached it. This was as true of those hearing many of the ideas for the first time as of those with well-thought-out goals and priorities.

Mary Bolden, 27, is a good example of the serious, young Black women who attended. Bolden worked at Normandy Osteopathic Hospital in St. Louis and is now a staff organizer for Service Employees' International Union (SEIU) Local 50. Local 50 represents 6,000 hospital workers, half of whom are Black women.

Bolden became active in the union last September when the workers at her hospital went out on strike for the right to unionize. "I felt that the only way to get better working conditions and wages would be to

bring a union contract into Normandy Hospital," she said. When she heard about the strike, she joined the picket lines.

Bolden pointed out that the women workers at the hospital get unequal pay from the moment they start to work. The women are classified as 'nurses' aides' and begin at \$1.65 an hour. The men are classified as 'orderlies' and start at \$1.95.

There's not one woman administrator at the hospital, and the Black women are always overlooked for promotion because of both sex and race discrimination. "Women who are mothers," continued Bolden, "are forced to get another part-time job or rely on welfare because of the low pay scale."

Bolden was the official representative from her local to the CLUW conference and was elected by the Missouri women at the conference to be one of three state conveners for the Missouri CLUW.

Another woman came from Chicago and was a member of the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU). She had not made up her mind about many of the issues being discussed but felt that "anytime this many women get together it's good. The most important thing is going back to get our local union women involved."

A woman from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) sat across the table from me during one session. My press card was marked *Militant*. She quite seriously asked me what union I was a "militant" in. I explained about *The Militant* newspaper and showed her a copy. After looking it over for a while she passed me a quarter, passed two or three more *Militants* down the table to other AFSCME women, and pretty soon two or three more quarters were passed my way.

The CLUW conference was composed in its majority of rank-and-file union women. These women were inspired by the conference, identify with its goals, and are interested in ongoing activity. The challenge before CLUW now is to keep that momentum going.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Critics from the sidelines

Participants in the Chicano conference on immigration held in Los Angeles March 8-9 were subjected to the antics of a tiny sect called the Spartacist League. In the warped vision of this group, there is never any social struggle that is perfect enough to warrant their participation. They much prefer to sit on the sidelines, issuing "revolutionary" manifestos and denouncing everyone else in the movement as "sellouts."

At the conference their "intervention" took the form of distributing a lengthy mimeographed leaflet (12 single-spaced, legal-sized pages) attacking the perspective of mobilizing the Chicano community in defense of undocumented workers. The Raza Unida Party also came under attack for its efforts to promote struggles for community control in the barrio. The Spartacists say this "divides the working class." The Socialist Workers Party was attacked too, for supporting the effort to build an independent Chicano party.

To the Spartacists, everything that falls short of being a call for socialism is a betrayal. They label the antideportation movement a "bankrupt 'community' orientation which tries to reform the economic system." Imagine that. Workers organizing to protect themselves against the bosses and *la migrá* are just working to preserve capitalism!

"You cannot fight capitalism," they tell us, "by arousing powerless 'communities' to fight on their own." Sectarians have no faith that the Chicano masses can accomplish anything on their own. By mobilizing *raza* workers to defend their own interests, they say, we are "further separating *mexicano* workers from Anglo workers." The Spartacists tell us not to do anything that might offend white people.

To be sure, a combined effort of the entire working class and the oppressed nationalities will be required

to do away with the capitalist system, which is responsible for the superexploitation of undocumented workers.

But that certainly does not mean that Chicanos should sit around and twiddle their thumbs until everyone else is ready to move. Chicanos are taking action as Chicanos on the campuses, in the fields, and in the barrios against racist oppression. These struggles and the nationalist sentiment that inspires them are progressive. They are objectively anticapitalist. Far from "dividing" the working class, they are in the interest of all the oppressed.

Furthermore, it is through involvement in concrete struggles for limited aims that most people come to see the need for total social change. "Revolutionary" proclamations issued from the sidelines of the struggle do absolutely nothing to help this process along.

The Spartacists also turn people off with their arrogance and abusive language. They are quick to label anyone who doesn't agree with them a "sellout." They only turn up at conferences to make carping criticisms.

The question is how to deal with such a group. The course that the conference chose was, in my opinion, a mistaken one. The plenary session supported a proposal by conference organizers to kick out the Spartacists.

This method of dealing with political differences can set a bad precedent for the movement. It inhibits a free exchange of views among serious participants in the movement.

It is fortunate that the sectarian politics of the Spartacists have little influence. It would be even better if this influence were reduced to zero. But this cannot be done physically. The most effective way to deal with them is to *politically* expose their false ideas.

Dredge up 'terrorist international' slanders

Rightists seize on SLA kidnap,

By ANDY ROSE

Right-wing politicians and yellow journalists in the United States have seized upon the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army in an effort to revive public support for discredited and widely opposed police-state measures.

Prime targets in the "terrorist" scare are prisoners groups, Black militants, and a variety of radical organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party.

The witch-hunters of the House Un-American Activities Committee (now called the "Internal Security" Committee), the Subversive Activities Control Board, and the FBI have been in retreat ever since the late 1950s when the McCarthyite hysteria began to ebb away.

Today millions of people have been repelled by the revelations of White House "plumbers," wiretaps, break-ins, and "enemies lists." Exposure of Nixon's 1970 secret spy plan for illegal attacks on the Black and antiwar movements provoked a significant public outcry.

Recent court actions have begun to penetrate the secrecy around such government plots. The FBI has been forced to release directives by J. Edgar Hoover, which, although heavily censored, constitute damning admissions of how the government sought to "disrupt" and "neutralize" the Black Panther Party, Socialist Workers Party, and other groups.

More evidence appears almost every week pointing to government complicity in the murders of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and numerous Black Panther leaders.

Socialists' suit

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have won substantial backing for their suit demanding a halt to harassment, spying, and armed attacks on the party and its supporters.

In the present political climate of concern for democratic rights and distrust of the government, the witch-hunters are obviously fighting a rearguard action. They hope the SLA kidnapping, however, will provide ammunition for a renewed reactionary offensive.

Nixon immediately sensed an opportunity to drum up support for the death penalty. He directed Attorney General William Saxbe to add killing of a kidnapping victim to the list of crimes for which capital punishment should be reinstituted.

California senate report

The California Senate Subcommittee on Civil Disorder issued a report March 13 urging "constant surveillance" of radical groups and establishment of networks of neighborhood informers under the guise of preventing political kidnappings.

The committee singled out for attack radicalized Black and Chicano prisoners and groups such as the United Prisoners Union, which includes inmates and former inmates. But the report itself provides ample evidence that "violence" is not the committee's real target: One of the activities for which it denounces the UPU, for example, is sending free newspaper subscriptions to prisoners.

The report devotes an entire section to the National Lawyers Guild, which it labels a "Communist front," apparently because of the role of NLG members in defending prisoners' rights.

The committee says it plans hearings on radical groups "in an effort to

determine the extent of their influence, the reasons for their apparent growth and what may be done to curtail or eliminate them as threats to our society's well-being and safety." (Emphasis added.)

Ichord speech

Richard Ichord (D-Mo.), head of the House Internal Security Committee, in a speech in Congress Feb. 20, sought to use the Hearst kidnapping in arguing for continuation of his committee, which even some of his colleagues see as an embarrassing relic of McCarthyism.

Ichord said that his staff had compiled information on the SLA and turned it over to the FBI. He read into the record a letter of thanks from FBI director Clarence Kelley.

Ichord concluded by quoting approvingly from a Feb. 14 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*:

"... the SLA certainly shows how easy it is for groups spewing out violent rhetoric to turn their fantasies into reality. Yet we have heard it suggested, have we not, that concern over such 'dissenters' is somehow not quite a legitimate concern of the FBI and other law enforcement agencies, that such concern is evidence of official 'paranoia,' if not indeed a plot to change the U.S. into a police state. How many of those who have made these suggestions, we wonder, would be willing to make them in front of the Hearst family?"

Defenders of civil liberties have an immediate obligation to expose these hypocritical claims of concern over "violence" for what they really are—last ditch attempts to justify unconstitutional and antidemocratic assaults against anyone who voices disagreement with the government.

Riesel defends COINTELPRO

Now the notorious labor-baiting syndicated columnist Victor Riesel has published a slanderous article, printed in the March 22 *Chicago Today* and other papers, attempting to link the Socialist Workers Party to terrorism. The full text of Riesel's column will appear in the April 8 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

Riesel's purpose is clearly spelled out in the last paragraph of the column, in which he complains, "In the past few have listened. Many have made it impossible for the FBI and other authorities to infiltrate and keep files. Even now the FBI is being forced to disgorge its dossiers."

Riesel's fears were even more explicitly stated in a February column, bemoaning condemnation of the use of agents provocateurs as "illegal espionage and invasion of civil rights."

In that column Riesel said: "The undercover persons are mocked, derided and hounded. And when the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover tried counterintelligence infiltration with his 'COINTELPRO—New Left,' he was forced to kill it. And the FBI was sued successfully to make it public."

Disclosure of documents on COINTELPRO (FBI jargon for "counterintelligence program") was forced through a lawsuit by NBC-TV correspondent Carl Stern. Texts of COINTELPRO materials released to date were reprinted in *The Militant* on Dec. 21, 1973, and Feb. 1, March 1, and March 22, 1974.

In the February column Riesel wrote, "Before more harm is done, before more intelligence hands are tied, the people must learn this new terror is not child's play."



Militant/Flax Hermes

SWP's active role in antiwar movement has been a major reason for red-baiting slanders.

Thus the avowed aim of Riesel's "terrorist" smears is to begin a counterattack against all those, like the supporters of the SWP and YSA's suit, who would force disclosure and elimination of secret FBI plans for political sabotage.

Since it is impossible for Riesel to produce a shred of evidence that the SWP supports terrorism, he stoops to the usual contemptible methods of witch-hunters: unproved allegations, deliberate falsifications, and smears.

In his March 22 column, Riesel claims to have discovered "a new now independently wealthy terrorist international swiftly raising its minions and millions from ransoms and bank robberies..."

"Its paramilitary self-styled Robin Hood is a killer, Mario Roberto Santucho, a sophisticated Argentinian in his late 20s."

"Its erudite, leading intellectual exponent of world terror as a tactic of global civil war is Ernest Mandel, alias Ernest Germain, one of the world's foremost Marxists..."

"It is easy to trace the terrorist international. Basically it is the revived network of followers of the late Leon Trotsky (who quixotically enough once was a Bronx tailor shop worker in exile from Stalin's Russia)."

"Today this is the United Secretariat of the Fourth International run by Germain-Mandel in Brussels."

What is the source for all this sensational "information"? It seems reasonable to assume that Riesel's material is related to the FBI COINTELPRO order that the left "must be exposed to public scrutiny through the cooperation of reliable news media sources."

The charges that Riesel mouths are quite similar—with a few lurid embellishments—to slanders about a "terrorist international" published in September 1972 by *Newsweek* magazine and the London *Economist*.

Mandel answers smears

One of the ground rules for "public scrutiny" as conducted by these witch-hunters is that the victim is not allowed to answer the smear charges.

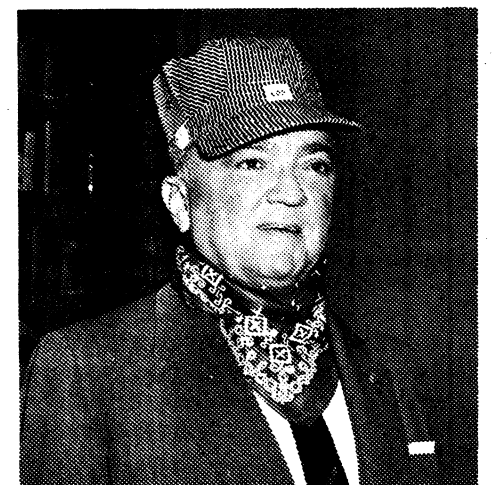
Thus *Newsweek* refused to print a letter from Ernest Mandel in 1972 refuting their distortions of his views. The letter was printed in full in the October 9, 1972, issue of *Intercontinental Press* and the October 13, 1972, *Militant*.

Mandel stated that the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, "is not a terrorist organization but has always rejected the philosophy and methods of terrorism, [which are] opposed to the Marxist principles it stands for."

He noted that a sentence *Newsweek* printed in quotation marks and attributed to him, calling for "active participation of our comrades in armed insurrections designed to destroy the established order," was a complete fabrication.

Mandel continued: "Today, especially since May 1968, the Fourth International enjoys growing influence among revolutionary youth and workers in many countries. It tries to turn their idealistic 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 frame-up on the occasion of some terrorist incident is a welcome opportunity."

"Police informers and other professionals in the noble art of curtailing



HOOVER: Engineered SWP Disruption Program because of socialist election campaigns, not 'terrorism.'

attempt to revive witch-hunt

freedom of thought, speech, organization, and travel the world over are experts in this type of frame-up. 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."

Factual blunders

For someone who professes to be exposing the inside dope on a "terrorist international," Riesel displays a sovereign disregard for the most elementary facts.

Surely the FBI could have told him that Trotsky's only period of exile in the U.S. was in January and February 1917—seven years before Stalin's rise to power. After Trotsky was exiled from the Soviet Union by Stalin in 1929, the U.S. government refused him admission to this country.

Nor was Trotsky ever a tailor. More to the point, Trotsky was never a terrorist. He was an eloquent and consistent opponent of individual terrorism from the time he embraced Marxism in 1897 until his assassination in 1940, as even a cursory examination of his writings shows.

Particularly garbled is Riesel's account of Washington's refusal to admit Ernest Mandel into the U.S. for a lecture tour. Riesel writes:

"When Germain-Mandel attempted to enter the U.S. in 1972 his visa application was rejected. University leaders of Harvard, MIT and elsewhere fought for him. The Supreme Court turned him back. It was the so-often undervalued House Committee on Internal Security which identified Ernest Mandel for what he is—Ernest Germain, world terrorism's most influential philosophical proponent."

To start with, Riesel gets the dates wrong. Mandel was invited to speak in the U.S. in 1969, not 1972. The State Department had previously granted him entry in 1962 and 1968, but this time the Justice Department, under Attorney General John Mitchell, stubbornly refused.

Nor does the vaunted detective work by HISC bear close scrutiny. Mandel himself is the source of the information that he uses the pen name of Ernest Germain from time to time. The fact was published in the widely read German newsweekly *Der Spiegel* in 1972 for instance.

Riesel is right on only one point: Academic leaders from more than 50 universities condemned the ban on Mandel, as did the *New York Times*, *New York Post*, and three Supreme Court justices. Even Secretary of State William Rogers dissociated himself from the attorney general's action, saying, "Why should we be afraid of this man and his ideas?"

But who knows—Rogers may be the next to be unmasked by Riesel as a secret agent of the "terrorist international."

The chief instigator of the ban on Mandel was none other than John "Law 'n' Order" Mitchell, now under indictment for conspiracy, perjury, and obstruction of justice.

It should especially be noted that the government, in arguing for Mandel's exclusion, never even attempted to make a case about "terrorism." They knew that was impossible. Instead they asserted that the government has a right to ban from the

"land of the free" anyone it may choose, for any reason it may choose, and without disclosing the reason.

Riesel devotes most of his column to the ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Army of the People) of Argentina. Here he cannot even manage to keep his slanders straight.

At one point he says that Santucho, central leader of the ERP, "has told the Argentine Trotskyite party to go to hell. And he has told Mandel's secretariat to join the party in his special brand of political purgatory."

But just three paragraphs later Riesel contradicts himself. He alleges that "they [the ERP and other Latin American guerrillas] are knit by an information network streaming from the Trotskyite United Secretariat of the Fourth International in Brussels."

ERP not Trotskyist

The fact is that the example of the ERP demonstrates just the opposite of what Riesel sets out to prove. The ERP is one of the various guerrilla organizations that have carried out kidnappings and other isolated actions in Latin America.

It is true that Santucho originally came to prominence in Argentine politics as a member of the Fourth International. However, he developed deep differences with the program of Trotskyism that eventually led him to

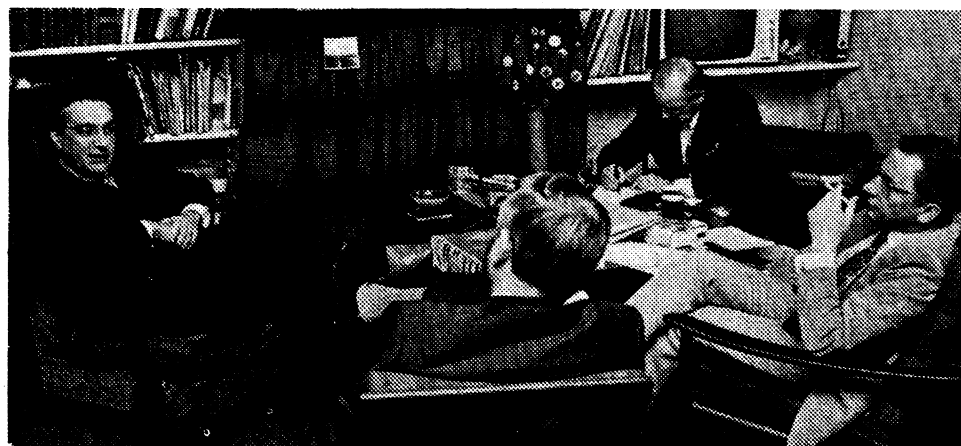
of their own.

"In reality, the work of bringing the masses into the political arena in all their invincible power 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 onto the road of a socialist revolution.

"The primary task at present is to build a revolutionary-socialist party capable of providing effective political guidance to 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."

In face of the difficulty of smearing the SWP as a "terrorist" organization, Riesel tries a different tack. He writes:

"Its [the Fourth International's] American affiliate is the Socialist Workers Party, still nonviolent though it has a deviation called the International Tendency which believes in terror and its grim variations. It has cells in New York and the Oakland-Berkeley area and points in between



Ernest Mandel (left) during interview with 'Der Spiegel.' Supersnoopers could have discovered Mandel used pen name Germain just by reading the German magazine.

split from the movement, to disavow the Fourth International, and to publicly protest the press describing him or his organization as "Trotskyist" or as having anything to do with Trotskyism. The full text of Santucho's statement will appear in the April 8 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

As for the position of the Socialist Workers Party on individual terrorism, this is clear and publicly well known. For instance, on April 3, 1972, the Political Committee of the SWP issued a statement on the ERP's kidnapping of Oberdán Sallustro, manager of the Argentine branch of Fiat Concord.

The SWP statement ascribed the rise in such guerrilla actions to the violent repression imposed by the Argentine military dictatorship: arbitrary imprisonment, torture, secret killings, and use of troops against the workers and students.

It went on to say: "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

such as Bloomington, Ind.; Houston, Texas, and in eight other cities."

A statement issued March 25 by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, takes up these charges:

"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."

Agents provocateurs

In an interview with *The Militant*, Barnes added, "It is not excluded, of course, that the FBI might 'discover' a 'member' who would echo slanders such as those made by Riesel. We know the FBI carried out an 'SWP Disruption Program'; we know cops try to infiltrate our ranks, as the



whom he speaks," Barnes said. "Their real motivation in attacking the SWP has nothing to do with 'terrorism.'"

"Just a few weeks ago the Justice Department was forced to release a 1961 letter by J. Edgar Hoover setting in motion the 'SWP Disruption Program.' Hoover wrote: 'The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South.'"

"What a contrast between this secret document, which Hoover never intended the public to see, and the phony 'terrorism' stories planted in the mass media! What the rulers really fear about us is not 'violence,' but the power of our ideas—that we support the struggle of Black people for liberation; that we oppose U.S. aggression from Cuba to Vietnam; and that we tell the truth about their system of violence and minority rule.

"These are the real 'crimes' for which Roosevelt imprisoned the leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters during World War II, for which the McCarthyites tried to fire James Kutcher and other socialists during the 1950s, and for which the state of Indiana tried to railroad the Bloomington YSAers to jail in 1963.

"The revolutionary socialists were not silenced then and we will not be silenced now. We will continue to present our ideas to the American workers, and we will fight unyieldingly for our democratic right to do so."

'We didn't come to swap recipes!'

Labor union women form coalition

By CINDY JAQUITH

CHICAGO—Union women—3,200 strong and representing 58 international unions—gathered here March 23-24 for the founding conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

They had come to discuss how they could fight through their unions against the low wages, unemployment, and dead-end jobs that women workers face across the country.

"That stupid commercial—'You've come a long way, baby'—is a lie!" said Addie Wyatt to a roar of approval in the opening session. Wyatt is the director of the Women's Affairs Department of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

She pointed out in her speech that women's wages, relative to men's, have actually *declined* in the last 10 years, and that women remain in the lowest paying jobs. Many women are heads of families, and millions have young children.

"Women are getting together everywhere else," she explained. "It's about

time for union women to get together to discuss our own problems."

Part of the fight, she said, is for "equitable representation of women in union policy decisions." At the same time, she explained, the formation of a coalition of trade-union women "is not a divisive event. . . . As a matter of fact, it's a move to unify what has already been too disunified."

The size of the conference was a clear sign that many trade-union women do want to unite to fight against their oppression. The turnout far exceeded the expectations of the conference organizers, who quickly ran out of literature, food, and hotel rooms.

Large contingents were brought by the United Auto Workers (UAW), the Teamsters, American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Signs on the convention floor also showed the participation of women from the Office and Professional Employees International Union, International Union of Electrical Workers, Steelworkers, Retail Clerks, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Communications Workers of America, and Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

There was also one whole contingent of striking office workers from New York, members of District 65 of the Distributive Workers of America. These women have been on strike against Concord Fabrics, a textile company, for more than six months. They all wore "Union Women Boycott Concord Fabrics" T-shirts and distributed literature about their strike to other delegates.

Members of the United Farm Workers (UFW) attended, and hundreds of women wore UFW boycott buttons,



Turnout for trade-union women's conference far exceeded expectations

some sporting two or three.

While many women came on buses provided by their local unions, many others decided to come on their own. A group of carpenter's apprentices in Washington, D.C., for example, read about the conference in a newspaper, jumped in a car, and drove to Chicago.

The participants were of all ages, from women in their sixties to women in their teens. About 20 percent were Black.

Goals of CLUW

Delegates saw a variety of issues that are important for working women. "A lot of women are working for pea-

nuts because they don't know how to organize themselves in unions," said Nancy Hanley, a UAW member from Pennsylvania.

"We have an opportunity to improve wages and bring about equality for women in all fields," said a Denver cab driver, Karen Korduch.

The conference adopted a CLUW Statement of Purpose. This was done in a plenary session following workshops in which women discussed the goals of CLUW and how the coalition should be structured. The statement calls for "aggressive steps to more effectively address ourselves to the critical needs of 30 million unorganized sisters and to make our unions more responsive to the needs of women."

CLUW Statement of Purpose

The following is the Statement of Purpose adopted at the March 23-24 founding conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

Of the 34 million women in the work force—little more than 4 million women are members of unions. It is imperative that within the framework of the union movement, we take aggressive steps to more effectively address ourselves to the critical needs of 30 million unorganized sisters and to make our unions more responsive to the needs of all women, especially the needs of minority women who have been traditionally singled out for particularly blatant oppression.

Women unionists work in almost every industry, in almost every part of the country. Despite their geographical, industrial and occupational separations, union women share common concerns and goals.

Full equality of opportunities and rights in the labor force require the full attention of the labor movement . . . and especially, the full attention of women who are part of the labor movement.

The primary purpose of this new national coalition is to unify union women in a viable organization to determine, first—our common problems and concerns and, second—to develop action programs within the framework

of our unions to deal effectively with our objectives.

We recognize that our struggle goes beyond the borders of this nation and seek to link up with our working sisters and brothers throughout the world through concrete action of international workers' solidarity.

Through unity of purpose, the Coalition of Labor Union Women will seek to accomplish these goals.

Organizing Unorganized Women

Since less than twelve percent of the women in today's labor force are enrolled in labor unions, it is obvious that most working women are suffering economically. Statistics clearly demonstrate that the union member enjoys higher wages, better fringe benefits and working conditions and greater job security than the unorganized worker.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women seeks to promote unionism and to encourage unions to be more aggressive in their efforts to bring unorganized women under collective bargaining agreements, particularly in those areas where there are large numbers of unorganized and/or minority women.

CLUW will seek to create a greater awareness of the benefits of union membership. Within our intra-, inter-,

and emerging union structure, we will work to encourage non-union women to join us in the trade union movement.

Affirmative Action in the Work Place

Employers continue to profit by dividing workers on sexual, racial, and age lines. This encourages the segregation of job classifications and results in wage and benefit losses to women. The power of unions must increasingly be brought to bear, through the process of collective bargaining, to correct these inequities. The Coalition will seek to encourage women, through their unions, to recognize and take positive action against job discrimination in hiring, promotion, classification and other aspects of work.

Women must learn what their rights are under law. They must become more knowledgeable of the specifics of collective bargaining, and of the contract clauses and work place practices which discriminate against them. They must be informed about what is and what can be done within the labor movement to correct these situations.

Political Action and Legislation

It is imperative that union women,

through action programs of the Coalition, become more active participants in the political and legislative processes of our union and our unions. Movement for full employment and job opportunities, child care legislation, a livable minimum wage, improved maternity and pension benefits, improved health and safety coverage, expanded educational opportunities, mass action for final ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), guaranteed collective bargaining rights for all workers, the right to strike, and an extension of truly protective legislation for all workers are only a few of the political action programs in which CLUW must participate. CLUW should encourage women trade unionists to run for office on all levels of government.

Participation of Women Within Their Unions

The Coalition seeks to inspire and educate union women to insure and strengthen their participation, through full and complete democratic procedures, to encourage their leadership and their movement into policy-making roles within their own unions and within the union movement in all areas. The Coalition will encourage democratic procedures in all unions.

ion to fight for rights



Militant/Ann Cirkens

Among the issues it includes as focuses of CLUW activity are the fight for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, child-care legislation, maternity benefits, a livable minimum wage, full employment, organizing of unorganized women workers, and democracy in the unions.

Passage of the Statement of Purpose was the most important accomplishment of the two-day conference, because it provides a framework for future activity on the part of local CLUW chapters.

United Farm Workers

One issue debated at the conference was whether CLUW should endorse the UFW boycott of grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines. From the very beginning there was overwhelming support for the farm workers' struggle. When the name of Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the UFW, was read out in a list of women who helped build the conference, hundreds of women spontaneously rose to their feet in a standing ovation.

In the workshops, discussion on the UFW boycott revolved around a clause in the structure proposal put forward by a majority of the conference organizers. The clause read: "National CLUW and area CLUW chapters shall not be involved in issues or activities which a union involved identifies as related to a jurisdictional dispute." It was clearly aimed at preventing CLUW support for the UFW boycott.

Leaders of the Teamsters delegation had threatened to walk out if the conference endorsed the boycott. Because

of this threat, some women argued that to support the UFW would be "divisive."

The great majority of delegates, however, disagreed. They voted to throw out the "jurisdictional dispute" clause at the Saturday night session in a clear show of solidarity with the farm workers. Once this clause was removed, the door was open for a resolution in support of the UFW.

The conference began the next morning with speeches by members of the UFW and the Teamsters. Josephina Flores of the UFW explained that the strike is *not* a jurisdictional dispute: "This is not a fight with the Teamster sisters. This is a fight with the growers."

Clara Day, director of Communication Services of Teamster Local 743, spoke on the platform with Flores. She called for "support for the women in the fields," but did not mention the UFW or its boycott.

Prolonged applause followed their speeches, after which a delegate moved from the floor that CLUW go on record in support of the boycott.

However, she was ruled out of order, despite the clear sentiment in favor of the boycott, and no resolution was passed by the convention in support of the farm workers. Olga Madar, a vice-president of the UAW, told the conference that an agreement had been reached among conference organizers, the UFW women, and the Teamsters to postpone consideration of the resolution.

The final action taken at the conference was the election of union repre-

for Leonard Woodcock. And if his line is busy, it's a message for Frank Fitzsimmons.

"And when you get home, you can tell them we didn't come here to swap recipes!"

The majority of delegates were rank and filers, not union officials, and there was strong sentiment for rank-and-file participation in CLUW activities. One reflection of this was in the elections to the National Coordinating Committee. A number of rank-and-file unionists were elected, after women voiced concern that there be rank-and-file representation on the NCC.

Sentiment for democracy

Another indication was the resistance to attempts by some of the chairwomen to use heavy-handed tactics. On the first day, for instance, when the chairwoman tried to cut off a speaker by telling a sergeant-at-arms to take the microphone, a loud protest was heard. The chair was forced to back off.

Unfortunately, there was little discussion of the specific issues that had brought women together at the conference. Most of the time was consumed by discussion of structure and general goals of the coalition, leaving no opportunity to talk about how to fight the different forms of discrimination women face, or the types of activities local CLUW chapters can engage in.

All of the issue and action resolutions, as well as the many amendments



Militant/Ann Cirkens

sentatives, state convenors, and national officers of CLUW. Olga Madar is the new national chairwoman; Addie Wyatt, vice-chairwoman; and Linda Tarr-Whelan, deputy director of program development for AFSCME, national secretary. Joyce Miller, executive assistant in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is vice-chairwoman for the East; Clara Day, vice-chairwoman for the Midwest; and Elinor Glenn, executive board member of Service Employees International Union, vice-chairwoman for the West.

Throughout the conference, the influence of the women's liberation movement was evident. Delegates expressed a feeling of confidence and pride in the fact that they were organizing around issues of concern to women, issues that have long been neglected.

As Myra Wolfgang, vice-president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees union, put it, the conference had "a message":

"It is a message for George Meany. And if his line is busy, it's a message

to the structure, were referred to the new National Coordinating Committee. These included important questions such as criteria for membership in CLUW, how to fight layoffs caused by the energy crisis, strike support activities, action proposals around the ERA and child care, and many others. A discussion of these issues, along with plans for actions around them, would have been educational and helpful.

However, as women joined hands at the close of the conference to sing "Solidarity Forever," there was a sense of having participated in a historic event that will have an important impact on the trade-union movement and the fight for women's liberation.

The test for the Coalition of Labor Union Women now lies in its ability to bring its resolutions to life. The momentum established at the conference is only a first step. To keep this momentum going, local CLUW chapters will be needed around the country, involving rank-and-file women in activities around the important issues.

Disabled veterans confront VA head

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES — Donald Johnson, Nixon's director of the Veterans Administration, was forced to fly here from Washington, D. C., March 25 and sit down in front of reporters and T.V. cameras to reply to veterans' demands for an end to disgraceful conditions in VA hospitals and other grievances. Nearly 100 disabled vets and supporters filled the room to confront Johnson at the VA hospital facility in Westwood, where the meeting took place.

Johnson had wanted a closed meeting, but the vets refused.

It was a big victory for the veterans and for the recently formed American Veterans Movement (AVM), which has spearheaded the protest. Ron Kovic, speaking for the AVM, pointed out that the campaign to expose the scandal of the Nixon administration's treatment of veterans is winning broad support even from conservative veterans groups such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

This was Johnson's third trip here. He was originally compelled to come to Los Angeles early in March when the AVM conducted a 17-day hunger strike at Senator Alan Cranston's office in the federal building here. On his first trip Johnson created a public furor when he refused to go from the seventh floor VA office to the thirteenth floor where the disabled vets were.

He returned several days later, met with the vets, and agreed to consider their demands and respond at a future meeting. This was the one held March 25.

Flanked by three hefty guards, Johnson read from a prepared statement in reply to demands for measures that the vets felt would begin to cut through the bureaucratic red tape of VA operations. Johnson tried to downplay the demands and asserted that the measures proposed, such as a "national hotline" for veterans, were either impractical or unnecessary.

Ron Kovic charged that Johnson was avoiding the main substance of the complaints. Kovic said there is a "national crisis" in terms of the government's responsibility to veterans and that sweeping measures are required to deal with the problems.

"If veterans don't get some action soon," Kovic said, "VA director Johnson may look out of his window one day soon and see thousands upon thousands of protesting vets camped outside VA headquarters."

Kovic compared the sentiment that exists among the nation's vets today to that which gave rise to the 1932 Bonus Army marches of unemployed veterans of the first world war. He said vets are going to begin discussing building such a national protest.

Other veterans who came to the meeting in wheelchairs directly from their hospital beds gave moving accounts of the inhumane treatment they have received. They complained of being denied benefits to which they are legitimately entitled, being beaten by hospital personnel, and having to go through countless forms and other red tape.

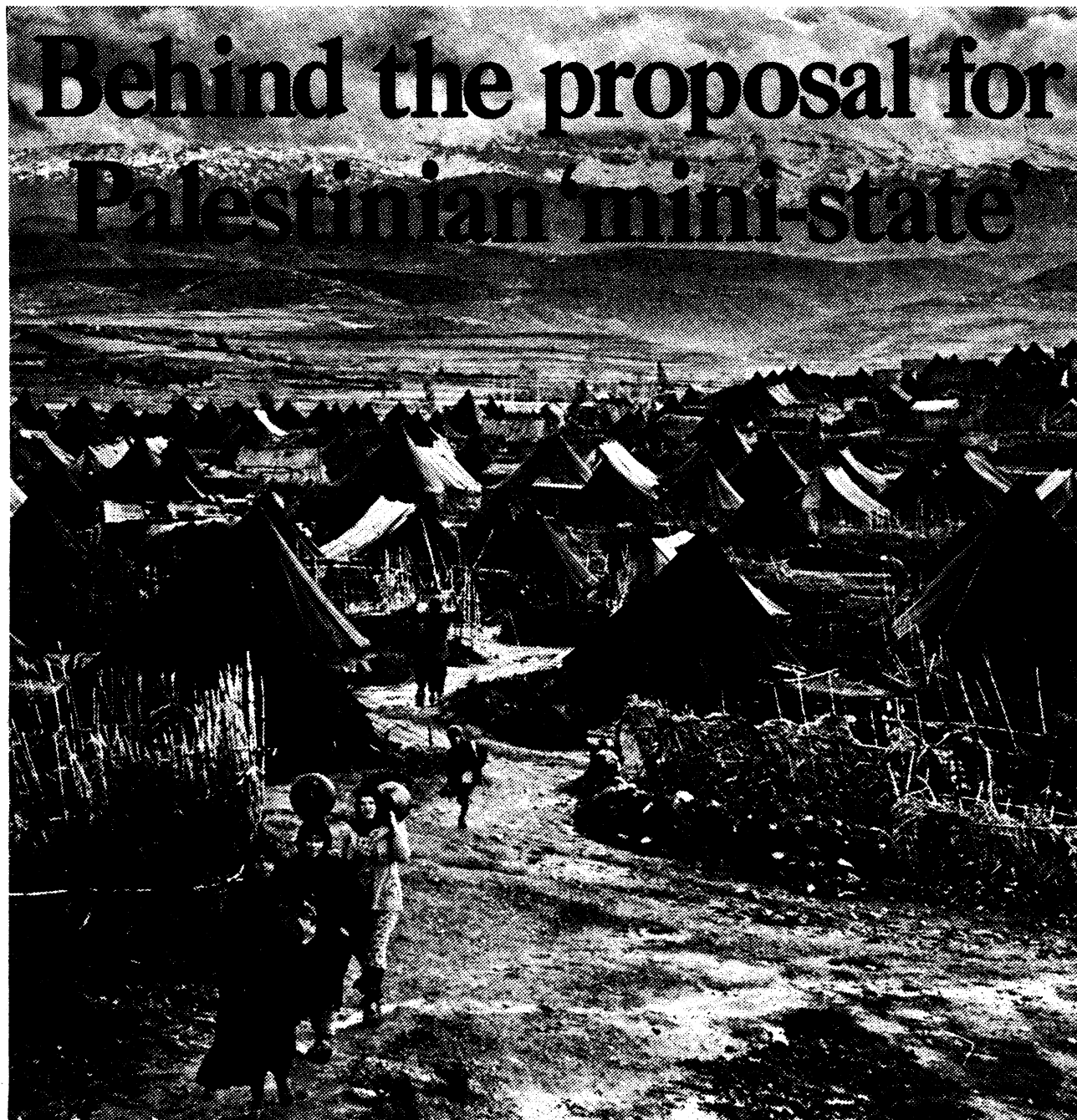
Vets were particularly angered by revelations of high living by VA officials while bedridden war veterans are often forced to lie in their own excrement for hours because "there is

Continued on page 22



Militant/Ann Cirkens

Striking workers from Concord Fabrics in New York.



By DAVE FRANKEL

The idea of a rump Palestinian state carved out of some of the territory seized by Israel in the 1967 war has become a major point of debate within the Palestinian resistance movement and in broader political circles around the world. The establishment of such a "mini-state" is opposed by both the Jordanian and Israeli regimes. But the prospect has been held out as bait by the Soviet bureaucracy and some Arab governments to encourage Palestinian participation in the Geneva conference on the Middle East.

In the U.S., the Communist Party's *Daily World* ran a series of articles in December arguing in favor of the partition of Palestine into two states, one for the Israelis and the other for the Arabs. An earlier *Daily World* series had acclaimed the prospects for a stable peace in the Middle East as a result of the Geneva conference and détente between Moscow and Washington.

In the March 6 issue of the pro-Maoist *Guardian* newspaper, Wilfred Burchett asked, "Should the Palestinians seek a democratic 'miniature' homeland on the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza strip?"

His answer was: "The dominant tendency in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), an umbrella organization of various Palestinian resistance groups, now favors this course." Apparently that fact alone was enough to convince Burchett. Both his March 6 and March 13 articles were extensive explanations of why the establishment of a Palestinian "mini-state" would be a big step forward for the Palestinian liberation movement.

The 'mini-state' in perspective

In order to judge the significance of the mini-state proposal, it is necessary to put it into a larger context. Since the end of World War I the Palestinian people have been involved in a constant struggle for self-determination. They rejected British colonial rule, and in 1947 when half their country was given to foreign settlers by the United Nations they rejected that too.

For 20 years the Palestinians relied on the Arab regimes to regain their land for them. But the crushing defeat inflicted on these governments by Israel in 1967 caused their credibility to plummet and sparked a massive radicalization among the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian liberation organizations, which had been rather small in the past, for the first time gained a mass base in the refugee camps

of Jordan and Lebanon and among the population of the occupied territories. The independent organization of the Palestinian people began to replace their reliance on capitalist governments, and their example began to inspire others in the Arab world.

The Palestinian demand for the replacement of Zionist Israel with a single state in Palestine in which both Arabs and Jews could live together stood as a roadblock to Washington's efforts to secure recognition for Israel. Yasir Arafat, chairman of the PLO, said in 1969, "the big powers have chosen to call their solutions 'peaceful,' whereas, in fact they are political solutions which are in no way related to peace as they all aim at safeguarding the state of Israel and ignoring the Palestinian revolution. As such we declare that we will not under any circumstances accept any so-called peaceful solution which is being concocted by either the 'big' states or the 'small' states. We regard any such settlement as a document of self-humiliation which our people are forcibly asked to accept."

"I believe that if our generation is unable to liberate its homeland, it should not commit the crime of accepting a fait accompli, which will prevent the future generations from carrying on the struggle for liberation."

This position in favor of Palestinian self-determination put the resistance movement at odds not only with Israel and its imperialist backers, but also with the Arab regimes. The fundamental policy of *all* the Arab regimes was to compromise with Zionism and imperialism, because the alternative—the mobilization of the Arab masses in an all-out struggle—would threaten their own overthrow. Therefore, a clash between the Arab regimes and the increasingly popular Palestinian resistance became inevitable.

Black September

The governments in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq increased the freedom of operation given the Palestinian movement when they wanted to exert pressure on Washington or Tel Aviv, and restricted it when the Palestinians got in the way of negotiations.

Funding by the Arab regimes was also used as a lever to exert pressure against the uncompromising stand taken by the Palestinians.

When these proved insufficient, other methods were adopted. The armies of Lebanon and Jordan clashed regularly with the Palestinian guerrillas throughout 1969 and 1970, culminating in the

September 1970 assault by the Hussein regime against the Palestinian movement in Jordan. This conflict, later known as "Black September," resulted in the massacre of some 20,000 Palestinians.

Black September effectively broke the power of the Palestinian liberation movement in Jordan, its main base of strength. Following that defeat the Palestinian movement was set back in Lebanon and elsewhere.

What was involved was not just a military defeat. Black September was also a defeat for the political line put forward by the main guerrilla organizations. They had advanced a two-stage theory of revolution, arguing that in the interests of the first stage of struggle, that is, the struggle against the Israeli regime, it was necessary to avoid struggling against the Arab governments.

Flowing from this wrong political concept, the PLO advocated a policy of "noninterference" in the internal affairs of the Arab countries. Instead of trying to win the allegiance of the masses away from the Arab regimes, the guerrillas spread the illusion that the Arab peoples could be mobilized against Zionism and imperialism without coming into conflict with their governments. The result was that the masses were unprepared for the life and death struggle in Jordan.

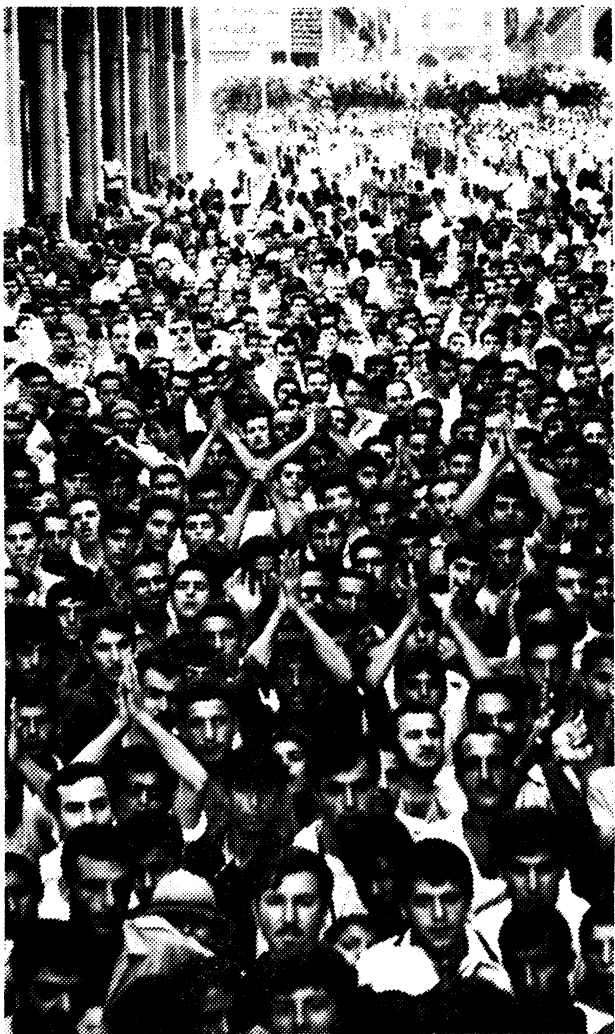
Worst of all, the Palestinian leadership proved incapable of surmounting its limitations and drawing the lessons from the experience of Black September.

Since Black September, the Palestinian movement has been in a downturn. The political effects of this were not immediately apparent, because Washington stopped pushing its plans for a Mideast settlement around that time. There were a number of reasons for this stance. By cutting down the obstacle of the Palestinian movement, the Arab regimes had also removed the main pressure for negotiations. The Israeli regime was content to carry on the colonization of the occupied territories, seemingly secure in its military superiority. In addition, cooperation between Nixon and Brezhnev had yet to be cemented.

Under the impact of the defeat they suffered, the Palestinian resistance organizations began to shift more and more to the right. However, with no immediate pressure for a settlement, they retained their demand for a unitary Palestine. For example, the program adopted by the Palestinian National Congress held in Cairo in February-March 1971 —



Section of Jordanian capital following 1970 'Black September' massacre. Since that time, Palestinian movement has been on decline.



Pro-Palestinian demonstration in Beirut in 1969. Main strength of Palestinians is mass support for their cause among Arab peoples.

a program submitted by Yasir Arafat—included a plank asserting, "Firm opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian state on any part of the Palestinian Homeland on the basis that any attempt to establish such a state falls within the plans to liquidate the Palestinian question."

The October war

The situation changed, however, as a result of the October 1973 Mideast war. The performance of the Arab armies sent a wave of pride and confidence through the Arab world. At the same time, the credibility and strength of the Arab regimes were built up.

All of these regimes had been under pressure from the masses to do something about Israel. In addition, Sadat of Egypt and Assad of Syria hoped to regain some of the territory lost in 1967. For them the October war was a maneuver designed to enhance their bargaining position and force the opening of negotiations with Israel. What has happened is that negotiations have picked up where they left off in 1970 and 1971. This was a development advocated by Brezhnev in June 1973 when he named the Middle East right after Vietnam as one of the "hotbeds of dangerous tension in the world."

Now the Soviet bureaucracy is supporting Washington in imposing a Mideast "solution," and the Palestinian liberation movement is being pressured to attend the Geneva conference as an auxiliary to Egyptian and Syrian diplomacy. In this context the call for a rump Palestinian state is simply a sugar-coated form of capitulation. Its essence is the recognition of Israeli sovereignty over those areas not included in the mini-state—i.e., recognition of Israeli settler-colonialism as a legitimized fait accompli.

It may be that part of the solution imposed by Washington and Moscow will include the establishment of such a mini-state—although even this is doubtful. If the Palestinian movement is not strong enough to prevent the imposition of a package deal in which their homeland is given away once again, the Palestinians will have to recognize this reality and continue their struggle in that context.

But recognition of reality is quite different from giving political support to an imperialist-imposed status quo. Those who advocate establishment of a mini-state are giving their seal of approval to the whole package of which it would be part.

Tell the truth

The first obligation of revolutionaries is simply to tell the truth. It is necessary to explain throughout the Arab world that the Geneva conference is an attempt to impose a pro-Zionist, proimperialist settlement on the Arab people. The mobilization of the Arab masses is the only force that can defeat this plan.

Just as in the case of the Vietnamese, who were

forced to sign a treaty recognizing the imperialist client-state in South Vietnam by the collaboration of Washington and Moscow, the Palestinians are being pressured into endorsing their own dispossession.

In the Dec. 19 *Guardian* Wilfred Burchett indicated some of the pressures at work. He quoted the words of Boris Ponomarev, a member of the political bureau of the Soviet Communist Party, to a Palestinian delegation headed by Arafat:

"A final settlement is inevitable and preordained. . . . Whether you wish it or not, whether you decide to attend or not, we are in a position to inform you that in our opinion nothing can now prevent this."

According to Burchett, Ponomarev also told the Palestinians, "The moment has come to face up to your responsibilities and to have a land of your own, ready to maintain at the same time your claim and your determination to create, sooner or later, a democratic secular state together with Christians and Jews. In the meantime, the Palestinian people should regroup, so that they can thus recover at least part of their territories and not remain in permanent exile."

As long as the Palestinian leaders resisted the pressures against them, the pro-Peking *Guardian* was only too happy to point out the treacherous role of the Soviet bureaucracy. But as soon as those pressures became too great for a majority of the Palestinian movement to stand up against, the *Guardian* turned around and began explaining that opposition to a Palestinian mini-state was "leftist opportunist."

Echoing Moscow

The *Guardian's* opportunist adaptation to the leadership of the Palestinian resistance movement has even led the Maoists to echo the arguments of the Moscow Stalinists. Burchett repeats Ponomarev's argument that a mini-state would represent a higher stage of the Palestinian struggle, rather



Abba Eban (left), currently Israeli foreign minister, in Moscow in early 1950s. Stalinist bureaucrats supported establishment of Israeli state and are still willing to subordinate rights of Palestinians to deals with Washington.

than a setback. He calls it "the first step along the road to a full-scale national home" for the Palestinians.

Burchett repeats the position of Nayef Hawatmeh, the leader of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which has covered the capitulation of a section of the Palestinian leadership with left rhetoric.

Hawatmeh argues that the establishment of a mini-state would signify a victory for the Palestinians rather than a settlement imposed by Washington and Moscow. In such a state, he says, "we will be based among our own people in our own land, well placed to carry on the new phase of the struggle, as was the case with the Vietnamese people when they signed the Paris agreements."

In fact, the relation of such a state to Israel would be much more like Lesotho to South Africa than North Vietnam to South Vietnam. It would be totally dominated economically and militarily by Israel. As Hawatmeh himself admitted in an interview with Burchett in the Dec. 12 *Guardian*, "There is no doubt that in the beginning the political leadership of a new state would be in the hands of the national bourgeoisie, supported above all by the conservative regimes in the Middle East."

He argued that the future "would finally be decided by the class struggle"—something that is always true, but which says nothing about the best course for advancing the class struggle.

But most important, by posing the problem in terms of the idea of a Palestinian mini-state,



Kissinger in Egypt. Support to proposal for Palestinian 'mini-state' in present context means support to imperialist-imposed settlement.

Hawatmeh and Burchett dodge the real issue. The focus of discussion is shifted away from the need to expose the imperialist-Zionist-imposed settlement, and the collusion of Moscow and the Arab regimes in that settlement—which is the only way to prepare the Arab masses for continuing their struggle. Instead, attention is turned toward Geneva, toward secret negotiations and deals with the various Arab regimes and the Soviet bureaucracy. The decisions of the Geneva conference are given legitimacy in advance.

But the Palestinians are not powerless. They have enormous support among the Arab peoples. The Arab regimes would find collaboration with Washington much more difficult without the cover of Palestinian participation at Geneva. Burchett, before he saw which way the wind was blowing, even exaggerated this point. In the Nov. 21 *Guardian* he wrote:

"For the majority of the Palestinian resistance leaders to decide to boycott the international peace conference . . . with its implicit recognition of the state of Israel, would be a fatal blow to Sadat, who has no more cards left to play but that of the international conference and saving face in a superpower settlement."

The role of China

The *Guardian's* present apology for just such a settlement comes as no surprise in view of its Stalinist politics. The situation is similar in many ways to the one in Vietnam, as Hawatmeh noted. There too the *Guardian* stepped up as a cheerleader for an imperialist-imposed settlement.

Especially revealing is the fact that both these instances—Vietnam and the Middle East—represent Nixon's policy of détente in action. The Maoist bureaucracy in China actively promoted the pact in Vietnam, and it has uttered hardly a word of protest against the deal being cooked up in the Middle East.

In the Nov. 14 *Guardian* Burchett complained that China was being excluded from the Geneva conference, supposedly "for fear that China's presence might jeopardize a settlement." Perhaps in a future article Burchett can explain whether the Maoist regime is merely trying to prove by its silence that it can be relied upon not to "jeopardize a settlement, or whether the tacit support it is giving to the Mideast deal will be repaid by Washington in some other fashion.

Socialism & Zionism

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New socialist group in Puerto Rico is active in independence struggle

By JOSE G. PEREZ

In a previous article I reported that after a 10-month fight in the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), a left-wing group left that party last September. This group, called the *terceristas*, took many of the rank-and-file activists of the PIP, particularly those of the PIP's two student organizations. (See *The Militant*, Feb. 22.)

The *tercerista* current was not, however, homogeneous. It contained diverse political trends, some of which split from the grouping in the process of its transformation from the *terceristas* into the Movimiento Socialista Popular (MSP—People's Socialist Movement).

At the "First Conference of the Socialist Left" organized by the *terceristas* in mid-September, a week after they left the PIP, there was much discussion about the possible roads they could take.

One alternative considered was joining the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), but this was overwhelmingly rejected by these activists. Luis Angel Torres, general secretary of the university student group of the PIP and one of the central leaders of the *terceristas*, wrote an article explaining why he thought the PSP was not an alternative. This article appeared in the *Boletín del Militante*, the group's publication.

Criticisms of PSP

In Torres's opinion, the PSP had been opportunist in publicly backing PIP President Rubén Berrios against the more radical *terceristas* during the internal fight in the PIP. Torres pointed to an article by Raúl Vincenty Labiosa in the PSP's paper, *Claridad*, to back up his claim.

That article defended PIP President Berrios's work as a senator in the Puerto Rican legislature, which had been criticized by the *terceristas*. The article attacked the *terceristas* for trying to fill the vacuum they felt existed in political education from a socialist point of view. *Claridad* felt this was incorrect "in the year of the massive take-off of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party."

Torres argued that although the PSP claimed to be "the Socialist Party of the Workers," its political line is nationalist.

He explained that "this can be seen most clearly expressed in the concept of struggle by stages that the PSP puts forth." Torres continued by saying that as he saw it, this two-stage theory of revolution was why the PSP leadership had backed Berrios: because both parties, in the PSP's view, were necessary, the PIP



MSP helped build demonstration protesting U.S. mayor's conference in San Juan

Militant/Jose G. Perez

as a multiclass anti-imperialist party to lead the first stage, the PSP to lead the second.

Torres also criticized the PSP for exaggerating the degree of mass support to proindependence and socialist positions. He commented sarcastically, "sometimes it looks like we are almost to the socialist revolution."

Although the 200 militants present at the mid-September meeting agreed with Torres that the PSP was not the alternative they had been looking for, there were various views of what the *terceristas* should become.

A small grouping of "libertarian socialists" emerged at this meeting, putting forth the classical anarchist arguments against Marxism and the concept of a centralized organization. After a few weeks' discussion they left the *tercerista* group.

The "libertarian socialists" were not the only ones to leave the *terceristas* while the MSP was being formed. A small number of individuals joined the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Also, a much larger number simply chose not to affiliate with the MSP when it was organized, remaining without any organizational ties. Among these was Carlos Gallisá, former vice-president of the PIP and a representative in the Puerto Rican legislature.

Founding of MSP

Even after this sorting out process, the 200 delegates who met in late October to launch the MSP were still not homogeneous. But the participants at that conference felt that they had sufficiently broad political agreement to begin work in a common political organization.

The central focus of the MSP's work in the first few months was just getting organized: including establishing local units of the group throughout the island and regularizing the publication of the *Boletín del Militante*.

In addition, the MSP began a campaign of propaganda around the question of high prices. The MSP published and is circulating a pamphlet on the high cost of living, which denounces the role of the U.S. monopolists in spurring Puerto Rico's inflation, as well as the role played by Puerto Rico's own economic structures.

The pamphlet makes a number of proposals to remedy this situation. It points out that Puerto Rico's imports come overwhelmingly from the U.S. because of the country's colonial relationship with America. It then calls on the Puerto Rican government to

establish commercial relationships with other countries that sell at a cheaper price many of the goods currently imported from the U.S. This would, of course, involve a direct challenge to U.S. domination of the Puerto Rican economy.

Protest mayors' conference

Another central activity of the MSP in the months after its founding was helping to build a demonstration against a convention of U.S. mayors held in San Juan. MSP members went on a campaign footing to get out word about the demonstration. Along with the PSP and other groups that were part of the committee sponsoring the march, they mobilized 15,000 to 20,000 people.

The whole affair embarrassed the U.S. government so much that Vice-president Gerald Ford, who was scheduled to be a featured speaker at the mayors' gathering, canceled out at the last minute, citing "security" reasons.

In addition to these activities, MSP activists have been involved in a broad range of other issues. Last fall, for example, they helped to organize protests against the frame-up of members of the Revolutionary Socialist Party on charges of bank robbery. They have also been active in supporting the strike of Puerto Rico's high school teachers.

Boletín del Militante has been transformed into a twice-monthly mimeographed magazine and renamed *El Militante*, with coverage and commentary on a wide range of questions. In the wake of the Chilean coup last fall, for example, an article was published identifying with many Marxist criticisms of Allende's catastrophic "peaceful road to socialism." During the October war in the Middle East an article explained why the Zionists were the real aggressors in that conflict.

El Militante features frequent articles on inflation and on various aspects of U.S. domination of Puerto Rico. There has been an ongoing debate in the magazine on how to build a Leninist party, on the question of "two-stage" revolution, and the role of socialist and proindependence militants in the labor movement.

The most recent issue is devoted to International Women's Day. It contains articles examining the double oppression of women in Puerto Rico, as well as writings by leaders of the Bolshevik revolution on the woman

question. There is a speech by Alexandra Kollontai, an article by Lenin commemorating the revolutionary leader Rosa Luxemburg, and a 1925 article by Leon Trotsky on the relationship between the building of socialism and the liberation of women in the Soviet Union.

Important components of the *tercerista* group were the two youth organizations of the PIP, the Pro-Independence University Youth and the Pro-Independence High School Youth (JIU and JIE).

These organizations, although formally only youth arms of the PIP, tended to function as organizationally independent socialist youth groups. During the course of the fight inside the PIP, both solidly backed the *terceristas*, although they did experience some losses in membership.

After the PIP split in September, they participated in setting up the new MSP but stopped short of formal organizational affiliation, since some members objected. The youth groups were among the most radical elements in the *tercerista* current, defining themselves ideologically as Marxist-Leninist organizations.

Over the course of last fall, the differences within the JIU on whether to affiliate with the MSP became acute. A small faction, which included a number of sympathizers of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, did not want to be part of the MSP. Most JIU members, however, had already joined it as individuals. The Revolutionary Socialist Party is a small Maoist sect.

The differences culminated in a split at a special JIU conference called to resolve the question held at the end of December. The conference, open to all JIU members, was attended by only a minority of the membership, and the anti-MSP faction had a slight plurality when the vote was taken.

As a result, the bulk of the JIU left the organization and reorganized together with pro-MSP JIE members into the Unión de Juventudes Socialistas (UJS—Union of Young Socialists).

New university law

During the month-long student strike that shut down all of Puerto Rico's public universities last fall, JIU activists played a central leadership role on many campuses.

Since that time, the UJS has continued activity on the campuses, particularly around a campaign for a

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Luis Angel Torres

Militant/Jose G. Perez

World Outlook

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

APRIL 5, 1974

Troop rebellion deepens rift in Portuguese army

"Some officers serving with the 5th Infantry Regiment quartered in Caldas da Rainha and captained by others who had infiltrated there rebelled. They imprisoned their commander, second in command and three majors, and taking a mechanized unit, they left in the direction of Lisbon. The government already knew that some movement was afoot for some purpose . . . and forces of the 1st Artillery, 7th Cavalry and National Republican Guard were posted at the entrance to Lisbon."

So read part of a communiqué issued March 16 by the Portuguese government to announce the foiling of a mutiny by units of the Portuguese army—a mutiny that heightened what the March 17 London *Sunday Times* described as "Portugal's worst political crisis since the late dictator Antonio de Salazar came to power in 1928."

The revolt was sparked by a government decree issued March 14 dismissing the chief of staff of the armed forces, General Costa Gomes, and his deputy, General Antonio de Spínola.

The crisis of March 14-16 brought to a head the simmering discontent among junior officers and conscript soldiers in the armed forces after nearly thirteen years of war in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau.

"The crisis," wrote Colin Legum and William Cernyn-Jones in the March 17 London *Observer*, "has already shattered the unity of an army now fighting three colonial wars in Africa, and has cast serious doubts over the future of the country's prime minister, Dr. Marcello Caetano."

Disagreements over policies in

Africa have divided Portugal's top political and military leaders for some time. In late February General Spínola published a book *Portugal e o Futuro* in which he argued that Portugal could no longer hope to win a military victory in its colonial wars.

Spínola's book became a best-seller overnight, finding particular support from junior officers in the armed forces to whom he seemed to hold out the hope of a military disengagement from the wars.

Spínola himself was military commander and governor of Guinea-Bissau from 1968 to 1973.

But Spínola's book brought an immediate outcry from right-wing "hawks" in the regime who considered that the book undermined one of the central tenets of *Salazarismo*. This is the notion of a transcontinental Portuguese state of which Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau are merely "overseas provinces."

Alarmed that Caetano might be forced to dismiss Spínola by this groundswell of protests from the right, dissident officers held meetings on army bases throughout the country. The government responded on March 9 by confining all troops to their barracks for four days and arresting several of Spínola's supporters in the army.

On March 14 Spínola and Gomes were fired. "Dr. Caetano was forced to order the dismissals," wrote James MacManus in the March 16 *Guardian*, "after finding himself outmanoeuvred by rightwingers under the leadership of the Portuguese president, Americo Thomaz."

General Joaquim Luz Cunha, the commander in chief of the armed



GENERAL SPÍNOLA: Can't win wars

forces in Angola, was appointed to replace Gomes as chief of staff of the armed forces. The government, fearing reactions from army bases, reimposed its order restricting troops to their barracks.

Junior army officers, incensed by the news of Spínola's dismissal, held meetings on army bases in many parts of the country to plan their response. Cernyn-Jones reported in the March 17 *Observer*, "The troubles appear to have started last night [March 15], when young army officers held meetings throughout the country. In Lisbon the near mutinous officers assembled in the Military Academy. While the meeting was in progress the building was ringed by the National Republican Guard, a crack cavalry regiment noted for its unswerving loyalty to the regime." The minister of defence met with the ministers of the

army, the navy, and the airforce and sounded a national alert.

Later that night, at about 3 a.m. on March 16, the mutiny at Caldas da Rainha began. After imprisoning the commanding officer and other top officers at the base, some 28 miles north of Lisbon, 200 of the rebels set off for Lisbon in a convoy.

They presumably expected support from other bases, but the revolt seems to have been poorly planned and remained isolated. They were halted on the outskirts of Lisbon by loyalist forces who forced them to head back to Caldas da Rainha. Back inside the camp, "when the rebels were called upon to surrender," reported the March 18 London *Times*, "they apparently refused to do so until they were told that the barracks would be bombarded." At 3:30 p.m. "they then handed over the officers they had imprisoned and gave themselves up."

The government stepped up its arrests of dissidents in the armed forces after the coup, detaining, among others, Lieutenant-Colonel Joao Almeida Bruno, a close follower of Spínola. MacManus reported in the March 17 *Guardian* that "several hundred more middle rank officers are being 'investigated' by military police and the DGS, Portugal's political police."

The events of March 14-16 have revealed the weakness of the Caetano dictatorship, bogged down in its war of aggression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique. The big test now for the regime will be the repercussions of the army purge and the mutiny of Caldas da Rainha on the demoralised and disgruntled troops in Africa.

Portugal's rulers weigh 'Africanizing' colonial wars

[The following article, which was written before the recent rebellion within the Portuguese army, explains the background to this event.]

By Tony Hodges

London

"A political and military crisis in Portugal's African territory of Mozambique," James MacManus wrote in the February 14 London *Guardian*, "has prompted the Government in Lisbon to take steps towards an 'African solution.'"

"The Prime Minister, Dr Marcello Caetano, has given discreet backing to a new grouping of predominantly African Nationalists in Mozambique. This 'third force', as it is termed, is a loose association of about 300 people drawn from the professional classes.

"They have quietly been given permission by the Portuguese Government to form a pressure group in Mozambique this spring under the name of Grupo Unido de Moçambique (GUM). This will, in effect, be a political party pressing for independence."

MacManus also described reports circulating in Lisbon that the Portuguese governor of Mozambique, Pimentel dos Santos, will be replaced by "a more imaginative administrator attuned to the need to create a predominantly African Government in the colony." MacManus believes that as part of this programme the voters' roll, at present a meagre 150,000 out of over eight million people, will be "significantly expanded."

Rumours of urgent plans to "Africanise" the colonial administration in Mozambique spring from the publi-

Continued on following page



FRELIMO Information Dept.

FRELIMO fighters in Mozambique have made gains against the 60,000-man Portuguese army.

...Lisbon weighs 'Africanizing' colonial wars

Continued from preceding page

cation in Lisbon in February of General Antonio de Spínola's *Portugal e o Futuro*. Spínola argues in his book that no military solution is possible after nearly thirteen years of war in Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique. It is Spínola's view, said the March 2 *Economist*, that "since the guerrillas in all three Portuguese territories . . . can benefit from porous borders and massive external aid, the Portuguese army can neither annihilate them nor cut off their supplies. The arid search for military victory, General Spínola believes, amounts to little more than a holding operation that is bleeding the home country dry."

Spínola does not underestimate the depth of the crisis facing the regime: "Today Portugal is living one of the gravest hours, perhaps the gravest hour, of its history." Spínola is particularly worried that the Portuguese economy, one of the most backward in Europe, will be unable to sustain an endless drain of its resources into the wars. "If we maintain the rate of increase in our resources devoted to defence, we shall before very long reach the limit of our resources." These dangers have been underlined by a war-primed inflation rate of over 20 percent a year, the third-highest rate of inflation in Europe after Greece and Iceland, according to the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).



Portuguese soldier in Mozambique. Now they are herding villagers into 'strategic hamlets.'

According to the February 23 *London Times*, "the fact that the Government allowed his book to be published is considered a sign that his views are similar to those of Dr Caetano, the Prime Minister." Spínola is widely respected by the Portuguese ruling class and has been regarded as a possible successor to Admiral Tomás as president.

Spínola's policy is not a Portuguese withdrawal from Africa but the establishment of multiracial puppet regimes in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea within a federation in which all de-

cisive powers would be held by Lisbon.

The March 2 *Economist* explained: "The answer, for General Spínola, is not to abandon these places. It lies in a political federation that would allow the right of political self-determination to each of its constituent parts. It would consist of four equal states—metropolitan Portugal, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea—each with its own parliament and elected governor, responsible to a federal parliament and a central government, presumably based in Lisbon. The central government would retain responsibility for finance, defence and foreign affairs, and would include a 'secretary for government and coordination' who would keep some check on the independent efforts of state administrations in areas such as education and economic development. The central government would also keep the right of veto over state budgets."

The *Economist* speculated that "Senhor Caetano may be hoping that his [Spínola's] book will serve as a lightning conductor for right-wing reaction, leaving the prime minister free to pursue a milder federalist programme."

However, it is doubtful whether any federalist window-dressing could reverse Lisbon's mounting difficulties in Africa. Over seventy governments have recognised the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau, established on September 24, 1973. On November 5 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution welcoming the statehood of Guinea-Bissau and calling on Portugal to desist from further violation of the territory and all acts of aggression against the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. The resolution was passed by ninety-three votes to seven.

Lisbon's biggest headache is Mozambique, where the 60,000-strong Portuguese army has been dealt heavy blows by the liberation fighters in recent months.

MacManus reported in the February 14 *Guardian* that "at the start of the year, Frelimo, the Nationalist African guerrilla group, launched a new offensive, which has now firmly placed guerrilla units astride the vital road and rail links from the Indian Ocean port of Beira west to Rhodesia and north to Zambia and Malawi. . . . The appearance of Frelimo in considerable strength so far South, and its logistic implications, has meant a dramatic new phase in what until last summer had been a hit-and-run war confined mainly to remote areas in the Tete district and in the Northeast."

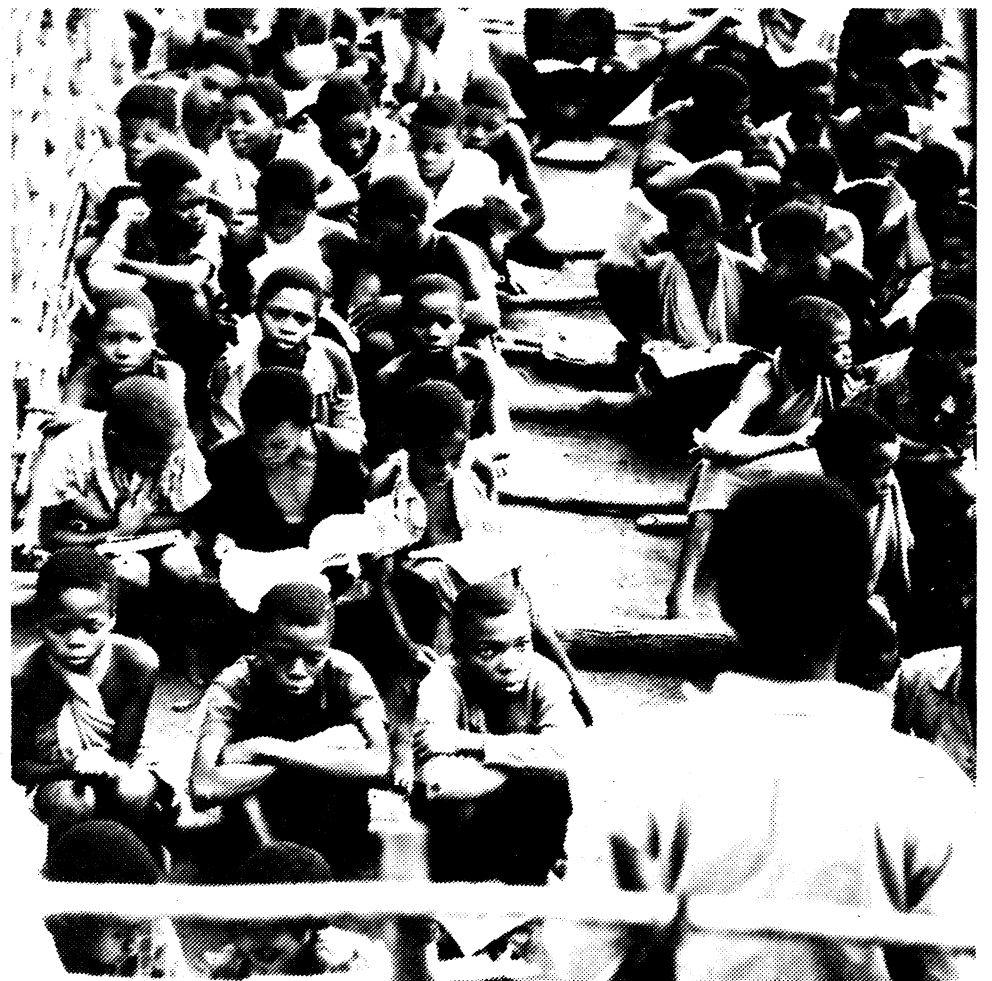
Bruce Loudon reported from the Lourenço Marques in the February 11 *London Daily Telegraph* that "growing official concern at the penetration of Frelimo terrorists into the 'White heartland' of Mozambique has been admitted by a top public official in the Beira region."

"The admission comes as a public crisis of confidence is developing in the ability of Portugal's 60,000-man army to counter guerrilla infiltration from the north."

The Portuguese defence chief of staff, General Costa Gomes, made a two-week tour of Mozambique at the end of January to review the deteriorating war situation. At the end of his visit, according to the February 4 *Dar es*

Salaam *Daily News*, "the General said that reports reaching him daily showed that Frelimo was actively spreading 'subversion' as far south as Vila Pery, near the Zimbabwe border, and to districts around Beira."

"We are facing a difficult situation which I, of course, do not take as alarming", SAPA [South African Press Association] quoted him as saying. "What we have to do is face it with calmness and firmness."



School in liberated territory of Mozambique

FRELIMO Information Dept.

One component of Portugal's "firm" counterinsurgency programme, borrowed from Washington's methods in Indochina, has been forcibly to remove the African peasant population from their villages and place them in strategic hamlets known as *aldeamentos*. Colonel Sousa Teles, district governor of Beira, reported to the Beira District Council in February that about 146,000 villagers had been moved into *aldeamentos* in the Beira district in the last six months of 1973. Teles lamented, though, that Frelimo forces were attacking six or seven *aldeamentos* each night.

These rapid advances by the liberation fighters around Beira, Vila Pery, and Inhanga in the central province of Manica e Sofala are not only disquieting for the Portuguese government: They have the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia rattled too. Ever since Smith's illegal declaration of independence in 1965 and the imposition of sanctions by the United Nations, Rhodesia has depended on its rail and road links to Beira for much of its imports and exports. These are now in jeopardy.

Moreover, the liberation war is spreading into Rhodesia itself, where thirty-one members of the Rhodesian army have been killed since December 1972 in clashes in the northeast of the country. According to the March 2 *Economist*, "the Rhodesians have felt obliged to cordon off the northeast;

to introduce forced labour of civilians as well as harsh new laws and mass detentions; to enlarge the army and extend the national service; and to launch an ambitious immigration drive to offset the drift of those leaving the country. Now they are also faced with major disruptions on their lifelines to the sea through Mozambique."

The Smith regime has turned to South Africa for assistance and now enjoys the support of South African

troops in its security operations in the northeast. Lisbon expects to receive increased United States aid for the war. "Portugal," reported the March 2 *Economist*, "has tried to strike a deal with the United States in return for the help it gave last year by letting the Americans use the Azores base for flying arms to Israel during the Middle East war." The Nixon regime has opened the way for stepped-up arms deliveries to Portugal by defeating an amendment to the Foreign Aid Bill that would have banned U.S. arms supplies to Portugal.

The United States government and the Gulf Oil Corporation have also continued to supply Portugal with oil in defiance of the Arab countries' oil embargo imposed against Portugal last November. Additional help has been given by Washington's refusal to recognise the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and its apparent intention to veto the seating of the republic in the United Nations.

Further U.S. aid for the Portuguese dictatorship and its African wars will be discussed at talks expected to be held shortly in connection with the renegotiation of the U.S. lease of the Lajes airbase in the Azores. According to the January 29 *Portuguese Digest*, a spokesman for the U.S. secretary of state has announced that these talks are expected to recommence shortly.

Interview with Trotskyist leader

India: mass struggles erupt over high prices, unemployment, corruption

[The following interview with a leader from Gujarat of the Communist League of India, Indian section of the Fourth International, was obtained in Europe for *Intercontinental Press* by Malik Miah in early February.]

Question. What is the general political and economic situation in India today?

Answer. Well, the Indian bourgeoisie is confronted with a crisis of a structural nature which is unprecedented in its magnitude. The crisis is predominantly in the economic sphere. Prices are skyrocketing and production has gone down as a whole. The fifth five-year plan is in doldrums. The targets set in the fifth five-year plan have already been upset by the oil crisis and the rampant inflation. But the bourgeoisie has still not exhausted its democratic possibilities and potentialities. The Indian bourgeoisie, except for that of Japan, is the most mature and stable bourgeoisie in the whole of South and Southeast Asia. It has in the person of Indira Gandhi a very suitable leadership.

Since 1969, when the classical party of the Indian bourgeoisie split, Gandhi has had the leadership of the Indian bourgeoisie. She had some important advantages in lulling the masses' consciousness, on account of certain external events, such as the refugee problem, the crisis of Bangladesh, war with Pakistan in late 1971. And then she made scapegoats of the reactionary and vested interests in her own organization prior to the split.

She said that she wanted to usher in socialism in India. But by maintaining relations based on the right of private property, which is assigned as a fundamental right in the constitution of India, there is a contradiction. Without abolishing the right of private property, she wanted to establish socialism in India. This was just phrase mongering on the part of Gandhi's leadership and organization to catch votes and get a landslide victory in Parliament.

But after a span of about a year and a half, this strategy has failed to work. The standard of living of the masses has gone down considerably, prices have registered a tremendous rise, the public distribution system has miserably failed to work, and people suffer on account of a scarcity of essential items of food.

So, at present, even the Indian bourgeoisie itself is aware that this crisis is deepgoing and of a structural character. But it has still not found the solution to this crisis, and various sections and various spokesmen of the Indian bourgeoisie are trying to find out the solution at present.

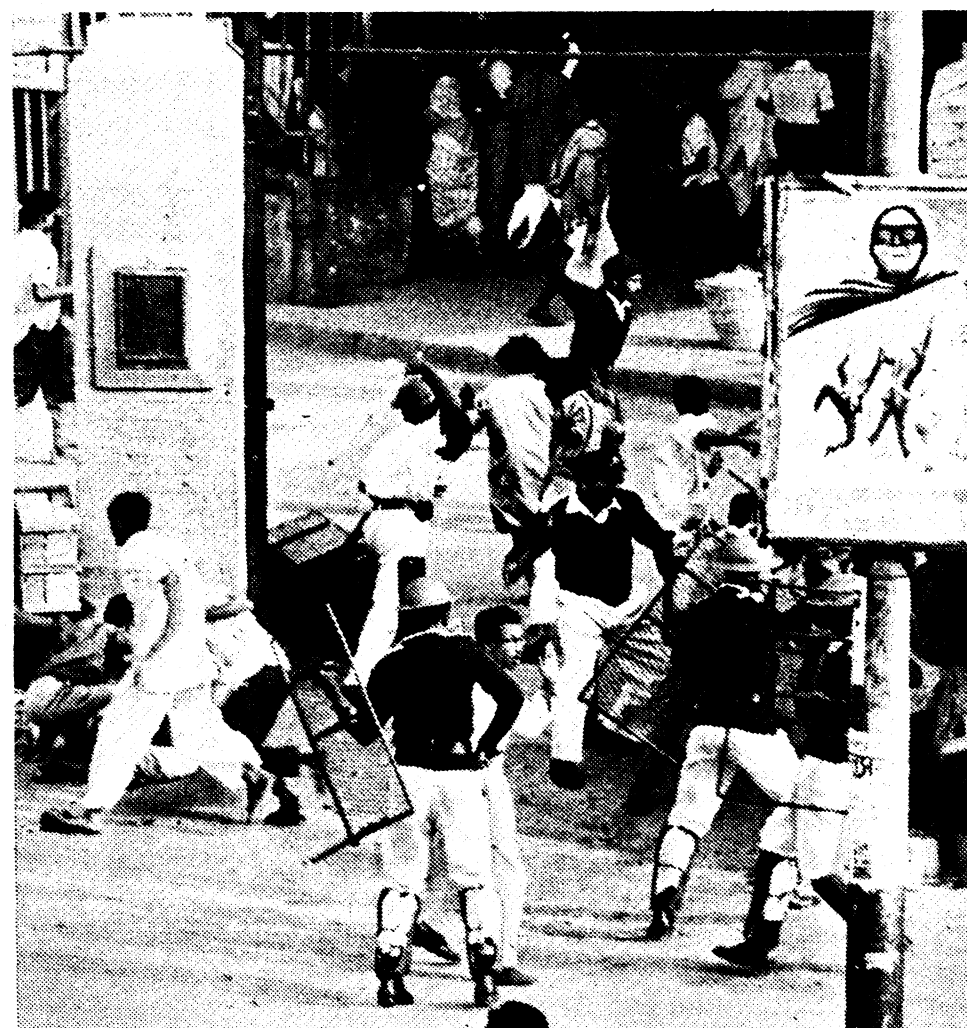
Unfortunately, we in India do not have a genuine Marxist leadership of the mass upsurge that is erupting everywhere. And therefore the situation does not get converted into a pre-revolutionary situation as such, whereby the masses can take a decisive leap toward a socialist solution of these problems.

Q. Recently there was a general strike of three million workers in Bombay and mass demonstrations of workers and peasants in the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat. Could you explain the significance of these mobilizations and the main features behind them?

A. At present two of the most conservative and orthodox states in India are witnessing gigantic mass struggles. They are Maharashtra and Gujarat, which are in the western part of India, while West Bengal and Kerala, which are traditional leftist strongholds, are comparatively quiescent now.

In Gujarat we recently had food riots, violent agitation, and a gigantic mass upsurge, wherein no particular organized party—whether of the right or the left—had complete hold over the movement. And ultimately the students and workers, especially in cities like Ahmadabad, Baroda, and Surat, came to the fore and took charge of the movement. They formed committees of students and workers to lead this movement.

The immediate aim of the movement was to oust the state ministry in Gujarat, on the charge that it was corrupt. But some of the slogans were not radical enough. They have still not come to that stage where they realize that it is not a question of ministry, but a question of social system that has to be overthrown. Our own comrades of the Communist League, the Indian section of the Fourth International, were very ac-



Police attack demonstrators in Bihar

tive in this movement in Baroda, Surat, and Ahmadabad.

In Maharashtra, the textile workers have gone on a strike which has lasted more than fifty days. And before I left India, I learned that a general strike of all workers in Maharashtra was to be staged within a couple of days in support of the textile workers. In Maharashtra there was already one general strike protesting against the spiraling rise in the prices of essential commodities. There was a complete stoppage of work in the entire state of Maharashtra for the whole day.

There is another significant development in the state of Maharashtra, especially in Bombay, where some of the younger, more militant and radical elements from the scheduled castes [untouchables] have decided to bypass the traditional leadership represented in the Republican party and have formed a group called the Dalit Panthers. It's very militant and it has recently protested against the regional chauvinism represented in the reactionary policies of groups like the Shiv Sena. The Panthers are pressing some

very radical demands in the state of Maharashtra.

Q. There are two Communist parties in India: the CPI [Communist party of India] and the CP(M) [Communist party of India (Marxist)]. What is their attitude toward the government and what strategies do they advocate for the toiling masses?

A. So far as the right Communist party, which is Moscow-oriented, is concerned, it has throughout supported Gandhi's organization, the ruling Congress, on the basis that it represents the "progressive" wing of the Indian bourgeoisie that is capable of fulfilling the democratic, bourgeois-democratic, tasks that confront India.

So far as the CPI(M) is concerned, which was formerly Peking-oriented but has adopted a more independent stance since then, it has extended "critical" support to Gandhi's government.

Revolt spreads to Bihar

Since the interview on this page took place, mass struggles have spread in India from Gujarat to the eastern state of Bihar. Students are in the forefront of the Bihar upsurge, raising demands against high prices, food shortages, unemployment, and an educational system that does not prepare students for jobs. They have formed a statewide Student Action Committee.

In three days of protests, 26 people were killed when police opened fire on mass demonstrations. The *New York Times* reported that on March 21 students were confined to their dormitories and armed police patrolled the campus.

The Bihar state assembly, a target of the demonstrations, resumed its sessions behind barricades.

The significance of the Gujarat uprising, and presumably of the Bihar struggles as well, was explained in the following way by one of the editors of *The Times of India*: "The upheaval in Gujarat has no parallel in recent Indian history, not only because it is the first time that agitation has overwhelmed a ministry and a legislature but also because it is the first time since independence that students and teachers have co-operated closely on issues that transcend their sectional interest and grievances."

Still, along with its theory of the four-class bloc, to a very great extent its politics is based on class-collaborationism and opportunism and subordination of independent proletarian and working-class struggles and politics to that of achieving bourgeois-democratic tasks in India. At the moment, none of these left parties pose the question of a socialist revolution being on the agenda in the case of the Indian subcontinent.

We, the Communist League, the Indian section of the Fourth International, basing ourselves on the teachings of Leon Trotsky, on the theory of permanent revolution, believe that the question of socialist revolution is directly posed and that the crisis that confounds the Indian society can be resolved only if the proletariat takes the reins of power into its own hands, by making a socialist revolution under its leadership in alliance with the landless peasantry and by overthrowing the social relations based on private property.

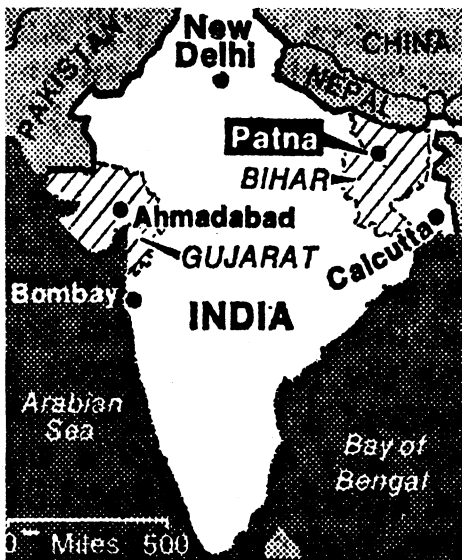
Q. Were the committees of students
Continued on following page

...mass struggles in India over prices, corruption

Continued from preceding page and workers formed in the universities and factories in Gujarat independent of the trade unions and traditional left parties and organizations?

A. Yes. The student committees were formed independently by the students themselves, including the women students. And they were very active in their university campus areas in Ahmadabad, Baroda, and Surat, and they generally bypassed the traditional leaderships.

The workers committee was composed of members from all the trade unions run by the various left parties. But in Gujarat we don't have very strong left parties, neither the CPI nor the CPI(M). The movement developed such a momentum that it just bypassed this traditional leadership. Another notable feature was that the cities dominated this struggle in Gujarat and took the lead, and the villages only followed later on, especially in one district of the Surat region.



Because the government of Gujarat imposed a procurement levy for grain, the rich kulaks from that area organized a strong protest movement. The government simply allowed this movement to develop and later tried to channel it. The landless laborers could not get anything to eat because of the hoarding by the kulaks, so a miniature class war developed between the landless laborers and the landlords in this particular area. Ultimately the government succumbed to the pressure of the landlords and backed away from the measure of compulsory grain procurement. There were some murders of landless laborers by the landlords in this particular region.

Q. In Gujarat the Congress party was in control and then presidential rule was imposed . . .

A. Yes. It was led by the ruling Congress. But when I came here, I read in the newspapers that on February 9 president's rule was imposed and the ministry was removed. So one of the major demands of the students and workers spearheading this movement was complied with by the government of India.

Q. One of their major demands was the overthrow . . .

A. Of the ministry. Because their main charge was that it was corrupt. Later they will realize that the evils of which they complain flow from the system and not from a minister or a ministry. But the steps were in the right direction.

Q. In Bombay, in Maharashtra, the ruling Congress was also in charge when the demonstrations broke out.

A. Yes. In Maharashtra it was the Congress party that ruled the state. In fact, it is one of the most important bastions of the ruling Congress in all of India. The finance minister is from this region.

Q. Isn't it true that recently there were parliamentary elections in Maharashtra, and the Communist party of India won a majority? What is the significance of this?

A. Yes. There was a by-election in one of the constituencies in the city of Bombay, where the ruling Congress, despite its proclamations to the contrary, joined hands with the regional chauvinist Shiv Sena, to fight the election. It was opposed by the Jan Sangh, a communalist reactionary militant organization that supports the Indian bourgeoisie. Against both of these parties, the Communist party of India, Moscow-oriented, fielded Roza Deshpande, the daughter of Mr. Dange, chairman of the CPI, as its candidate. She won by a comfortable majority and the CPI held it as a victory of the working class. In this election the Dalit Panthers refused to vote for the candidates proposed by the traditional leadership, that is, the Republican party.

Q. The Republican party is the traditional leadership of what social layers?

A. The scheduled castes and tribes. It is not an all-India party as such. And the scheduled castes are the most oppressed castes in the caste hierarchy of India.



Demonstrating students

Q. What other activities has the Communist League of India been involved in and what are its perspectives?

A. Well, we still don't have an all-India character, because we are very small in numbers. But we do have some concentrated influence in some provinces of India, mainly in Gujarat and Maharashtra, and some in Uttar Pradesh and Kerala. Still, the Indian section is engaged in the task of making a primitive accumulation of cadres and training them intensively and equipping them theoretically as well as practically. We have some important developments in Gujarat, especially in Baroda and Surat, where we have a sizable group of young cadres, both from the student community and the working class.

In Baroda we have a very good institution called a workers council, which stands above all traditional trade unions and traditional leaderships, where our working class cadres, who are party members, are very influential and where rank-and-file working-class members of all the trade unions come to agitate their grievances, to decide on common struggles, and so on. Our contacts go regularly to the factory gates to address meetings of the workers, take part in study circles, discuss problems confronting India, and organize summer and winter seminars.

In Surat our young student cadres are also very active on the campus, to organize meetings. We have recently started a fortnightly newspaper in Gujarat which has much influence and has a wide circulation.

In Maharashtra, and especially in Bombay, we have some cadres who are trained to organize along these lines. The main problem for us is still to gather cadres and develop them. Because of our small size, we are not in a position yet to influence the ongoing and developing mass struggles in a big, decisive, and crucial way. That is simply not possible because of our size. To the extent that our cadres can integrate themselves into these movements, they do so. But still the primary task for us is to gather cadres.

In the area of press, we have one English-language magazine called *Red Spark*. In Gujarat we have one fortnightly, which was recently started. In Uttar Pradesh there are two papers published by us. In Kerala there is one paper, which is being published by the Kerala unit of the Communist

League. In West Bengal we have one paper, *Lalai*.

We have also translated and published several works of Trotsky, including the Transitional Program, into Gujarati. We are having a very good sale of Trotsky's literature published by Pathfinder Press, and the magazines *Intercontinental Press*, the *Young Socialist*, and other journals in India.

There is a very growing demand for the works of Trotsky in India and much can still be done in that area. For the last several years one of our comrades has done a lot of work in making available this literature, which was not available before in India, or was available only at great cost. So on this front we have been able to do some work.

**Full text:
ROY MEDVEDEV'S REVIEW
OF 'GULAG ARCHIPELAGO'**

In the March 25 issue of

**Intercontinental
Press**

The *New York Times* published long excerpts from this important review. But the *Times's* editing obscured the political message of the article. *Intercontinental Press* carries the whole review, with the *Times's* deletions in brackets.

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Homeless people sleep on streets of Calcutta. 'The standard of living of the masses has gone down considerably.'

Sectarians undergo split

A new chapter in the disintegration of PL

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—Five years ago, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) could honestly claim upwards of 1,000 members, several newspapers and a monthly theoretical magazine, and the loyalties of a sizable minority of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Today the once-leading Maoist political organization in the U.S. is a shell of its former self. On Feb. 9 it suffered a major political blow when nearly all of its membership in New England, one of PL's last strongholds, voted to split from the organization and form a new group—the Party for Workers Power (PWP). Among the former national leaders of PL in the new group are Hillary Putnam and John Pennington.

The split took about a quarter of PL's national membership of a few hundred, and virtually eliminated the organization in Boston. The PWP took with it the remains of SDS, which PL had made its campus front group in the wake of the demise of that "new left" organization in 1969.

The split, the largest since the formation of the organization in the early 1960s, is explained by the PWP as a



Militant/Howard Petrick

PL and supporters in SDS attempt to disrupt conference of the National Peace Action Coalition in July 1971.

result of the PL leadership's having "dropped the fight against racism in the working class. More and more this is being downplayed amongst the students too."

PL originally came out of the Communist Party, with its founders declaring that the CP was no longer revolutionary. Their initial assessment, however, was not followed by a rejection of Stalinism. PL instead embraced the more radical-sounding Stalinism of the Maoists, easily adapting to its undemocratic and stifling norms, while posing as the true believers and interpreters of "Mao-tsetung thought" in the U.S.

In the 1970s, PL strayed from Maoism and now considers China "capitalist."

The disagreements over the "fight against racism" amount to little more than the question of who can be the most strident in denouncing racism in the abstract, with PL increasingly opting for a "lower profile." Like the old PL, the PWP denounces what it calls racism's "twin evil," Black nationalism—the independent struggles by and for Black people.

What the PWP resembles most is the

shrill, antinationalist PL of the 1960s, shorn of excess Maoist baggage and dealing narrowly and solely with a rhetorical "fight against racism." The first issue of their 18-page paper mentions no international struggles and says nothing about Watergate, the energy crisis, or the variety of issues raised by the women's liberation movement. Its only mention of the recent truckers' strike is a letter calling the independent owner-operators "pigs."

The PWP accepts the most backward ideas of the old PL, while disregarding the major political events shaking the world and the United States. Its sectarianism is nothing new. It was what put PL increasingly on the sidelines of the antiwar movement, the student struggles, the women's liberation movement, and the Black movement, and now isolates it from the rise of activity in the trade-union movement.

The PWP begins in isolation, with the legacy of the sectarianism of PL, but lacking the attraction of ties with Peking that PL once had. Its future will most likely be that of its parentage: more splits, isolation, and eventual extinction.

Protest attempt to deport Haitian refugees

By STEVE BECK

NEW YORK—Two hundred and fifty Haitians and their supporters joined a picket line at the State Department offices here March 23 to protest the threatened deportation of Haitian refugees. The action was sparked by the death of Turenne Déville, who killed himself in a Miami jail the week before when Immigration authorities ordered him and nine other refugees returned to Haiti.

"The U.S. government and Immigration office have once again given a display of their all-out support to the government of Duvalier," charged Maude Charles of KODDPA, a Haitian defense group.

Risking their lives in open boats, hundreds of Haitians have come to the U.S., fleeing the murderous repression and starvation wages in their own land. U.S. Immigration has welcomed them by jailing more than 100 and threatening these and 300 more with deportation. An Ad Hoc Commit-

tee for Defense of Haitian Refugees has been formed, which sponsored the protest.

A rally at Bryant Park followed the picket. Many who expressed solidarity with the Haitians represented unions, including Henry Foner, president of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Union Joint Board; Ralph Mandrew, vice-president of the New York Hotel Trades Council; United Furniture Workers Local 140 president Enio Carrion; and Marshal Dubin of the Drug and Hospital Union Local 1199. Congresswoman Bella Abzug also spoke.

Cathy Andrade of Central-American Unity denounced the continued harassment and deportation of Latinos and other immigrants. "We are hardworking people, honest people, and we have a right to be here . . . we help keep America going," she said.

Marilyn Marcus, speaking for the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA),

pointed out that "the U.S. government uses the same excuses against admitting Haitians into this country as they do against admitting people from Chile who are fleeing the murder and terror of the military junta."

Reverend Sterling Cary, president of the National Council of Churches, denounced the hypocrisy of excluding Black Haitians while welcoming thousands of mostly white Cubans. Immigration procedures even denied the Haitians a formal hearing as required by the UN Convention on Status of Refugees, according to Ira Golobin of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

The action concluded with a spirited march to the United Nations, where representatives met with an aide of Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim. Future plans include a continuing vigil at the State Department offices at 636 Fifth Ave. beginning Saturday, April 6. For more information, call the Haitian Fathers at (212) 491-6580.



Haitian dictator Duvalier gets a helping hand from the U.S. government.

Black students victimized in Ossining, N.Y.

By SCOTT COOPER

OSSINING, N.Y. — Twenty-seven students, 19 of them Black, have been suspended, and 14 students, 13 of them Black, are threatened with expulsion from Ossining High School. The school administration took these punitive actions following a fight between more than 100 Black and white students in the school cafeteria on March 13.

The fighting erupted after a long period of racist abuse and provocation against the Black community in Ossining. For the past several months, racist whites have been cruising through the Black community shouting epithets at Blacks on the streets.

This is one example of the racist hysteria that has been mounting since the Ossining board of education decided to redistrict the elementary schools. The Ossining school district was cited as an example of racial segregation in Northern schools by

the Fleischmann Report on public education in New York state.

Two weeks before the fight in the high school, the owner of the Game Room, a private recreation center frequented by white youths, placed a sign in the window that read: "No Blacks Allowed." When a group of young Blacks went to the Game Room, a young white man attacked a Black woman. After that incident, tensions in the school grew on a daily basis, with isolated fighting here and there.

School was suspended for the remainder of the week following the March 13 incident. However, violence spread to the community on March 15, when white youths cruised around the Black community attempting to run over pedestrians and shouting insults. When a group of young Blacks chased the car, they were met by police and dispersed.

When the town's business district became a target of the Black com-

munity's rage, the village government imposed a 7 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew for five days.

On March 18, the high school opened with a shortened day. Thirty-five police occupied the school with the rest of the force nearby.

A group of 70 Black parents, suspended Black students, and a few sympathetic whites, led by William Broadnax of the NAACP, marched to the high school demanding to meet with Superintendent of Schools Robert LaFrankie. After LaFrankie told them he would meet only with the parents at the school district administration building later that day, the group left.

Later, meeting with LaFrankie, the parents demanded that no expulsions be made until an independent investigation could be made. But the administration stood firm in its commitment to throw the "troublemakers" out of school.

At a closed meeting with a few selected teachers and students, the ad-

ministration recommended the following measure as "safeguards" against future incidents like the one on March 13: Additional monitors to patrol the bathrooms; an administrator to serve as "Dean of the Cafeteria"; and an administrative radio system so that administrators could be paged at any time in any place.

It is clear that the aim of the school and town administrations is not to improve the quality of education, but to maintain the status quo—with Blacks on the bottom. The administration proposals are aimed only at how best to repress Black students who rebel against these conditions.

Nothing could be clearer than the racist nature of the recommended expulsions: all but one are Black students.

Efforts to organize a defense of the students threatened with expulsion are under way.

Women facing sexism on the job

Saturday's Child—36 Women Talk About Their Jobs. Interviews and photographs by Suzanne Seed. J. Philip O'Hara, Inc. Chicago, 1973. 158 pp. Paper \$4.95.

"A book for young women," reads the subtitle. But for all women looking for evidence that women are making dents into male-dominated fields, here is a book that does just that.

Seed says of her book that she was inspired to compile it when her daughter came home from school with pictures in her textbooks showing girls sweeping floors and boys doing exciting things. She was also motivated when television portrayed the jobs of nurse, secretary, and stewardess as ones for which women are best suited.

Contained here are sketches and descriptions of jobs in the arts, science and medicine, trades, and business and government. Women provide thumbnail accounts of the obstacles they had to buck to get where they are. One feels the pride and sense of accomplishment that has been traditionally denied us.

A woman physician says her hardest task was getting into medical school because the entrance exams were made

Books

difficult for female applicants, since "they" felt women would "quit being doctors" once they got married. A pharmacist reports her graduating class was 10 percent women and most recently (she fails to identify the school) it was 50 percent. A biophysicist states that "it feels very good to get up at a scientific conference and explain something I have discovered." A radio-TV reporter recounts that her boss wouldn't permit her at first to appear on camera or read news stories because "people would not believe a woman as they would a man."

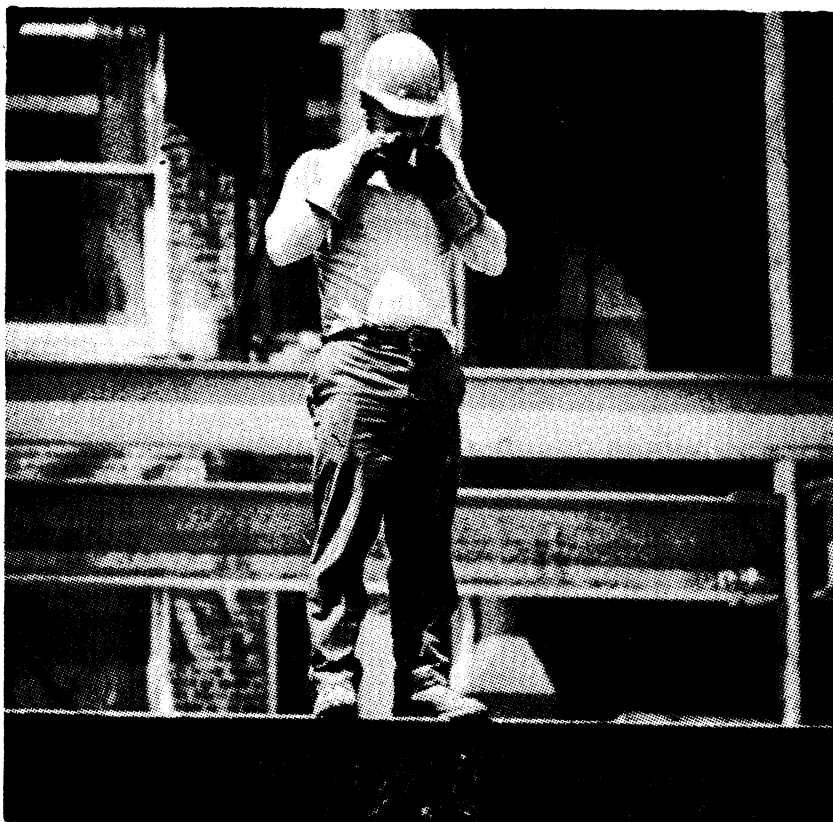
The geologist interviewed is the only one to give women some antifeminist, repugnant advice to "know your manners" as some sort of admonition when entering a so-called man's stronghold.

Unfortunately, those describing their work never identify their employment places and seldom even the schools where they received their breakthrough training. It is as if there might be some risk in letting the rest of the world know that a certain hospital employs a woman doctor or a certain company has a female oceanographer or city planner on its staff.

Also apparent is the lack of such gains for nonwhite women. Only four of the 36 women interviewed are not white—a Hawaiian congresswoman and three Blacks: a lawyer, an orchestra conductor, and a taxi driver.

Nevertheless, the book does serve a function in that it is encouragement for women embarking on careers and looking for meaningful ones in a sexist society. Here, at least, are 36 of us who have broken through the barriers that discriminate because of sex.

— MARTHA HARRIS



Employers and government unite against construction workers

Program for the building trades

Construction Workers Under Attack: How to fight back and rebuild the unions by Nat Weinstein, Frank Lovell, and Carol Lipman. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1974. 24 pp. 35 cents.

Construction is the biggest industry in the country, with contracts totaling well over \$100-billion a year and a work force numbering 3.5 million. In the building trades, union organization has traditionally been strong, and hourly wages are above average.

The skilled-trades unions have other traditions, as well. They function as job trusts for a narrow layer of white workers. They are splintered into 20-odd craft unions, engaged in constant jurisdictional bickering. And they are ruled by a gang of conservative bureaucrats.

Today the building trades are the target of a concerted antiunion offensive by the employers and capitalist government. Government wage controls have been used to steadily cut back the wage gains of construction workers. Aggressive open-shop contractors, backed by such giant corporations as Shell, ITT, and Du Pont, are moving into former union strongholds.

Many skirmishes have taken place, from a 24-hour strike and demonstration by 35,000 workers in Philadelphia in 1972, to the bloody "Battle of Kalkaska" in Michigan last year. So far all have resulted in setbacks for the unions.

The corrupt, incompetent union officialdom stands paralyzed in the face of this offensive. The building-trades unions need new policies and a new leadership if they are to survive the present attack.

The principal author of this pamphlet, Nat Weinstein, is a veteran union militant and an active member of Painters Union Local 4.

Pamphlets

He is also the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from California's 5th C.D.

One of Weinstein's key points is the treacherous role of the union officials in participating in and lending their authority to wage-cutting government boards such as the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee. This disastrous policy, Weinstein explains, stems from the union bureaucracy's ties to the two capitalist parties.

He calls instead for no cooperation with antilabor government agencies, and for launching an independent political party of labor.

Weinstein proposes uniting the building trades, beginning with common action such as joint contract negotiations and enforcement of job conditions, and campaigning aggressively to organize the unorganized workers.

He also cites the importance of reversing the racist and discriminatory policies of the unions by instituting preferential hiring and upgrading of Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican workers.

The pamphlet also describes and draws the lessons of last winter's strike of Northern California carpenters against the wage controls—a strike organized and led by rank-and-file militants and never sanctioned by the officials.

This pamphlet offers a succinct explanation of the problems of the building trades and a program for strengthening and transforming the unions. It should be of wide interest to union members and others concerned with the struggles of working people.

— ANDY ROSE

Energy crisis: profit bonanza

Energy Crisis: A Bonanza for the Oil Giants by Steve Beck and Cliff Conner. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1974. 32 pp. 60 cents.

With the lifting of the oil embargo, the question is being asked by many: Is the energy crisis over?

To answer this question, it is first necessary to look at what were the real effects of the Arab oil embargo to begin with. What role did the oil companies play in the energy crisis? Was the energy crisis contrived?

Pathfinder Press has recently published a pamphlet that answers all these questions in depth. This pamphlet is must reading for everyone interested in the truth about the energy crisis.

The lie that the reserves of fossil fuels have been exhausted is exposed by Beck and Conner. They show that the production cutbacks and embargo by the Arab states were not major contributing factors to the crisis in the U.S., which began before the embargo and continues today.

This new pamphlet explains that the cause of the present crisis is in the inner workings and manipulations of the oil monopolies. Beck and Conner show how the shortages of gasoline

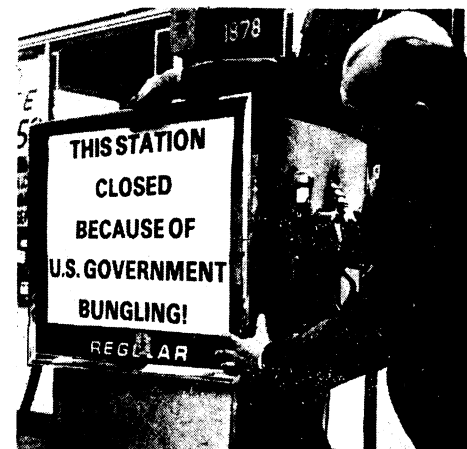
Pamphlets

and heating fuels are caused by the monopoly practices of the oil industry. These giant firms have conspired to fix prices, restrict supply, and manipulate reserves to increase their profits.

The authors also show how the contrived shortage is used by the oil barons to break down three roadblocks to their power and profits: Arab nationalism in the Mideast and North Africa, competition from the independent oil firms, and public concern over pollution and environmental destruction.

Working people, who face a marked deterioration in the quality of their lives because of the energy crisis, are beginning to fight back against this new attack. We can see this in the recent truckers' strike and the miners' strike as well.

In their pamphlet, Beck and Conner not only show the greed of the oil magnates and the destruction and suffering they cause, but also explain how working people can organize to end such crises by taking political and economic control out of the hands of the oil monopolies. — NORMAN OLIVER



Progress in Militant campaign

Regular sales locations vital to circulation drive

By ROSE OGDEN

More than 7,300 copies of the March 15 issue of *The Militant* were sold. These sales are in addition to the copies sold on newsstands and by supporters who get bundles but do not send in weekly reports for the scoreboard. The 14 Young Socialist teams, for example, sold 1,355 *Militants* last week.

The goal of the spring campaign is to increase these organized weekly sales to 10,000 by May. At the outset of this campaign, various key sales locations were singled out to focus on. These locations are the campuses; Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities; workplaces and working-class neighborhoods; and political meetings. A review of this week's sales points to significant progress being made toward regularizing sales at these locations.

Most areas send weekly sales teams to major campuses in their areas. For example, Pittsburgh supporters sold 170 copies of the March 15 issue on the University of Pittsburgh campus. Students and workers at the Pitt campus can expect to find *The Militant* there almost any day of the week.

Establishing consistent sales at locations in the Black community is another priority that all areas have been working on. Atlanta and Chicago, for example, sold 163 and 170 respectively at various shopping areas and neighborhoods in the Black community where they have been going to sell every week. New York supporters have begun regular Saturday sales in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant.

To reach working people, supporters take *The Militant* to workplaces, union meetings, and other gatherings of the labor movement. San Francisco has been selling each week on the picket lines of



Militant/Charlie Rosenberg

retail clerks on strike against Sears. Texas supporters sold 70 copies to teachers attending the State Teachers Convention in Dallas. Cleveland supporters sold 10 at the monthly meeting of the Cleveland Federation of Labor.

Working people and students can also be reached through sales at transportation centers and shopping areas. To maximize the effectiveness of these sales, teams are sent to the same spots week after week so that people passing through become familiar with *The Militant*.

Detroit supporters, who sold 431 copies of the March 15 issue, report that the bus station has become a regular spot for Saturday sales.

The success of the spring sales campaign rests on maintaining and expanding these regular sales locations.

Sometimes a particular article in one week's issue will enable supporters to initiate a new sales spot. For instance, Brooklyn supporters took the March 15 issue to a subway stop in the West Indian community expecting people to be interested in the back cover story on the general strike in Martinique. They found people were interested not only in this article, but in *The Militant's* analysis in general. They sold 112 copies and are planning to go back there each week.

Supporters of *The Militant* are active in many different struggles and integrate *Militant* sales with their participation in political events. For example, the March 15 issue was sold at many events commemorating International Women's Day. Oakland/Berkeley sold 42 copies at one such meeting.

Another example is the sales at Wounded Knee defense rallies that *Militant* supporters help organize. The *Militant* Forum in Denver cosponsored a support rally that drew 600 people, and 46 copies of the paper were sold there.

The Militant's extensive coverage of the activities of the Socialist Workers Party candidates makes it

an effective tool for campaign supporters to use in publicizing their campaigns. Portland organized their first campaign reach-out and combined selling *The Militant* with distribution of campaign literature. Eighty-one *Militants* were sold.

Four areas reported this week that they are raising their sales goals: Nashville from 60 to 70; River Rouge, Mich., 30 to 50; San Jose, 30 to 50; and Tucson, 10 to 50. In addition, new weekly bundles were ordered by supporters in Ithaca, N.Y.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Minonk, Ill.; and Rohnert Park, Calif.

If you would like to participate in *The Militant's* campaign to increase weekly sales, fill out the coupon on this page. Taking a bundle to sell on your campus, where you work, or in your neighborhood will add to the expanding influence of *The Militant*.

Scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
Nashville	60	69	115
Detroit	400	431	108
Bellingham	30	30	100
New Paltz	5	5	100
Vermillion	20	20	100
Huntsville	20	20	100
St. Louis	325	309	95
L.A. (West Side)	350	315	90
Logan	10	9	90
Philadelphia	400	335	84
Twin Cities	350	291	83
Denver	450	364	81
Brooklyn	450	359	80
L.A. (Central-East)	350	278	79
Boston	700	540	77
Houston	500	380	76
San Francisco	525	396	75
San Diego	325	231	71
Pittsburgh	350	239	68
Seattle	425	290	68
Oakland/Berkeley	800	537	67
Milwaukee	30	20	67
Austin	60	40	67
Chicago	700	465	66
Atlanta	500	320	64
Portland	325	200	62
Cleveland	350	185	53
Lower Manhattan	500	244	49
Washington, D.C.	400	189	47
Upper West Side	475	208	44
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	10,000	7,319	73

Sell The Militant

Join *The Militant's* sales campaign by taking a regular weekly bundle to sell on your campus, at your job, or near where you live. The cost is 17 cents per copy, and we will bill you at the end of each month.

I want to take a weekly sales goal of _____
Send me a weekly bundle of _____
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(large enough to carry dozens of *Militants* plus books, leaflets, etc.)

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14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Pathfinder titles help break down prison walls

Pathfinder Press books and pamphlets are being read by an ever increasing number of prisoners interested in socialist ideas.

During 1972 literature was sent to 279 individual prisoners and study groups in 66 prisons. During 1973 the number of prisoners requesting literature more than doubled to a total of 580. Requests came from 71 prisons in 26 states, including four prisons for women and three military prisons.

The most requested books have been *By Any Means Necessary* by Malcolm X, *Malcolm X on*

constructive literature that I have read in quite some time. The pamphlet (*How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.* by Peter Camejo) opened my eyes to things that I wasn't aware of, or things that were not very clear to me on certain subjects on the socialist revolution in America."

This letter came from the Georgia Rehabilitation Center, a women's prison: "We are in the process of organizing a Women's Action Alliance Program at Georgia Rehabilitation Center for Women. At our first meeting your pamphlet *Black Women's Liberation* was at our disposal. It helped us immensely."

Conditions in prison are far from conducive to reading and study. In the words of an inmate of the prison at Comstock, N.Y., prisoners are faced with "a constant struggle to keep abreast of contemporary American society and the world in general, thwarted, narrowed, and distorted by the provincial and reactionary outlook of our captors."

Numerous requests during 1973 came from the Springfield, Mo., Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, where until recently the Federal Bureau of Prisons was conducting a behavior-modification program. Such programs, which have been implemented in many prisons, use drugs, electric shock

therapy, and lobotomies to force prison inmates to act the way prison authorities want them to.

Among the many books requested by Springfield inmates are *Democracy and Revolution* and *Logic of Marxism* by George Novack, and *Fifty Years of World Revolution*, a compilation of articles.

In spite of continued persecution and oppression within the prisons, many prisoners continue their education and follow major political developments outside the prison.

Study groups to read about and discuss women's liberation, Black liberation, imperialism, and Marxism are very common. Literature passes from hand to hand and is read by many inmates.

The distribution of Pathfinder books and pamphlets to prisoners at greatly reduced cost or free of charge is sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance. With the general relaxation of mailing restrictions at many prisons since the rise of the prisoners' rights movement, the major obstacle preventing Pathfinder from filling every request is a lack of funds.

If you would like to learn more about this program or to make a contribution, write the YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

—PEGGY BRUNDY

News from Pathfinder

Afro-American History, and *An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* by Ernest Mandel. Pamphlets most often requested were *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, *Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas* by George Breitman, and *Black Women's Liberation* by Maxine Williams and Pamela Newman.

These books and pamphlets are seen by the prisoners as a major aid in their political education. From San Luis Obispo, Calif., a prisoner wrote: "... the books were really good and the best

Calendar

BOSTON

BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION: THE POLITICS OF MENTAL HEALTH. Speakers: Joanna Rohrbaugh, Harvard University psychology department; representatives of the gay and prisoners' rights movements in Boston. Fri., Apr. 5, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

THE PUERTO RICAN STUDENT STRUGGLE TODAY: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker: Selva Nebbia, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Apr. 5, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CHICAGO

MIDWEST SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE, APR. 5-6. Fri., Apr. 5, 8 p.m.: The Role of the U.S. in Africa. Speaker: Malik Miah; Sat., Apr. 6, 11 a.m.: The Youth Radicalization and the Labor Movement. Speaker: Ed Heisler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; 2 p.m.: Puerto Rico: The New Independence Movement. Speakers: David Santiago, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Selva Nebbia, Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from tour of Puerto Rico; 4:30 p.m.: Young Socialists for Heisler campaign support meeting; 6 p.m.: dinner; 7:30 p.m.: SWP Campaign Rally, "The Watergate Crimes and the Myth of American Democracy." Speakers: Debby Bustin, cochairwoman, 1974 SWP National Campaign Committee; SWP candidates in Illinois. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1 per session, \$3.50 for entire conference. Ausp: Young Socialists for Heisler and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (312) 427-0280.

DETROIT

ENERGY CRISIS & WATERGATE: THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION. Speaker: Debby Bustin, former coordinator of National Peace Action Coalition and cochairwoman of 1974 SWP National Campaign Committee. Fri., Apr. 5, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

THE SAN FRANCISCO MUNICIPAL STRIKE: HOW THEY SHUT IT DOWN AND WHAT IT MEANS FOR LABOR. A firsthand report. Speaker: Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau of The Militant. Fri., Apr. 5, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE PUERTO RICAN STUDENT MOVEMENT. Reports by a Young Socialist team member recently returned from Puerto Rican tour; a Puerto Rican activist in the U.S. Fri., Apr. 5, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

ATTICA SPEAKS. Speaker: Herbert X Blyden, Attica defendant. Film: 'Attica.' Fri., Apr. 5, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (new address). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OPEN HOUSE— Opening of new campaign headquarters. Speakers: Peter Camejo, national committee member, Socialist Workers Party; Derrick Morrison, Ray Markey, Claire Moriarty, SWP candidates. Sat., Apr. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2726 Broadway. Buffet dinner, rally,

cabaret to follow. Donation: \$3. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

BLACK POLITICAL ACTION: THE LITTLE ROCK CONVENTION. Speaker: Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 7th C.D. Fri., Apr. 5, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. (near Grove St.), Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0534.

PHILADELPHIA

DISSENT IN THE SOVIET UNION. Speaker: Dave Frankel, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Apr. 5, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Maceo Dixon, cochairman, 1974 SWP National Campaign Committee; Clare Fraenzl, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Fred Lovgren, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 1st C.D. Sat., Apr. 13, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

TWIN CITIES

WOMEN AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT: REPORT FROM CHICAGO CONFERENCE OF LABOR UNION WOMEN. Speakers: Eta Magnussen, AFSCME; Elaine Onasch, AFSCME; Linda Kraft, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Bernadine Bryant, Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Fri., Apr. 5, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...Nixon

Continued from page 3
interests.

To bring the Watergate gang to justice and replace them, working people need their own political party, a labor party, based on the unions. They need working-class representatives who are not afraid to call a crook a crook; who are not afraid to let the American people know the full truth about the corruption of the government; and who will help the fight to take the power out of the hands of the Democratic and Republican servants of the corporations and institute a government of working people.

...suit

Continued from page 9
the defendants in the SWP and YSA suit.

One hundred and fifty students turned out for an open air PRDF meeting at the University of Houston. Maceo Dixon, a plaintiff in the suit who was in Houston on a national

tour as cochairman of the 1974 SWP Campaign Committee, addressed the meeting.

"There's tremendous sentiment for ousting Nixon. And Nixon should be ousted. Not only ousted: he should be put in jail and the key thrown away," Dixon said.

"Nixon's no different from the rest of them. Both Democratic and Republican administrations have used illegal means to keep us from organizing to change society."

Dixon cited as "conclusive proof" the FBI "disruption programs" against the "new left," Black groups, and the SWP, which the government was recently forced to release. These programs were in operation as far back as the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Paula Hawthorne, a Houston PRDF representative, urged the crowd to support the SWP suit.

That evening, more than 100 people attended a PRDF benefit party "to celebrate Nixon leaving Houston."

...vets

Continued from page 15
no money" to hire enough hospital staff.

A representative of the Jewish War Veterans scored the VA for disgraceful conditions in the hospitals. He pointed out that it is not unusual for relatives of hospitalized vets to spend long hours in the hospital to give them the care and attention they do not receive because of understaffing.

Johnson cynically took down names and phone numbers of most witnesses, promising to "look into it." But at the same time he made it abundantly clear what the administration's real attitude toward veterans is.

In reply to the complaint that veterans' benefits do not provide a decent living standard, Johnson said that the VA is not going to give anyone a "free ride." One can only imagine the effect of these callous remarks on the numerous wheelchair vets who had crowded into the room.

Johnson also said that he had just made a tour of the local VA hospital, where all the patients were satisfied with their conditions. As it turned out, one of the vets present at the meeting exposed Johnson's doubletalk. He said the VA director had spent a total of

two minutes passing through his ward that morning.

Representatives of the American Federation of Government Employees, the VA hospital workers union, were on hand with a statement of solidarity with the veterans. Representative Jerome Waldie (D-Calif.), who is campaigning for the California governorship, also attended and made a statement of support.

...MSP

Continued from page 18

new university law. The law, which was originally drafted by the leadership of the old JIU, has been widely discussed among Puerto Rican students. It recently won the endorsement of a mass meeting of several thousand students at the Río Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico, the most important center of student activism in the country.

The UJS law proposes a number of changes that would, if implemented, transform Puerto Rican higher education from top to bottom. It calls for Puerto Ricanization of education, putting the campuses at the service of the working people of the country, and opening the doors of colleges to all who want to attend. Under the JIU's plan, tuition would be based on ability to pay.

The proposal guarantees the rights of professors and other university employees to organize and strike. It also provides for the administration of the universities to be put under the control of committees of elected student, faculty, and employee representatives.

To get the proposed changes passed by the legislature, the UJS is calling for a massive campaign of agitation in favor of the new law. The UJS has called for the formation of a National Front for University Reform. It would be open to all groups and individuals to coordinate the campaign on a national scale. They also have called for the formation of city and campus-wide groups of the same type.

Luis Angel Torres, who is a UJS leader and who was elected to the Puerto Rican House of Representatives in the 1972 elections, planned to introduce the proposal as a bill in the legislature at the end of March.

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Jesse Jackson demands new inquiry.

Malcolm, King, Hampton: victims of FBI death plot?

By WILLIE REID

CHICAGO—The Reverend Jesse Jackson charged here March 23 that there is "substantial evidence" that "the FBI figured prominently in the assassination of Malcolm X, Dr. Martin Luther King, and Fred Hampton."

Jackson, head of the Chicago civil rights organization Operation PUSH, pointed to recently disclosed FBI documents that detailed what he labeled "a search and destroy mission by an agency of the government." He called for a new investigation into the assassinations and announced that PUSH would initiate a suit to gain access to further FBI files.

Speaking at PUSH headquarters, Jackson argued that "the language of the FBI documents is in effect a mandate to commit murder."

Jackson was referring to FBI memos obtained by NBC newsman Carl Stern. The memos, which were reproduced in the March 22 *Militant*, called on FBI agents to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters. . . ."

An FBI directive issued one month before King was gunned down stressed the need to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement." Although the name is blanked out in the memo, King was obviously intended as the one who could "be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed 'obedience' to 'white, liberal doctrines' (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism."

Jackson pointed out that the assassinations of King, Malcolm X, and Hampton "were consistent with the stated purpose of the memo to prevent the rise of a messiah."

Other indications that the government had a hand in planning these murders are plentiful. King, for exam-

ple, was under constant FBI surveillance at the time of his assassination. As one retired FBI agent explained to the *New York Times* last spring, J. Edgar Hoover was out to "get King." Surveillance was so extensive that King "couldn't wiggle. They had him."

James Earl Ray, the man convicted of killing King, has stated that he did not act alone, and is seeking a new trial. In the meantime, the state of Tennessee is attempting to transfer Ray to a federal prison. George McMillan, who is currently writing a biography of Ray, explained in the March 25 *New York Times* that under current prison regulations, "If James Earl Ray is moved into a Federal prison he will never again be able to talk face-to-face to the press, to television interviewers, or to authors of magazine articles or books."

In the case of the assassination of Malcolm X, there are even more indications of a cover-up. Although news reports of the assassination at first reported the arrest of two men at the scene of the crime and named the arresting officers, only one man arrested that day was ever produced. All mention of the second man was dropped from the press without explanation, and the issue was never brought up in the trial by the court-appointed defense lawyers.

Talmadge Hayer—the man arrested at the rally where Malcolm was shot—admitted his role in the assassination, but refused to name his accomplices, and insisted that the two men convicted with him had nothing to do with the assassination. Hayer's assertion gains credibility from the fact that the others convicted of the murder were well-known Black Muslims, and no explanation of how they could have gotten into the rally past Malcolm's security guards has ever been presented.

Although uniformed policemen were generally highly visible at meetings



Robert Parent

Malcolm X. As revelations of FBI disruption of Black groups continue, many are demanding new investigation of his assassination.

addressed by Malcolm, they were hardly in evidence the day he was shot. Malcolm himself had indicated that he considered the harassment directed against him in the last few weeks of his life beyond the ability of any Black group to organize.

Jackson's call for an investigation of these assassinations followed additional revelations on the involvement of the FBI in the murder of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. The Chicago *Tribune* revealed March 22 that the FBI had twice urged Chicago police to raid Hampton's apartment before turning to the office of state's attorney Edward Hanrahan.

When the raid urged by the FBI finally took place on Dec. 4, 1969, Hampton was shot to death while sleeping in his bed. William O'Neal, Chicago Black Panther chief of security at the time of the raid, later turned out to be an FBI informer.

Relatives of the two slain men are currently suing those involved in the raid for \$3.75-million in damages. The plaintiffs have demanded access to FBI documents on the Chicago Panthers, and the U.S. attorney's office in Chicago has indicated that it will release "as much as a semi-truck load" of records. However, this decision is to be reviewed by Justice De-

partment officials in Washington, and may be reversed.

Further information on FBI spying on Blacks came March 21 when it was revealed that the Chicago FBI office maintained massive secret files on many Black leaders. Known as the "137 File," the project was part of the FBI's national campaign against the Black liberation movement. It included folders on Jackson, Congressman Ralph Metcalfe (D-Ill.), and the Reverend Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Metcalfe called the "137 File" a "Gestapo-type program," and charged that "these tactics are used against people who fight for the oppressed and for minorities." He called for a congressional investigation of the file.

In announcing that PUSH would initiate lawsuit against the government to gain access to FBI files, Jackson invited other Black leaders to join in the suit. He also cited a number of unexplained attacks on PUSH consistent with the FBI disruption plan. These included rumors about alleged financial dishonesty and pending government indictments against PUSH. They also included the bombing of PUSH headquarters on a number of occasions, as well as an attack on Jackson's home.

U.S. gov't--'murder incorporated'

CHICAGO—Willie Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Chicago's 1st Congressional District, accused the government of running "a murder incorporated," following the release of new information linking the FBI to the killing of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, and the publication of new FBI documents on the surveillance of Black groups.

"Under the guise of national security," she said, "the rights of individuals have been trampled on and the functioning of legal organizations has been stifled by secret disruption plans."

"I join with Jesse Jackson and Ralph Metcalfe in their demand to reopen the investigations of the

deaths of Malcolm X, Dr. Martin Luther King, Fred Hampton, and Mark Clark."



Willie Reid

Militant/Cassandra Dowden