

# THE MILITANT

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

# SECRET FBI FILES

**3,100 pages detail plot  
against socialists, Blacks,  
and antiwar movement**

## The Cointelpro Papers

(Part 1)

At a news conference in Washington, D.C., on March 19, Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, and representatives of the Political Rights Defense Fund released a series of documents that detail a far-reaching FBI conspiracy against democratic rights.

The FBI turned over the material under court order as the result of a suit filed by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance and sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Contained in these documents is evidence of a series of plots against the civil rights, antiwar, labor, and socialist movements carried out as part of the FBI's notorious Cointelpro (Counterintelligence Program).

These secret files also reveal the most massive surveillance of any political organization ever publicly documented. They prove that the FBI has engaged in

intensive spying on the SWP for decades.

However, these files contain not one shred of evidence of any violent or illegal activity on the part of socialists during all these years of extensive surveillance. This fact alone destroys the government's justification for this vast spying operation.

The Cointelpro papers disclose that the highest "law enforcement" agency in the United States engaged in illegal activity designed to disrupt and divide the movement against the Vietnam War, wreck a civil rights defense committee, harass socialist candidates for public office, destroy socialist influence in the Black movement, get socialists fired from their jobs, and provoke red-baiting attacks against socialists.

Beginning with this issue of the *Militant* we will be publishing selections from the Cointelpro papers. See pages 3-8.

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## THE MILITANT

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**NEW VICTIMIZATION OF MARTIN SOSTRE:** On May 19, 1973, as Martin Sostre was preparing to leave his solitary confinement cell in Clinton, New York, for a hearing in federal court in Buffalo, seven correction officers beat him and forced him to submit to a degrading and unjustifiable rectal examination.

Sostre, a fifty-two-year-old political prisoner, was convicted February 27 of "felonious assault" on three of the guards who beat him. The charge against Sostre was explained by Clinton County Judge Robert Feinburg in his final instructions to the all-white jury as "trying to prevent the officers from performing their duty."

Because of his outspoken political views and his persistent legal challenges to the degrading treatment meted out to prisoners, Sostre—who has served seven years of a twenty-five-to-thirty year sentence on a trumped-up drug charge—has been the victim of numerous beatings at the hands of state correctional personnel. On one such occasion he received several fractured ribs; on another he was choked until he lost consciousness.

The fraudulent nature of his latest frame-up prompted the Catholic chaplain at Clinton, Father Cormac Walsh, to demand in a letter of protest to Judge Feinburg that the charges against Sostre be dismissed as "logically not being possible." Walsh added, "It is just about time to stop this harassment of Martin Sostre."

This latest conviction places Sostre in the "third felony category," making him subject to a sentence of life imprisonment. Sentence will be handed down by Judge Feinburg on Tuesday, March 25, in Plattsburg, New York. Martin Sostre's defense committee has called for an emergency rally in Plattsburg on the day of his sentencing. For further information call (518) 563-5213.

**TAKING CARE OF THEIR OWN:** For most people, losing a job during a time of recession is a grim prospect. But not for everybody. Take the case of these members of Congress defeated in the 1974 elections.

- Rep. James Grover (R-N.Y.), nominated by Sen. James Buckley of New York to serve on the board of directors of the newly created Legal Services Corporation.

- Rep. Stanford Parris (R-Va.), endorsed by eighty-five of his House colleagues for the post of U.S. attorney for the eastern district of Virginia.

- Rep. Robert Tiernan (D-R.I.), reportedly being considered for nomination to the Federal Elections Commission.

- Sen. Peter Dominick (R-Colo.), expected to become ambassador to Switzerland.

- Sen. J.W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) declined a presidential nomination as ambassador to Britain.

**ANTIRACISTS ORGANIZE IN CINCINNATI:** "A failure to desegregate Boston schools would be the greatest defeat for civil rights in this century," said J.C. Johnson, president of the Cincinnati NAACP, March 13.

Johnson was speaking at a forum on school desegregation at the University of Cincinnati, sponsored by the Cincinnati chapter of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Adam Shedroff, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and of the steering committee of the student coalition, also spoke.

Both speakers urged support for the May 17 demonstration in Boston to demand desegregation of that city's schools. Racist practices in the Cincinnati school system were also discussed. The NAACP has initiated a legal suit, which is being supported by the student coalition, charging that the Cincinnati School Board has failed to implement a federal desegregation order.

**'DEMOCRACY' IN ACTION:** On December 6, 1974, the *Militant* reported on the harassment of Chicano children in the Houston schools. School authorities were demanding that children produce proof of their immigration status in order to be allowed in school.

The family of two of the students, Juan and María Jiménez, filed suit against this discriminatory practice. Now, the father of the family has been ordered to appear for an immigration hearing March 31. Although he has been living in the United States for twenty-five years, the government is trying to deport him.

**HAITIAN REFUGEES WIN NEW HEARINGS:** In an unprecedented ruling, the United States District Court in Miami has ordered the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to reconsider its denial of political asylum to a group of more than 200 Haitian refugees.

The district court's order, the first ever to require the INS to reconsider its determination of claims to political asylum, gives the Haitians a new chance to present their claims for political asylum.

Typical of the claims of the Haitians is the story of Josephat Louis. Both he and his cousin were arrested by the Haitian secret police for distributing a political newspaper.

His cousin was shot on the spot, but Louis escaped. Like the others seeking asylum, he left Haiti in a small, overcrowded sailboat, making an 800 mile journey to Florida.

The INS, which is trying to return the refugees to Haiti, originally conducted "hearings" on the Haitians' demands for political asylum in which the Haitians were denied the right to legal representation. The hearings generally took only twenty minutes, even allowing for the time necessary for translation from Creole, and were held en masse instead of with each individual.

**GIRL SCOUTS TOO MODERN FOR CHURCH HIERARCHY:** The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia has decided to stop sponsoring some 300 Girl Scout troops in the area. It seems the church got upset over a proposed program, entitled "To Be a Woman," that included education in sexual awareness, pregnancy, contraception, and abortion.

**WOMEN UNIONISTS RALLY IN CLEVELAND:** International Women's Day in Cleveland was marked by a rally of 100 women at the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union hall. The March 8 meeting heard panelists from several local unions speak on the current economic crisis and its impact on women.

Glenda DeWilde of the newly formed Unemployed Committee of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1250 described the work of her committee.

"Volunteers staff the office from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.," she said, "giving legal and medical advice as well as information regarding labor agencies."

In addition, the Unemployed Committee is calling for increased welfare and food stamp aid and demanding that the federal government distribute free food in the Cleveland area.

Other speakers included Berthina Palmer of the office workers union, Barbara Winslow of the American Federation of Teachers, Joyce King of the UAW, and Jean Tussey, president of the Greater Cleveland chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, which sponsored the rally.

**JUST PRACTICING:** The Green Berets, the Pentagon's Special Forces unit, are carrying out exercises in the Southwest involving attacks on a mock oil field and pipeline held by "enemy sheiks." Although everyone in authority formally denies that the Green Berets, the three newly formed Ranger battalions, or any other U.S. military units are rehearsing for a landing in the Middle East, no great effort is being made to hide the preparations.

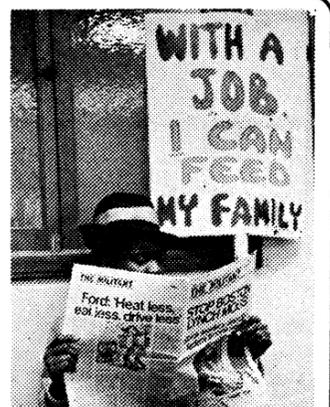
Green Beret teams at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, say they are boning up—often at their own initiative, they claim—on desert warfare and survival techniques.

One officer was asked by an Associated Press reporter whether the Special Forces have specific contingency plans drawn up for the Middle East similar to the mock oil-field take-overs they practice in the American desert. "It would be foolish to think we do not," he replied.

—David Frankel

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## Massive, illegal campaign

# FBI 'disruption' files made public

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—"If all this sounds like a mixture of the late Joseph McCarthy and the worst of Watergate, that's not surprising. The FBI may have called it 'counterintelligence,' but it reads a lot like lies and libel."

This is how CBS national news reporter Bruce Morton closed his morning broadcast March 19 on the 3,138 pages of secret FBI files on the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance. The files were made public at a news conference here March 19 by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

"It is one of the largest disclosures of internal F.B.I. workings in the history of the bureau," commented the March 19 *New York Times*, "and probably the most revealing set of documents since the theft of F.B.I. documents in Media, Pa., in 1971, laying bare bureau operations in Pennsylvania."

Pointing to the two-foot-high stack of documents, PRDF National Secretary Syd Stapleton told reporters, "Here we have in J. Edgar Hoover's own words the proof of a sweeping illegal campaign to destroy two legal organizations, the SWP and YSA, and to disrupt the civil rights, antiwar, and student movements."

### 'We have proven our case'

"These documents are a vindication of the year-and-a-half court battle we have waged to end this government harassment," said Stapleton. "We have proven our case—that the FBI has singled out the SWP and YSA for systematic, massive disruption purely because of their political views."

The FBI was ordered by a federal judge to release the documents as part of pretrial discovery in a suit filed by the SWP and YSA in 1973. The suit, filed by prominent constitutional rights attorney Leonard Boudin, asks an injunction against illegal government spying on the socialists and demands \$27 million in damages.

In the suit, the SWP and YSA charge the government with mail tampering, harassing visits, police infiltration, electronic surveillance, burglary, and bombing.

The FBI files made public at the news conference include:

- Forty-one separate "disruption" programs against the SWP and YSA as part of the FBI's Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program").
- Sixty-three "investigative" files on fifteen members of the SWP and the YSA.
- Twenty-three quarterly "field reports" on the SWP from 1966 to 1974 and sixteen semiannual "field reports" on the YSA from 1966 to 1974.
- Three ten-year "summary reports" on the SWP, dated 1944, 1955, and 1965.

### Detailed picture

The Cointelpro files offer the most detailed picture to date of the infamous "disruption" program, which was also aimed at the Black Panthers, "New Left," Communist party, and others. The FBI claims this program was ended in 1971.

Catherine Perkus, PRDF national field secretary, told reporters, "These files are only part of what the FBI has promised us. In addition, the CIA, the Selective Service, and Military Intelligence are also under court order to turn over their secret files."

"The FBI has been ordered to give us all files on 'Cointelpro-New Left' that mention the SWP or YSA, as well as



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson  
SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo on NBC 'Today' show just before news conference. Cointelpro was 'a conspiracy to deny the American people freedom of choice.'

files on SWP candidates and victims of government harassment."

The documents received thus far are so heavily censored that in some cases several entire pages of the reports have been blotted out. "The FBI undoubtedly 'sanitized' these files to cover up their most serious violations of the law," said Stapleton. "In addition, readers of these documents should beware of false and slanderous information inserted in the files, concocted by the FBI in their efforts to discredit the SWP."

### Attacks on candidates

A large number of the Cointelpro "disruption" programs released were directed at SWP candidates for public office. In his statement at the news conference, Peter Camejo, the 1976 SWP candidate for president, charged, "These documents reveal a conspiracy by the government to deny the American people freedom of choice at the ballot box."

He pointed out that the 1961 memo by J. Edgar Hoover setting up the SWP "disruption" program opened with these words: "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."

Camejo enumerated the examples of this conspiracy admitted in the FBI files:

- Efforts to get slanders printed in the press concerning Clifton DeBerry, the SWP's 1964 presidential candidate and the first Black to run for that office.

- Sending an "anonymous" letter to the president of the Denver School Board in 1965 attacking an SWP candidate for school board.

- Attempting to incite violence against Fred Halstead, the 1968 SWP presidential candidate, during his visit to South Vietnam to speak to GIs.

"We charge," continued Camejo, "that right at this very moment, down the street at the new J. Edgar Hoover Building, the FBI is laying plans to wreck my 1976 campaign."

In the March 19 *New York Times*, reporter Nicholas Horrock explained that when the *Times* contacted the FBI and the Justice Department these agencies offered no justification for the attacks.

"A spokesman said the F.B.I. declined to comment on the questions raised by the documents because it involved a matter still in litigation," wrote Horrock. "The rationale for the bureau's unusual attention to the Socialist Workers party could not be learned."

The Cointelpro files reveal a particularly vicious campaign directed against the civil rights struggle and the role of socialists in that struggle. Andrew Pulley, cochairperson of the SWP 1976 National Campaign Committee and former national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, described these attacks at the news conference.

### 'Special hatred for Blacks'

"The secret documents show the FBI's special hatred for Black people," Pulley said. "They used every dirty trick in the book to try to prevent different groups from uniting in the fight against racism."

He cited "anonymous" phone calls and letters manufactured by the FBI in the early 1960s, designed to divide supporters of victimized civil rights workers in Monroe, North Carolina. One such letter, sent to Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, sought to portray the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants as a "front" for the SWP.

"The FBI put special effort into trying to drive Black activists out of political life," Pulley pointed out. "The files also show that FBI informers inside Malcolm X's organization sought to poison relations between that group and the SWP after Malcolm X was assassinated."

Pulley, who is currently coordinator of the Student Coalition Against Racism in Chicago, noted that the upcoming May 17 march for school desegregation in Boston may well be another target for FBI sabotage. "A massive, united march against racism on May 17 will be the strongest answer to the illegal gutter tactics of the FBI," he asserted.

Pulley, who was also the 1972 SWP

vice-presidential candidate, has received his FBI file. It is the thickest file of any of those yet received. One reporter asked him what the dossier contained.

"They followed me on a daily basis," replied Pulley, "particularly during my campaign in 1972. But despite the pages and pages of documents, the FBI found nothing illegal about my activities."

Although the massive character of the disruption of the SWP dwarfs anything done by the "dirty tricksters" during Watergate, recent FBI statements have defended the Cointelpro activities. FBI Director Clarence Kelley, for example, stated in February that "FBI employees involved [in Cointelpro] acted entirely in good faith."

### 'Attacks continue'

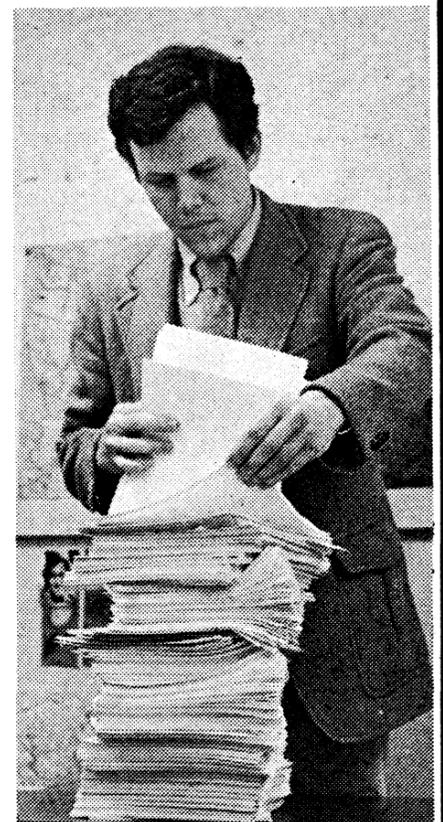
"Statements like this convince us that the FBI is continuing its attacks on us today," said Camejo. "In fact, we have submitted more than fifty affidavits on Cointelpro-type incidents against our party occurring since the 1971 supposed termination date."

"And just the other day, yet another FBI informer surfaced in the American Indian Movement, living proof that the FBI lied about its spying on the Wounded Knee defendants."

Syd Stapleton announced that all the materials released by the FBI have been made available to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, set up to study illegal government spying.

"Among the most important next steps in this case will be to discover what's behind the heavy deletions in these files, and to drag the rest of the files out of the FBI, CIA, and other secret agencies," Stapleton said.

"Eventually, this case will go to trial, and then the government will have to get up and try to defend its illegal efforts to try to destroy the SWP and YSA. We are confident that we can win important victories for civil liberties in this suit, and we think that the American people will support our efforts to help bring these police-state tactics to an end."



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson  
Syd Stapleton, PRDF national secretary, examines the 3,138 pages of FBI documents.

# Drive to sabotage DeBerry campaign

## FBI target: Black presidential nominee

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—One of the most outrageous FBI operations described in the newly released Cointelpro papers was the agency's drive to sabotage the campaign of Clifton DeBerry, the first Black to run for president of the United States.

DeBerry, a longtime civil rights and labor activist, was the 1964 Socialist Workers party presidential candidate. Dozens of files on his campaign appear in the volumes of FBI documents dealing with disruption of the SWP. The Cointelpro ("counterintelligence program") papers were made public at a news conference here March 19 (see page 3).

### Union organizer

DeBerry had been an organizer for the Farm Equipment union in the South and Midwest and was a delegate to the founding conference of the Negro Labor Congress in 1950. In 1960, he was a delegate to the founding convention of the Negro American Labor Council.

When the civil rights movement began, DeBerry became deeply involved, particularly in the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott.

His campaign in 1964 came at a time of intense discussion within the Black movement over electoral strategy. Angered by the indifference of the Democrats and Republicans to the civil rights movement, a layer of Black militants had begun to discuss the idea of running independent Black candidates against the two capitalist parties.

The FBI documents on DeBerry make it clear that the government wanted to prevent the SWP from winning support among Black people. To do this, the FBI launched a secret campaign of personal and political slander against DeBerry, reminiscent of the recently disclosed campaign to discredit Martin Luther King.

One memo on the SWP, dated March 1964, explained that the agency wanted to "seriously cripple SWP efforts to gain influence in the Negro civil rights field."

"It is noted," continued the memo, "that this is the number one propaganda effort of the SWP, epitomized by their running CLIFTON DE BERRY, a Negro, as SWP Presidential candidate."

The memo closed by asking the FBI in Washington for permission to send



SWP 1964 presidential candidate Clifton DeBerry (left) with Lincoln Lynch of CORE (center) and Ivanhoe Donaldson of SNCC. FBI wanted to 'seriously cripple SWP efforts' in civil rights movement.

out a red-baiting "anonymous" letter, charging the SWP with manipulating the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD) for its own purposes. The CAMD was a defense committee for Black frame-up victim Robert F. Williams and three others. The SWP supported this defense effort, along with many other groups and individuals.

Subsequently, in a June 1964 letter to the FBI headquarters, the New York FBI claimed credit for the red-baiting attack on DeBerry's campaign as a result of the "anonymous" letter.

The June memo stated that Harold Cruse, a Black writer, had published two articles in the *Liberator* on the Freedom Now Party (FNP), an independent Black party, and on the SWP. According to the FBI, Cruse charged that DeBerry's solidarity with the FNP was "a well-known Marxian type of maneuver in Negro affairs." The memo added: "He called CLIFTON DE BERRY a pawn who the SWP was trying to foist on a black political party...."

"Coming on the heels of the NYO [New York Office] Anonymous mailing claiming that the SWP used Negro civil rights causes for its own purposes, it is believed very possible that this disruptive tactic was the impetus for the CRUSE article warning against

infiltration of the FNP by the SWP," the memo said.

The FBI also tried to dig up personal slanders that could be used against DeBerry, a tactic they have used to try to discredit many other Black leaders. The first thing they came up with was a twenty-year-old Chicago police file on him.

The file showed a 1943 arrest on a phony "indecent advances" charge and two arrests in 1946 during a local strike. The 1943 charges—racist in motivation—had been dropped before the case ever came to trial. The other two arrests stemmed from police attacks on legitimate union activities.

The FBI decided neither of these cases had potential to be "exploited as a disruptive tactic," so they continued digging, pledging "to remain alert to potential opportunities for generating disruption within the SWP." Then they latched onto something they considered more suitable for disruption.

On December 6, 1963, just as DeBerry had been about to address a Chicago Militant Forum, while on a national speaking tour, the cops paraded in and arrested him in front of the audience on non-support charges.

The socialist was dragged off to police headquarters. He was later convicted on charges of non-support of

his ex-wife and sentenced to pay alimony for three years.

Recalling the incident, DeBerry told the *Militant*, "I remember asking the policeman who fingerprinted me, 'Why such an urgency?'"

"He replied, 'Somebody who is high up is really interested in you.'"

The Cointelpro memos show that the FBI then proceeded to try to make a media issue out of the arrest. A January 1964 memo, recalling a previous, successful attempt to get the press to pick up slanders on SWP candidates, suggested: "The possibility now exists that a similar tactic may be used in regard to DE BERRY and that considerable embarrassment might result if the national standard-bearer of the SWP be publicly known as a deserter of his wife and children."

### Sample 'news item'

In March, the New York office sent out a memo suggesting ways the media could twist the Chicago events in such a way as to discredit the SWP campaign. The sample "newspaper item" began: "Despite its appeals for a change in the 'Capitalist power structure', the SWP appears to have trouble selecting a candidate able to remain within the bounds of 'Capitalist law.'"

The bogus "news item" went on to recount the Chicago arrest and then to report the phony 1943 charges, despite the fact that they had been dropped.

The FBI memo also mentioned that DeBerry was now living with Carol DeBerry, the daughter of SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs. "If it can be further established that [DeBerry] is living with and has fathered a child by the daughter of the National Secretary of the SWP after abandoning his legal wife and children," the memo said, "this should further demoralize the SWP."

But this perverted plot to silence the SWP campaign was a complete flop. Not even the most craven of the FBI plants in newspaper offices wanted to pick up this scurrilous attack on the socialists, and according to FBI files, it was never put into print outside the offices of the government.

"The conduct of the FBI in my campaign is a reflection of the racist attitudes of the capitalist class in this country," said DeBerry upon learning of the FBI files. "Today, they are still seeking to prevent the development of Black leaders who can't be compromised."

## Support Political Rights Defense Fund

The thousands of documents just released on the FBI's "Socialist Workers Party Disruption Program" provide an unprecedented opportunity to expose illegal government attacks against the socialist, Black, antiwar, and student movements.

The documents made public thus far are just the beginning. Through the suit against government spying, the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance are demanding that all the secret FBI, CIA, Secret Service, and military files on political harassment be made public.

The suit, filed in 1973 by well-known constitutional rights attorney Leonard Boudin, is being supported by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). The suit seeks an injunction against the type of crimes revealed in the FBI documents and demands \$27 million in damages.

The PRDF is now carrying out a



major effort to publicize the suit and the latest FBI documents. Prof. Morris Starsky, a victim of government harassment, has begun a national speak-

ing tour for the PRDF, explaining the danger to civil liberties posed by FBI spying.

Starsky was fired from his job at Arizona State University after the FBI sent an "anonymous" slanderous letter and engaged in other "disruption" tactics against him.

You can help get out these facts by becoming an endorser of the PRDF, arranging meetings for PRDF speakers before unions, student groups, and others, and by distributing PRDF literature.

Lawyers for the suit are pressing for disclosure of further government files on the SWP, YSA, and other groups. Tens of thousands of dollars will be needed to take these steps and pay legal costs once the case goes to trial.

By contributing generously to the PRDF, you can ensure that the government's crimes against dissenters are

exposed. Please send your donation today by mailing the coupon below.

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

( ) Enclosed is a contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_

( ) I would like to arrange a meeting for a PRDF representative

( ) I would like to endorse the PRDF

( ) Please send me more information

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# The Cointelpro Papers (Part I)

## Red-baiting and disruption in the left

By Nelson Blackstock

The Cointelpro documents printed on the following pages strikingly illustrate how the FBI has relied on red-baiting in its attempt to disrupt, disorient, and divide movements for social change. In coming weeks, the *Militant* will be reproducing pages from secret files that reflect other aspects of the Cointelpro.

The documents on the next three pages are concerned with five different Cointelpro operations. Four involve the use of red-baiting to disrupt the antiwar movement and the Black civil rights movement. The fifth operation was designed to intensify hostility between the Socialist Workers party and the Communist party.

- The first set of documents includes an obscene, sexist leaflet, purportedly issued by an opponent of the war in Vietnam. This leaflet was mailed to a large number of antiwar activists. It calls for excluding the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party from the national antiwar coalition.

Its purpose, in the FBI's words, was "to cause disruption in the peace movement, primarily in the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and to minimize the growing influence of the SWP in the movement."

### Monroe defense case

- The next selection from the FBI files involves an attempt to cause the NAACP to withdraw its endorsement of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD) in 1962. The CAMD had been established to raise funds for the legal defense of four civil rights workers in Monroe, North Carolina, who had been framed on kidnapping charges. One of those framed up was Robert F. Williams, who had fled to Cuba to avoid lynch-mob justice.

The national NAACP had not endorsed the CAMD, but some local chapters had. The FBI mailed an anonymous letter to NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins falsely charging that the CAMD "was set up, dominated, and controlled by the Socialist Workers Party." The letter insinuated, without offering a shred of evidence, that CAMD funds were being misused by the SWP.

- The third set of documents concerns the campaign of Sam Jordan, a Black candidate for mayor of San Francisco in 1963. He ran independently of the Democratic party, and the SWP extended support to his campaign. The FBI mailed an unsigned letter that, in their words, was "ostensibly from a longshoreman who wants to vote for Jordan because of Jordan's strong stand for Negro rights but the writer is concerned because of all the known Socialist Workers Party (SWP) members who are running Jordan's campaign."

### New Mobilization Committee

- Fourth is an anonymous "memorandum" from "a member" of the National Steering Committee of the New Mobilization Committee, an antiwar coalition. The "memo" charges that the "Trotskyites. . . have seen fit to use the good offices of the NMC

to further their own political aspirations, nebulous as they are."

- Finally, there is a 1962 directive from FBI headquarters in Washington to its New York office instructing them to try to stir up friction between the SWP and the Communist party. The *Worker*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist party at that time, had recently run an advertisement containing the address of the New York SWP offices as a location to purchase tickets for a benefit for the Irish movement. The FBI telephoned the *Militant* and the *Worker* in order to provoke animosity around this ad. It is interesting to note in the FBI's evaluation of this operation that the *Militant* editor did not rise to the bait.

### Not the whole story

These documents do not, it should be remembered, tell the whole story. The FBI, under court order, has already reluctantly agreed to turn over many more documents. We can assume that future documents will contain information on some more recent Cointelpro operations, such as those directed against the women's movement.

Also, the FBI is refusing to release any documents or sections of documents that it claims reveal "investigative techniques." "Investigative techniques," we know, include bugging, wiretapping, mail tampering, and burglaries. The present documents have been censored to remove the most unsavory aspects of FBI work. It is also well known that the FBI uses its undercover agents in various movements to encourage red-baiting attacks on socialists, but that record is not here.

These papers prove that the FBI has found red-baiting to be one of its most effective weapons against struggles the rulers of this country are out to destroy.

The FBI uses red-baiting in two ways. The first is more familiar. The FBI frequently feeds information to newspaper columnists and politicians who are sympathetic to the FBI. For example, during the movement against the war in Vietnam, on the eve of a demonstration, some columnist or newspaper would suddenly "reveal" that socialists were active in organizing the demonstration.

The purpose would be to create the impression that socialists were secretly controlling the action for their own ulterior motives. This was intended to scare people away from coming out to oppose the war. The Cointelpro papers contain examples of the FBI's use of the news media in this way.

The documents we are printing this week show the other way the FBI employs red-baiting. The message and objective is the same. The difference is that the red-baiting seems to be coming from supporters of the Black, antiwar, or labor movements.

The FBI tries to initiate or encourage the exclusion of socialists, who are depicted as dishonest individuals who lack a sincere concern for the movement and are not to be trusted.

The FBI's aim is to turn people away from fighting their enemy toward fighting each other.

Why did the FBI think it could get

results with these methods? The reason is that anticommunist prejudices run very deep in this society.

These prejudices today find their roots in the McCarthyite anticommunist hysteria, which began in the late 1940s and continued, although weakened, into the 1960s. The anticommunist witch-hunt coincided with the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Americans were taught that communism was evil incarnate and that godless communists were out to rule the world. This was necessary to convince the American people to support massive war expenditures, go along with wars like those in Korea and Vietnam, and maintain a huge standing army to act as world policeman for capitalism.

At home, this campaign meant that socialists and communists had to be driven out of public life. Venal politicians—like Nixon—built political careers on the anticommunist issue.

Members of the Socialist Workers party, the Communist party, and other radical groups were driven out of government jobs and out of the union movement. Pressure was put on Black organizations to exclude socialists from their ranks.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

FBI drive to disrupt movement in defense of Black rights has relied heavily on red-baiting. Above, recent probing demonstration, which socialists helped organize.

Hollywood churned out productions depicting Marxists as soulless agents of an alien force out to destroy America. If socialists or communists appeared to be working for some good cause, this was merely a clever trick to disguise their true aims and to win unsuspecting converts. A whole generation was weaned on this.

But the rise of the Black civil rights movement beginning in the late fifties and the mass antiwar movement of the sixties changed a lot of things.

### Antiwar movement

The rulers began to find that the "Communist menace" was no longer sufficient to rouse Americans to die in

Southeast Asia. Opponents of the Vietnam War learned that it was impossible to build a movement against a war that was justified by anticommunism while making concessions to anticommunist ideology within the movement itself. The principle of nonexclusion was established in the antiwar movement. Anyone could participate—be they Democrat, Republican, Communist, or Socialist—as long as they agreed with the goal of ending the war.

Much to the dismay of the FBI, the old-style anticommunism of the 1950s lacked the power to destroy the antiwar movement. Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak could write on the eve of the April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration that Socialist Workers party leader Fred Halstead was one of the central organizers of the action and have virtually no impact on the million people who turned out in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

### Red-baiting from within

While this type of red-baiting was becoming less and less useful, the FBI focused increasing attention on red-baiting that was made to appear as if it came from within the movement.

One of the reasons the FBI found this tactic so useful is that, unfortunately, some forces inside the movement engage in red-baiting as a substitute for political discussion.

This sometimes takes the form of charges that the SWP and YSA are "opportunists." What people who make this accusation are insinuating is that socialists are not really interested in furthering, for example, the antiracist struggle but are merely "using" it for some unspecified selfish end.

Red-baiting is almost invariably used in order to avoid or obscure a discussion of real political differences. A recent example occurred at the

Continued on page 26

## Coming next week...

In next week's *Militant*, we will print the second installment of the just-released Cointelpro papers—how the FBI tried to disrupt and destroy the Black liberation movement.

These documents show how the government plotted to split the civil rights movement, how it tried to sabotage the campaign of a Black candidate for president, and how it infiltrated Malcolm X's organization.

In future issues, the *Militant* will publish Cointelpro files on disruption of the antiwar movement and socialist election campaigns, manipulation of the media, and victimiza-

tion of radical groups.

Don't miss a single installment of the Cointelpro papers. Take advantage of our special introductory subscription offer. Send in the coupon below today.

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The Militant, 14 Charles Lane,  
New York, New York 10014.



# The Cointelpro Papers

AIRTEL TO BUREAU

Upon receipt of reairtel, efforts were made to contact [redacted] at the NY Headquarters of the NAACP by telephone. [redacted] was reached telephonically. [redacted] informed that the caller did not wish to identify himself, but was distressed at a development in connection with the NAACP that he had become aware of. [redacted] was then told that individuals connected with the CAMD had said they had obtained the endorsement and support of the NAACP. [redacted] was further told that the caller was disappointed at hearing this because [redacted] knew that the CAMD operated out of 116 University Place, NYC, and was controlled by the SWP. [redacted] denied vigorously that the NAACP had given any backing to the CAMD. [redacted] speaking of the NAACP, wished to assure the caller that the NAACP had not supported the CAMD either openly or secretly, and that it never would support this organization. [redacted] was told that it was reassuring to hear this, but it had been widely circulated within the CAMD that backing of the NAACP had been obtained. The conversation ended with the caller expressing the hope that [redacted] was correct and the CAMD wrong in regard to the statement concerning support because the caller would hate to think of a fine organization like the NAACP backing an organization like the CAMD. [redacted] made no statement as to any action he might take, it was noted that [redacted] was very forceful in denial of NAACP connection with the CAMD and anxious to eliminate any impression the caller had that the NAACP would offer support in this instance. It is believed quite possible that [redacted] may honestly believe that no support has been given and may check into this matter further. All precautions were taken to insure that the anonymous telephone call [redacted] could not be traced back to the Bureau.

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AIRTEL TO BUREAU

As suggested by the Bureau in reairtel, the phone call was followed up by an anonymous letter which was prepared on commercial stationery and mailed at a distance from the FBI Office to Mr. ROY WILKINS, Executive Secretary, NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, NYC. This letter set forth the following:

"Dear Sir:

"An outfit I have some knowledge of, the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, has been boasting lately how they've been made 'legitimate' through the endorsement and financial support of the NAACP.

"No one can deny that the Negro people in Monroe need assistance, but it's a shame that it is tied in with the CAMD.

"You may not have much dealings with the so-called Negro nationalist groups uptown, but many of their leaders could tell you how CAMD was formed.

"It was set up, dominated, and controlled by the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyist branch of the communist movement. They use Conrad Lynn as a front man, but CAMD is run by Berta Green, of the SWP. Green was thrown out as secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee to get rid of SWP influence but she bounced right into CAMD. Now the NAACP is supporting what even the FPCC didn't want to be smeared with.

"Ask anyone who has worked with CAMD where the paper work is done, where the mailings are prepared, where a lot of the Monroe contributions are stored. It's the second floor of 116 University Place, which if you don't know, is the SWP hall. Maybe with money from NAACP they've been able to move to

- 3 -

Documents 10-13: FBI tried in 1963 to have SWP members kicked out of the campaign committee of an independent Black candidate for mayor of San Francisco. FBI again hid behind the disguise of a supporter of the Black movement and called on the candidate to "publicly denounce the SWP and completely cut them out of your campaign."

AIRTEL TO BUREAU

"a different office by now, but if not, go see for yourself.

"It won't do the work of the NAACP in the South a bit of good if it's known its funds and good name are backing a group in the pocket of the SWP.

"A true friend and supporter of Negro rights"

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI DATE: 10/4/63

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

The main activity of the SWP in the San Francisco area at this time is the campaign being conducted by SAM JORDAN for the position of Mayor of San Francisco. The SWP is extremely active on JORDAN's campaign committee and is attempting to inject SWP programs into JORDAN's political campaign. JORDAN is politically naive and has not the slightest idea that the SWP is anything but a group of people interested in helping the Negro better himself. ASHER HARER, a member of the San Francisco Branch of the SWP and of the SWP National Committee, is taking an active part in organizing JORDAN's campaign and is assisted by other SWP members. It is believed that an anonymous letter should be sent to JORDAN pointing out that he is running for Mayor to help his Negro race but is committing political suicide by affiliating himself with communist organizations, such as the SWP. This may cause JORDAN to oust the SWP from his election campaign committee and thereby deny the SWP one avenue through which they are making public the SWP party line.

Authority is therefore requested to send such a letter to JORDAN at his place of business. This would be sent to his place of business, since if it is sent to his headquarters the letter could be opened by someone on his campaign committee, possibly HARER.



FBI mailed anonymous letter to Roy Wilkins to disrupt defense effort for civil rights workers.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI DATE: 10/10/63

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re Bulet dated 10/8/63.

Set forth below is a proposed anonymous letter to be sent to SAM JORDAN in an effort to force him to oust the SWP from his election campaign committee.

It is to be noted that ASHER HARER, JAMES NICKLAS, HAYDEN PERRY, and CONNIE HANN, who are mentioned in the letter, are members of the San Francisco Branch of the SWP, while AARON CHAPMAN and ALLEN WILLIS are not SWP members. However, WILLIS is a former SWP member and CHAPMAN has long been very close to the SWP and is amenable to SWP control. If JORDAN will oust all of these people from his campaign, the SWP will be shut out from this campaign and it will nullify all of the SWP's recent efforts in San Francisco.

Set forth below is the proposed letter: (Errors in spelling in the letter are intentional)

October 10, 1963  
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Mr. Jordan,

First of all, let me apologise for sending this letter without any name on it, but I am a longshoreman and would not like to have Asher Harer know I am writing this. If he knew he could make things pretty tough for me on the waterfront.

When you indicated that you were running for Mayor of San Francisco to represent negroes and other groups who have never been properly represented in San Francisco government I was delighted. However, after attending some of your meetings and noticing who is running your campaign I have come to the conclusion that you are committing political suicide by allowing people like Harer (a long time wheel in the Socialist Workers Party - the Trotsky communist party) and his stooges Nick Nicklas, Hayden Perry,

Connie Hann, Aaron Chapman, and Allen Willis to run your campaign. By letting them run your campaign you are indicating to the public that you support communism and that if I support you, then I too support communism. Now I have no intention of being branded as a "red" and I know a lot of other people, negro and white, who will not continue to support you in this election unless you publicly denounce the SWP and completely cut them out of your campaign.

You have a big following in San Francisco and could really do a job in the local political picture. Please don't ruin everything by allowing yourself to become a tool of the SWP.

Sincerely,

Disappointed

P.S. Harer is really using you as a pipe line for the commie line.

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# The Cointelpro Papers

Documents 14-15: The goal of this operation in 1970 was "to cause splits within NMC [an antiwar coalition] leadership by pitting the non-Trotskyists against radicals who are members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)." The bogus "memo" was supposed to be a red-baiting attack from an antiwar activist.

SAC, San Francisco 10/21/63

Director, [redacted]

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM**

Reurlet 10/10/63.

Authority is granted for you to prepare and then anonymously mail the letter set out in subject to Dan Jordan who is running for the office of Mayor of San Francisco as an independent Negro candidate.

The letter should be handwritten on a cheap grade of tablet paper and contain the spelling errors set out in the sample letter enclosed with reurlet. It should be mailed to him in care of his place of business.

Take the usual precautions to prevent the preparation of the letter and the subsequent mailing of it from being associated with the Bureau. Advise the Bureau when the letter has been mailed and then be alert for any tangible results.

**NOTE:**

The anonymous letter is ostensibly from a longshoreman who wants to vote for Jordan because of Jordan's strong record for Negro rights but the writer is concerned because of all the known Socialist Workers Party (SWP) members who are running Jordan's campaign. The letter indicates unless Jordan gets rid of the SWP members, many people who don't want to be branded as a "Red" will not support Jordan. The writer of the letter indicates therein he knows Asher Harar, a main spokesman for Jordan, and if the writer identified himself, Harar could make things tough for the writer on the waterfront. The letter has definite disruptive potential.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ( ) DATE: 2/3/70

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK ( )

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reference is made to New York letter dated 1/11/70.

Enclosed are two copies of a suggested "memorandum" concerning the National Steering Committee of the New Mobilization Committee To End The War In Vietnam (NMC), which is designed to cause splits within NMC leadership by pitting the non-Trotskyists against radicals who are members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). It is also designed to bring to the fore the small number of blacks actually serving on the steering committee.

Bureau authority is requested for New York to prepare enclosed memorandum and mail anonymously to all members of the NMC Steering Committee and other selected officials in the organization. Copies will also be sent to selected officials of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee in Washington, D. C.

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Documents 16-18: FBI headquarters in Washington in 1962 instructed its New York agents to make anonymous phone calls to both the Worker and the Militant to intensify hostility between the Socialist Workers party and the Communist party after an ad containing the address of the SWP offices appeared in the Worker. The FBI seeks to prevent groups from coming together in joint struggle against a common enemy. In this case, the two groups were cooperating in work in defense of the Irish struggle.

NEW MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM  
1029 Vermont Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005  
Area Code 212 737-6600

**MEMO TO:** National Steering Committee

**RE:** The Absolute Racial Imbalance of The NSC

Having for a short time served as a member of the NSC, and currently active in the Moratorium Committee both in Washington and New York, I find it necessary to call attention to certain facts overlooked or shelved under the rug by NMC leadership.

My understanding at the time I joined NMC was that it was to be run as a non-exclusionary organization - devoted to one primary cause, the immediate end of the frightful war in Vietnam. We were not to be side-tracked into supporting the aims of the militant left. We were not to be sucked into protests against the government's trial of the Conspiracy 8 in Chicago and the like. Our sights were to be adjusted at some later time when the war terminated. Or, so I thought.

Over the past several years the Trotskyites have literally taken control of the body proper and have repeatedly resisted efforts to recruit black brothers into NMC leadership. In addition, they have seen fit to use the good offices of the NMC to further their own political aspirations, nebulous as they are.

I have been sickened - on more than one occasion - by the promises made to the Black United Front, promises not kept, promises made with the mouth and not the heart. The attitude of the Steering Committee towards the BUF was and is a matter of disgrace. In the main, NMC leadership has been no better than the white politicians and phony liberals who give lip service to the black community and turn their backs on any positive action.

The NMC leadership has demonstrated an appalling lack of sensitivity towards the largest minority in the country. If NMC is to survive the coming months, the situation must be rectified immediately. Our leadership - including the anti-Communist Trotskyites and other radicals - had better take positive steps before those who disagree with current NMC leadership and those who withhold future support will believe the NMC would greatly benefit under a leader like Sam Brown of NMC.

To avoid senseless imbrolic, I choose to remain anonymous until the proper time. Just for the record - I am not Black.

15

April 4, 1962

Airtel

To: SAC, New York ( )

From: Director, FBI ( )

**COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

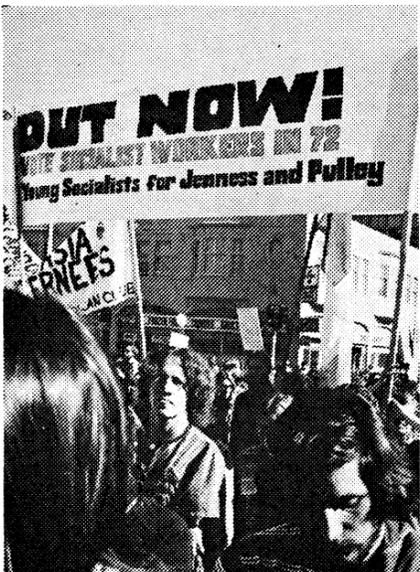
In the 4/1/62 issue of "The Worker" on page 10, an advertisement appears for a social affair to be held 4/2/62 at the Bitter End Cafe, 147 Bleecker Street, to commemorate one "Paddy Mohr, IRA hero - Union leader." The advertisement states tickets are available at three locations, one of which is listed as "Socialist Workers Party City Office - 116 University Place."

It has always been a firm policy of the Communist Party (CP) not to consider any cooperation with or assistance to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) especially in the use of advertising space in the columns of "The Worker." This advertisement in the 4/1/62 issue must have been arranged through some contacts by "The Worker" staff with SWP members. This appears to offer an opportunity to carry out a counterintelligence operation.

New York should consider making an anonymous telephone call to "The Worker" office accusing the officials of becoming so capitalistic that they are getting financial support by giving advertising space to the SWP. It can also be pointed out that this situation will lead to the paper being infiltrated by the Trotskyites. New York can also consider an anonymous telephone call to SWP officials to make the accusation that some traitor must be doing business with the CP.

If it appears that a controversial issue is being created over this matter, security informants participating

16



Militant/Dave Warren

FBI worked to wreck antiwar movement by encouraging moves to exclude socialists.

Airtel to New York

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

In the Counterintelligence Program of your office should be directed to raise further criticism of the CP's abandonment of the long-standing principle of no association with the SWP.

Advise the Bureau of the action taken by your office. Promptly furnish any tangible results.

**NOTE ON YELLOW:**

Airtel is being used to enable the New York Office to handle this matter while "The Worker" issue of 4/1/62 is still current.

17

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ( ) DATE: 4/9/62

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK ( )

SUBJECT: CPUSA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
IS-C

Reurlet, 4/4/62, regarding an advertisement appearing in the 4/1/62 issue of "The Worker" which stated that tickets for a particular affair were available at the offices of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) at 116 University Place.

On 4/6/62, the NYO made a pretext call to "The Worker" and a person believed to be JAMES JACKSON was asked about this advertisement. JACKSON immediately indicated that he was aware of this and said it was due to an oversight and would not occur again. JACKSON was in complete agreement that it should not have appeared and promised that it would not occur again.

The NYO immediately made a pretext call to "The Militant" and spoke to an individual who identified himself as an editor. The caller told him that he called "The Worker" to find out whether there was now cooperation with the SWP and then repeated JACKSON's answer. The caller then went on with a tirade about how "The Worker" demands and gets any advertising it wants in other newspapers and that "The Worker" is denying freedom to others by taking such an attitude. The editor was in complete agreement and said that it was a very interesting point. He was told to call "The Worker" and ask about the ad and he would receive the same answer. He was told that his paper should point out this incident to its readers to expose "The Worker's" denying freedom. The editor agreed but said that because of "The Worker's" troubles with the government at this time, if "The Militant" attacked them on such an issue, someone might think they were "putting the knife into them." The editor said he would discuss it with others on the staff. The editor displayed an interested and cooperative attitude.

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## How masses blocked coup

# Portugal: revolutionary upsurge deepens

By Dick Fidler

From Intercontinental Press

Portuguese citizens descended into the streets by the tens of thousands following the defeat of the attempted rightist coup on March 11.

"Down with the CIA," demonstrators chanted as they marched past the U.S. embassy in Lisbon.

The Lisbon residence of former President António de Spínola was also a target of the masses' outrage. The former president, hailed as his country's liberator only months before, was on his way to exile in Brazil, stripped of his military rank. He headed a list, announced by President Francisco da Costa Gomes, of twenty-eight officers to be "arrested, tried and punished" as accomplices in the coup attempt.

Describing the situation in Lisbon on the night of March 11, *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger cabled:

"Civilian vigilante groups, with many members wearing Communist party badges and carrying shotguns, set up roadblocks and searched cars and their passengers. Leftist party and union mimeograph machines turned out leaflets that littered the streets. One said: 'People! Continue to be vigilant because somebody wants to put our freedom in danger!'"

The next day, the bank employees unions closed all the country's banks, locking out the employers. "The workers of this enterprise are struggling against economic sabotage," read the signs on doors of some companies, Jean Rey reported from Lisbon in the March 14 issue of the Paris daily *Le Figaro*.

### Workers take over

"Trade-union delegates have taken control over some businesses until the government meets their demands," Rey said. "The requisitioned offices are occupied by far-left parties and groupings, which have hung banners and red flags from the windows."

On March 14, the new military Revolutionary Council decreed the nationalization of almost all the country's banks (foreign-owned banks were exempted). The previous day, it had announced the arrests of leading industrialists and bankers who were involved in the coup attempt.

On March 15 the council nationalized all of Portugal's thirty-five insurance companies, including those with foreign ownership.

The events on and since March 11 mark a turning point in the Portuguese revolution. Like Spínola's previous attempt to mobilize a rightist offensive, in September, this crisis resulted in a major setback for the right wing—but this time with the total discrediting of Spínola and the officers and businessmen identified with him.

U.S. newspaper accounts provided remarkably few details on how the March 11 revolt was suppressed. A report by José Rebelo in the March 13 issue of *Le Monde*, however, showed clearly the role of the Portuguese masses in crushing the right-wing uprising.

### Soldiers 'fooled'

The paratroopers who surrounded the Sacavem barracks, he reported, were apparently under the illusion that they were attacking "elements hostile to the MFA [the Armed Forces Movement]," as one of the soldiers expressed it. "Such was the official version," Rebelo continued. "It took some time before these soldiers realized their error. They had been fooled."

It was apparently the impact of the crowds who gathered around them that was instrumental in changing the



Crowd surrounds Republican National Guard headquarters to prevent escape of rightist plotters

paratroopers' plans. While the commander of the paratroops tried to persuade the base commander to surrender, "some people who surrounded the small group began to call out to the paratroop captain: 'The people are not with you!'"

Confronted by this pressure, and the refusal of the base to submit to his surrender order, the paratroop captain agreed to withhold action and to consult higher authority.

"Meanwhile, the people surrounded the paratroopers. There were explanations. Gradually, the situation became clear. But an armored car advanced about a hundred meters. It was necessary to avert a confrontation. A group of people ran toward the armored car, while others remained near the paratroopers, who finally were becoming convinced. They fraternized, and embraced. The paratroopers explained to the people that they were committed to democracy: 'We are not fascists. We have been fooled. We are ashamed. . .'"

### Human dam

"At about 3:00 p.m., General Otelo de Carvalho, commander of the Copcon,\* spoke on television. Only one position remained to be taken—the barracks at Carmo, occupied by members of the Republican National Guard. They were holding their commander, who had been named by the MFA. The people converged toward the building. In short time, the square was filled with a crowd hurling insults at the guards. The latter dared not show themselves. They remained behind the heavy, tightly closed doors. The soldiers had not yet arrived, but it was almost impossible to get through the human dam. Almost impossible, for at 4:00 p.m., two armored cars left the building; carrying the leader of the mutineers, who was on his way to ask for asylum at the German embassy. . . ."

"The military arrived shortly afterward. The doors were opened. 'You have been fooled once again,' an officer exclaimed, addressing the mutineers. They did not wait for any other explanations. Fists raised, they saluted the link between 'the people and the armed forces.'"

The coup attempt won so little

\*COPCON (Comando Operacional do Continente—Continental Operational Command), Lisbon's special security force.

support and collapsed so quickly that the question was naturally posed, Why had Spínola made his move? It was widely expected that the elections to the Constituent Assembly, scheduled for April 12, would result in a "moderate" anti-Communist majority. Why were the rightists not prepared to count on the electoral verdict to strengthen their hand within the Armed Forces Movement, the force effectively controlling the government?

The prevailing view among the more sober bourgeois commentators seemed to be that Spínola had reacted to a shift in support among the relatively conservative elements within the MFA away from him and toward President Costa Gomes. The latter was described by the *New York Times*, in a March 15 dispatch from Lisbon, as "a more astute politician who, in a more slow moving way, had begun to neutralize the power of the left."

On March 11 a plenary session of the armed forces assembly of 200 officers was scheduled to meet to consider a proposal to abolish the proleftist Coordinating Commission and possibly to force the withdrawal of Brig. Gen. Otelo de Carvalho, the head of the Lisbon Military District and commander of COPCON. Spínola, unsure he would be the main beneficiary if the "moderates" won a majority, decided to stage a "preemptive" strike, based on his conviction that he enjoyed the overwhelming support of units in the field.

The *New York Times* summed up its version of what happened with a note of dismay. The "leftist officers," it said March 16, "came close to losing power on Tuesday [March 11] and were saved by premature action of General Spínola that may have defeated the cause of moderation in Portugal."

What dismayed the bourgeoisie most was undoubtedly the demonstration of the capacity of the Portuguese masses to mobilize in the face of the threat from reaction, and the manifest opposition to a rightist coup among the ranks of the armed forces.

The immediate effect of the rightists' defeat, as in comparable crises in the past, was to strengthen the Armed Forces Movement's control of the government. The officers moved quickly to consolidate their position. At an all-night meeting of the MFA's assem-

bly, March 11-12, a military "Council of the Revolution" was formed to oversee all acts of government and, in the words of a spokesman, "direct the revolution."

### Climate of militancy

The information minister's description of the forces behind the coup attempt seemed to attribute underlying responsibility to the developing mass movement, rather than the rightist officers. "For some days," he stated, "a tense atmosphere was growing in the country. The incidents that occurred during political meetings, the increase in strikes, an almost generalized climate of militancy—all this showed a well-defined organized effort that could result in a movement such as what has occurred."

Under the pressure of the mass upsurge the military rulers have been forced to adopt quite far-reaching measures. The nationalization of the banks and insurance companies, apparently in response to their shutdown by employees, goes beyond the modest measures projected in the government's three-year economic program, issued only a few weeks ago. That program, which stressed the regime's commitment to defend private property, was widely expected to be replaced by more radical proposals in the aftermath of the March 11 events.

### Put on the lid

However, the military rulers are taking some pains to reassure Washington of their reliability as defenders of capitalist interests, and to put the lid on the developing upsurge. On March 14 the military council announced that it had no intention of renouncing Portugal's present international alliances, including membership in NATO. "The council also gave assurances that it would provide for the security of all foreigners and foreign property in Portugal and warned that it would not tolerate street disorders," a dispatch from Lisbon in the March 15 *New York Times* reported.

Within hours of the defeat of the attempted coup, Premier Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves appealed to the population to return to work. Strikes and other agitation, he said, played into rightist hands.

## Hands off Portugal!

On March 14 the Ford administration openly voiced its disapproval of the nationalization of banks in Portugal following the defeat of the March 11 rightist coup attempt.

The statement, made by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Bruce Laingen before a House foreign affairs subcommittee, was part of an orchestrated propaganda campaign by the administration and the capitalist press. Their aim is to portray the revolutionary developments in Portugal as a "take-over" by the Communist party, directed from Moscow, and a move toward "dictatorship."

The whole clamor about a "red take-over" is a cover-up for the real fear in Washington: fear of the masses of Portuguese workers and peasants rising up to take control of their own lives.

In fact, Laingen blurted out a reference to Washington's real fear in the course of his congressional testimony. "It's a very dicey situation" in Portugal, he said. "There is this revolutionary spirit, ardor abroad in the country."

The cries of "dictatorship" raised by capitalist-class mouthpieces such as the *New York Times* are contradicted by the reports from their own correspondents. For example, a *Times* editorial March 19 cited the nationalization of banks and insurance companies as evidence of "dictatorial powers" of the ruling Military Revolutionary Council. However, five days earlier, *Times* correspondent Henry Giniger reported from Lisbon that the nationalizations occurred only after the banks had been occupied by the bank employees themselves. "The apparent aim" of the occupations "was to force acceptance of nationalization and worker management," Giniger reported.

Washington's attempt to portray the Kremlin and the Portuguese Stalinist party as promoters of the revolutionary process is equally false. While the broad influence of the Portuguese CP is a reflection of the desire of the masses for revolutionary change, the CP has not attempted to lead this process forward, but to block it. Washington's real worry is that the strength of the mass upsurge will carry it even beyond the control of the CP.

Just as the U.S. capitalist rulers fear the entrance of the masses into political affairs in Portugal, they don't like any attempt by the American people to exercise some control over Washington's wars and CIA plots abroad.

For example, on March 16, *New York Times* columnist James Reston complained that because of public outrage over revelations of CIA gangster activities, "the C.I.A. is virtually helpless in its present condition to prevent the subversion of that strategically important country [Portugal]."

The threat of U.S. intervention against the mass upsurge in Portugal—even direct military intervention—cannot be dismissed. An alarm against this danger should be sounded by the workers movement around the world.

U.S. hands off Portugal!

## Exposing the FBI

Day by day the evidence on the illegal activities of the government's secret political police continues to roll in. What it shows is a massive, systematic operation aimed at intimidating and victimizing individuals and destroying organizations engaging in any form of social protest.

The documents of the FBI's Cointelpro campaign against the Socialist Workers party are only the latest example. On March 12, for instance, it was revealed that one of the top officers of the American Indian Movement was an FBI informer, funneling confidential defense information to the prosecution in the Wounded Knee trial last year, despite government statements swearing that no such activities were going on.

In another case, which came to light March 16, a threatening letter was sent by FBI agents in 1969 to a Black minister working in the civil rights movement. As a result of the letter, the recipient had withdrawn from civil rights activity in Mississippi.

This type of harassment and sabotage is not limited to any one political tendency or group. It is meant to disrupt, and if possible to put a stop to, all dissent in this country.

In fighting to expose Washington's political police and their activities, the Political Rights Defense Fund is defending the civil liberties of everyone.

### Racism & privileges

Reading the *Militant's* coverage of the Boston school struggle has changed my thinking about privileges. A few years ago I objected to the term *racist* to describe those persons opposing a proposed public-housing project outside New York City. I imagined small-home owners howling at the prospect of being engulfed by towering high-rises. Were these people necessarily racists to object to this prospect of a huge architectural eyesore?

I'm forced to conclude that if the aim of the project was improved housing for an oppressed racial minority, then each one of those people was being a racist—even if racism as we generally understand it was alien to the person's thinking.

Racism is a tradition that engulfs us more than all the high-rises that could ever be built, so that anyone who defends privileges against the improvement of a racial minority joins the tradition of racism.

The only way out of this dilemma for persons who have privileges that they consider, after all, the right of everyone, is to join the movement for public housing and work to take its control out of the hands of the planners and put the control where it belongs: in the hands of the people who are going to live there.

The struggle for public housing outside the ghettos confronts the same problems as does desegregation of education.

Russell DuPree  
Portland, Maine

### First actions

I really liked the article in the February 28 issue of the *Militant* entitled "Reid: 'Malcolm really laid it on the line.'" I felt that for the first time there was a blend of my personality and politics that enhanced the campaign and my candidacy.

The array of protest methods used during the movement of the 1950s and 1960s captured the support of many of us. And, while I felt solidarity with the demonstrators who sat in, waded in, and picketed, as I told the reporter from the *Young Socialist* earlier, my personal participation in these activities was restricted.

My mother, like many other mothers during that time, was very much afraid of the brutality used by the cops, and she insisted that I should not get involved. So, I didn't actually join in the actions until the segregated seating on the Memphis, Tennessee, city buses was challenged with the ride-ins in 1958.

Willie Mae Reid  
Chicago, Illinois

[Willie Mae Reid is currently the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Chicago and is the SWP's candidate for vice-president of the United States in 1976. The *Young Socialist* interview she refers to was published in the February, 1975, issue of that newspaper.]

### Can't make it

In the February 28 issue of the *Militant* you did an article on the call for a mass antiracist protest [in Boston]. I'm presently in prison, so I will not be able to attend.

I'm sure many people not only in prison but other people who read the

articles would like to know how to contact members and/or directors of the projects the paper writes about.

I'm looking forward to seeing more in the *Militant* on this subject.

A prisoner  
Illinois

[Readers can find out more about the May 17 march on Boston in support of school desegregation by contacting:

[National Student Coalition Against Racism, 720 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02115. Telephone: (617) 266-9665; or Boston NAACP, 451 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02118. Telephone: (617) 267-1058.]

### Sensationalistic

I've been reading *The Militant* for a month or so, and I notice a tendency on your part to inflate the facts and write in a way that seems sensationalistic. The righteousness of socialism is and will become apparent in the near future. To resort to dogmatic conveyance of your ideals reduces the universal truth of the desirability of a socialistic system to another "cause" after the minds of people.

I'm generally satisfied with *The Militant* and wish you success.

J.H.  
Appleton, Wis.

### And more to come

Enclosed is ten dollars for eleven subscription cards. They shall return soon, preceded by a request for more.  
Gilles Poitras  
Chico, California

[Prepaid subscription cards are a good way to win new subscribers to the *Militant*. Readers can buy the cards from the *Militant* and collect a dollar back each time they sell an introductory sub.

[Each card already has a stamp on it, so all you have to do is fill in the subscriber's name and address and drop it in the nearest mailbox. The new reader will begin to receive the *Militant* the next week.

[The cards are sold for one dollar each and are good for a two-month introductory subscription. Order from the *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Send five dollars for five cards or ten dollars for eleven.]

### Frank Wolff

Frank Wolff, a longtime socialist in Los Angeles, died here March 2 of a heart attack. He was sixty-four years old.

Born in Cincinnati, he went to work early in life for his father, who owned a grocery store. Later the family moved to Dayton, Ohio, and there Frank became interested in educating himself. He became an avid reader and in every sense a self-educated person. He began to learn of socialist ideas in this period.

During the Second World War, in Los Angeles, he became acquainted with Manny Fishler, a member of the Socialist Workers party. From him Frank learned more about socialism and the SWP.

He became completely devoted to the idea of the socialist revolution and the necessity for it if civilization is to

# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## How to stop 'runaway' shops

survive. He never wavered from this belief or from his humanitarian feelings for oppressed and exploited peoples.

After the war he settled in Los Angeles and married Pearl, who survives him. He worked at various civil service jobs for about twenty years until 1965 when he retired.

For many years he and Pearl were sympathizers and supporters of the Socialist Workers party. Frank was very active in the movement against American involvement in the Vietnam War. The Wolffs' wholehearted support of SWP activities was very much appreciated, and both became good friends of many Los Angeles party members.

In the recent past Frank belonged to the Socialist Union. His many friends in the Socialist Workers party who became accustomed to seeing him at meetings and other activities will miss him in the years to come.

Milton Alvin

Los Angeles, California

### City 'money saving'

Did you ever wonder what happens to your city tax forms after you mail them in? This year in New York City they will be processed by a group of 800 temporary workers hired by a bank through a private employment agency.

Almost all of these workers will get the minimum wage, no fringe benefits, no sick time, no job security—and tremendous production pressure.

Most of these workers are young, Black, handicapped, or have not worked for some time. Some are older people on Social Security who need to supplement their small allotment.

Why did the city give this job contract to private industry rather than advertise it through Civil Service so the workers would get job security and jobs at union wages? The city welfare rolls are rising as laid-off workers are forced to apply. Why weren't these people offered the tax-processing jobs?

Thousands of other city jobs have recently bypassed Civil Service. The 200 betting parlors of the Off Track Betting Corporation hired thousands of people. Not one of these \$4-an-hour jobs was ever advertised to the public. The Department of Social Services has hired hundreds of income maintenance clerks, "through friends" of people already on the staff, to replace case workers.

All of this weakens the job security of workers now under Civil Service and who belong to the union. By hiring workers without going through the legal procedures normally involved in city employment, the city is saving some money, balancing the budget, on the backs of the workers so the big banks holding the millions of dollars in city bonds will get their payments on time.

Margaret Smith  
New York, N.Y.

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.

Employers seize every chance to cut wages, extend the hours of work, reduce the work force, and increase profits. In some cases, where the power of the unions has made it too difficult for the employers to impose their will on the workers, the bosses have simply decided to move their entire operation someplace else, where the relationship of class forces is more to their advantage.

In the case of these "runaway" shops, where large corporations close unionized plants in one area only to reopen them under open-shop conditions, unions have demanded compensation for the displaced workers. This includes early retirement with additional pension benefits, lump-sum severance pay, and moving expenses for those who choose to remain with the company.

Today, some employers are citing the economic crisis as the reason for shutting down plants. In some cases these "runaway" plants may never reopen, anywhere.

One company, Great Lakes Express, recently threatened to close at least eight of its twenty-seven trucking terminals in seven states, laying off 350 workers. More than 1,000 people employed by the company took a 20 percent pay cut in order to keep the company in business and save the jobs of those slated for dismissal. Harold Doyle, company president, welcomed the generosity of the workers. Doyle declared, "It gives management an even stronger commitment to produce security for the employees."

City governments across the country are also reducing services and threatening to lay off municipal workers. Public employee unions have agreed to forego raises, work extra hours without overtime pay, give up days off, and go along with a variety of other money-saving schemes to forestall massive layoffs.

In the private sector, employers are following the lead of government to cut back on services and hold down wages while they raise prices. Many unionized workers have agreed to work a shorter week with a corresponding cut in take-home pay on the promise that it will keep people from being laid off.

In Saint Louis, 600 strikers at the Cerro Copper

Products Company ended their four-month strike after the boss told them he was closing the plant permanently and moving to another location. The strikers were demanding an escalator clause to keep wages in line with rising prices.

A federal mediator went to the local meeting of the United Steelworkers to warn the strikers that unless they gave up, the company would close its doors in Saint Louis.

One member of the negotiating committee, Isaiah Johnson, said, "That cost-of-living increase was the only thing that would protect us from inflation." But the majority saw no way to stop the company from throwing them all out of work.

What can the unions do today to defend themselves against these threats by employers to shut down?

There are weapons available to the unions that are rarely used. For one thing, the unions can demand that the employers open their books and show how they operate. The American people are fed up with the secrecy surrounding the operations of the rich and the powerful. Opposition to secrecy in government can also be focused on the corporations, who function exactly like the super-secret FBI and CIA—and with the same goals in mind.

Public support can be won for the demand to uncover the financial manipulations and true rate of profit of corporations that are pleading poverty. This can put the bosses on the spot.

If the employers will not operate government and industry to serve the needs of society, then the workers ought to be prepared to expand production under their own control. On the political front, they can work to elect their own representatives in government, men and women from their own ranks.

The economy is in bad shape, and workers are being asked to pay the price for it. It won't get better while workers keep sacrificing for the profits of the bosses. That only makes things worse, especially for the workers. They are the only ones who can win improvements for themselves and for nearly everyone else. But they will have to use some new methods of political and economic struggle to do it.

# Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



## Abortion rights under attack

BOSTON—Women's liberation groups, civil-rights and civil-liberties organizations, and many community leaders here are organizing to respond to recent attacks on abortion rights. They see the conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, the Black physician accused of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion, as a serious setback for women's rights.

They also see this conviction as part of the racist campaign in Boston against the Black community. The same forces who are behind the racist assault on school desegregation in Boston are behind the persecution of Dr. Edelin.

The anti-abortion organizations in Massachusetts have used the conviction of Edelin to introduce new legislation into the state legislature. This legislation would, among other things, declare any abortion performed after the twenty-fourth week as first-degree murder and would guarantee "civil rights" to a fetus from the moment of conception.

A broad coalition of groups is sponsoring a rally to "Defend Dr. Edelin! Defend Abortion Rights!" on March 20 at Faneuil Hall in Boston. The rally endorsers include Dr. Edelin; State Sen. William Owens; State Sen. Jack Backman; Thomas Atkins, president of Boston NAACP; and the North East Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress. (Earlier this month the 500 delegates at the National Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress voted unanimously to file a friend-of-the-court brief in support of Edelin's appeal of his conviction.)

At a recent planning meeting for the rally, which I attended, the women present felt strongly that in addition to the activities planned in Boston, a

national response to Edelin's conviction and to the other attacks on abortion rights was needed.

They pointed out that Edelin's conviction is having national repercussions.

Doctors at the Nassau County Medical Center in New York are refusing to perform abortions after the twelfth week of pregnancy. Doctors at West Penn Hospital, one of Pittsburgh's largest abortion centers, announced that they would do no more abortions after the third month of pregnancy unless the mother's health was in danger.

Activities in defense of Edelin and abortion rights around the country will not only back up the Boston women in their fight, but will serve notice to the reactionary "right-to-life" forces in other states that women are not going to stand quietly by and let our right to abortion be taken away from us.

The coalition meeting in Boston also discussed the necessity of beginning, once again, a massive educational campaign about a woman's right to choose abortion. Edelin's conviction, along with the well-organized and well-financed "right-to-life" propaganda, has confused many people, especially regarding second trimester abortions.

It is up to the abortion rights movement to explain what this attack is: an effort to rob women of a democratic right and send them back to back-alley, butcher abortions. It is especially an attack on the young and the poor, who most often have second trimester abortions.

It is up to the abortion rights movement across the country to say loud and clear that we fought hard to win our right to abortion, and we will fight hard to defend it.

# The Great Society

**It figures**—To show how hard it is to track down all those “illegal aliens,” the Immigration Service disclosed that two had been found working as cleaners in its D.C. headquarters. Reporters were reminded that some of these undocumented workers steal big-paying jobs. The Associated Press said: “Some have been reported earning up to \$20,000 annually, although the two arrested Friday night were earning \$2.05 an hour.”

**Bigger than B.O.**—Tropix Togs is cleaning up on scented polo shirts. Scratch the design and they release such odors as root beer, orange, strawberry, and even pizza. They're so realistic, says the company president, “I get heartburn just smelling the pizza.”

**No accident**—A woman in Rome got her finger stuck in the coin return of a cigarette machine. They had to dismantle the machine to get her loose. One sagacious observer commented, “This goes to prove that smoking is bad for your health.”



## Harry Ring



**Un-American**—Like most legislators, Rep. Charles Wilson (D-Calif.) favors full employment. His daughter-in-law, a full-time university student, draws \$8,400 as a secretary in his office. An antinepotism law, however, bars hiring immediate blood relatives. So his son, a musician, had to settle for a spot on the House payroll as an elevator operator. Representative Wilson says the antinepotism statute is “a goddam crime.”

**Stiff competition**—Bewailing the cutoff of service on New York's East Side after a phone company fire, a local undertaker said, “If my phone is out for several weeks I'm a ruined man. If a person loses a relative, the first thing he does is pick up the phone to make funeral arrangements. But now when they try to dial they will find the phone is out of order and call another funeral home.”

**That's a comfort**—Over the past four centuries the value of gold has remained virtually constant in relation to the value of other commodities, according to a Berkeley professor. An ounce of gold, he said, buys about as much bread today as it did in 1560.

# By Any Means Necessary

## Baxter Smith



## Defend Edelin and Little

Because many Black women have experienced the nightmare of rape or know the agony of what an illegal, jackleg abortion can mean, the defense cases of Joanne Little and Dr. Kenneth Edelin can become national rallying points for Black women. So says Willie Mae Reid, who is the Socialist Workers party nominee for mayor of Chicago. After the April 1 election there, she will be campaigning for vice-president of the United States.

Reid is Black, female, and deeply concerned about the Edelin and Little cases.

Reid was in New York recently to help celebrate Pathfinder Press's publication of Evelyn Reed's pioneer book *Woman's Evolution*. She took some time to share her ideas on these cases.

Edelin is a Black Boston doctor who was convicted of manslaughter in February for performing an abortion.

Little is a twenty-year-old Black woman who will soon stand trial in North Carolina for stabbing a white jailer to death.

The charge stems from last August when Little

was awaiting trial on a breaking-and-entering bust. The jailer barged into Little's cell one night and tried to rape her. He threatened her with an ice pick, but Little put up a struggle and the jailer was fatally injured.

She ran away but later turned herself in.

“I killed a white in ‘self-defense,’” Little wrote. Her lawyers will use testimony from former women prisoners at the jail to establish that the guards frequently pawed over the women prisoners and sexually assaulted them.

“The circumstances of these two cases are very close to Black women,” Reid said. “And the special part about it is that Dr. Edelin's service is mostly for poor women and Black women. He would work overtime, too, for nothing. And he obviously related to women as people, not unfeeling objects.”

“Men don't know what it's like to discover that you're pregnant and don't want to be. You can almost go insane around that. So Black women are acutely aware of what it means to have an illegal abortion and risk death. They also know very

vividly what it means to be raped,” she continued.

Reid then recalled a story from her teen-age days in Memphis, Tennessee.

At the county jail where they kept the women prisoners, there was a dangerous, broken-down hydraulic elevator car, the kind that would creep by itself. One day the male guards were getting ready to take some prisoners someplace when suddenly there was a commotion. One of the guards turned and socked a Black woman, leaving her sprawled halfway on the empty elevator. The old car shot up and crushed the poor woman to death.

“It was a big scandal because they found out that the white guards had been taking sexual liberties with the women and the one that died was pregnant as a result,” Reid said. “And now Joanne Little's case comes along. So, you see, nothing has changed. Not one thing has changed.”

“Her case should be of special interest to Black women because there is a larger percentage of Black women in jail than white women. And they're just tools for the whims of the male staff.”

# The American Way of Life

## The spy in the gray flannel suit

“The Pepsi generation.” “Fly me.” “Things go better with Coke.” “If you love me you'll use me.” “Is it true blonds have more fun?”

But there can be more to the life of an adman than composing inane and offensive jingles. Spying, for example.

Take the J. Walter Thompson Company—affectionately known as JWT in the ad game. The country's largest slogan mill, as it turns out, has some close links with the CIA.

As reported by Ramona Bechtos in the trade newspaper *Advertising Age*, “The beginning chronologically goes back to World War II when JWT supplied a number of its key executives to the Office of Strategic Services (predecessor agency to the CIA) and opened overseas offices, including one in Uruguay, at least partly as a cover for activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

“More recently, JWT appears to have been involved in several joint advertising-pr service activities with Robert R. Mullen & Co., a Washington-based pr firm whose principals have admitted to Senate investigators that they provided cover for the CIA.”

In fact, convicted Watergate burglar E. Howard Hunt was employed by Mullen while he was still working for the CIA. Perhaps Hunt was the one who composed the slogan “We're bullish on America.”

Robert Mullen, a retired rear admiral, had a lot in common with JWT vice-chairman Samuel Meek, “a much-decorated World War I officer who always maintained close contacts to the Navy and Marine Corps. (JWT has long had the Marine Corps assignment).”

Meek, coincidentally, “often has been credited with building JWT's overseas operations. . . .”

These have included accounts with the Mexican tourist agency, involving a joint office with Mullen in Mexico City, and with the Chilean junta, which wanted a better image.

The JWT executive who signed the agreement with the Chilean junta, Jack Raymond, had earlier been with a company handling public relations for the Greek dictatorship that fell last year. Before that, Raymond covered the Pentagon for the *New York Times*.

Meek himself, during the mid-1950s, had the CIA for a silent partner in the *Rome Daily American* because, “after the owner of the paper died, the CIA became fearful that the paper might fall into anti-American hands.”

This is an interesting story, at least as newsworthy as some of the CIA-related developments covered by the capitalist newspapers at great length. But the capitalist-owned media has largely ignored this story, leaving it to a trade journal to dig out the facts.

Why? Were they afraid to lose the advertising accounts handled by the J. Walter Thompson Company?

*Advertising Age* may have publicized the story out of a guilty conscience, for all we know. But they have no more on their conscience than lots of others.

As one Mullen executive explained when confronted with the facts of how his agency was used as a CIA cover, “I don't apologize for this. There are many people abroad, including journalists, who serve as agents.”

—David Frankel

## Vietnam next 'domino'?

# Lon Nol dictatorship on brink of collapse

By David Frankel

The imperialist diplomats and their hangers-on have begun to flee Pnompenh. France, Israel, Australia, and West Germany have already closed their embassies and diplomatic missions.

Washington has ordered the evacuation of embassy dependents, "nonessential unofficial Americans," and most relief agency personnel. *New York Times* reporter Sydney Schanberg reported March 17 that "a special C-130 cargo plane had been brought in to take out several tons of the [American Embassy] staff's household effects."

The foreign exodus took place against a background of continuing military reverses for the Lon Nol regime. "In the southeast," cabled Schanberg, "the crucial town of Neak Luong, the Government's last remaining major post on the Mekong River, is being choked by the rebels...."

"Shelling of the town from all sides, including the opposite bank of the Mekong, has become so intense that not a single Government helicopter could land today to take out wounded."

Closer to the encircled Cambodian capital, government forces had marched into the town of Tuol Leap March 15 in what David Andelman described in the *New York Times* as "the first major advance by Government troops since the start of the insurgent offensive this year."

Andelman's optimism, however, was premature. "The Cambodian Government troops who were reported yesterday to have seized the key town of Tuol Leap were apparently surrounded today and perhaps cut off in the town by the same troops they had driven off," he wrote in the March 17 *New York Times*.

"The Government forces entering the area found no resistance.... But this morning the situation had apparently changed drastically," Andelman continued.

"I would not go there," Colonel Sun Than said. "They are taking heavy artillery fire." Other officers said that there had been substantial government



Insurgent fire hits ammunition dump at Pnompenh airport. U.S. is trying to prop up dictatorship with massive airlift.

casualties in the town."

The worsening situation of Washington's Cambodian clients coincided with a two-week string of military reversals for the Thieu dictatorship in Vietnam, culminating with the announcement that the Saigon government was abandoning three of its largest provinces as undefendable.

The area to be abandoned includes most of the central highlands region, the scene of many of the biggest battles of the Vietnam War. It includes the cities of Pleiku and Kontum.

The continuing military and political defeats for the proimperialist forces in Indochina have resulted in more desperate attempts by the Ford administration to maintain its threatened partners in Saigon and Pnompenh.

On March 13 the former United States commander in Vietnam, Gen. William Westmoreland, let the country know in no uncertain terms what Ford would do if he thought he could get away with it.

"The only language that Hanoi understands is the language of force," Westmoreland told reporters after a meeting with Ford.

"I think it's too bad that we couldn't again mine Haiphong Harbor," he continued, also calling for "tactical air and B-52 strikes to hit the Communist supply lines."

Asked at a March 17 news conference whether "the survival of a non-

Communist Government in Cambodia [is] vital to the United States' security," Ford answered:

"... I think it is, and I can't help but notice that since the military situation in Cambodia has become very serious, and since the North Vietnamese have apparently launched a very substantial additional military effort against South Vietnam, ... there has been ... a potential request from Thailand that we withdraw our forces from that country...."

"I think these potential developments to some extent tend to validate the so-called domino theory. And if we have one country after another, allies of the United States, losing faith in our word, losing faith in our agreements with them, yes, I think the first one to go could vitally affect the national security of the United States."

If any of Ford's audience was gullible enough to believe that the security of the United States depends on the survival of Lon Nol and his entourage of astrologers, they probably caught the next plane to Switzerland. But while the barrage of cynical arguments from the White House trying to justify continued aid to the Saigon and Pnompenh dictatorships has had little impact on the American people as a whole, Congress, as usual, has begun to respond.

The liberal-controlled Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 17

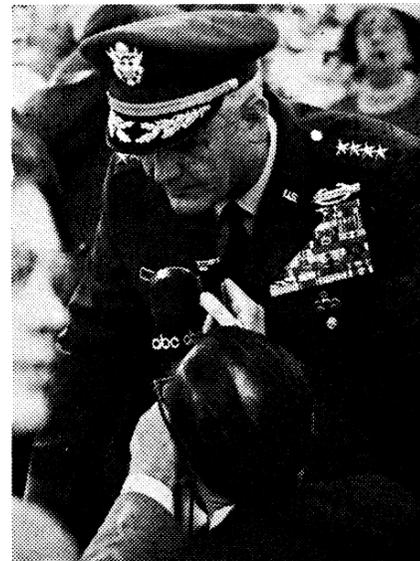
approved a measure that would provide \$82.5 million in additional military assistance to the Lon Nol regime. And the Associated Press reported March 15 that Ford is considering asking for at least \$421 million in new military aid for Pnompenh as soon as the fate of his \$222 million emergency aid request is settled.

However Congress votes, aid to the Indochinese dictatorships backed by Washington is not about to dry up: For example, on March 17 the government reported an "accounting error." It seems that the Cambodian regime had been "overcharged" \$21.5 million for weapons and ammunition in the last fiscal year.

President Ford, while condemning the Defense Department's "sloppy bookkeeping," announced that the Lon Nol government would receive the \$21.5 million.

Members of Congress have made much of their reluctance to vote for an aid cutoff because of their desire to help the victims of the war. But the real reason for the "humanitarian" aid supplied by Washington was revealed by Dr. Gay Alexander, the medical director for Catholic Relief Services, as

*Continued on page 26*



WESTMORELAND: Longing for good old days.

# Coral completes successful S. Calif. tour

By Manuel Fuentes

LOS ANGELES—A well-organized, united defense effort insured that Juan Carlos Coral's week-long tour of Southern California campuses took place without disruption.

Coming after a physical attack mounted by counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles against one of Coral's meetings in Chicago the previous week, and a recent wave of right-wing terrorism here in Los Angeles, this is a victory for free speech.

Coral is a prominent political figure in Argentina, where he is a leader of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party). He is in the United States on a two-month tour sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

While Coral was speaking on repression in Argentina March 9 at a University of Chicago meeting, a group of fifty Cuban exiles disrupted the meeting. A line of monitors in front of the podium prevented the gusanos from reaching Coral, but several monitors were injured, one seriously enough to require stitches.

Although several campus police came to the scene, they did not arrest any of the disrupters. Moreover, it was later learned that the city police knew about the planned attack in advance, and not only failed to have police

visible at the talk, but did not even notify the organizers of Coral's tour of the gusano threat.

A group calling itself "February 24 Committee for Cuban Political Prisoners" has assumed responsibility for the attack in a communiqué published in the March 15 issue of a Chicago Spanish-language weekly called *La*



Coral speaking in Santa Barbara. United defense insured that meetings proceeded without disruption.

*Raza*. The gusanos state that they are "still on war footing" and that they "will continue their crusade" against "reds."

Despite this threat of more violence by the Cuban exiles, the fact that there are dozens of witnesses to the March 9 assault, and the fact that the Chicago cops knew in advance who organized and carried out the disruption, no arrests have been made to date. The USLA is urging that telegrams be sent to Chicago Mayor Richard Daley demanding the arrest of the gusanos.

Los Angeles has been another city where officials have failed to act against violent right-wingers who have carried out a series of bombing attacks in recent weeks. One target was the campaign offices of the Socialist Workers party. Although the Nazi group that claimed responsibility for the attack functions openly, none have been arrested. There has also been a whole history of terrorist gusano attacks in that area stretching back several years.

In view of these facts, USLA went on a stepped-up campaign to insure the safety of all meetings held here. Mayor Tom Bradley's office was contacted directly by the USLA national office in New York and urged to provide police protection for Coral. Uniformed police and a representative from Bradley's

office were present at several of the meetings.

In addition, USLA organized large numbers of monitors for the talks and appealed for solidarity to a wide spectrum of organizations. The Los Angeles city-wide meeting held March 14 at the University of Southern California campus reflected the success of this effort.

Several Chicano and Latino organizations sent representatives to speak at the meeting in solidarity against the right-wing attacks. Among them were the Los Angeles Group for Latin American Solidarity; the City Terrace Raza Unida party; CASA-Hermandad, an antideportation organization; and the Latin American Civic Committee for the Liberation of Nicaragua.

In addition to the city-wide forum, meetings averaging 150 people each were held at a half-dozen other campuses in Los Angeles, San Diego, and Santa Barbara. Coral was also interviewed by KMEX, a Los Angeles Spanish-language television station, as part of its coverage of the meeting held at UCLA.

Chicano students were the majority of those present at several of the talks. At the University of California at Santa Barbara, El Congreso, an organization of Chicano students and faculty, helped publicize the meeting.

## Chicago race exposes real policy

# The Communist party and 'independent'

By Andy Rose

CHICAGO—"For a Large Independent Vote Feb. 25," declared a huge banner at a Communist party forum here last month, at which several hundred people heard CP leader Angela Davis.

"There is a rise of independence in Chicago against the two capitalist parties of big business and the incumbent mayor as their chief lieutenant," said Ishmael Flory, chairman of the Illinois Communist party, as quoted in the February 19 issue of the CP paper, the *Daily World*.

But February 25 was the date of the mayoral primary: only Democratic and Republican candidates were running, and to vote for mayor one had to be a registered Democrat or Republican. How, then, to cast an "independent" vote?

The mystery is deepened by the fact that no one at the Communist party forum so much as whispered the name of the one independent working-class candidate running against Richard Daley for mayor of Chicago.

Anyone in the city who reads the newspapers, listens to radio, or watches television has almost certainly heard about Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor.

Her campaign has received especial

would never know that there is a Black woman, a socialist, in the race.

You would never know that this candidate has accomplished what has never been accomplished by an independent candidate in Chicago before: winning a place on the ballot against Daley.

The *Daily World* evidently thinks it can get away with a level of dishonesty that even the capitalist press did not attempt—that is, to pretend the Reid campaign simply doesn't exist.

The omission is even more striking when one reads in the *Daily World* that "the main thrust of the CP platform [in the Chicago municipal elections] is a call for unity of the forces opposing the city's political machine," along with frequent appeals for aid to "independent" candidates.

The Chicago race sheds a great deal of light on the real electoral policy of the Communist party, and in particular on what the CP means by "independence" in politics.

To make everything perfectly clear, the February 19 *Daily World* spelled it out: "The two independent mayoralty candidates are Richard Newhouse, a black candidate, and Wm. Singer, running on a Democratic ticket."

What strange political reasoning is this, one might wonder, that transforms Democrats into "independents" and socialist candidates into nonpersons?

### Double-talk

In the double-talk of CP politics, you see, "independent" doesn't at all mean independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, the political instruments of the ruling rich. In Chicago it only means Democrats "independent" of the Daley machine.

Between the two liberal Democratic candidates, Singer and Newhouse, the CP seemed to favor Singer, although it avoided explicitly stating the choice.

"Unfortunately," wrote the January 30 *Daily World*, "the forces independent of the Daley machine have been unable to unite behind a single candidate for Mayor."

Singer, nevertheless, received the lion's share of the coverage in the *Daily World*. On February 6 the CP paper, under the headline "Defeat of Daley's machine seen in realm of possibility," favorably noted that "Singer has the greatest chance of defeating Daley at this point."

### Advice to Singer

The *Daily World* went on to advise Singer that he "could strengthen further the unity of the independent and anti-Daley forces if he would take on more clearly the critical issues that afflict the city."

But regardless of whether Singer took the advice (he didn't), the Communist party's message was plain: vote in the Democratic primary, and vote for Singer, since he has the best chance of winning.

As it turned out, Daley scored an easy victory in the primary with 58 percent of the vote. Singer trailed with 29 percent, Newhouse got 8 percent, and Edward Hanrahan finished last with 5 percent.

Evaluating these results in the February 27 *Daily World*, Ted Pearson wrote that "independent forces opposing the Richard Daley machine waged one of the hardest fought campaigns in the city's history but were unable to unseat Mayor Daley."

Pearson quoted Jack Kling, Illinois



Militant/Bruce Bloy

Thousands signed petitions to put socialist candidate Reid on the ballot, but CP refused to support her ballot rights.

state secretary of the CP, as saying: "The growing independent movement has waged a truly heroic campaign in this election."

It was left to a March 13 *Daily World* article to draw the CP's full balance sheet. The article prints lengthy excerpts from an official CP statement on the elections, signed by the party's top officers in Illinois, so this is straight from the horse's mouth.

### A few admissions

The CP still hails the "continued growth of grass roots movements away from the 'machine,'" but it has a few admissions to make about its favored "independent" Democrat.

The racist, antilabor Daley was able to win the votes of so many working people, both Black and white, the CP explains, "because he covered up his true nature, and the independent forces did not expose him."

The CP statement explains in more detail:

"Daley offered no program on economic questions.

"Yet Singer never challenged Daley on these issues. . . .

"Singer never exposed Daley's true record on public works and jobs. . . .

He called for laying off public workers. . . . Singer proposed to solve the unemployment problem by giving new tax breaks to big business. Singer proposed to subsidize corporate profits with tax free bonds, and to repeal the 'head tax' on employers.

"Singer never campaigned against the racist Daley blockade against building low cost, quality, scattered-site public housing."

True, all true.

In fact, the CP states, "Singer and many of the leaders of the independent forces bring to the movement an anti-workingclass, anti-labor and anti-Black bias."

This, then, was the "truly heroic campaign"!

On the "key questions" of the election, the CP writes, "the independent forces were not able to pressure the candidates, especially Singer, to break with their business-oriented policies."

And who is responsible for this failure? "We and our members are part of the growing independent move-

ment," the CP proudly writes. "We played an important and even decisive role in some areas in this recent campaign."

Could there be any more devastating confession of the bankruptcy of one's own politics?

### A few questions

Now the CP claims to have seen the light: "It should be obvious to anyone that the potential for independent people's politics is not within the primaries of the Democratic and Republican Parties."

But if it is so "obvious," then what is the Communist party doing playing "an important and even decisive role" in the Democratic primary?

If, as the CP writes, "independence can only be measured by commitment to the people's basic needs," then why label as "independent" a candidate whose "program did not address the economic crisis or racism in Chicago" (February 27 *Daily World*)?

Isn't the reason Singer offered no solutions precisely that he is a Democrat?

And isn't the CP's newfound criticism of him just a shoddy cover-up for another snow job?

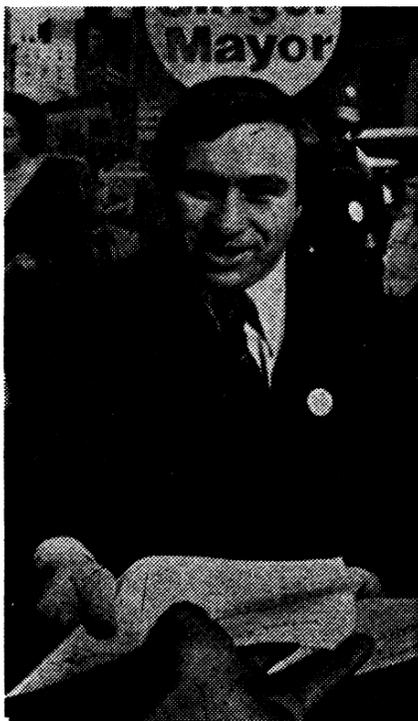
Only the justifications are confusing—the politics are actually straightforward. The plain fact is that the Communist party opposes independent working-class political action, in favor of pressure politics within the capitalist parties, mainly the Democratic party.

The CP is an old hand at supporting Democrats—from Roosevelt to Johnson to McGovern—and at finding cover-up labels like "independent," "lesser evil," "antimonopoly," and "people's," or "progressive" to justify voting for capitalist candidates.

It all comes down to the same thing: giving political support to the representatives of the enemy class and deceiving working people by telling them to rely on these charlatans.

### Now what?

The Democratic primary is over. The "independents" have had their fling. Now the big question is: *where does the Communist party stand in the April 1 general election?*



DEMOCRAT SINGER: Won CP's backing, although now they criticize his 'anti-working-class, anti-labor and anti-Black bias.'

ly widespread and favorable coverage in the Black press here, notably the *Chicago Defender* and *Chicago Weekend*, under banner headlines like "Black woman battles Daley."

Reid has been featured in other Black papers as far away as Florida, where the *Florida Courier* reprinted a *Defender* article under the headline "Ms. Reid wants Daley defeated: She is serious. . . ."

The major Chicago dailies and radio and TV stations have felt compelled to report on—sometimes with front-page and prime-time coverage—Reid's energetic challenge to "Boss" Daley and his corrupt political machine.

### Curious exception

There is one curious exception. If your only source of news was the Communist party's *Daily World*, you

# politics

Ignoring the Reid campaign will not make it disappear, no matter how hard the CP wishes it would.

As a transparent dodge, the CP has now resurrected a write-in campaign of Ishmael Flory for city clerk. (Announced some time ago, Flory's candidacy was completely dropped while the CP was busy playing its "decisive role" among the "independents" in the Democratic primary.)

But to pass off this pathetic last-minute, token gesture as a "real alternative" to Daley is brazen gall. Flory isn't even a write-in candidate against Daley, who happens to be running for mayor—not city clerk.

Supporters of the only genuine independent campaign in Chicago are circulating an "Open Letter to the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League" from Willie Mae Reid, urging the CP and YWLL to call for a vote for Reid April 1.

"More than 66,000 Chicagoans signed petitions to put the Socialist Workers Party candidates—Willie Mae Reid for mayor, Antonio DeLeon for city clerk, and Nancy Rosenstock for city treasurer—on the ballot," Reid writes.

"Our success in winning ballot status through this massive petitioning effort has already struck a blow against the Daley machine. By showing that an independent candidate can get on the ballot in Chicago, it was a step forward for all who favor independent working-class political action."

## Dead-end factionalism

Yet history will record that the Communist party, placing its own dead-end factionalism above basic democratic rights, *refused even to back Reid's right to be on the ballot, at a time when dozens of labor, Black, and civil liberties figures rallied to her support.*

Scaling new heights of hypocrisy, the CP now proposes "a legislative campaign . . . to reform Illinois' election laws" so third parties can get on the ballot. In the meantime, it says, the CP "has collected tens of thousands of signatures on nominating petitions in the past two general elections. It can be done." Can be done?

No—it has been done. And all but the factionally blinded peddlers of CP propaganda concede there are three candidates on the ballot for mayor: a Democrat, a Republican, and a socialist.

Does the CP intend to remain in the ludicrous posture of an ostrich with its head buried in the sand? That is the only position in which the pretense can be maintained that the Willie Mae Reid candidacy does not exist.

As the open letter to the CP states, "On April 1, a vote for Willie Mae Reid will be the *only* way to cast an independent vote against Daley."

For the CP to refuse to call for a vote for Reid means in practice to give backhanded support to Daley.

Anyone who accepts as good coin the CP's counterfeit proclamations of support for "independent" political action would do well to consider the lessons of Chicago.

What sort of party is it that can cheerfully back a capitalist candidate with "anti-workingclass, anti-labor and anti-Black bias," but cannot bring itself to support an anticapitalist, Black, working-class candidate, running on a socialist ticket?

# Reid presents Bill of Rights for Working People at plant-gate rally

By Andy Rose

CHICAGO—Western Electric's Hawthorne Works is a massive, squat, red-brick monstrosity that sprawls over several blocks on the edge of the Chicago suburb of Cicero.

Western Electric is a subsidiary of the huge AT&T communications monopoly. Switching equipment for telephone offices all over the country is manufactured here.

The work force is mostly white, but there are a few Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. A large proportion are women.

There are hardly any young workers now—they have all been laid off. In the past this plant has provided work for as many as 30,000 people. Last year it employed 15,000. Now that has been cut to 12,000. A few weeks ago the entire third shift was laid off.

Those who remain are scared. "Nothing is safe," says a woman who has worked at Hawthorne for twenty-seven years but is nevertheless worried about losing her job. "Day to day, you never know."

Rumors abound: that more layoffs are on the way or that the plant may be shut down entirely.

Supporters of Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Chicago, began selling the *Militant* here several weeks ago at the afternoon shift change.

According to Dennis Brasky, who sells here just about every week, sales have picked up steadily, and now forty to fifty *Militants* are sold at Hawthorne in one hour each week.

One recent afternoon, Reid addressed an impromptu street rally outside the plant. As the shift went in early that morning, campaign workers had passed out hundreds of copies of a leaflet announcing that Reid would speak. The leaflets also carried a brief statement on the crisis facing Western Electric workers and on the socialist program to provide jobs for all.

When Reid and eight campaign supporters arrive in the afternoon, a Cicero police squad car just happens to be parked in front of the plant, and a paddy wagon is right around the corner. An unusually large number of cops and plant guards are standing around, but they don't try to interfere with the socialist campaigners.

Reid's speech is short and to the point. "As economic conditions worsen, it's working people who are being made to pay the price of unemployment and inflation," she says. "We've got to organize to demand protection from these deteriorating conditions, conditions that we didn't create."



At afternoon shift change, hundreds hear Reid, take campaign literature, or buy the 'Militant.'



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Willie Mae Reid talks about her campaign for mayor of Chicago with worker outside Western Electric plant.

"The platform of the Socialist Workers party, called the Bill of Rights for Working People, is a program of protection from the unemployment, inflation, racism, and the wars that this system perpetrates.

"We believe people have the *right* to a job. To protect our right to a job, we need a shorter workweek, with no reduction in pay, to spread the available jobs around so that everybody can work," Reid explains.

"Yeah, I'm for that," says a Black woman who has worked here twenty-five years. "I don't know why they laid off all those people, because the people that are left have to do all the same work now—they want more work out of you."

"If it will give more people work, I'm for it," says an older white woman.

"We call for eliminating war spending and for eliminating the tax loopholes of the big corporations," Reid is saying, "to generate the money to implement a public-works program. We could put *everybody* to work building the things that we need, like low-cost housing, more hospitals, better schools, and day-care centers so that women can work at decent jobs."

A young woman waiting for her husband to get off work agrees. "That's what they should do. They should use the money they use for these wars for things that are needed,

for more important things."

Everyone who stops to talk is strongly opposed to President Ford's plan to send more money to Cambodia. "Why don't they take some of that and try to find people work, try to get them educated, get them homes, better housing, and everything like that?" one person comments.

Reid continues: "We have to demand protection from the racism and sexism that divide us and pit us one against the other. The large corporations save billions of dollars every year by paying Blacks less than whites, paying women less than men."

As the torrent of workers rushes out of the plant, Reid goes over the basic points of the Bill of Rights for Working People. Naturally, people just getting off work want above all to get away from the plant and get home as fast as possible. Few are in any mood to stand around in the cold listening to long speeches.

The response is friendly, though. In a few minutes some 800 workers have taken copies of the Bill of Rights—all that were on hand—often with comments like "OK, I'll look into it" or "Yeah, I'll read it." Fifty people have bought copies of the *Militant*.

Someone driving by pulls over to the curb, honks, and motions a campaign worker over. After looking at the Bill of Rights, he asks for twenty copies.

When the crowd has passed one is struck by the fact that not a single leaflet has been thrown to the ground.

This is the Reid campaign's second plant-gate rally; more are planned. The first was held the week before outside U.S. Steel's South Works. There too regular *Militant* sales and a special leaflet addressed to steelworkers laid the groundwork for the rally.

Sometimes the success of such campaigning only becomes evident later on. A few days after the U.S. Steel rally, campaign workers were canvassing door-to-door on the South Side.

They ran into a young Black steelworker who said he had listened to Reid speak outside the plant and liked what he heard. He and his friends had gotten copies of the Bill of Rights, he said, and had been talking about it on the job. He invited the campaign worker in for coffee and bought a subscription to the *Militant*.

## Texas tour

# Antideportation forces applaud Camejo

By Ed Jurenas

HOUSTON—More than 100 farm workers came to hear Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo at their union hall in the small town of San Juan, in the Rio Grande valley.

He addressed them in Spanish, and they gave him a thunderous ovation when he said: "A socialist president would allow the Latin American nations to deport the *real* illegal aliens from their lands—the American rich. The Rockefellers and others would be brought back to the United States to learn how to work for a living, to do such things as pick grapes and learn how to get on a bus."

The meeting in San Juan was part of a highly successful tour during which Camejo addressed more than 1,000 people in the course of ten rallies and meetings throughout Texas.

On almost a daily basis the major media here have been whipping up a hysterical campaign against immigrant Mexican workers, claiming that they are the cause of growing unemployment. Camejo concentrated his fire against these racist attacks.

### 'Camejo for President'

In San Antonio, Camejo spoke in Spanish to a meeting of seventy-five, organized by TU CASA. TU CASA has played a leading role in Texas in organizing against deportations of immigrant workers.

The organizers of the meeting pre-



Militant/Sylvia Zapata

Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo addresses farm workers meeting in San Juan, Texas.

pared a warm welcome for the candidate. Banners and posters, in Spanish, leading up to the hall where he spoke read, "Camejo for President"; "Camejo is with the Working People"; and "Down with Capitalism."

At the end of his talk, Camejo was given an *abrazo* (an embrace reserved for close friends and comrades) by the organizers of the meeting. They also presented him with an inscribed record, *Sin Fronteras* (Without Frontiers), commemorating the event.

At Texas Southmost College in Brownsville, Camejo held a news

conference in an open area on campus. Students gathered around and applauded when he told the media, "I call for an immediate end to the Immigration and Naturalization Service's gestapo-like sweeps of the Chicano and Mexicano barrios. No restrictions should be placed on the right of immigrant workers to cross the border."

More than 100 students—most of them Chicano—came to hear his talk after the news conference.

Camejo's opposition to deportations received wide publicity in the Browns-

ville area. It was picked up by the major television stations, newspapers, and a four-minute-long report was played on Spanish-language radio throughout the day of his visit.

### Hits two parties

During his tour, Camejo also hit hard at the Democrats and Republicans for failing to come up with any solutions to the economic crisis facing American working people.

At a meeting of 250 students at the University of Houston, he said, "Six months ago the president was saying the main issue is inflation—so he proposed unemployment as the solution. He succeeded in getting plenty of unemployment. Now he proposes inflation as the solution to high unemployment. So we're slowly working our way up on both!"

While in Houston, Camejo spoke at a statewide rally of 130 people at the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters. Also speaking were Pedro Vásquez, SWP candidate for mayor of Houston, and Dan Fein, SWP candidate for Houston school board. A collection at the rally raised \$2,300 for the socialist campaign.

### Can't stop campaign

The successful tour took place in spite of police harassment of Camejo and attempts by the Ku Klux Klan prior to his tour to terrorize his campaign supporters. On March 11, the Houston police stopped a car carrying Camejo and three campaign supporters. When Camejo asked why they were being stopped, he was

Continued on page 26

## Support the socialist campaign

The Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, are campaigning to defend the rights of Blacks and other oppressed minorities on the job, in housing, and in education.

They defend the struggle to maintain and extend affirmative-action programs which are under attack from employers. They support the right of oppressed minorities to live in the neighborhood of their choice.

Camejo and Reid are campaigning for the right of Black students in Boston and elsewhere to desegregated schools. They support the right of Spanish-speaking students to bilingual education.

The socialist candidates oppose the racist campaign to deport undocumented workers.

Camejo and Reid propose a Bill of Rights for Working People that includes the right of *all* workers to a job, decent housing, and a decent education, and would guarantee the right of oppressed nationalities to equality and control over their own affairs.

Help distribute the Bill of Rights for Working People; three cents each; two cents each for 1,000 or more. (Available in English and Spanish.)

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014 [phone (212) 675-3820].

( ) I endorse the Camejo-Reid ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_ to support their campaign.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Business Address \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation/School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Officers of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee—Chairpersons: Fred Halstead, Ed Heisler, Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley—Treasurer: Andrea Morell.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D. C.

## New backing for Illinois SWP disclosure fight

By Susan Lowell

CHICAGO, March 15—Support is growing for the Socialist Workers campaign committee's request to be exempted from disclosing the names and addresses of its contributors.

Rev. Willie Barrow of Operation PUSH, Bronwin Zwerner of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and state convener of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and Brad Lytle of the War Resisters League have added their names to a statement urging an exemption for the socialist campaign.

Two hearing officers of the Illinois State Board of Elections are scheduled to hear the committee's case for exemption on March 19. The hearing officers will then decide whether to conduct a public hearing.

Testimony at the March 19 hearing will be heard from Socialist Workers party mayoral candidate Willie Mae Reid and from individuals who have

faced harassment and victimization because of their support of or association with the Socialist Workers party.

The campaign committee also plans to submit a list of individuals to be subpoenaed should there be a public hearing. As quoted in a front-page article in the March 15 *Chicago Defender*, Willie Mae Reid said, "We will ask for subpoenas to obtain every shred of evidence pertaining to the record of harassment suffered by campaign supporters."

Included on that subpoena list will be Walter Murphy, director of the Intelligence Division of the Chicago Police Department, known as the "red squad." Chicago's "red squad" is notorious for its sweeping surveillance and harassment of anyone who doesn't conform strictly with Mayor Richard Daley's concept of "law-abiding citizens."

In his book *Boss*, Mike Royko describes the Chicago "red squad" as "one of the biggest political intelligence units outside of the FBI."

Particularly relevant to the Socialist campaign's case for exemption is a 1973 Chicago Police Department general order establishing the Security Section of the Intelligence Division.

The Security Section is empowered to gather intelligence on "organizations or individuals which present a threat to the security of the country, state, or city."

It "conducts investigations and identifies the leaders and membership of organizations or groups" and "investigates and identifies sources of financial support." And in typical James Bond fashion, the order says the Security Section "accomplishes its mission through overt and covert activity."

This order and others, including

detailed directions on what kinds of events to photograph, have been compiled for a suit against the "red squad" brought by thirty-three individuals and groups, including the Socialist Workers party, in Chicago last year. The suit seeks a judgment that these activities violate the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs.

"With the despicable police-state tactics of the 'red squad,' the history of right-wing terror in Chicago, and the FBI's 'SWP Disruption Program,'" Reid told the *Militant*, "no one can justifiably contend that we should hand over the identities of our contributors."

While the board of elections will make no commitment to a date for a public hearing, by law it must take place within a week of the March 19 preliminary hearing if there is to be one.

By Frank Lovell

Two coal miners were elected to public office in West Virginia last November. Not high offices. But they hold positions of some authority and influence in local and state government. One is constable in Wyoming County, the other a member of the state legislature. Both are young. They campaigned as candidates of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), pledged to represent the interests of workers against mine operators. Neither was supported by the Democratic party machine. They owe their election to UMWA's Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC). COMPAC, in these cases, functioned more like an independent political party than a labor caucus inside the capitalist-controlled Democratic party.

The story of how Charlie Ross, thirty-one, with nine years in the mines, and young Dan Burleson, a UMWA official, were elected and what they hope to accomplish is told by staff writer Matt Witt in the February 16-28 issue of *United Mine Workers Journal*, official publication of the union.

force the mine operators to stop polluting. He and the miners union are helping to organize for that purpose. "It took a full-scale publicity campaign and the threat of a lawsuit by a citizens' group called Campaign Clear Water before some 450 mines were forced to even apply under state and federal law for permits to put water in the state's creeks and streams," writes Witt.

### Control over pollution

"Water pollution is one thing I have control over," Ross says. "When it rains and sludge ponds get too full, these operators wait until night and then just dump their water into the creek. They're supposed to be cleaning it first, but nobody's been making them do it, and even if they get a small fine it's cheaper than installing the cleaning equipment."

"I've talked to one of the magistrates and he says he'll put one of the superintendents in jail if I catch him letting one of those ponds loose in the middle of the night," Ross told the *Journal*. "If we don't do something like that, these creeks will be jet black in another few years. No one else is going to stop it for us."

## W. Va. miners run for office--and win



UMW Journal/Earl Dotter

UMWA miner Charlie Ross 'on the beat' as constable of Wyoming County in West Virginia. Ross wants to stop coal operators from poisoning the water by enforcing previously ignored laws.

The headline on the article says, "It's Time to Take the Law into Our Own Hands." Below that is a subhead: "The law has belonged to the coal operators for years. Now miners themselves are running for office—and winning."

It is a story of the union in local politics, different from the dismal record of the union movement in the Democratic party seeking "friends" and electing "the lesser evil."

### First step

Miners, like most workers, have little confidence in politicians—Democrats or Republicans. They are beginning to learn something about how the capitalist parties operate. "Taking the idea of support for labor's friends in political races one step further," reports Witt, "they decided that some of them should run for office themselves." That first step is a big one.

Charlie Ross ran for constable. His opponent was the incumbent, a security man for Amigo-Smokeless and Phillips Coal Company. "The biggest problem we had to start with was convincing people that we could win," Ross says. "They've had it beat into them for so long that the companies have control that they didn't believe we could really do it. But look, the coal operators don't have any votes. All they have is money, and with some organization we can overcome that."

As the new constable, Charlie Ross refuses to wear the uniform that goes with the job because he has a different idea of his duties. He is trying to

"Why shouldn't they clean up their mess just like anybody else?" Ross asks. "They haven't before because it was their man who was supposed to be enforcing the law."

In the past the local constable paraded about in his uniform, deputized strikebreakers, served injunctions, arrested pickets, and evicted strikers from company houses. Charlie Ross has done more than discard the old uniform. He is trying to enforce the law against the real criminals. His attitude was formed in the mines. "When I'm down in that hole. . ." he says, "I'm thinking about those stockholders in New York making millions of dollars a month off people like me."

### 'Blood money'

"Blood money," the miners call it. "That's exactly what it is, and I resent it," says Ross. "I sure do. So it don't hurt me a bit to get the chance to make them follow the law now and then."

Charlie Ross has discovered that enforcing the law against the mine operators is more than a one-man job. That is why the committee for clean water is necessary, and he is enlisting the support of all other victims of the lawless mine operators to help.

One of the tools the operators use to skirt the law is the Democratic party machine. The miners discovered this when Dan Burleson ran for the state legislature. He thought he could win the Democratic primary but narrowly missed, finishing fourth in a race with only three positions open. As it happened,

one of the candidates who won decided to withdraw.

Even though Burleson was next in line according to the primary vote, the Democratic central committee bypassed him and chose a lawyer named Jimmy Lyons who could be trusted to represent "all the people," so long as there was no conflict with the coal operators.

Burleson and COMPAC then decided to run a write-in campaign.

"In some ways, getting done dirty like that ended up helping us," Burleson says. "When the miners and railroaders and other working people found out what had happened, it just made them mad and they worked that much harder to get me elected on the write-in."

A committee of 100 miners ran the campaign and watched the polls on election day. At the state capitol in Charleston Dan Burleson is on the House Industry and Labor Committee, supports the UMWA's mine safety bills, has introduced a bill to outlaw shift rotations in coal mines, and is a leader in the fight to get rid of the mine operators' John Ashcraft, who is director of the Department of Mines in West Virginia by appointment of the governor.

Burleson says he commands respect from other members of the legislature. "They know I'm a write-in winner, which tells them somebody out there must be pretty well organized."

### Keeping miners informed

He thinks one of the greatest services he can perform is to keep miners informed. "The other delegates know they can't do one thing and then go out and tell the miners back home that they did something else, because I'm going to be watching. I'm going to tell the miners in this state who's been doing it to 'em and who's been doing it for 'em."

The *Journal* story says, "The two men are part of a small but important step forward for coal miners in the drive to 'take the law into our own hands.'"

What about the future?

That depends largely upon what COMPAC does and how present trends toward independent political action develop within the union movement. If COMPAC mobilizes workers in the mine regions for political action around community issues affecting schools, hospitals, housing, public works, and the environment; and if it continues to push for rank-and-file enforcement of mine safety and other forms of industrial democracy, as it appears to be trying to do; then the full weight of the miners' problems will not fall upon the Ross-Burleson team and others like them who are trapped in a political structure that is still controlled by the coal companies and the employing class.

Both men are aware of the need to develop and expand COMPAC as an independent political organization, and both were active participants in a recent legislative conference of West Virginia local union committeemen called for that purpose.

Burleson considers himself "just a stepping stone." He says, "It's up to the UMWA and COMPAC and the UMWA membership to do their homework and get more good people winning these offices."

Ross has a suggestion on who these "good people" are. "Right around here there's railroaders, teachers, county workers. Anybody that looks at things from the worker's side of things."

### Part of broader movement

There is a hint that these miners see their own political development as part of a broader movement. "For a while there I was pretty discouraged about the way things were going in this country. It seemed like the companies were getting more and more control," Ross says. "But since we've reformed our own union and got COMPAC started and got to working with other labor people, there's a new unity that wasn't there before. I think we just might be able to turn this country around."

The miners aren't talking about a labor party yet. But it is clear that their local party is COMPAC, not the Democratic party. They are convinced by recent experience that they cannot depend upon Democratic party politicians. They want union men and women in government—workers, not agents of the employing class.

This is the experience and the growing political consciousness that will produce a labor party, beginning on the local level as with the miners.

These miners and their working-class allies in Wyoming and Boone counties, West Virginia, are among the present-day pioneers in independent working-class political action. Their progress ought to be studied closely. They are setting examples that others in the union movement can do well to follow.

## 'Quality education' in Boston

# School committee corruption exposed

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—On February 27, the Boston Finance Commission released the results of a twenty-two-month investigation of the financial practices of the Boston School Committee and recommended that the committee be abolished.

The school committee, which has been in the forefront of the racist drive to block court-ordered desegregation of the schools, claims to be fighting for "quality education." The finance commission report gives the lie to this claim. It confirms what many residents of Boston, especially in the Black community, have known all along: that the five-member all-white, all-Democratic school committee is a graft-ridden, corrupt institution that uses its offices to maintain a vast white job trust based on keeping Boston's schools *segregated*.

### School committee rip-off

The report documents how the school committee operates to keep its own pockets lined, at the same time trying to make sure that no school department employees get out of line.

The system works like this: every year, school committee members hold "testimonial" dinners for themselves, supposedly to raise funds to cover campaign expenses. These are extremely lucrative affairs.

In a ten-month period, from May 1972 to February 1973 four school committee members held testimonials raising a total of \$88,773. Attendance at these testimonial dinners is "voluntary." But if you don't "volunteer" to go by buying an expensive ticket, you may find yourself harassed out of a job or transferred to another school.

Philip Pirrone, a teacher at Boston Trade School, explained his experience with the school committee's graft in the February 27 *Boston Globe*. Pirrone was responsible for a motion passed by the Trade School Teachers' Association not to buy tickets for an October 1972 testimonial for school committee member John Kerrigan. For this he was threatened with the loss of \$1,080 of his pay. In another incident Kerrigan confronted him in a gangster-like fashion. "Remember this face, mister," said Kerrigan. "What is your problem,

John?" asked Pirrone. Kerrigan replied, "Remember this face. Never mind, but you just remember this face."

Two months later, Pirrone was denied permission and funds to attend a convention he had routinely gone to for the past three years. Pirrone said, "If you stick with John Kerrigan and that gang, you're going to go places. You'll make lots of money. My way, you're just a sucker."

### Punitive transfers

Another teacher, John Cunningham, reported that twenty teachers were transferred from Boston High School to South Boston High School after refusing to buy testimonial tickets. Cunningham's pay was cut by \$4,000 a year.

The finance commission report said, "Hundreds of teachers feel that their positions depend on making contributions to testimonials for School Committee members they have never met and whose achievements they do not admire."

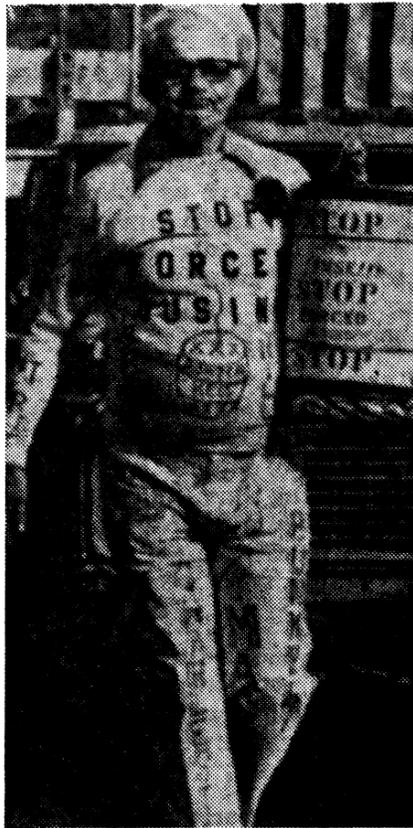
"School Committee members themselves view employees whose jobs they control as a ready source of personal and political funds and have actually retaliated against those who oppose the testimonial process."

Because of teacher opposition to the testimonial system, the Boston Teachers Union in 1973 voted to stop contributing as an organization to testimonials, but other associations of school department employees continue to contribute.

### Abolish the school committee

The finance commission also disclosed that contracts for school construction are awarded to businesses that contribute most heavily to school committee members' testimonials. In 1972 the school committee awarded more than \$2 million in "no-bid," or unadvertised, contracts—most of them illegal.

According to the finance commission report, 86 percent of the official votes taken by the school committee have nothing to do with educational policy: "The official votes demonstrate that the School Committee's interest focuses almost exclusively on hiring,



Member of antibusing contingent in Boston's St. Patrick's Day parade. School committee has led racist opposition to court-ordered desegregation.

firing, promotion, demotion and assignment of individual school employees. Preoccupation with individual personnel decisions is the hallmark of a patronage system."

The report concludes by calling for the elimination of the school committee and the establishment of a school department answerable to the mayor and city council, with "maximum community participation." However, the report says this should not happen until the "busing controversy subsides."

### NAACP suit

In a related development, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and the Center for Law and Education at Harvard University announced on March 5 that they have filed a suit on behalf of ten Black parents challeng-

ing the constitutionality of the way the school committee is elected.

The school committee is elected at-large, as opposed to election by local wards. The city-wide election system, according to the suit, "unconstitutionally dilutes and minimizes the voting strength of Boston's Black community, which is concentrated in three contiguous neighborhoods." Ninety percent of Boston's Black community lives in Roxbury, Dorchester, or the South End. Seventeen percent of Boston's population is Black, and more than a third of the 91,000 children in the Boston schools are Black, yet there has never been a Black or Puerto Rican member of the school committee.

Ollie Bivins, Socialist Workers party candidate for school committee, commented on the finance commission report and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund suit. "I completely agree with the finance commission's conclusion that the school committee should be abolished. But I don't agree that it would be better to wait until the busing 'controversy' subsides. It should be done now. As long as the school committee exists in its present form, it will do everything possible to make sure that the 'controversy' doesn't subside. It will continue to mobilize opposition to school desegregation, to keep Blacks out of the school department, and to carry on the other illegal practices it has become so notorious for."

"For these reasons, I wholeheartedly support the suit challenging the way the school committee is elected. The Black community is being disenfranchised. We are denied representation on a body that has tremendous power and that uses that power *against* the Black community and especially Black students."

"I intend to expose the racist, corrupt practices of the committee and to mobilize support for the NAACP suit. I'm also campaigning to build the May 17 national march for school desegregation called by the NAACP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism. This national show of force by supporters of school desegregation and Black rights can be a powerful blow against the hidebound racists who run our schools."

# Denver conference backs Boston rally

By Frank Lord

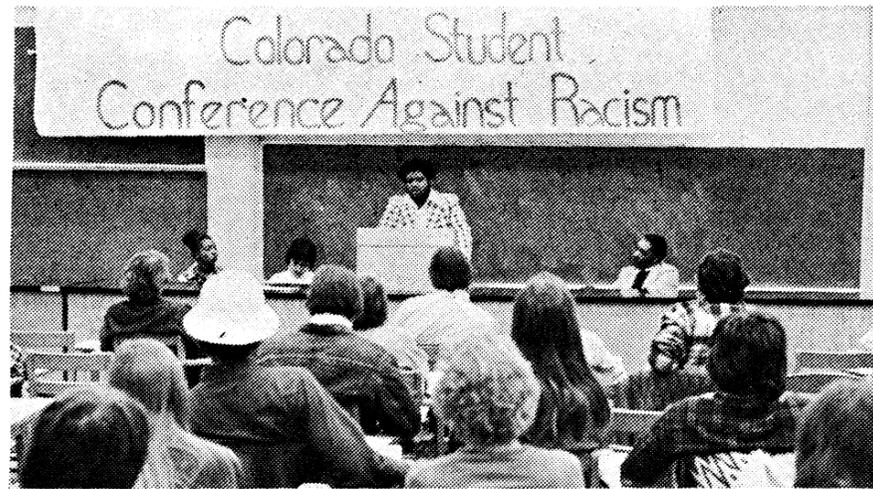
DENVER—The Colorado Student Conference Against Racism, held here March 8, voted unanimously to support the May 17 national march on Boston for school desegregation. Participants in the conference, numbering more than ninety, included representatives from thirteen schools.

Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and Omar Blair, the only Black member of the Denver School Board, opened the conference.

Dixon described the escalation of racist violence in Boston. "This struggle," he told the audience, "is not limited to desegregation, nor is it limited to Boston. ROAR, the racist antibusing organization in Boston, has a hot line to groups like the Citizens Association for Neighborhood Schools in Denver."

"If racist violence is successful in stopping desegregation in Boston, there is every reason to expect that it will be used right here in Denver."

Blair described the racist nature of the antibusing campaign in Denver. "Prior to the desegregation order in



Maceo Dixon addressing Colorado antiracist conference. Group voted for statewide action on April 19 in addition to backing Boston march.

Denver, 12,000 students rode buses to school every day. But when 6,000 more were added for desegregation, all hell broke loose," he said. Blair also described the stalling tactics of the Denver School Board majority concerning court-ordered programs for

bilingual and bicultural education and for affirmative action in hiring.

In addition to expressing support for the May 17 march on Boston, the conference adopted a proposal for a statewide demonstration to take place in Denver on April 19. Part of this

proposal was to support the three demands of the May 17 march: Desegregate the Boston schools now; Keep the buses rolling; and Stop the racist attacks on Black students. Three additional demands were added for the local April 19 demonstration: Implement bilingual-bicultural education; Implement affirmative action; and Implement the court order to desegregate Denver's public schools.

Messages of support were sent from the conference to Joanne Little, accused in North Carolina of murdering a white prison guard who attempted to rape her; to Dr. Kenneth Edelin, recently convicted of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion in Boston; and to the high school students in Georgia who were suspended from school as a result of their struggle to have a Black history week assembly.

In the four days preceding the conference, Maceo Dixon spoke at campuses around the state urging support for the May 17 march on Boston. After he spoke to four high school classes in Denver, 100 students signed up to help build the Colorado Student Coalition Against Racism.

# World Outlook

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

MARCH 28, 1975

## Secret-police sabotage exposed

# Gutter press witch-hunts Australian Trotskyists

Is Trotskyism spreading at such a rapid pace throughout the world as to now threaten to take over Australia? The answer is an encouraging yes, if the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), the country's secret political police is to be believed.

To save Australia from being packaged up by the Trotskyists, the ASIO took appropriate steps, including phone tapping, sabotage, infiltration, surveillance, and break-ins.

The evidence came to light when an agent planted by the ASIO in the Melbourne branch of the Socialist Workers League (SWL) decided to tell his story to the *Sunday Observer*, a scandal-mongering, right-wing Melbourne newspaper.

This gutter rag is campaigning against the SWL as the currently most dangerous "red" organization. Under lurid front-page headlines—"SPY!" (in five-inch type) "ASIO's top agent exposes our amazing world of sex, treachery and terror"—the February 23 edition ran what purported to be an "exposé" of the Socialist Workers League and Socialist Youth Alliance. The "exposé" is based on the testimony of Max Wechsler, a former member of the SWL and a self-confessed ASIO informer.

The *Sunday Observer* tried to portray the SWL as a "terrorist" group. The editorial raved against "a group of blood-thirsty fanatics" intent on "overthrowing the established Government." The lead article charged that the SWL "is plotting to take over Australia. . . ."

"The organisation will use weapons and men from world-wide terrorist mobs for a bloody revolution." And much more in the same vein.

A statement issued February 24 by the Political Bureau of the SWL denounced the witch-hunting articles as a "slander of the League and a falsification of its well-known and easily ascertainable political positions. In particular the SWL wishes to stress two aspects of its political position.

"The SWL is a completely legal organisation. All its activities are completely legal. They consist of campaigning openly in various ways to win mass acceptance of its socialist perspective. It has no secret aims. All of its objectives are openly stated in its press, the fortnightly socialist newspaper *Direct Action*, and other publi-

cations. Anyone can verify what these views are.

"Secondly, it is a pathetic slander to call the SWL 'terrorist.' The SWL has repeatedly stated its political opposition to the strategy and tactics of individual terrorism. The February 7 *Direct Action*, for example, carried a review by one of the national leaders of the League explaining why socialists oppose individual terrorism."

"The *Observer's* 'exposé,' the statement continued, "is far more interesting for the light it throws on the nefarious operations of Australia's secret police than for the smears it makes and the lies it concocts about the SWL.

"Wechsler's testimony reveals that ASIO has carried out a systematic harassment of a legal political organisation carrying on perfectly legal political activities."

According to the *Observer* article, Wechsler's activities included "eavesdropping, stealing documents, committing sabotage, manipulating finances and obtaining sets of duplicate keys to allow ASIO agents to do a Watergate-type break-in at the SWL headquarters in Melbourne and Adelaide."

In addition to his own activities inside the organization, Wechsler assisted in other aspects of the ASIO operation:

"ASIO agents using mini-cameras, movie cameras, and cameras with telephoto lenses mingled with demonstrators, and set up spy-holes in buildings to film the organisations's activities," the *Observer* reported.

"Wechsler was regularly in demand to attend meetings in cars around various city parks with ASIO chiefs anxious to identify mug shots of people they'd photographed.

"Wechsler helped ASIO organise a major phone-tapping operation on the SWL.

"It had the approval of the then Attorney-General, Senator Murphy."

Wechsler's testimony also revealed that ASIO's interests were not limited to the SWL but included many other left-wing organizations—among them the Campaign Against Political Police, the Palestine Liberation Organization in Australia, and the Communist party.

In spite of the *Sunday Observer's* lurid headlines and rantings about "terrorism," "ASIO's top spy" was unable to provide them with a single

super agent  
the treachery  
to ruin us

plot to take  
over

Australia!

The SWL will field candidates in the next Federal election—whatever the cost.  
Wechsler has a copy of this top secret SWL document. He says the document will try to kill his success in it. It says, in part: "In our efforts to expose and counter the ALP leadership and its program we carry out a combination of independent activities related ALP work and work in various mass movements."  
The organisation has a general slogan worked out for the elections—'Vote Socialist Workers 1, ALP 2.'  
The SWL aims to run candidates in their States—Victoria, NSW and South Australia—by members have addressed the Young Labor movement and the Labor Party.

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET  
The spy's own story



Front-page article in right-wing daily glorified spying, stealing of documents, burglaries, and other Watergate-style tactics used against Australian socialists.

piece of evidence in support of their smears. The SWL statement challenged the *Sunday Observer* "to find one single shred of evidence that the SWL is engaged in any 'terrorist plot.' If there was any such evidence the *Sunday Observer* would have printed it. It didn't because it doesn't exist."

Wechsler "smuggled" a "top secret" document out of an SWL "training camp" in January, the *Sunday Observer* reported. However, the educational camp was an open one, with anyone genuinely interested in the SWL's political views welcome to attend.

And what did the *Sunday Observer*, and ASIO, actually discover from the document "smuggled" out by their "top spy"? That "the SWL will field candidates in the next Federal election. . . ."

"The organisation has a general slogan worked out for the elections—'Vote Socialist Workers 1, ALP 2.'" Dangerous stuff indeed.

Wechsler's "exposé" tries to portray other legitimate political activity by the SWL as a sinister conspiracy. Groups like the SWL are "behind a lot of trouble," which includes Aboriginal rights marches, the demonstrations against the bloodstained shah of Iran, and the projected PLO delegation tour. The SWL statement pointed out that "very many other Australians support these and other progressive causes. And they have the democratic right to do so.

"The SWL has the democratic right to help organise such activities. Every reader of *Direct Action* knows that we support these causes and that we help organise peaceful demonstrations, meetings, etc., in the course of our

political work. There's no secret about it."

The SWL demanded that the Labor government and former Attorney General Lionel Murphy reply to the charges that they directed the operation. "Was ASIO acting under Government direction in its harassment of the SWL?" the statement asked. "At all events it seems ASIO's spying operations against the left are carried out just the same whether the ALP or the Liberal Party is in office. . . ."

"The SWL calls for the abolition of the secret police and the destruction of all ASIO's files. ASIO has no function other than to harass and attempt to intimidate legitimate left-wing and dissident political activity."

The SWL statement concluded by noting that "Wechsler's stool-pigeon act is hailed by the *Observer* as an 'act of conscience.' 'It was by almost any standard, a heroic act when Maximilian Wechsler decided to come in from the cold.' It might show a lack of idealism on our part but we'd like to bet that it hasn't been an entirely profitless exercise for Wechsler.

"James P. Cannon once wrote that you can tell the morality of a class or group by the people it exalts, by its heroes. The labor and socialist movement exalts its martyrs. The gutter press and its right-wing backers exalt stool pigeons and informers.

"The *Sunday Observer's* smear campaign will not intimidate the Socialist Workers League. Nor will ASIO harassment. We shall continue to campaign vigorously for our socialist views. And we shall fight unyieldingly for our democratic right to do so."

## Attempt to crush Eritrean struggle shows nature of new gov't

# Selassie's feudal empire comes apart at the seams;

By Ernest Harsch

Under the slogan of "Ethiopia tikkem"—Ethiopia first—the nationalist military regime in Addis Ababa is seeking to smother the Eritrean struggle for independence. Despite the military regime's claim that it represents a "specifically Ethiopian socialism," its opposition to Eritrean independence does not differ fundamentally from that of the ousted emperor Haile Selassie. "Above all," the new regime proclaimed December 20, 1974, "the sacred unity of Ethiopia will be upheld."

After failing to bring the Eritrean guerrillas to the negotiating table, the Provisional Military Administrative Council in Addis Ababa declared January 28 that it had reached "the final point of its policy of restraint and will now proceed to eliminate those fighting against the unity of the country."

According to Woldeab Woldemariam, a leader of the Eritrean Liberation Front—People's Liberation Forces (PLF),<sup>1</sup> about 3,000 civilians were killed and at least seven villages wiped out in the first three days of fighting around Asmara. The Eritrean rebels also issued an "appeal to the conscience of the world" in Beirut February 3, condemning the "bombardment of the residential quarters of Asmara by the artillery of the Ethiopian military junta. . . ."

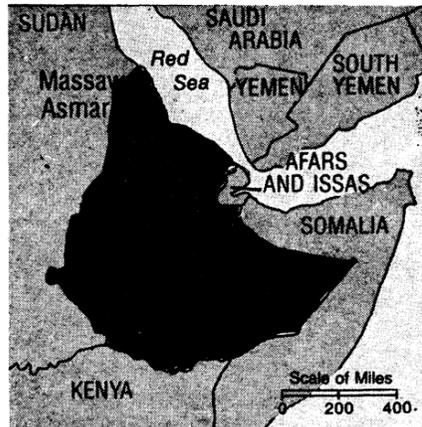
"We address this appeal at a time when thousands of the children of our people are dying under the debris of their homes in a war of extermination."

### Chauvinist Campaign

In an effort to whip up chauvinist hysteria against Eritrean independence and as preparation for stepped-up military recruitment or possible conscription, the PMAC organized a series of progovernment demonstrations in Addis Ababa and other towns and cities. "Groups of marchers," Thomas A. Johnson reported in the February 17 *New York Times*, "included military veterans, women's organizations, and thousands of street youths who, with fists clenched, shouted: 'Give us arms.'"

Major Mengistu Haile Mariam, deputy chairman of the PMAC, who is considered the strong man of the military regime and of the Dergue,<sup>2</sup> stated before a rally of 5,000 army veterans February 18 that six million volunteer militiamen were prepared to "sacrifice themselves" to prevent the "dismantling" of Ethiopia.

To put Ethiopia on a full war footing, the PMAC may need more than just additional troops. "There is no way," David B. Ottaway commented in the February 9 *Washington Post*, "that the military government can



Eritrea is strategically located on the Red Sea.

sustain the current level of warfare in Eritrea for many more weeks without increased military aid, presumably from the United States, Ethiopia's main supplier for more than 20 years."

Addis Ababa appealed to Washington to send an emergency airlift of about \$30 million worth of light arms ammunition, in addition to another request for \$100 million worth of tanks, aircraft, and other weapons. Washington is already supplying \$22.3 million in military assistance to the Ethiopian regime, of which \$11 million is in sales credits for the purchase of military equipment, including M-60 heavy tanks, and \$11.3 million is in grants. In the past fifteen years, Washington has sent about \$150 million in military aid to Addis Ababa.

In November, after the killing of former PMAC chairman Aman Michael Andom and the execution of fifty-nine landlords, military officers, and officials of the old regime, Washington declared that it was suspending all economic and military assistance to Addis Ababa. But, according to a State Department source cited by David B. Ottaway in the February 9 *Washington Post*, that move was "basically just a public relations exercise," in which Washington entered into no new agreements for a period of two months.

"Without any public announcement," Ottaway reported, "Washington resumed military assistance talks with Ethiopia about a month ago, the source said. . . ."

"No shipments of arms were stopped after November, although some were delayed a bit. . . ."

Washington, however, has so far not granted the Ethiopian request for additional arms.

### The Making of a 'Province'

As a justification for forcibly keeping Eritrea within the Ethiopian empire, Selassie often claimed that Eritrea was historically and socially a part of Ethiopia. To counter this claim, Eritrean independence leaders have pointed out that much of Eritrea had a separate existence for at least 400 years, and probably much longer, before it was annexed by Selassie in 1962 and converted into Ethiopia's fourteenth province.

In 1869, the same year that the Suez Canal was opened, the Italian Rubattino Navigation Society purchased Asab from the local rulers and in 1885 the Italians seized Massawa. The 1889 Treaty of Ucciale between Rome and Ethiopian Emperor Menelik II gave part of the Tigrean plateau to Italy.

The following year Rome named the territory under its control "Eritrea" and proclaimed it an Italian colony.

The economic structure of Eritrea was radically altered by the Italian occupation. For their own economic and military reasons, the Italian imperialists modernized the Massawa and Assab ports, built roads and railways, introduced a number of industries, and set up commercial agricultural plantations. The cities of Asmara and Massawa grew considerably. The Italians surveyed Eritrea's mineral resources and discovered significant potash deposits in the Danakil Depression. As a result of this colonial occupation, Eritrea became more economically developed than Ethiopia, Eritreans acquired a higher level of education, and an Eritrean working class arose.

Eritrea's economic value continued to grow after the end of the Italian occupation in 1941. Natural gas was discovered off the coast of Massawa and by 1967 the Soviet-financed oil refinery at Assab, with a 500,000-ton capacity, was completed. In 1950 Eritrea had eighty industrial enterprises, while Ethiopia only had fifty-five.

It was for Eritrea's relatively greater industrial capacity and its strategic position on the Red Sea that Addis Ababa, with U.S. backing, moved to add the territory to Selassie's feudalistic empire.

In 1950, Washington submitted a resolution to the United Nations proposing the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, which was passed on December 2, 1950. The federal resolution provided that Eritrea would have full autonomy with its own parliament and constitution. The two official languages of Eritrea were Tigrinya and Arabic.

From the very beginning of the "federation," Selassie sought to undermine it and began preparations for the outright annexation of Eritrea.

Those lands that had been expropriated from Eritreans by the Italian fascist administration were made over into imperial property. Thus the original owners became tenants on their own land and paid rent to the imperial regime.



Revolt against Selassie gave impetus to Eritrean independence movement. Above, Eritrean rebels on the march.

In 1952, Selassie issued Order No. 6 and Proclamation No. 130, which extended into Eritrea the application of the Ethiopian constitution and the jurisdiction of the Ethiopian courts. Press freedoms were curtailed and in 1953 the *Voice of Eritrea*, the organ of the Eritrean Democratic Front, was suspended and its editors jailed. The Eritrean chief executive was replaced in 1955 by Asfaha Wold Michael, Selassie's vice-representative in Eritrea.

After a four-day general strike in Eritrea in 1958, Selassie disbanded the Eritrean labor unions. Eritrean administrators and civil servants were replaced by Amharas and the Amharic language was imposed as the sole official language in Eritrea.

On November 14, 1962, a "resolution" was pushed through the now-domicile Eritrean Legislative Assembly dissolving that body and formally annexing Eritrea as Ethiopia's fourteenth province. Selassie then declared, "Hereafter, there shall be only one nation and that is Ethiopia."

In 1961, the Eritrean Liberation Front, which called for the independence of Eritrea, was formed. It attracted a large number of Muslim Eritreans but also a layer of Christians who were opposed to the "Amharazation" of Eritrea. Led by Idriss Mohammed Aden, a former president of the Eritrean Legislative Assembly in the 1950s, the ELF carried out a series of guerrilla actions over the next decade.

The Ethiopian troops maintained a heavy presence in Eritrea and often undertook reprisals against the civilian population. There were a number of reports of massacres in Eritrea. According to *Washington Post* reporter David B. Ottaway, in the October 18, 1974, issue, several hundred thousand peasants have been displaced over the years by the fighting.

### After Selassie's Fall

The revolts, strikes, and protests that began in February 1974 and steadily weakened Selassie's control over Ethiopia also gave an impetus to the Eritrean independence movement.

On July 15, three days after the reported massacre of Eritrean civilians at Omhajer near the Sudanese border, the Eritrean deputies in the Yeheg Memria (Chamber of Deputies) in Addis Ababa officially demanded that the Ethiopian military leaders establish contact with the Eritrean guerrilla groups. After a month lapsed with no government response, all twenty-three Eritrean deputies resigned August 16 in protest against Addis Ababa's policies in Eritrea.

They denounced the reported massacres, the suppression of news on events in Eritrea by the Ethiopian press, and the continued imprisonment of hundreds of Eritrean political prisoners.

After PMAC Chairman Aman was assassinated in late November during a factional struggle within the regime, the PMAC took an even harder attitude toward the Eritrean rebels. Troop reinforcements were moved into Eritrea, and according to a December 26 dispatch from Asmara by *Washington Post* correspondent Asmara Tamene, more than 800 persons suspected of having connections with the independence forces were arrested. Sabbe

1. The PLF is also known under the initials ELF-PLF or EPLF. Another group is called the Eritrean Liberation Front—Revolutionary Council (ELF). Some news reports, however, use the initials ELF broadly to refer to both groups.

2. The Dergue (Amharic for "committee") is the armed forces coordinating committee that led the "creeping coup" of 1974 that ousted Selassie. Most of its members are anonymous. It reportedly functions within the PMAC as a sort of executive committee.

# the record of Ethiopia's new military regime



Leaders of Ethiopian junta at parade. They have turned to Washington for help in suppressing Eritrean independence movement.

confirmed this report in Beirut December 27. Sabbe also stated that some Eritrean student leaders had been assassinated for refusing to join the PMAC-organized campaign of sending students to the countryside to teach Amharic.

On December 28, the PMAC launched its major effort toward negotiations, sending a delegation led by Imru to Asmara to meet with Eritrean community leaders and elected officials. Speaking before an assembly of 350 Eritreans, Major Berhanu Baieh, a member of the PMAC, said that the military regime was willing to negotiate directly with the guerrillas.

A committee of thirty-eight Eritrean notables and elected officials, many of whom had been considered loyal to Addis Ababa, met with the PMAC delegation and presented them with five demands: (1) that the Ethiopian troops evacuate the streets of Asmara and retire to their barracks; (2) that negotiations begin with the guerrillas, who, according to the thirty-eight, were the only true representatives of the Eritreans; (3) that the campaign of sending students to the countryside not be applied in Eritrea; (4) that all political prisoners be released; and (5) that the Ethiopian press publish all information about the negotiations and the Eritrean situation.

The PMAC then announced January 15 that its efforts to negotiate with the Eritrean rebels had broken down, and it pledged to fight "to the last drop of blood" to prevent Eritrea's independence.

## Rebel Gains

The attitude of the Eritrean civic leaders toward Addis Ababa was apparently only a reflection of the mass support that the independence forces had. *New York Times* reporter Charles Mohr visited Asmara in January, before the escalation of the war, and reported in the February 3 issue, "During a five-day visit to Asmara, the capital of the province, this correspondent could not find one Eritrean who favored anything short of full independence."

*Le Monde* correspondent Jean-Claude Guillebaud, in a generally well-informed history of the Eritrean independence movement published in the February 19 and 20 issues, wrote that many Eritrean civil servants, police,

and students had left Asmara to join the rebels.

The reports of three Western journalists, who say they have traveled in Eritrea with the rebels, also give some indication of the popular support the guerrillas receive, although the area the reporters visited was limited to the western part of Eritrea.

Charles Glass, in a dispatch published in the March 2 *Washington Post*, wrote that the rebels were recruiting many young persons from the cities and that they were "also winning support from desert tribesmen, who wander with the seasons. Shepherds guided us to water wells, guaranteeing our survival in the desert. Nomads came to the guerrillas to give information or seek medical attention.

"Support crosses religious and tribal lines in the regions we visited."

"As far as the Bronze Age tribesmen of the Beni Armer and Hadan Dawa [Beni Amer and Hadeadoa] were concerned," Colin Smith reported in the March 2 *London Observer*, "the ELF was the Government, and it was to them that they brought their medical and social problems."

Philip Caputo, the *Chicago Tribune* correspondent for the Middle East, wrote in the March 2 issue, "From what we were able to observe, the

spreading influence of the E.L.F. over Eritrea results on the one hand from the broad support they have from the populace and on the other from Ethiopia's policy of conducting reprisals and massacres in the former Italian colony."

He also reported that the opposition to Addis Ababa's rule over Eritrea had spread to the Christian population, which has traditionally been less in favor of independence than the Muslim Eritreans.

Caputo continued, "The much less politically conscious than urban youths, the rural people we met genuinely supported the E.L.F. because they regarded the organization as their sole means of freeing themselves from the Ethiopian yoke."

## Background of Junta

The new military regime in Addis Ababa is doing its utmost to crush the Eritrean separatist movement. From its own point of view, this is consistent with its general goal of unifying Ethiopia and ending the country's economic stagnation.

Many of the young junior and noncommissioned officers who now make up the Dergue were well educated and came into contact with liberal, radical, and anticolonialist ideas, both abroad and at Ethiopia's universities. Some were undoubtedly influenced by the gains made in China and Cuba after the revolutions in those countries. Others were impressed by the radical nationalism of regimes like that in Tanzania. Some profess to favor "socialism." These antifeudalistic forces were particularly evident in the newer branches of the Ethiopian military, such as the navy, air force, and army engineering corps.

The young "modernists" rebelled over Ethiopia's extreme backwardness and stagnation under Selassie.

About 90 percent of the Ethiopian population is still engaged in subsistence agriculture and nomadic animal husbandry. Average per capita income in the late 1960s was US \$66 a year. Children under one year of age die at a rate of up to 300 for every 1,000. In 1970, life expectancy averaged thirty-five years. Venereal disease affects between one-third and one-half of the adult population and from 30 to 40 percent have tuberculosis. There is

only one doctor on the average for every 63,000 persons and in some provinces the ratio reaches 1 to 400,000.

The causes for such poverty were also evident. About one-half of all peasants were tenants or sharecroppers who had to pay between one-half and three-fourths of their harvest to the landlord as rent. In some parts of Ethiopia, peasants even had to provide labor and other services to the feudal lord or the church. Such archaic relations stifled any attempts to increase agricultural productivity and efficiency.

The control of the Ethiopian economy and state by the landlord class, most of whom were Amharas or Tigreans, blocked industrial development. The landlords, who were generally hostile to business and trade and to the introduction of modern technology, drained off what little social surplus there was into extravagant consumption and usury. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which owns between one-quarter and one-third of all land, played an important part in maintaining such stagnation.

Since no significant Ethiopian bourgeoisie arose, much of the fledgling industrial sector was in the hands of imperialist interests. Foreign private investment in Ethiopia was estimated at about US\$300 million.

## Military Revolt

The frustrations within the military over this situation broke out as early as December 1960, when the 4,000-man Imperial Guard, led by Mengistu Neway, the heads of the national police and Selassie's intelligence service, and Mengistu's brother Germane, a U.S.-educated pan-Africanist, attempted a coup in Addis Ababa. The rebels proclaimed a new government, promised agrarian reform, and proposed development plans for the country. On the second day of the coup, most of the university students in the capital declared their support for the take-over. But in 1960 there was still a strong loyalist bloc within the military, which managed to crush the revolt.

More than anything else, it was the catastrophic famine, which began in 1973, that put the archaic semifeudal system to the test, bringing the latent tensions within Ethiopian society to the breaking point. The responsibility of the imperial regime in actually covering up the famine in the first months undoubtedly influenced the more hesitant sectors of the military.

Like those who revolted in 1960, the Dergue realized that to break Ethiopia out of the feudalist straitjacket it was necessary to overthrow the imperial regime, move against the most powerful landlords, and limit the direct control of the imperialist interests over the industrial sector. Unlike their predecessors, however, the Dergue was more cautious, moving against the emperor gradually while winning the support of the various units of the armed forces. It carefully tested the response of the masses, dampening the mobilizations when they began to go out of control.

As the Dergue's later actions showed, the September 1974 ouster of Selassie was more than just a coup. It marked the beginning of a social

*Continued on next page*



German helicopter bringing food during famine. Catastrophic famine finally brought about Selassie's downfall.

## ...Ethiopia: 'socialist' government fears the masses

Continued from preceding page

revolution against the feudalists, however limited and deformed that revolution may become or whatever reverses it suffers.

It appears that the present military leaders hope to industrialize and develop the country through the state apparatus, within a capitalist framework. The clearest enunciation so far of the new regime's program and goals was laid out in its ten-point program, released December 20. The three most radical parts of the program are as follows:

"6. The entire economy will be in the hands of the state. The Ethiopian people are the rightful owners of all resources in Ethiopia. Only a few companies will remain in private hands, if they are judged to be in the public interest.

"7. The right of land ownership will be given only to those who work the land.

"8. Industry will be managed by the state. Only a few private enterprises judged to be of public usefulness will be maintained, until the state decides that it is better to nationalize them."

The regime has already moved against the imperialist interests and against some of the local companies. On January 1, the Provisional Military Administrative Council announced the nationalization of all banks, credit institutions, and insurance companies. On February 3 it nationalized seventy-two companies and took over a controlling share in twenty-nine others. Those sectors that the PMAC either totally or partially nationalized included precious metals, radioactive minerals, cement, shipbuilding, metallurgy, petroleum refining, natural gas, pharmaceuticals, tobacco, printing and publishing, water, electricity, gas, transportation, radio and television, telecommunications, and the postal service.

### Nationalization of Land

In its most far-reaching move so far, the PMAC declared the nationalization of all rural land March 4. "All rural land shall be the collective property of the Ethiopian people," the PMAC proclamation stated. "No person or business organization or any other organization shall hereafter hold land in private ownership."

The decree, according to David B. Ottaway in the March 5 *Washington Post*, "provides for a 24-acre limit on individual land use, the wholesale distribution of land to the peasants, the abolition of hired labor and tenant farming, the establishment of state farms and village cooperatives and the cancellation of all peasant debts and obligations to their landlords."

The main targets of this projected radical agrarian reform are the big absentee landlords, the imperial family, and the church. The decree also provides for the take-over by the state of the few foreign-run commercial farms.

How far the military regime will be able to go in carrying through such extensive land reform, which would in effect end feudalism in Ethiopia, remains to be seen. It would certainly rouse the active opposition of the feudalists, some of whom are reported to have private armies. Much more important is the response of the peasantry. If they mobilize and begin seizing land, such a movement could sweep aside all feudalistic resistance in short order. The peasants, it should be



Demonstration in Addis Ababa. Military regime has kept mass mobilizations under tight control and has banned strikes.

noted, have staged sporadic uprisings in the past.

Another question of immediate importance in Ethiopia is the efforts of the new regime to counteract the effects of the famine. Recently, few reports on the famine situation have appeared in the press. An exception is the account offered by *Le Monde* correspondent Jean-Claude Guillebaud in a series of five articles published from January 30 through February 4, describing some of the conditions he encountered as he traveled from Addis Ababa to Asmara.

According to Guillebaud, the famine is no longer of the scope it was last year, although the danger of a new famine is still there and in some areas, such as Wollo Province, hunger is still widespread.

The new regime, however, does not seem to have done very much so far to lessen the famine danger. After coming to power it issued a few appeals for international aid. It has placed Wollo under direct military administration and has set up "famine inquiry committees" to determine who was responsible for the past famine.

The agrarian reform measures announced by the regime would certainly, in the long run, eliminate some of the conditions that kept Ethiopia's agriculture stagnant, but more immediate emergency measures are also necessary to help the victims of the famine recover and to try to stave off another serious one.

"In the districts of Lasta and Wag," Guillebaud wrote, "anonymous critics have already protested against the bad organization of relief by the military. . . ."

### 'Socialism in Uniform'?

Although the economic actions of the PMAC are quite far-reaching in the context of Ethiopia's extreme underdevelopment, they have not fundamentally gone beyond those in several other semicolonial countries, such as Burma, Tanzania, Mali, and Congo (Brazzaville), all of whose regimes claim to be "socialist."

The examples of "socialism" in the neocolonial countries that have not gone through the revolutionary process required to establish workers states have clearly shown one thing: that nationalizations of foreign and domestic industries, limited agrarian reform measures, and the introduction of circumscribed state planning are insufficient to break the hold of the imper-

alist powers over the economies of those countries.

The Ethiopian military leadership, however, still appears divided on how to carry through the "Ethiopian revolution." Armed clashes have taken place between different military units, some of whom reportedly favored a civilian regime. Whether any of these forces in the military realize the necessity of mobilizing the masses and establishing a workers state to successfully end imperialist economic control is still unknown. The pressure of events may yet push some in that direction, as it did in Cuba, where the revolutionary leadership quickly learned that its initial nationalist program was insufficient to break the U.S. grip on the country.

### Test of Experience

The present leadership of the PMAC, however, has already faced a number of tests. Its response to them indicates more clearly than any of its pronouncements what direction it is moving in.

As early as May 1974, military units moved to break strikes in their first attempts to check the growing mass mobilizations that were spreading to wider and wider sections of the population.

After coming to power, the PMAC banned strikes and protests. On September 16, barely a week after Selassie's downfall, 4,000 university and high-school students demonstrated in Addis Ababa in defiance of the protest ban. They chanted, "We want democracy" and "No military rule."

The regime then launched a campaign to send 60,000 students and teachers into the countryside, supposedly to teach the peasantry to read and write. Begashew, the president of the Addis Ababa University Students Union, explained in an interview published in the November 1974 issue of the London monthly *Africa*, "The aim of the Army is to disorganize the progressive elements by scattering them about. Once the students are scattered and disorganized, they cannot oppose the military government."

After a general assembly of the 140,000-member Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions passed resolutions calling for an end to military rule, the establishment of a "people's provisional government," and an end to the bans of strikes and protests, the president, vice-president, and secretary-general of the CELU were arrested. The CELU then made an unsus-

successful call for a general strike to gain their release. The PMAC, according to the December 27 *Le Monde*, also prevented a strike at the post of Assab in Eritrea.

While the PMAC may organize mass mobilizations in support of its policies, it clearly seeks to keep them under tight control. Obviously it fears the masses. However, the popular sentiment in favor of the PMAC and its actions should not be underestimated.

The most telling indicator of the limited nature of the military regime's goals is the attitude it has taken toward the Eritrean independence movement.

The very first point of the December 20 program states: "Ethiopia must remain a united country, without any ethnic, religious, linguistic, or cultural distinctions." Yet the "united country" that the PMAC took over from Selassie had been maintained under the imperial regime only through military force, and the "ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural distinctions"—and discrimination—are very much a part of the "sacred unity of Ethiopia."

### Limited Concessions

The Ethiopian military leaders may be willing to moderate some of the more blatant aspects of Amhara domination. They have made a minor concession to the Muslims in Ethiopia (who are about 40 percent of the population) by declaring Id El Adeha an Ethiopian holiday. Some members of the PMAC are thought to be Eritrean or Galla. The enacting of agrarian reform in the southern provinces would also eliminate the domination of those peoples by the Amhara landlords.

Such limited moves by the PMAC fall far short of the actions a workers state in Addis Ababa would undertake. A socialist regime would immediately move to abolish all Amhara domination over the Eritreans, Somalis, Gallas, and other peoples in Ethiopia and would offer them full economic, social, and political equality. It would enact whatever measures were necessary to enable all Ethiopians and Eritreans to have an active voice in the construction of a new, socialist society.

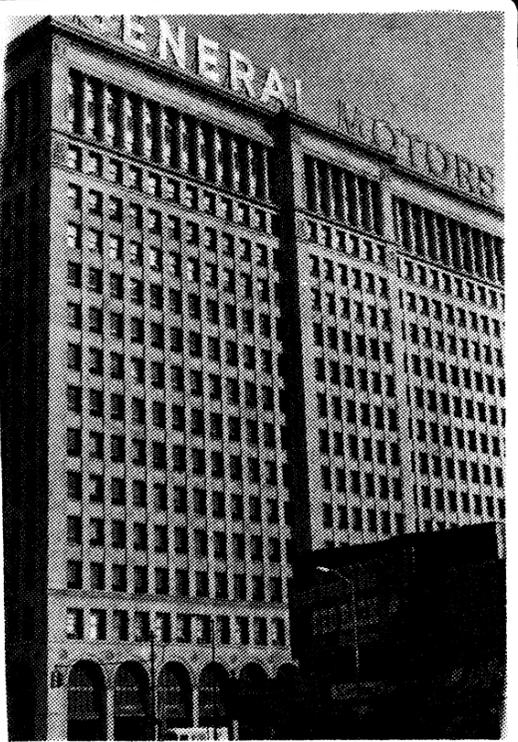
### Self-determination

After the decades of Amhara domination, however, it would be only natural for Ethiopia's various ethnic groups to be skeptical of any regime in Addis Ababa. An Ethiopian workers state would therefore have to prove its sincerity by recognizing the right of all peoples in Ethiopia to self-determination, whether they choose to remain within the same country, form a federation, or set up their own independent states.

If the Eritreans, Somalis, or any of the other peoples chose independence, a socialist regime in Addis Ababa could still offer economic cooperation. For instance, Eritrea's relatively greater industrial capacity and Ethiopia's untapped agricultural potential could easily complement each other and help both countries develop more rapidly.

The PMAC has not taken any such actions. Although it may seek to replace the old imperial regime and feudal property ties with a modern centralized state and bourgeois economic relations, its position of "Ethiopian unity" is essentially the same as that of Selassie and his predecessors. It is only trying to "modernize" the kingdom.

# Why the crisis doesn't hurt GM



Militant/Dick Roberts

By Dick Roberts

DETROIT—In one year, the official unemployment rate in Detroit has climbed from 9.1 percent to 23 percent, an unemployment level as high as this country suffered in the depression of the 1930s.

There are Black communities in East Detroit, areas that depend mainly on Chrysler plants, where the unemployment level is from 36 to 62 percent.

Some laid-off auto workers receive supplemental unemployment benefits (SUB) amounting to 95 percent of their wages before the layoffs. But union officials predict that SUB will run out in the next few months.

It will mean that a good share of the population of Detroit will be living on unemployment relief—provided that lasts. Michigan will have to turn to Washington to borrow money to keep the unemployment payments going before the spring is out.

Detroit's dilemma is extreme because of the exceptional dependence of the city on one industry—auto. There are more than 300,000 auto workers in metropolitan Detroit when the industry is in full steam. Today as many as a quarter of them are unemployed and this figure is growing.

But just because of this dependence on one industry Detroit sharply focuses attention on the more general question of the relations between the capitalist business cycle and social welfare. Detroit is tied to the business cycle as closely as the cars in a roller coaster are tied to the tracks.

Any attempt to radically improve the situation for workers in Detroit would have to be based on recognizing the close tie of the business cycle to the city's health.

## Business cycle

Yet many people pretend business cycles don't exist. Every time car sales slump, or for that matter, a recession hits any major industry, a whole group of people claim that they are surprised and they don't know what to do about it.

This group includes representatives of industry, Democratic and Republican party politicians, trade-union leaders, and the whole host of people in the media who bring the bad news to us.

But recessions are as inevitably a part of the capitalist system as night following day. There has never been a ten-year period in capitalist history without a recession, sometimes more than one. The auto industry itself has seen nine slumps since the end of World War I, several of them considerably worse than the sales decline today.

This is particularly important to remember when listening to the arguments of the auto corporations and their representatives in Congress.

For the truth of the matter is that the inevitability of business cycles is well known to the rulers of industry. Monopoly price policy is based on sales fluctuations.

To an important extent, in fact, monopoly arose as the "solution" of capitalist industry to business cycles. By controlling a sufficient amount of the production in a given industry monopolies can set prices that will buffer them against cyclical downswings.

General Motors (GM) is an excellent example. Today it is "only" the second-biggest manufacturing industry in the world because higher oil prices pushed Exxon into first place this year.

Nevertheless, GM's pricing policies determine the

level in the remainder of the auto industry. This important fact of American economic life is so well known that *Business Week* magazine conceded it in an article on Detroit prices January 20.

"Neither Ford, Chrysler, nor AMC [American Motors Corporation] can over-price their giant rival and hope to remain competitive," *Business Week* said. "In the same way, they cannot afford to undercut GM either, since their per-unit costs generally run higher than those of GM."

GM's pricing policies evolved in the early 1920s as bankers and industrialists built the auto corporation into the multinational giant we know today.

## Monopoly prices

The fundamentals were explained by Albert Bradley in a pamphlet entitled *Financial Control Policies of General Motors*, published in March, 1926. At the time, Bradley was assistant treasurer of the corporation. He rose to become president and chairman of the board serving as a GM director for decades.

Bradley emphasized that prices should be set by the finance committee, the highest executive body in the corporation. Many years later, another GM top official, Harlow Curtice, testified before Congress that *only four men* actually set GM prices, out of a work force internationally at that time of more than 500,000.

"The governing considerations," said Bradley, "are rate of return on investment and the relationship of capacity to average and peak demands."

Prices and production must encompass "operation of those forces which are generated within the general business situation itself, and which make for alternating periods of depression, revival, prosperity, and crisis, usually referred to as the business cycle."

This high executive probably didn't know *why* business cycles occur. Nor did he need to know. Leave it to the economic apologists in the universities to come up with reasons.

The important thing for the monopolists is to price products and derive profits with the recognition of periodic crises firmly in mind. "It must be understood that the fundamental consideration is the average return over a protracted period of time, not the specific rate of return over any particular year or short period of time," said Bradley.

And it is this type of strategy that is followed by all monopolies. Albert Sloan, the longtime highest official in General Motors, whom Bradley succeeded, emphasized in *My Years With General Motors* (1963):



Militant/Dick Roberts

Detroit jobless. Depression means slashing of workers' incomes, but GM has not had profit loss since 1920.

"The need for financial controls grew out of crises. . . . Their effectiveness was demonstrated particularly in the depression year 1932. The corporation's U.S. and Canadian unit volume in that year was 50 per cent less than that of 1931. . . . But the corporation was not demoralized as it had been in 1920 and it stayed in the black. Not many corporations did as well." (Emphasis added.)

## Effect on workers

And the American working class fared a hell of a lot worse.

General Motors has suffered a profit loss only once in its entire history, in 1920.

That is because production and prices are geared to make profits when the corporation is selling at only a fraction of what it actually could produce.

Bradley testified in 1955 before Congress that GM's "standard profits" are based on a production schedule of 180 days out of the year—less than half! Anything over this is gravy. It allows for an enormous gap in production—six months in fact—without undercutting profits.

But what does this mean for workers?

It means that periods of massive layoffs are inevitable. *They are foreseen in the production schedule!*

Capitalist politicians know this too. Most of the facts in this article come from *congressional hearings*. As recently as April, 1969, Ralph Nader explained the entire gamut of GM pricing techniques to a Senate subcommittee headed up by two Democrats—Senators Gaylord Nelson and Wayne Morse.

Now Senator Hubert Humphrey has promised a hearing on auto-pricing policies, just in case most people have forgotten that there have already been many extensive investigations of the same subject.

But if monopolies seek to buffer their profits against recessions and maintain their incomes, why shouldn't workers do the same thing?

## Workers' rights

The 1976 Socialist Workers campaign committee has issued a pamphlet that has ideas on how workers can free themselves from the effects of economic downturns. The pamphlet is called *A Bill of Rights for Working People*. Three of its concepts are particularly important in respect to recessions:

A shorter workweek with no reduction in pay;

A massive public-works program launched by the federal government;

Union-scale wages for all unemployed workers.

These concepts are based on recognizing that recessions are inevitable under capitalism. They seek to shift the burden of these downswings off the backs of workers.

A thirty-hour workweek at forty hours' pay would return most auto workers to their jobs right now, with auto unemployment standing at about 25 percent.

Workers who did not get jobs this way could find work in the many urgently needed public-works projects that the federal government should launch, including improving housing, educational facilities, urban transportation, and the environment.

And if there are still unemployed people, the government should give them relief at livable wage rates.

Corporations and the government they run will scream bloody murder about all of these ideas. A shorter workweek would cut into profits. Massive federal works programs and social benefits would cut into the cherished war budget.

But a choice has to be made. In the capitalist United States today, in fact, the choice has already been made—that the overwhelming majority of the population should be subjected to the devastating effects of the business cycle. Detroit shows what it can come to.

To get out of this crisis people have to begin seriously thinking about the choice *not* to subject their livelihoods to the needs of monopoly.

## Wins union recognition

# Victory in Ann Arbor grad student strike

By Margaret Thomas

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—Six hundred enthusiastic graduate student assistants voted March 11 to return to their jobs after their twenty-nine-day strike against the University of Michigan. Members of the Graduate Employees Organization (GEO) subsequently voted 622 to 12 to formally ratify the contract agreement, which was seen as an important victory.

Graduate student assistants are hired by the university on a part-time basis while they work on advanced degrees. GEO was certified as the exclusive representative of the 2,200 teaching, research, and staff assistants in April 1974.

Major gains in the new contract, the first won by the union, include:

- An 8 percent salary increase retroactive to September 1974; in September 1975 there will be another 5.6 percent increase or an increase equal to the percentage raise for instructional staff, whichever is greater.

- An agency shop clause that requires all graduate student assistants, as of September 1, to either join the union as a condition of employment or pay a service fee.

- A rebate on this year's tuition and a reduction and freeze on future tuition payments.

- A provision forbidding employment discrimination because of race, creed, color, religion, sex, age, sexual preference, or any nonrelated mental or



Rally of 2,500 students expressed support

physical handicap. Graduate student assistants are now included in the university's affirmative-action program for other employees as a result of the contract.

- A nonreprisal clause specifying that no academic reprisals will be taken against any participant in the strike. In addition, a memo will be sent to departments specifying that there be no reprisals against any other students

who missed classes because of the strike.

During the lengthy strike the most important issue became union security rather than the original wage and other noneconomic demands. The university apparently decided that if it could keep GEO on strike long enough the strikers would give up and return to work.

The university tried unsuccessfully to appeal to the strikers' "professional-

ism" in order to get them to go back to work. When this failed, the university threatened to fire all striking graduate student assistants who failed to return to work on March 10, the day after the week-long spring break.

During the third week of the walk-out, the university ordered Ann Arbor cops to intimidate and harass picketers who were stopping deliveries at the major loading docks. Fifty-seven students were arrested and several picketers were assaulted by the cops.

Key to winning the strike was support from other unions, including the Teamsters who deliver supplies to the university. In many instances members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), who also make deliveries, honored the picket lines. Professors and community leaders also pressured the university to settle.

One notable disappointment was the inclusion in the contract of a clause prohibiting GEO from striking or honoring the strike of another union. A similar clause is included in the AFSCME contract covering 2,400 service and maintenance workers at the university. Many GEO members pointed out that it was this clause that kept many in AFSCME from honoring GEO picket lines.

However, GEO members assert that the no-strike clause will not keep them from going on strike again if it is necessary to win future demands.

## SCLC leads march to free Joanne Little

By Dennis Scarla

GREENVILLE, N.C.—In spite of steady rain, 300 people marched and chanted through the streets of Greenville to the Pitt County Courthouse March 13 to demand freedom for Joanne Little.

Little, a twenty-year-old Black woman, is facing a first-degree murder charge for defending herself from an attempted rape by a white prison guard. The guard entered her cell in the Beaufort County jail and threatened her with an ice pick.

If found guilty, Little faces the electric chair.

The march was led by Rev. Ralph Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

"We're saying we want Joanne Little to be free of all charges," Abernathy

told the crowd. "This is the typical example of another human being—who happens to be a woman—whose rights have been abused.

"We have got to win this case, not only in the courts, but in the public arena," Abernathy said.

"This young woman is not guilty of murder. She was defending herself. Now the whole world is looking to eastern North Carolina."

The mid-Atlantic Young Socialist traveling team joined in the demonstration. All the marchers took copies of the Socialist Workers party's proposed Bill of Rights for Working People, and sixty people bought copies of the *Militant* or the *Young Socialist*.

The march was organized by the Free Joanne Little Committee Coalition. Based in Greenville, the coalition

includes SCLC; People Involved Through Togetherness, a countywide Black organization; the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ; Concerned Women for Justice; and several other religious and community organizations.

Golden Frinks, state field secretary of SCLC, told the *Militant*: "This is the kind of issue that students around the country should be getting behind. This coalition is open to anyone who is willing to work for Joanne's defense."

Frinks outlined the coalition's plans for drawing public attention to the case. "We're going to march from Greenville on April 3 all the way to Washington, North Carolina [where the trial will be held], and establish in Washington a tent-city until Joanne's trial is over."



Joanne Little

## N.Y. doctors walk out, demand 80-hour week

By Brian Johnson

NEW YORK—Twenty-one of New York City's ninety-one hospitals were struck March 17 by the Committee of Internes and Residents (CIR), representing 3,000 interns and resident physicians. This is reported to be the first strike by doctors in the nation's history.

The main demand of the CIR is for an eighty-hour workweek with no shift longer than fifteen hours. The union is also asking for a limitation on "out-of-title" work. This is the practice of forcing interns and residents to carry out tasks that are part of the jobs of other hospital personnel, thus taking the doctors away from their patients. The CIR is demanding that the hospitals accept arbitration on these issues.

Doctors currently work up to 120 hours a week, including shifts of

thirty-six to fifty-eight hours without a break.

Out-of-title work includes pushing wheel chairs, carrying specimens to laboratories, and taking phone messages. The attitude of hospital administrators on this question was summarized by a striker who said his department head had told him: "You're my resident. If I tell you to wash floors, you'll wash floors."

The CIR notes that improving the working conditions of house staff (interns and residents) will improve patient care. A union button says, "Shorter hours, more staff, better patient care."

The strike follows months of negotiations between the CIR and the League of Voluntary Hospitals, which employs interns and residents in both private and municipal hospitals in the city.

In January a federal board of inquiry was appointed to make findings of fact and nonbinding recommendations. After eight days of hearings the board made recommendations that were all accepted by the CIR. The league rejected points on out-of-title work and hours and refused to resume bargaining until March 15, only two days before the strike was scheduled to begin.

Support for the strike has been expressed by District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; State Nurses Association; Stationary Engineers; Student American Medical Association; and several medical student organizations at the affected hospitals.

District 1199 has threatened to bring its members out on strike if the league persists in its refusal of arbitration.

At stake in the strike is the survival of the union itself. Representatives of the league have admitted they are out to break the CIR.

Formed in 1957, the CIR was the first collective bargaining association ever established by doctors. Since then doctors throughout the country have organized into the Physicians National Housestaff Association.

Opponents of the doctors' strike have accused them of breaking their professional code by leaving their patients. Asked whether the strikers were violating medical ethics, CIR President Richard Knutson replied to a reporter, "No, because we violate them every day when we work with patients after forty or fifty hours without sleep."

## Militant circulation drive

# Sales increase at plant gates, jobless lines

By Pat Galligan

Why can't everybody have a job? Sixty-four people on Denver unemployment lines bought the March 14 *Militant* because they were looking for an answer to this question.

Response to the feature "Why can't everyone have a job?" was so favorable that Denver has ordered 1,000 copies of this four-page *Militant* reprint on the causes and solution to unemployment. The reprint will be distributed along with Socialist Workers party campaign literature and sales of the *Militant*.

*Militant* supporters in Denver, Saint Louis, Cleveland, and Milwaukee have found that regular sales at unemployment lines and plant gates have contributed to their success in meeting their goals each week of the spring sales drive.

Denver's sales of the March 14 issue at these locations were ninety-four out

of 400 copies sold. Saint Louis sold seventy out of 421 copies at two plant gates and a steel mill.

Nationally, sales of the March 14 issue totaled 7,718 copies. Because of petitioning efforts to place Socialist Workers party candidates on the ballot in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, supporters in those cities lowered their sales goals for the week, bringing the national goal, not including the traveling Young Socialist teams, to 9,300 copies.

Expansion of on-the-job and plant-gate sales can boost total weekly sales substantially. Reports from around the country confirm this potential.

Mike Downs is a member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in Seattle. He sells the *Militant* regularly on the job and at the union hiring hall, averaging fifteen to twenty copies each week. He has also sold five subscriptions to co-

workers during this drive.

As anger grows over the economic crisis, sales of the *Militant* are increasing at union meetings and job actions. Seventeen members of the United Auto Workers bought copies of the *Militant* at a recent meeting in Milwaukee.

In Denver, twenty-five people bought *Militants* at an emergency meeting of the United Rubber Workers to discuss layoffs.

Cappy Kidd from Upper West Side, New York, sold twenty-five copies at a construction workers' protest for jobs.

The *Militant* is becoming a familiar sight to jobless workers waiting for the 8 a.m. opening of the Minneapolis—Saint Paul unemployment office. More than twenty copies are sold weekly.

"We have found that this is the busiest time of the day," explains Greg Guckenberg, Twin Cities sales director. "We start selling around 7:30 a.m. to the people already waiting in line."

The Louisville, Kentucky, unemployment office is a regular sales spot for the Young Socialist Alliance there. Sales director Amy Husk reports that headlines dealing with the economy boost sales.

Expanding sales at plant gates and unemployment lines takes on added importance with the call for a national rally for jobs in Washington, D.C., April 26. A special week of intensive *Militant* sales and socialist campaigning is planned for the week of April 12. Future articles will carry details on this target week for sales.

Young Socialist traveling teams sold 321 of the 658 subscriptions sent in this week. The subscription total now stands at 3,626, or 40 percent of our goal of 9,000.

The Mid-Atlantic team set the pace by selling seventy-five subscriptions at East Carolina University in Greenville, North Carolina. The New England, Ohio/Kentucky, Michigan/Indiana, and Missouri teams also surpassed their weekly quotas of thirty subscriptions.

In addition, the teams sold 1,454 single copies.

Reprints of the "Why can't everyone have a job?" feature are now available. The cost is four cents each for 500 or more, five cents each for 100-499, and six cents each for less than 100. Single copies are free.

Order from: Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

## Scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	
		last week	%
Denver	350	400	114
Ellsworth, S.D.	10	11	110
Baltimore	75	82	109
San Francisco	450	474	105
St. Louis	400	421	105
Cleveland	350	369	105
Nashville, Tenn.	30	31	103
Oakland/Berkeley	600	613	102
Milwaukee	200	202	101
Detroit	600	600	100
Bloomington, Ind.	100	100	100
Charleston, W. Va.	50	50	100
Louisville, Ky.	35	35	100
Amarillo, Tex.	10	10	100
Champaign, Ill.	5	5	100
Syracuse, N.Y.	5	5	100
Philadelphia	300	291	97
Portland, Ore.	325	308	95
Seattle	275	250	91
Pittsburgh	100	89	89
Logan, Utah	45	40	89
Washington, D.C.	400	350	88
Twin Cities	300	240	80
Madison, Wis.	25	19	76
Chicago	600	450	75
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	400	290	73
Atlanta	475	340	72
Upper West Side, N.Y.	425	300	71
L.A. (West Side)	375	253	67
Brooklyn, N.Y.	400	263	66
Houston	500	292	58
Boston	400	226	57
San Diego	275	149	54
Columbus, Ohio	25	13	52
State College, Pa.	15	7	47
L.A. (Central-East)	375	140	37
Total	9,300	7,718	83
Young Socialist teams			
Missouri/Kansas	100	178	178
Mid-Atlantic	100	170	170
Michigan/Indiana	100	155	155
Northern Calif.	100	137	137
New England	100	108	108
N.Y./N.J./Conn.	100	105	105
Southeast	100	103	103
Ohio/Kentucky	100	103	103
Northwest	100	101	101
Rocky Mountain	100	100	100
Texas	100	85	85
Pennsylvania	100	84	84
Southern Calif.	100	25	25
Total	1,300	1,454	112



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Chicago supporters combine 'Militant' sales with campaigning for Willie Mae Reid, SWP candidate for mayor.

## Suits hit restrictions on right to sell 'Militant'

By Rose Ogden

Two important lawsuits to protect the right of supporters of the *Militant* to sell the paper without restrictions have been filed in recent weeks. The cases are being handled by the Bill of Rights Foundation, which supports civil liberties cases. Herbert Jordan, of the Rabinowitz, Boudin & Standard law firm, is representing the plaintiffs in both cases.

One of the suits, filed in Los Angeles, involves the right to sell the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers on the West Los Angeles College campus of the Los Angeles Community College District.

On several occasions, salespeople have been ordered to stop selling both papers on the West Los Angeles College campus, and in one incident a salesperson was threatened with arrest by campus security cops.

Last fall, Laura Moorhead and Omari Musa, then Socialist Workers party candidates, formally requested permission to sell the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* in an open area of the campus that is generally accessible to

the public. The president of the college informed them that they could give the papers away for free, but the only method permissible for the sale of newspapers is through the use of coin-operated vending machines.

This "offer" of the use of vending machines is a smoke screen for the administration's attempts to limit First Amendment rights on the campus. College officials claim that because the newspaper is sold, restrictions on sales do not violate "free speech." However, courts have ruled that distribution of literature, even when money is charged, is protected by the First Amendment. In one decision, *Jones v. Opelika*, a federal court declared:

"Freedom of speech and freedom of the press cannot and must not mean freedom only for those who can distribute their broadsides without charge. There may be others with messages more vital but purses less full, who must seek some reimbursement for their outlay or else forego passing on their ideas."

Furthermore, despite the verbal as-

urance that the distribution of free literature is permissible on the campus, the reality has been that socialists have not been permitted to pass out campaign literature on the campus. Consequently, a victory in this case will help to open up the Los Angeles Community College District to all forms of free expression.

The other lawsuit, filed in New York City, seeks to uphold the right to sell the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* in subway stations where transit cops have repeatedly told salespeople to stop selling or face being ticketed.

In response to a letter from members of the SWP requesting permission to sell without interference in subway stations, John de Roos, general counsel for the New York City Transit Authority, responded that except for sale through newsstands, newspaper sales are prohibited by transit authority regulations.

To justify this, de Roos explained that "due to the confined space in the subways, a free flow of passenger traffic must be maintained in order to secure the safety of our riders. Your

proposed method of sale would interfere substantially with this traffic flow, and thereby create hazardous conditions for subway riders."

Anyone who has had the occasion to use the New York subway system knows that this argument is a sham.

As Jack Lieberman, a plaintiff in this case, points out in his affidavit, the larger subway stations are "spacious, underground areas containing a variety of facilities and features. In addition to the platforms where passengers await their trains, there are passageways and open areas lined with shops, newsstands, shoe shine stands, telephone booths, vending machines, lockers, lunch counters and so forth."

The issue here is similar to the Los Angeles case. The ban on personal sales of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* violates the rights to free speech and free press guaranteed by the First Amendment. A victory in this case will be important for *Militant* salespeople in many other cities who face similar regulations restricting sales in public facilities.

# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**FREE JOANNE LITTLE.** Speakers: Susan Perry, Atlanta Representative, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Karen Galloway, defense lawyer for Joanne Little; Tyrone Brooks, national director of communications, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Fri., March 28, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$2 (50 percent goes to Joanne Little defense committee). Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

## CLEVELAND

**THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS.** A weekend of classes by Dick Roberts, author, *Mideast Oil and U.S. Imperialism*, staff writer for the *Militant*. Sat., March 29, 2 p.m. and 4 p.m.; Sun., March 30, 11 a.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2 for weekend, \$1 per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers party. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

## DENVER

**REPRESSION AND RIGHT-WING TERROR IN ARGENTINA.** Speaker: Juan Carlos Coral, chairman of national committee, Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores of Argentina. Sat., March 29, 8 p.m. International House, 1600 Logan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. For more information call (303) 388-7663.

## DETROIT

**THE CIA: UNCOVERING SECRET U.S. POLICE METHODS.** Speakers: Christy Wallace, victim of Watergating, member, Socialist Workers party; others to be announced. Fri., March 28, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## SAN DIEGO

**HOW LABOR CAN FIGHT TO END UNEMPLOYMENT.** Panel of trade-union activists. Fri., March 28, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

## HOUSTON

**MARXIST VIEW OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION.** Part of weekly socialist class series. Sat., March 29, 4 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Admission free. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

**GOVERNMENT WATERGATING: FROM THE ROSENBERG CASE TO COINTELPRO.** Speakers: The Reverend Amos Murphy, Los Angeles Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case; Byron Ackerman, Political Rights Defense Fund. Videotaped interview with Robert Meeropol, son of the Rosenbergs. Fri., March 28, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

## LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

**A NEW BILL OF RIGHTS FOR WORKING PEOPLE.** Speaker: David Brown, Socialist Workers party candidate for Los Angeles Community College Board of Trustees. Fri., March 28, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Westside Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

## NASHVILLE, TENN.

**WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR.** Weekly classes in socialism. Tues., March 25, and Tues., April 1, 8 p.m. Room 203 Sarratt Student Center, Vanderbilt University. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party 1976 Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (615) 383-2583.

## OAKLAND/BERKELEY

**CAMBODIA: U.S. OUT NOW!** Speakers: Anne Chase, Socialist Workers party candidate for Berkeley city council; others to be announced. Fri., March 28, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

## PHILADELPHIA

**THE ERITREAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND ETHIOPIA.** Speakers: Solomon Habtemicall, Eritreans for Liberation; Tony Austin, activist in African liberation support movement, member, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., March 28, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## PITTSBURGH

**RACISM: HOW IT BEGAN AND WHEN IT WILL END.** Speakers: Curtiss Porter, chairperson, Black Studies Department, University of Pittsburgh; Susie Beck, Socialist Workers party candidate for city council. Fri., March 28, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. (corner Halket). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

## ST. LOUIS

**WHO RULES ST. LOUIS?** Speaker: Barbara Bowman, Socialist Workers party candidate for president of board of aldermen. Fri., March 28, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Suite 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM: ARE THEY COMPATIBLE?** Speaker: Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau Editor of the *Militant*. Fri., March 28, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## TWIN CITIES

**HARD TIMES: UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY IN 1975.** Speakers: Jerri Sudderth, Northside Tenants Union; Peggi Perrone, member, Coalition of Labor Union Women and Socialist Workers party. Fri., March 28, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**THE POLICE, THE PRISONS, AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.** Speakers: Cade Ware, president, Gay Activists Alliance; Joseph Gattling, chairperson, People's Government Association, Federal City College; Isabelle Gold, attorney, member of Socialist Workers party. Fri., March 28, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

# ...FBI

*Continued from page 5*

February 14-16 antiracist conference in Boston. A group led by members of some Maoist sects tried to disrupt the conference by charging that the whole affair was "dominated," "manipulated," and "controlled behind the scenes" by the "opportunists" of the YSA and SWP.

The disrupters delayed the conference for a while and finally decided to walk out. As they were leaving they said, "We demand an end to busing, an end to federal troops, and an end to this whole fucked-up reactionary con-

ference!"

Then it became clear for all to see that their red-baiting slanders were simply a cover for their political opposition to a movement in defense of busing, which was the entire purpose of the desegregation conference.

Differences of opinion will arise in any healthy, living movement, and discussion of those political differences can only help make the movement stronger. Red-baiting poisons the atmosphere and makes discussion impossible. It sows the seeds of suspicion and distrust.

The FBI is well aware of this. These documents provide some important lessons. They show who benefits from red-baiting—the FBI, the racists, and the reactionaries. And they show who loses—the labor movement, the civil rights movement, and other movements for social change.

# ...Lon Nol

*Continued from page 13*

she was being evacuated from Phnompenh.

"They use and manipulate the ordinary people of this country," she said. "They hold back rice for the highest bidder, while hundreds are dying of malnutrition every day."

Sydney Schanberg, in his March 18 dispatch, after quoting one description of how "bodies are all over the place," went on to write, with unintended irony:

"Neak Luong, whose civilian population has been sliding toward starvation for two months now, is being kept alive by the dogged resistance of its military garrison and by daily American airdrops of ammunition." (Emphasis added.)

Or, as one American officer said during the Tet offensive of 1968, "It became necessary to destroy the town in order to save it."

# ...Camejo

*Continued from page 16*

arrested for "interfering" with a police investigation. At the police station a guard threatened him saying, "You're the big Commie, aren't you? I'm going to get you when you get out."

Before Camejo's Texas tour, the Ku

Klux Klan carried out an armed demonstration in front of the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters. The police have admitted that they knew in advance that the demonstration was to take place, and they have refused to make any arrests.

At a news conference in Dallas two days after his arrest, Camejo said, "I have filed a complaint with the Justice Department concerning the violation of my civil rights by the illegal interference of the Houston police in my campaign. It is ironic that the police have refused to put an end to the terrorist harassment of my campaign supporters by the KKK but find the time and energy to arrest me on no legal grounds whatsoever."

Camejo is demanding that the city drop the charges against him. If it refuses he will press for a jury trial, with the right to subpoena the chief of police and the guard who threatened him.

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by Malik Miah

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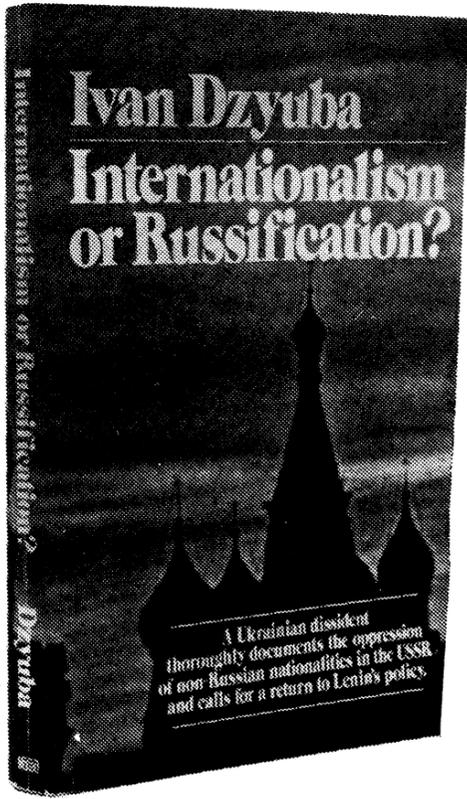
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Militant/Steve Chainey

Carpenters and supporters picket during strike last winter.

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## CHICAGO

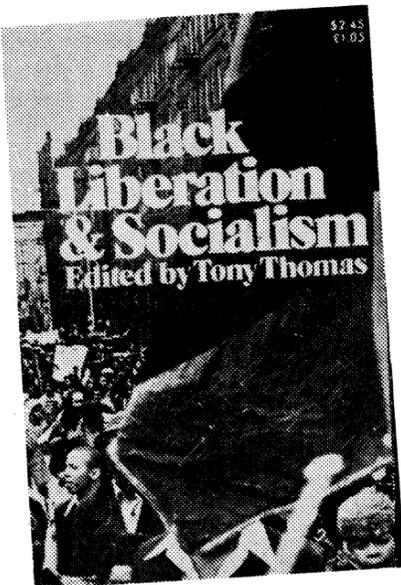
# Socialist mayoral campaign rally

SATURDAY, MARCH 29. SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY MAYORAL CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET. Speakers: WILLIE MAY REID, SWP candidate for mayor; PROF. MORRIS STARKY, victim of FBI spying. 5:30 p.m., refreshments; 6:30 p.m., dinner; 8 p.m., rally. 428 S. WABASH, FIFTH FLOOR. Donation: \$5 for rally and banquet, \$1.50 for rally only. Ausp.: Chicago SWP Mayoral Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-0756.

Calendar and classified rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

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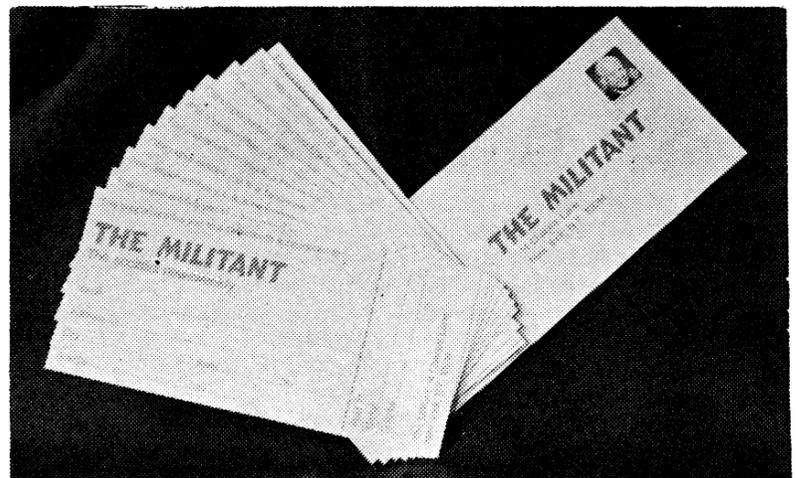
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## AFL-CIO calls nat'l rally in D.C. for jobs

By Gene Anderson

MARCH 19—A national "Rally for Jobs Now" has been set for April 26 in Washington, D.C., by the Industrial Union Department, (IUD) of the AFL-CIO.

The date and site of the rally were announced today by IUD President I.W. Abel and Secretary-Treasurer Jacob Clayman.

Clayman told the *Militant* that "large numbers of working people are expected to attend." He said the rally will be held in Kennedy stadium, which seats 50,000.

Plans for the demonstration will be mailed to all IUD affiliates "within the next few days," Clayman said, and they will take responsibility for informing union members and organizing transportation.

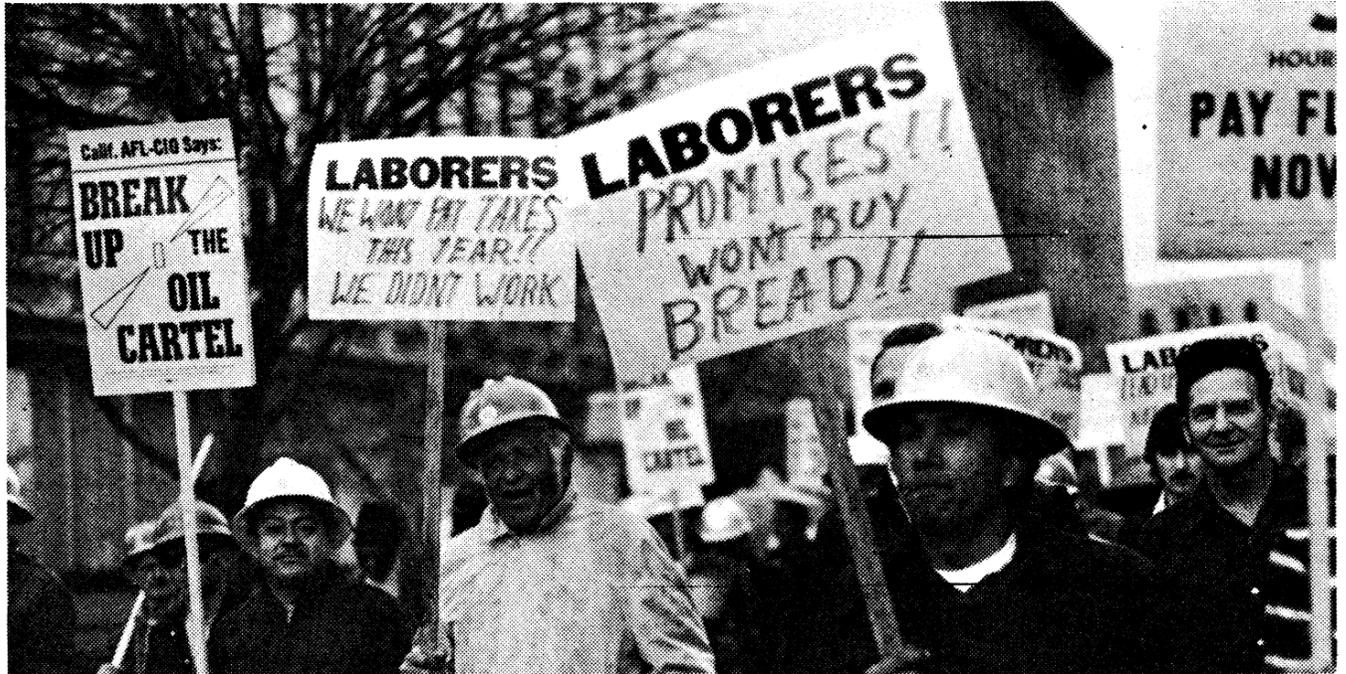
This call testifies to the rising anger among union members and widespread sentiment for labor action to fight the layoffs.

Plans for a national demonstration for jobs have been in the works for several weeks. A group of New York area unions, spearheaded by District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), had previously called a march on Washington for April 29.

Then the IUD executive board decided to sponsor a national rally, at first tentatively setting it for April 19. The New York group, seeing the prospects for a broader and larger action, agreed to merge its demonstration with that of the IUD.

A meeting of the New York unions, scheduled for March 20, is expected to back April 26 and begin organizing for the action.

District Council 37 has already



Militant/Howard Petrick

Sentiment for labor action against layoffs is sweeping country. Above, demonstration in Sacramento, California, earlier this month.

pledged to charter buses and trains to bring thousands of AFSCME members to Washington.

Another major New York union, District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, has reported on the action at its chapter meetings and delegate assemblies and has announced plans to charter buses.

A Washington spokesperson for the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) told the *Militant* today: "We have supported this idea for some time. We passed a motion at our international convention last Septem-

ber, when the recession/depression was taking hold, which called for mass action in Washington early in the year if Congress had not done something about the problems by then.

"We're going to try to get a large turnout of our members, both active and on layoff, in Washington," he said.

At a recent meeting of the union's executive board, IUE President Paul Jennings announced the action with these words: "I urge every IUE local to join this important effort and come to Washington. We must get Congress and the administration to deal effectively with the growing emergency."

The national steering committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), meeting March 15-16 in Detroit, voted to endorse the demonstration and to organize CLUW contingents. The steering committee called on CLUW members to work through their local unions to build the rally.

It remains to be seen how far the generally conservative national officialdom of the AFL-CIO will go in turning out the union membership and the unemployed. Filling Kennedy Stadium is certainly a modest enough goal for the IUD, which has fifty-eight affiliates among AFL-CIO unions, numbering some six million workers.

The call for a national rally under official AFL-CIO auspices, however, represents a major opportunity for all trade unionists who want to take action against the layoffs. Of the many jobless demonstrations that have been called or proposed this spring, April 26 has by far the broadest sponsorship and greatest authority.

Most local unions will readily endorse the call, and official union committees can be established through which interested workers can organize

for the demonstration. Groups of students and others affected by the economic crisis can join in.

April 26 has the potential to become a powerful display of opposition to unemployment and the government's failure to act—one that can inspire workers with a sense of the real power of the labor movement, and point toward future massive labor actions.

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, will stage a march for jobs here on Wednesday, March 26.

Demonstrators will march through downtown Los Angeles to the Federal Building, where a noon rally will be held.

Plans for the demonstration were developed by the General Labor Committee on the Economic Crisis, a recently organized subcommittee of the county federation.

The action is a follow-up to the jobless demonstration staged at the state capitol in Sacramento by the California AFL-CIO March 8.

In a communication to Los Angeles area labor bodies, Sigmund Arywitz, county federation executive secretary, urged an all-out effort to ensure a big turnout.

"This march will be the first united public action we will undertake," he said. "It is important that it be successful and that the attendance represent a cross section of the labor movement."

"Please publicize the activity and urge as many of your members, including unemployed and retired workers, as possible to be present."

Demonstrators will assemble at 11 a.m. at Eighth and Santee Streets, a block east of Los Angeles Street, for the march to the Federal Building.

### SWP backs April 26

The following statement has been issued by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president in 1976.

We welcome the call by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO for a national demonstration for jobs in Washington, D.C., on April 26.

As the economic crisis threatens to become another Great Depression, millions of workers are being laid off, their families thrown into poverty and despair.

Yet President Ford and the Democratic-controlled Congress refuse to take action to turn this situation around. They are looking out for the interests of the profiteering corporations, but have only callous disregard for the needs of working people.

It will take independent action by

the labor movement, mobilizing in a vast show of strength, to force the government to act. April 26 can be the beginning.

The Socialist Workers party believes that everyone should have the right to a job and an adequate income. As an immediate step to provide jobs, we call for a massive, emergency program of useful public works. This could easily be paid for by stopping the arms flow to Cambodia and South Vietnam and all other war spending.

As candidates for president and vice-president, in the weeks ahead we will publicize the march on Washington and urge everyone to participate.

Our campaign supporters—union members, unemployed workers, and students—will work in their unions and on their campuses to help organize for the largest possible turnout on April 26.