

THE MILITANT

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

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The real state of the union in '76

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FIRST AMENDMENT VS. NEW YORK CITY TRANSIT AUTHORITY: If you walked up to someone in a New York City subway station to sell a copy of the *Militant*, you might find yourself being arrested for violating section 240.35 (7) of the New York Penal Law—loitering. Or, a cop might prefer the charge of "selling without a license." Or, the cop might decide to forget all formalities and simply kick you out of the station.

A fight in the courts against these undemocratic restrictions on First Amendment rights was begun almost a year ago. Two socialists—Pat Wright, now the SWP candidate for Congress in Brooklyn's Fourteenth Congressional District, and Jack Lieberman, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance—filed suit. They asked the United States District Court to grant a preliminary injunction restraining the Chief of Transit Police and the Transit Authority from interfering with sales of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*.

This motion was rejected last April on the grounds that the court "lacks jurisdiction."

However, a U.S. Court of Appeals recently held that the district court *does* have jurisdiction and that the plaintiffs are entitled to a speedy trial. The attorney for the plaintiffs, Herbert Jordan of the Bill of Rights Foundation, explained that "by upholding the jurisdiction of the district court, the appeals court has cleared the way for a trial and our assault on the subway regulations."

WILKINS BLASTS ATTORNEY GENERAL'S RETREAT ON BUSING: Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, has labeled Attorney General Edward Levi's recent statements on busing "a capitulation to ignorance, racism, anarchy, and mob rule."

Levi has stated that there is a need to "reread" and "rethink" decisions on school desegregation, including the 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* probusing decision. In that ruling the Supreme Court said, "All things being equal, with no history of discriminations, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation."

In a letter to Levi that was released to the press, Wilkins warned the attorney general not to "miscalculate" the "mood" of Blacks on the question of busing. He also said that tampering with the *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* decision would encourage more whites to defy busing orders and would have the effect of taking Blacks back to the days "when they had no rights that white people were bound to respect."

MORGENTALER WINS A ROUND: The Québec Court of Appeals has upheld the acquittal of Dr. Henry Morgentaler on charges of performing an illegal abortion. Morgentaler is currently serving an eighteen-month prison sentence on an earlier conviction and still faces ten additional cases. Morgentaler, who opposes Canada's restrictive abortion laws, says he has performed 5,000 abortions. The Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws plans a conference in February in Ottawa to set spring activities in support of abortion rights and freedom for Morgentaler.

MICHIGAN 'RED SQUAD' GETS THE AXE: Judge Thomas Brown, a county circuit judge, has ordered the Subversive Activities Unit of the Michigan State Police to disband and destroy its secret files on 50,000 people. The order came along with a ruling that the 1931 and 1950 "antisubversive" laws authorizing the unit's creation are unconstitutional. The judge said that the red squad had a "chilling effect" on civil liberties.

While many people are cheering the order to eliminate the police unit, moves are also under way to prevent the cops from shredding the secret files. Two American Civil Liberties Union attorneys are appealing to the court to turn over the files to the victims of police spying.

SUPREME COURT WON'T HEAR 'WILMINGTON 10' CASE: On January 19 the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal on the 'Wilmington 10' frame-up case. The defendants, who include civil rights leader Rev. Ben Chavis, were convicted in 1972 on conspiracy charges stemming from a 1971 rebellion in Wilmington, North Carolina. The ten face prison sentences ranging from seven to thirty-four years.

The defense has gathered information proving that the right of the accused to a fair and impartial jury was infringed upon, that the total bail of \$400,000 was excessive, and that evidence was withheld from the defense.

Dr. Robert Moss, president of the United Church of Christ, said that the church will continue to help fight this injustice and "bring this case back to the Supreme Court if necessary."

CHOMSKY SPEAKS TO POLITICAL RIGHTS MEETING: Noted author, civil libertarian, and scholar Noam Chomsky spoke to 125 people on "Cointelpro—the FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom" on January 12 in Philadel-

phia. The meeting, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), was held in the Calvary Methodist Church in the Germantown section of Philadelphia.

Chomsky's remarks focused on the historical background of government harassment of left groups and the need to actively fight that harassment.

The PRDF is coordinating publicity and fund raising for a suit on behalf of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance seeking damages and a permanent injunction against government harassment.

The evening concluded with a slide show and talk by Tony Auth, nationally syndicated political cartoonist for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

Seventeen copies of Pathfinder Press's new *Cointelpro* book, containing an introduction by Chomsky, were sold at the meeting.

HEARING HELD ON TIBBS APPEAL: Attorneys for Delbert Tibbs presented arguments on his appeal before the Florida Supreme Court on January 6. (The *Militant* had earlier reported incorrectly that the date for the hearing had been postponed.)

Tibbs, a thirty-six-year-old Black man, was convicted by an all-white jury of raping Cynthia Nadeau and murdering her male companion. Tibbs was sentenced to die for this crime.

Defense lawyer George Howard argued that the evidence proved that Nadeau identified the wrong man. She had originally told police her assailant was dark-complected. Tibbs is light-skinned. The defense is also challenging the exclusion of Blacks from the jury and the testimony of a prisoner who claimed Tibbs had confessed to him.

PUERTO RICAN PRISONER UNDERGOES CANCER OPERATIONS: Andrés Figueroa Cordero, one of five Puerto Rican nationalists who have been imprisoned in the United States since the early 1950s for political reasons, was operated on twice for cancer in December.

According to the December 20 issue of the San Juan daily *Claridad*, he underwent exploratory surgery December 3 and the removal of a tumor December 15. He has been receiving treatments for intestinal cancer for three years.

According to *Claridad*, once the news of Figueroa Cordero's operations became known in Puerto Rico, there were renewed demands that the five nationalists—the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere—be released immediately and unconditionally. U.S. government authorities answered by saying that the health of prisoners is not sufficient cause for their release.

—Ginny Hildebrand



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Israel threatens intervention

Lebanon: civil war widens

By David Russell

JANUARY 21—With Lebanon engulfed in an expanding civil war, the danger of a new imperialist adventure in the Middle East is growing. So far the Ford administration has chosen not to send U.S. forces and to restrain its Israeli client-state, but this policy could change at any time.

The temper among ruling circles in the United States was indicated by the conclusion of a January 20 editorial in the *New York Times*, which warned the Arab states that "not one of them will emerge intact from a predatory power play over Lebanon."

There is indeed a danger of "a predatory power play over Lebanon," but the source of the threat is the determination of the U.S. imperialists and their Israeli helpers not to allow the majority of the Lebanese people to decide the fate of their own country.

In its January 21 editorial the *New York Times* reported, "The United States is maintaining close contact with Israel and European governments concerned in Lebanon's fate as the military situation evolves from hour to hour." Just as in 1958, when it sent an occupying army of 14,300 men into Lebanon, the U.S. rulers are warning against "outside intervention," while preparing their own intervention.

Massacres by rightists

The civil war in Lebanon has taken an estimated 9,500 lives during the past nine months and left some 20,000 persons wounded. In a country the size of the United States this would be the equivalent of about two million casualties.

During the latest fighting, Christian rightists overran the Beirut slum areas of Karantina and Maslakh. The neighborhoods were then bulldozed and put to the torch. CBS showed the results of one massacre, in which thirteen men and one woman were murdered by the rightist forces, during its January 20 news broadcast.

In a January 21 dispatch from Beirut, *New York Times* correspondent James Markham reported, "Wardah Zurarikat, a 35-year-old woman holding her weeping 11-year-old son at her side, said that right-wing gunmen had shot three of her brothers and four nephews before her eyes. . . ."

The families of those massacred—thousands of people in all—were driven out of their homes. "It's just like what happened in Palestine," said one Palestinian quoted by Markham as he watched refugees being sheltered in a school.

The responsibility for the carnage and misery being visited on the Lebanese people rests squarely on French and American imperialism.

France took over what is now Lebanon after World War I. In order to facilitate its domination of the area, it played off the Christian population against the Muslims, in much the same way that the British played off the Jews against the Arabs in Palestine. The Christians, originally a slight majority within the borders artificially carved out of Syria, were ensured a privileged position that persists to this day.

Inequality

In a series of articles on Lebanon that appeared in the September 20-25 issues of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, Eric Rouleau explained that "Christians, who constitute about 40 percent of the Lebanese population have only one-third to one-half the illiteracy rate of Moslems and account for the majority of the university graduates, businessmen, government functionaries and professionals. On the whole their standard of



U.S. soldiers land in Lebanon in 1958. Current conflict raises danger of new U.S. occupation.

living is higher. . . ."

This social inequality is maintained and accentuated by a discriminatory political arrangement originated by the French in 1943. The essence of the system is that governmental posts are divided along religious lines, with the ratio favoring the Christian sects by a margin of 6 to 5. The most powerful position in the Lebanese government, the presidency, is reserved for a Maronite Christian, as is the post of army chief of staff.

This archaic system of religious stratification is doubly undemocratic. Not only does it discriminate on religious lines, but it also discriminates against what has become the majority of the country since the last census, taken in 1934. The Muslim majority deserves full support in its struggle to eliminate this discriminatory system, which was saved in 1958 only through U.S. intervention.

It is a measure of how rotten the imperialist-dominated status quo in the Middle East is that its stability depends on the retention of the so-called confessional system in Lebanon. Even though the bourgeois leaders of the Muslim struggle are trying to use the demands of the masses as small change in their governmental maneuvers, the imperialists fear that the mass movement will escape the control of such misleaders.

The 'belt of misery'

The Muslim struggle for full democratic rights in Lebanon is given explosive power by the situation of the masses. Rouleau describes the poverty:

"Six hundred thousand people are crowded into the 'belt of misery' which strangles Beirut and her suburbs. In the financial metropolis of the Middle East where banks crumble under the weight of uninvested cash liquidity, more than

one-third of the population subsists on the brink of famine. The mortality rate there is two to three times the national average. . . . For their children, schooling and medical care are virtually out of reach."

Many Christians share these conditions, but since the Christian community as a whole is relatively privileged, extreme right-wing forces have succeeded in building a movement based on defending Christian privileges against the Muslim majority. They have made clear that they prefer the partition of Lebanon to granting the Muslims their rights.

Such a partition of Lebanon along religious lines would be a terrible blow to the Arab masses. It would create new refugees deprived of their homes and rights, and another reactionary enclave similar to Israel and totally dependent on imperialism for its survival.

An additional factor in the struggle in Lebanon is the presence of an estimated 300,000 to 400,000 Palestinians—more than 10 percent of the country's population. The Palestinians, unlike the Lebanese, have not been divided along religious lines, and both Christian and Muslim Palestinians have come under attack by the rightists.

Camps blockaded

The latest and most destructive stage of the civil war was initiated January 5 when the semifascist Phalangist movement blockaded the Tell Zaatar Palestinian refugee camp. This move was followed by the blockade of two other refugee camps, one of which was taken by the rightists on January 14.

The suppression of the Palestinian organizations in Lebanon and the liquidation of their national liberation struggle against Israel has been a longtime demand of the Phalangists. They have consistently tried to provoke



Palestinian refugee camp burns in Beirut. Suppression of Palestinian organizations and liquidation of their national struggle against Israel is goal of Phalangists.

a confrontation in which they hope that the Christian-dominated army would defeat and destroy the Palestinian guerrilla organizations.

Numerous examples of Lebanese army units fighting on the side of the Christian rightists have been reported in the latest phase of the civil war. In a January 10 dispatch *Times* reporter Markham quoted Shafik al-Hout, head of the Beirut office of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), who said, "I consider what happened in Lebanon—what is still happening in Lebanon—a test of the ability of the Palestinians to survive in Lebanon."

A golden opportunity?

From the point of view of the Israeli regime, the agony of Lebanon, with the accompanying threat of a wider war, is a golden opportunity. Israeli leaders have made no secret of their view that a smashing military victory, such as they obtained in the 1967 Middle East war, would relieve the growing international pressures on the Zionist state.

This perspective was spelled out in a December 5 article by Chagai Eshed in the Israeli daily *Davar*. "It is rather difficult to deny the fact that Israel is in a political and military trap," he said, adding, "The number of states that recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people already exceeds the number of states that maintain diplomatic relations with Israel."

Chagai argued, "The trap is closing and as things are now, there is no escape but to break out of it by employing force."

This threat was echoed January 4 by none other than Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who warned that Israel had "sufficient military strength to provide it with room for political maneuver, but possibly we will have to give expression to this [military strength] sooner than many think."

The Israeli rulers face a special temptation in Lebanon because they have long coveted the waters of the Litanie River, which runs through southern Lebanon about fifteen miles from Israel's border. Not only would this give them another "defensible border," but it would also enable the Israelis to join forces with the Phalangists against the Palestinians in Lebanon.

Such thinking was doubtless reflected in the January 19 call of Shmuel Tamir, a leader of the rightist Likud bloc in the Israeli Knesset, for an immediate parliamentary discussion on "the Syrian involvement in Lebanon and the establishment of a terrorist state on Israel's northern border."

Terence Smith reported from Jerusalem in the January 20 *New York Times* that the same day as Tamir's statement, *Yediot Aharonot*, one of Israel's dailies, called "for the Government to declare a state of military alert in response to the penetration of Palestinian army units into Lebanon."

Like the imperialist "democrats" in Washington, the Israeli rulers make common cause with the most reactionary and antidemocratic forces in the world in order to preserve their privileges. Israeli "democracy" is not only founded upon the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homeland, but also upon the continued existence of the discriminatory capitalist regime in Lebanon.

The Lebanese capitalists are desperately trying to arrange a cease-fire that will preserve the status quo. However, truce after truce has been arranged and then fallen apart in the last nine months. It is at least as likely that rather than an effective truce, we will see a continuation of the civil war, and with it the continuing danger of imperialist aggression.

The real state of the union in '76

[The following statement was issued January 21 by Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers party presidential candidate.]

In his State of the Union message, Ford painted a grim picture of what's in store for the working people of this country in 1976.

It is a perspective of a tightening squeeze on our living and working conditions, new attempts to use racism to divide us, and further attacks on our democratic rights.

And the threat of new military adventures abroad and the ever-present risk of nuclear holocaust hang like a dark cloud over our lives.

Ford's watchwords—for working people, not the corporations—were "self-discipline," "restraint," and "responsibility." We have to work harder and accept less, he said. Above all, we must lower our expectations about what this society will provide for us and our children.

The country has become, said Ford, "overconfident of our own abilities" to "solve age-old problems. . . . We thought that we could transform the country through massive national programs."

It is time, he said, echoing the previous occupant of the White House, for the government to stop acting like "an indulgent parent" here at home.

Behind this hypocrisy and this contempt for the American people is a clear message: stop demanding government action to improve the quality of life and to end the injustice and inequality that exist throughout this country.

Let jobless suffer

Nowhere was this message clearer than in what Ford had to say about the plight of the nation's unemployed.

Ford is opposed to spending even one nickel for a public works program to provide jobs. "Government—our kind of government—cannot create that many jobs," he said.

At a time when the unemployment rate is the highest since 1941, Ford had nothing to say except that "our kind of government" can't do anything about it!

Instead, he proposes lowering taxes for corporations. He justifies these new handouts to industry by resurrecting the old "trickle-down" theory that higher profits will eventually induce private employers to create new jobs. In the meantime, the unemployed can wait.

While proposing tax cuts for the corporations, Ford called for yet another boost in the Social Security tax, a tax that falls most heavily on those who earn the least.

The truth of the matter is that the ruling class has decided *not* to take



FORD: 'Restraint' for workers, tax giveaways for business.

action to reduce unemployment. They fear that a lower unemployment rate would encourage workers to press for higher wages, thus weakening the advantage of U.S. businesses over their competitors abroad.

The economy, said Ford, is "slowly but surely getting better." Sure, production is expanding. Profits have soared to new highs. Wall Street is booming. But the "recovery" has barely touched the unemployed.

According to figures compiled by the AFL-CIO, almost eleven million people are out of work today.

And for Blacks, the picture is twice as bleak. The NAACP and the Urban League have figured the real unemployment rate among Blacks to be 25 percent.

But Ford wasn't speaking to Black people in his address. In a typical display of his disdain for the rights of Black Americans, he chose to ignore the battle against racial discrimination altogether.

Of course, he took time to denounce "violent crime" and to promise there *would* be enough money to build new prisons and hire more federal cops to patrol the ghettos. And he emphasized the need to "protect the innocent victims of crime."

But what about the Black students who have been the targets of rocks and bottles of the racist, antibusing mobs? Aren't they "innocent victims of crime"? Isn't school desegregation the law of the land?

What is Ford going to do to stop the lynch mobs in Louisville and Boston, the mobs he has helped incite by his own antibusing rhetoric? Not a thing.

As far as the president is concerned, segregation is just another of those

"age-old problems" the government is powerless to solve.

Nor did Ford have anything to say to women, who, 200 years after the founding of this country, are still denied equal rights under the Constitution.

Crisis in health care

And what about the crisis in health care? "The burden of catastrophic illness can be borne by very few in our society," said Ford. "We must eliminate this fear from every family."

Absolutely true. To do so would require a comprehensive program of socialized medicine to guarantee government-financed health care to everyone, from birth to old age.

But that's exactly what Ford is opposed to. We can't afford it, he claimed.

Instead, he proposed some tinkering with Medicare, raising some fees to pay for extension of some coverage for those over sixty-five.

In the face of growing concern about the proliferation of poisons in the food we eat, the air we breathe, and the places where we work, Ford has opened an offensive against attempts to improve health and safety conditions.

In a draft of his forthcoming Economic Report to Congress, Ford demands a rollback in even the feeble steps that have been taken to keep our environment and working conditions from disabling and killing us.

For five years, the federal government has been stalling and maneuvering to prevent the Occupational Health and Safety Administration from enforcing the law. Now Ford has the gall to demand that the OSHA be even further weakened on the grounds that it has had an "insubstantial effect!"

'Behavioral problems'

In the draft of his economic report, Ford declared, "The most important cause of accidents appeared to be behavioral problems of workers and momentary physical hazards not susceptible to correction by inspection."

In Ford's mind, the 390,000 new cases of occupational disease and the 100,000 job-related deaths last year are the workers' own fault.

And it's not just the OSHA that's under attack. Every measure—however inadequate—to protect us from dangerous products, misleading advertising, and pollution of the environment is under fire.

"A necessary condition to a healthy economy," Ford asserted, "is freedom from the petty tyranny of massive government regulation."

In other words, we have to sacrifice our own health to guarantee healthy profits for the capitalists.

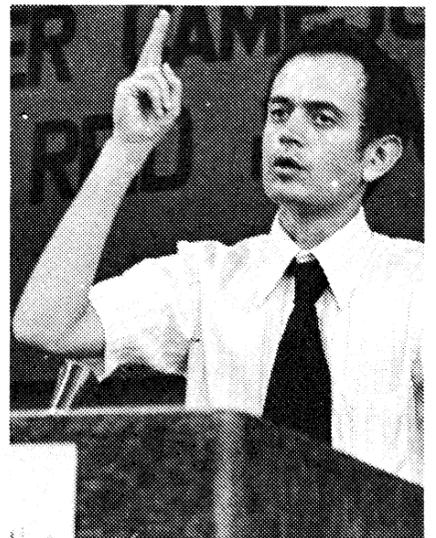
But there's one area where Ford has no intention of reducing government tyranny. At a time when millions are demanding an end to illegal government spying and secret plots both at home and abroad, Ford had not one word to say about the defense of democratic rights against police-state tactics.

Just the opposite. "Without effective intelligence capability, the United States stands blindfolded and hobbled," he said, and vowed to take actions to "strengthen our intelligence community."

And, at a time when millions are demanding the right to know the full truth about FBI and CIA crimes, and the opening of all the secret files, Ford demanded an end to "sensationalism."

Above all, he insisted, the American people have no right to decide whether this country is going to be dragged into a new Vietnam—in Angola or some other country.

"The foreign relations of the United States," he said, "can be conducted effectively only if there is strong central



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

CAMEJO: 'Cut out war budget to provide funds for jobs.'

direction that allows flexibility of action. That responsibility clearly rests with the president."

The one part of Ford's budget that is exempt from the calls for "restraint" is the more than \$100 billion set aside for war spending. While social services are cut back, the cost of maintaining America's worldwide police force will increase.

This *unrestrained* war spending will fuel the fires of inflation and consume the nation's resources in the manufacture of still more deadly engines of destruction.

This arsenal is needed, said Ford, to ensure "a stable world order." In other words, to ensure a safe environment for American corporations to plunder the world.

Ford's solutions to the crisis facing this country are solutions for the rich, not for working people. They are solutions designed to protect the profits and prerogatives of the capitalist class that rules this country through both the Democratic and Republican parties.

In homage to the capitalist status quo, Ford proclaimed: "One peak stands highest in the ranges of human history. One example shines forth of a people uniting to produce abundance and to share the good life fairly and in freedom. One union holds out the promise of justice and opportunity for every citizen."

"That union," Ford said, "is the United States of America."

Abundance? The good life? Not while millions are condemned to poverty and despair, trapped in slum housing, denied jobs. Not while the air and water are fouled by industrial poisons.

Justice? Not while trigger-happy cops can gun down innocent Black youth. Not while the victims of racism and oppression languish in jail, and the real criminals rule the country.

Opportunity for all? Not while minorities suffer racist discrimination in education, employment, and every sphere of life. Not while women are denied equal rights under the Constitution.

Day by day, the capitalist system is proving to more and more people that it cannot and will not provide peace, justice, or a decent standard of living for all. That's why we need to put into power a workers government—a government that will replace the present tyranny of the wealthy minority with the democratic rule by the majority, the working people.

Such a government would begin to construct a new society, a socialist society, in which equality and abundance will truly prevail.

The legacy of the revolution that overthrew British colonial tyranny belongs not to reactionary hypocrites like Ford, trying to hold back the march of history, but to those who are striving toward the socialist future. Join us.



Lining up outside New York welfare center. U.S. capitalism is shining example of 'abundance' and 'good life,' said Ford.

Not a dime's worth of difference

'New liberals' & old reactionaries

By Andy Rose

"I don't see any difference between a hard-nosed reactionary and myself on how you work the city of New York," Paul O'Dwyer said last September.

O'Dwyer is president of the New York City Council. He has a long-standing reputation as one of the city's most liberal Democrats. Some have even called him a "radical." But he was telling the truth.

O'Dwyer could have added that there isn't any difference between liberal Democrats and "hard-nosed reactionary" Republicans on how to govern Detroit, or San Francisco, or Atlanta, or any other city or state—or the United States itself.

Throughout this past year, the actions of Democratic governors and mayors across the country have been confirming O'Dwyer's words. The liberal Democrats have been cutting health and education budgets, attacking welfare programs, laying off public employees, and jailing strikers.

Just like the Republicans.

Despite this impressive record of bipartisan anti-working-class policies, the bulk of the trade-union officialdom is already lined up behind the Democratic party nominee for president, whoever that may be. Dumping Ford and putting a Democrat—any Democrat—in the White House has just got to be better for working people, these officials argue.

Words vs. deeds

The Democrats—at least when speaking before labor audiences—indict Ford for favoritism toward big business, failure to provide jobs, and disregard for the plight of the poor. He is guilty on all counts. But do the Democratic contenders offer an alternative?

Just about everybody realizes that what these candidates promise when they appeal for workers' votes bears little or no relation to what they would do in office. A more reliable guide to where the Democratic party really stands is the record of the Democrats who already hold office.

Many of them have just presented messages to their own legislatures setting out their programs for the year ahead. In those speeches can be found the real Democratic platform for 1976.

"We have learned that government and the people it serves cannot afford to solve all the problems of society. So we enter a new age in which our goals are less government, less spending, fewer government employees, less interference in the lives of our citizens and businessmen, and a new spirit of cooperation by all individuals in government."

Sound familiar? The speaker was Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey of New York, addressing the state legislature January 7.

A Reagan speech writer?

The *New York Times* summed it up this way: "They were lines that might have been smuggled into the Governor's address by Ronald Reagan's speechwriter."

Carey is "adopting the traditional conservative Republican view," the *Times* reported. "His major proposals last week were for further cuts in state spending and in aid to local governments, and possible increases in taxes, presumably on gasoline, autos and other consumer items."

Carey called for a continued wage freeze for state employees. He called for tax cuts for business to "create more jobs." He called for watering down environmental and consumer-protection regulations to provide "incentives for industrial growth."

The next week the *Times* headline was "Another Liberal Governor Speaks Conservatively."

The story began: "Governor Byrne, in opening the new session of the New Jersey Legislature last week, appears to have changed both his philosophy and his approach to Government: A liberal Democrat, he offered a basically conservative program as did New York's Governor Carey, also a liberal Democrat. Both called for less spending, less government, more help for business."

As in New York, the "help" for New Jersey business is tax breaks and

bly a more austere standard of living."

Some lives, however, will be more austere than others.

In California and around the country the cutbacks strike hardest at the poor, at the elderly and sick, at the unemployed, at women, and at Blacks and other minorities.

Deepen divisions

The cutbacks are carried out in such a way as to *deepen the divisions* in the working class.

In the New York school system, for example, cuts in the headquarters bureaucracy have averaged less than 5

Republicans, are committed to upholding the profit system.

Like the Republicans, they can only envision creating jobs by adding to the profits of the capitalists.

Like the Republicans, they aim to put even more of the tax burden on workers and less on profits.

Out of the wealth now produced, more than \$100 billion a year is drained off to pay for a military machine to protect the profit interests of U.S. corporations around the globe. The "New Liberals" don't quarrel with that.

Brown, the alleged "antigovern-



"review" of environmental protection statutes.

Byrne has directed all state departments to plan for 5 percent across-the-board cutbacks. He also reneged on a pledge to pay a cost-of-living bonus to state employees.

'Like Herbert Hoover'

In Massachusetts, Democratic Gov. Michael Dukakis "comes out like Herbert Hoover," marveled the *Wall Street Journal*.

"There will not be vast sums of money to spend on human services programs in the years to come," Dukakis announced to the Massachusetts legislature January 7.

"Our most important goal in 1976 must be to continue and broaden the tough fiscal and management policies which we began in 1975," he said.

In 1975, Dukakis carried out \$700 million in state cutbacks, mostly in welfare and medical programs. He denied cost-of-living increases to state employees and welfare recipients. He cut more than 18,000 people from the welfare rolls and 4,000 from the state payrolls.

Replying to criticism of the "beating that was taken by our human services programs," Dukakis said, "We were lucky to salvage as much as we did."

California's Gov. Edmund Brown is portrayed as the philosophical guru of these "New Liberals." His state of the state message January 7 argued that "we are entering an era of limits. In place of a manifest economic destiny we face a sober reassessment of new economic realities. . . ."

Brown had earlier expressed his credo this way: "For this country to maintain its leadership, we're going to have to work harder and we're going to have to accept responsibility and possi-

percent. In services to children under the direct command of the central board, the cuts were 14 percent. In the community school districts, 23 percent. Among paraprofessionals, where the greatest proportion of Blacks and Puerto Ricans were employed, 50 percent have been fired.

The proportion of Black teachers in the New York public schools has been slashed from 9 percent to 4 percent.

In Boston, Mayor Kevin White announced January 8 that he would lay off 1,000 to 2,000 city employees. White, a liberal Democrat, blamed that city's budget deficit on the costs of school desegregation "unfairly" imposed by the federal courts.

Why are the liberal Democrats suddenly preaching austerity, cutbacks in social services, and layoffs of public employees? Have they really undergone a "philosophical" conversion? Is it true, as they claim, that society "just doesn't have the wealth?"

What they never explain

Where did the wealth go?

The "New Liberals" never explain that one. They just keep repeating the myth of "scarcity" and "limits" and hope people will accept it.

The fact is, the vast natural wealth and productive capacity of this country are greater now than ever before. But under the capitalist system, the factories, fields, mines, and shops can only be used to the extent that it is profitable to the private owners of industry.

So today—despite the economic upturn—more than 25 percent of our productive capacity is still lying idle. Millions who want to work, who could add to society's wealth, are unable to find jobs. Why? Because it is not profitable to hire them.

And the Democratic liberals, like the

ment" governor, says: "As a matter of principle, this country has a world role to play, and we cannot retreat from that responsibility. It involves a strong economic and military presence. . . ."

The real choices

Brown says that because these are "tough times," "State salary increases will be competing with education. Colleges will be competing with child care. Health will be competing with conservation."

But those aren't the real choices. Salary increases are competing with tax breaks for the wealthy. Education is competing with profits. Child care is competing with missiles and bombers.

The economic crisis, just as surely as it is erasing the difference between Democrats and Republicans, is showing where the real divisions in society lie.

The real division is not between Democrats and Republicans. It is not between liberals and conservatives.

It is between the capitalist class, a tiny minority, and the working class, the great majority.

The Democratic and Republican parties both represent the minority. But the majority class has no political representation. Labor has no mass political party of its own.

The fact that the misleaders of the unions keep them shackled to the two capitalist parties is today the greatest obstacle to a successful fight to defend workers' standard of living.

Only with its own party—a labor party that will fight for all working people, that will lead and coordinate struggles on all fronts—can the labor movement answer the mounting attacks coming from the liberal Democrats and reactionary Republicans alike.

OAU deadlocks on MPLA

Mercenaries pour into Angola

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

While foreign mercenaries continued to pour into Angola, the emergency summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) adjourned January 13 without reaching agreement on what course the OAU should follow toward the imperialist intervention in the Angolan civil war.

The OAU deadlock was a diplomatic victory for Washington and Pretoria. *Washington Post* reporter David B. Ottaway noted in a January 13 dispatch from Addis Ababa, "The Popular Movement did not gain official recognition by the African organization, as most U.S. officials had feared, and South Africa was not specifically condemned for its 'aggression' against Angola, as had been the foregoing conclusion up until the last moment."

Recognition by the OAU of the MPLA's People's Republic of Angola as the sole "legitimate" regime would have hampered Washington's efforts to get other members of NATO, some of which have important economic and political interests in Black African countries, to take on a greater role in funneling arms and money to the FNLA and UNITA.

Ford continuing aid

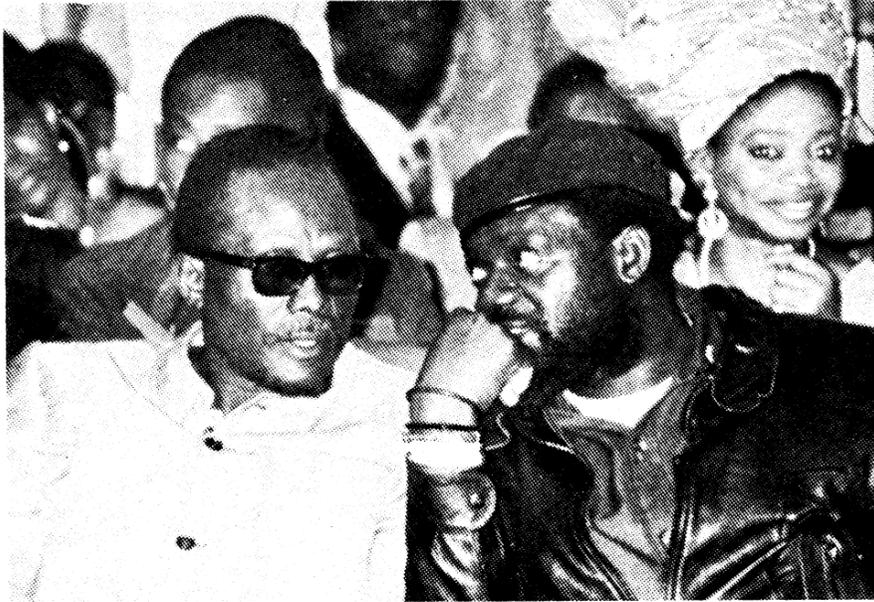
Within hours of the OAU summit's adjournment, White House Press Secretary Ron Nessen said that Ford would continue to provide "a limited amount of assistance" to those African regimes that were opposed to the MPLA. Much of the U.S. arms and money already sent to the FNLA and UNITA has been funneled through the regimes in Zaïre and Zambia, some of it under the guise of foreign "assistance" to those countries.



MPLA's NETO: Escalates 'battle of production.'

In addition to hiring an estimated 300 American mercenaries who are already fighting in Angola, the CIA recruitment of European gunmen has also picked up momentum. The January 11 London *Sunday Telegraph* reported that according to "diplomatic sources" in southern Africa, dozens of British mercenaries were in Angola.

Representatives of the FNLA and UNITA reportedly visited England, Scotland, France, Belgium, and Switzerland to enlist several hundred troops. The overall recruitment operation was under the direction of "Mad Mike" Hoare, a veteran mercenary who fought in the Congo (now Zaïre) in the early 1960s.



FNLA leader Holden Roberto (left) and UNITA's Jonas Savimbi at Organization of African Unity meeting.

Pretoria, which already has several thousand troops in Angola, has made preparations for a possible escalation of its intervention. More than 15,000 South African males between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five were conscripted in early January for a minimum of a year's military service. In addition, an undisclosed number of reservists were called up for three months of training. The conscription was one of the largest ever carried out in South Africa.

While the OAU was meeting, the MPLA continued to press its military offensive against the FNLA positions in northern Angola. After capturing the city of Uíge and the strategic airfield of Ngage, the MPLA forces, reportedly with heavy Cuban backing, took the coastal towns of Ambriz and Ambrizete. The MPLA also captured Caracassala, Cangala, Samba, Vista Alegre, and Toto.

In face of MPLA and Cuban artillery barrages, the FNLA troops retreated toward the northern border with Zaïre, a traditional sanctuary for the FNLA. *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm reported in the January 17 issue that according to accounts received in Kinshasa, Zaïre, much of the Bakongo civilian population, from which the FNLA gets most of its support, was also fleeing farther north. The FNLA has charged that several thousand civilians were killed by the MPLA forces.

Threatens terrorism

Following this military setback, Paulo Tuba, a member of the FNLA's Political Bureau, declared in Kinshasa January 14 that the FNLA had decided to evacuate its troops and reorganize for guerrilla warfare against the MPLA. He also threatened that the FNLA would carry out terrorist actions against the MPLA and its backers, both within Angola and abroad. He warned that the first such attacks would be "right in Luanda." Referring to the use of plastic explosives, he added, "We are prepared to plastic movies, markets and public places. . . . In a war of liberation people have to die."

A turn toward terrorist attacks against civilians by the FNLA—in this case against the Mbundu supporters of the MPLA—would be a dangerous development in the civil war. So far there

have been no confirmed reports of massacres of civilians based on their ethnic origin. But the kind of actions outlined by Tuba could raise the already existing ethnic tensions to a boiling point, possibly leading to reprisals and counterreprisals between the Mbundu, Bakongo, Ovimbundu, and other peoples of Angola.

Although the MPLA has concentrated most of its attacks on the FNLA in the north, the fighting in eastern Angola has also continued and may rapidly escalate as the MPLA and UNITA contend for control of the strategic Benguela railway. The UNITA, which has received logistical support from South African troops, attempted to take the cities of Henrique de Carvalho and Teixeira de Sousa, but was unable to dislodge the MPLA. According to reports from the area, the UNITA forces in Luso, on the Benguela railway, were bracing for an MPLA attack.

Jeremiah Chitunda, the UNITA's spokesman at the United Nations, said that if the UNITA's front lines collapse, as a result of a cutoff of Western aid, the UNITA would revert to guerrilla warfare. He also admitted that South African troops were in UNITA-controlled territory, but denied that they were fighting with the UNITA (*Christian Science Monitor*, January 16).

In addition to arresting or deporting an unknown number of dissidents and political activists in the Luanda area, the MPLA has taken measures to tighten its hold over the population as a whole in the regions it occupies. Under a cover of "socialist" demagoguery, the MPLA has sought to organize an administrative apparatus—utilizing "people's power" groups, "neighborhood committees," and "workers commissions"—to control and "discipline" the working class.

Some of these groups originally developed independently of the MPLA. Several "neighborhood committees" were formed by Luanda slum dwellers in 1974 in response to armed attacks by white settlers. The "workers commissions" arose during the strike wave that swept Luanda and other cities following the April 1974 Portuguese coup. After the strike wave ended in mid-1975, the MPLA dissolved or reorganized them with the aim of transforming them into bureaucratically controlled organs capable of imposing MPLA policies on the masses.

René Lefort reported in the January 3 *Le Monde* that MPLA decrees specified that government officials are to follow the policies laid down by the MPLA's leading bodies. The function of the "people's power" groups, Lefort continued, was to execute decisions on a local level. To give them at least an appearance of having some authority, the "people's power" groups are to be allowed to veto the appointments of local officials.

Subordinate role

From the MPLA's own statements, it appears that the "workers commissions" that were set up in some of the factories have been consigned to a similarly subordinate role. According to the MPLA's scheme, their chief function is to organize stepped-up production—not to represent the interests of the workers.

In a speech published in the December 20, 1975, issue of *Vitória Certa*, an official organ of the MPLA, MPLA leader Agostinho Neto declared that the MPLA faced a battle on two fronts. One was against the FNLA and UNITA and their backers, he said. The other was "the battle of production, the battle of labor, for productivity, against laziness, against idleness, against sabotage of our rear lines."

Although the MPLA has broken various strikes since early 1975, and has instituted speedup and longer work hours since gaining power in Luanda, it has apparently not yet won this "battle of production." Neto complained of "insufficient" work in the factories, saying, ". . . it seems that in some factories the workers commissions have time and again failed in organizing production. . . ."

While noting that production was lagging in many enterprises, he singled out the problems the MPLA continued to face at Luanda's port. (The dock workers had been in the forefront of the strike wave.) He denounced the "so-called workers" who "sabotaged" the economy.

Neto's response

Neto also gave some "advice" to the workers on who should be elected to the "workers commissions." He said that they should "not elect to the workers commissions those who speak better, but those who work better. . . ."

In case the workers did not heed Neto's "advice," the same issue of *Vitória Certa* carried a series of articles describing what would happen to a "workers commission" that did not follow MPLA policy.

In Dondo, more than 100 miles southeast of Luanda, an MPLA Action Group at the SATEC factory, which employs 1,200 workers, organized a campaign for the ouster of the existing "workers commission." At a factory assembly held November 24, a motion was pushed through denouncing the "labor aristocracy" leadership of the commission for not solving the administrative problems of increasing production.

The MPLA's subdelegate in Dondo, Pakassa, who spoke at the assembly, also denounced the workers. He said that "the worker comrades of SATEC are totally undisciplined, and the drop in production in this factory is caused by the indiscipline of the workers." He also told the SATEC workers that their allies included "the patriotic comrades of the national bourgeoisie."

As Congress stalls

D.C. rally: 'No more Vietnams!'

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—As Congress reconvened at noon on January 19, 300 protesters rallied on the Capitol steps to warn that the American people will not tolerate another Vietnam—this time in Angola.

"The American people have been aroused before and they can be again," said Judge William Booth, president of the American Committee on Africa. "Let us not be fooled by the bogey man of Russian Communism," he continued. "It's only a trick to try to gain more support for South Africa."

Booth was followed by longtime peace activists Dave Dellinger and Cora Weiss, who compared the sentiment against U.S. intervention in Angola to the anti-Vietnam War movement. Dellinger noted that protests against U.S. involvement in Angola are better organized and larger than the Vietnam movement at the same stage of that war.

Rep. Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) left the proceedings inside the Capitol to address the demonstrators. "Our purpose here is to keep on protesting until the Congress has decisively ended American involvement in Angola," Abzug said.

Rev. Sterling Cary, former head of the National Council of Churches, also spoke, as did Howard University professor Ronald Walters. "It seems to me that Black people have a particular role to play in this struggle," Walters said. He urged those "who believe in the true independence and self-determination of African people" to oppose Washington's moves in Angola.

The action was sponsored by a coalition of about twenty groups, including Women Strike for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Americans for Democratic Action, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Anti-Apartheid Movement, Campaign for a Democratic Foreign Policy, American Committee on Africa, Socialist Workers party, Friends of the Filipino People, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

A "meeting for activists" after the rally unfortunately did not discuss future protest actions or a broadening of the coalition, but only outlined a congressional lobbying effort.

Congress delays

President Ford himself has wrangled some lobbying time, if not more, in his efforts to reverse what he called the Senate's "deep tragedy"—its December 19 vote against funds for U.S. "covert" intervention in Angola. House leaders decided during the Christmas recess to



'Reminds me of the old Vietnam recruiting poster'

postpone their vote on the defense-appropriations bill until after Secretary of State Henry Kissinger completes his business in Moscow.

"It was felt by the president, and I am sure it was felt by the secretary of state, that it could be desirable not to have this emotional issue come up while the secretary is there," said Rep. George Mahon (D-Tex.), head of the House Appropriations Committee.

The vote is now scheduled for January 27. Meanwhile, more than 130 members of the House have signed a resolution against intervention in Angola.

Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) blasted U.S. intervention as the "biggest blunder in the history of its relations with Africa" at a January 11 news conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, site of the Organization of African Unity conference. Diggs attended the African meeting as a representative of the Congressional Black Caucus, which is on record in opposition to American involvement in Angola.

Outlining his views in a statement distributed to the American Black media, Diggs said, "The American public, in particular the Black community, will not sit idly by as the Administration attempts militarily to involve this country in support of the interests of the White, minority regime in South Africa."

Tunney amendment

A January 17 Associated Press dispatch reported that House leaders predict "Congress will stop United States aid to factions fighting in Angola. . . ." But a House vote in favor of the Senate's Tunney amendment will far from end the threat of a new U.S.-orchestrated war. The amendment introduced by Sen. John Tunney (D-Calif.) prohibits funds for Angola in the Department of Defense appropriations bill, except for CIA intelligence gathering. That in itself is a dangerous loophole.

The rider also applies only to this one appropriations bill, which means that funds for Angola could be slipped into other bills. And the amendment doesn't block the funneling of funds to Angola through other countries.

Protests mount

The demonstrators on the Capitol steps were not alone in their active opposition to U.S. involvement in Angola. Since the turn of the year, protests have mounted in cities and on campuses across the country.

On January 17, 500 people marched from New York City's Herald Square to an indoor rally at the Marc Ballroom, where several hundred more protesters had already gathered. The

demonstration was initiated by Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and joined by other groups.

Members of the Socialist Workers party carried a banner demanding, "U.S. hands off Angola!" Another banner read, "U.S.—CIA—South Africa: Get out of Angola!"

The demonstrators were largely young and about one-third Black or Latino. Participants from the New York Student Coalition Against Racism distributed a statement and carried a banner calling on Ford to use the money he is pouring into Angola to restore the social services that are being slashed to the bone in New York City.

YAWF carried signs reflecting its support to the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) over the other factions in the civil war.

Two hundred people turned out for a January 10 picket line in downtown Chicago. In Los Angeles eighty people picketed the South African consulate on January 15, and fifty people marched outside the Pasadena Jet Propulsion Laboratory four days later.

The January 16 Los Angeles Militant Forum heard presentations on U.S. intervention in Angola by Omari Musa, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate; Fred McKinney, president of the Black Student Association at the University of California at Los Angeles; and UCLA history professor Ned Alpers.

UAW protest

A statement released January 14 by the International Executive Board of the United Auto Workers also called for an end to U.S. involvement in Angola. The UAW board said that it is "deeply disturbed because the Administration secretly committed the U.S. to one faction in the civil war and to an implicit alliance with the forces of South African racism."

The Southern California affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union published a similar statement in the January issue of its newspaper, *Open Forum*. Calling on the ACLU National Board to second its stance, the Southern California group urged the "immediate cessation of any and all military activities, including provisions of men, money or material to any of the warring factions in Angola."

Students hear Thomas on Angola war danger

Tony Thomas, a member of the Socialist Workers party National Committee, is currently touring the country speaking on the topic "Angola: the Next Vietnam?" In Cleveland more than 100 students attended the three campus meetings held January 14. At Baldwin-Wallace College the Young Socialist Alliance and the Black Student Association cosponsored Thomas's talk.

At Cleveland State University, where students will vote in a campus referendum on U.S. involvement in Angola January 21-22, the YSA was joined by the International Relations Club and several professors and Black student leaders in sponsoring the Thomas meeting.

A January 20 teach-in at St. Louis University featured a talk by Thomas, followed by a panel discussion with representatives of the Nation of

Islam, the St. Louis Committee on Africa, and the Young Workers Liberation League. The teach-in was cosponsored by the YSA, Black Student Association, Afro-American Studies Institute, and Operation Coalition, a Black student organization.

At the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, Thomas will share the platform at a forum on the "U.S. Role in Angola" with University of California at Los Angeles professor Gerald Bender, who has written extensively on Angola, and other speakers.

Thomas and *Black Scholar* editor Robert Allen will be among the participants in a University of California at Berkeley speak-out on Angola February 3.

Thomas will also speak in San Jose, San Diego, Denver, Pittsburgh, Houston, and other cities.



Militant/Nancy Cole

Protesters gather on Capitol steps to demand Congress act to halt U.S. war moves.

'We need independent unions'

Spain: 250,000 strikers defy dictators

By David Frankel
From Intercontinental Press

The working class of Spain has dealt a resounding blow to the plans of King Juan Carlos I and the coterie of Francoist functionaries running the Madrid regime.

In a massive wave of strikes, involving more than 100,000 persons in the Madrid area alone, the workers have served notice that they will not sit by in silence while Franco's old collaborators debate timid, piecemeal reforms.

"Work was at a standstill in Madrid's industrial suburbs, where many American multinational companies have factories," *Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acoca reported in a January 12 dispatch.

"The strikes spread today to Barcelona," Acoca added, "where 5,000 electrical workers staged a sit-in for higher wages and other benefits." The electrical workers threatened to cut the city's power supply if the government sent police or the army against them.

Liberty and amnesty

Meanwhile, thousands of demonstrators shouted demands for liberty and amnesty in Madrid. The regime's response was the same in every case. Citing a typical incident, a January 12 *United Press International* dispatch said, "Police stormed into Madrid's main university campus to break up assemblies of demonstrators shouting 'Down with the dictatorship!'"

Despite repression, the strikes and demonstrations continued to spread. By January 15 the *Associated Press* estimated that 250,000 workers were involved in the strike movement. Dock workers went out in Barcelona January 14, telephone service was disrupted in the north, and banking was virtually halted in Madrid and Barcelona. The regime adopted stronger measures, and on January 14 Juan Carlos signed an order drafting thousands of striking postal workers into the army.

The following day police attacked a march by 2,000 women in Madrid demanding amnesty for political prisoners and an end to the government's wage freeze. They followed up with the arrest of 145 labor leaders, charging them with planning a general strike against the government.

In the midst of these developments, the regime attempted to present an

appearance of calm. On January 15 the government declared: "The action of certain extremist groups that have sought to disturb or delay these plans [of the government] and that have in the last few days tried to provoke the Government and the citizenry as a whole will have no other effect than to discredit definitively the responsible parties. The Government will serenely continue the path laid out, having no doubt that it is thus serving the monarchy and Spain."

The pretense that the opposition to the regime's policies is limited to an "extremist" fringe is absurd on the face of it. In a January 16 dispatch from Madrid, *New York Times* reporter Henry Giniger commented, "The Workers Commissions, clandestine organizations in which the Communists share influence with other Marxist groups, have been characterized as the 'catalyzers' of the strike, but the leaders say the movement began spontaneously. In some cases, the commissions found themselves joining in after the campaign had started."

With inflation in Spain running at a rate of 17 percent, there is hardly any mystery in the readiness of the working class to take action against the government-imposed wage freeze. The monarchy has claimed that it is ready to tolerate purely economic strikes, but that the current movement is a political strike. However, as one strike leader explained to Giniger, "If we want more money, we need independent unions that can act and speak freely. If this is political, then our strike is political."

The workers have no strike funds because of the strictures placed on them by the dictatorship, making it more difficult for them to carry out a prolonged struggle. Agreements ended the walkouts of port and electrical workers in Barcelona on January 16, and on January 15 a contract was signed covering 150,000 construction workers in the Madrid area.

But the monarchy has still not defused the situation. On January 16, for example, negotiations broke down in the Madrid subway workers' dispute that was a major factor in sparking the labor upsurge, raising the possibility of a new strike. Furthermore, workers in many plants have been arrested or fired for strike activity, and their



Demonstrators in Spain demand amnesty for political prisoners. 'Liberalized' regime uses cops to break up rallies.

cases may well provoke new clashes.

Justice Minister Antonio Garrigués spelled out the government's approach on January 12. A Reuters dispatch from Madrid reported, "Mr. Garrigués said the new Government would not dismantle the Franco regime but improve it and bring it up to date."

Elections postponed

In keeping with this philosophy, the government announced January 15 that parliamentary elections, previously scheduled for March, would be postponed one year. The government claims it needs the time in order to draw up a new electoral law and laws governing political association and assembly.

The "elections" to the Francoist Cortes set for March would hardly have been democratic. Of the 561 members in the Cortes, only 104 are elected, and only the heads of families are allowed to vote.

But it is the masses of people who should have the say in determining how to change the fascist electoral setup, not Franco's handpicked stooges.

The significance of the decision to postpone the March elections is that it is the monarchy's way of answering the demand for a constituent assembly to be chosen immediately by direct, universal suffrage. The monarchy in effect told the demonstrators and strikers demanding the release of political prisoners and democratic rights, "Come back in fourteen months."

But the masses know very well that the program of the government is not to "dismantle the Franco regime but [to] improve it and bring it up to date." The pressures for change are building up in every area of life. For example, Spain is the only industrialized country in the world where divorce is absolutely prohibited. People must apply to an ecclesiastical court for separation or to have their marriage annulled.

The Francoist heritage that the monarchy defends is also one of brutal oppression of national minorities in Spain, such as the Basques and the Catalans. The Spanish Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista (Communist League, a sympathizing organization

Continued on page 26

Williams victorious--frame-up charge dropped

By Baxter Smith

Haunted for years by prospects of Dixie justice, Robert F. Williams, who turned himself over to North Carolina authorities in December to face a trumped-up 1961 kidnapping indict-



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson
WILLIAMS: 'They never had a case.'

ment, was freed of all charges January 16 when the prosecution said its witness was too ill to testify.

Union County District Attorney Carroll Lowder said doctors told him the witness, Mabel Stegall, "is physically unable to testify in court and further there is no promise that her condition will improve."

"They've never had a case," Williams remarked on the decision to drop charges. "They didn't have a case from the beginning. Mrs. Stegall knows I had nothing to do with kidnapping her."

He pointed out that Stegall—her husband Bruce died a year ago—had even gone to the prosecutor a few years back to get the indictment dismissed.

"They knew we were planning to subpoena records and officials to expose the tactics they have been using. It would have been very embarrassing to them," Williams explained.

"From the very beginning I said I wouldn't win from the point of view of justice, but I would win on a TKO—a technical knockout. Because the victory would have nothing to do with winning real justice in a racist country like

this."

In its decision to unstrap the fourteen-year burden from the Black rights fighter, the court removed a torment under which the Williams family was forced out of their Monroe, North Carolina, home into exile abroad and under which Williams was stigmatized as a fugitive from justice.

The charges grew out of Williams's leadership role in the Monroe community during the early days of the civil rights movement.

Formerly the president of the Union County NAACP, Williams was instrumental in organizing many of the struggles of Monroe Blacks against segregated public facilities. Often those struggles involved self-defense actions by Blacks against armed attacks by the Ku Klux Klan and other racists.

Culminating a rash of such attacks in late August 1961, Williams and four others were pinned with kidnapping charges.

White and Black Freedom Riders from the North had been demonstrating along with Monroe Blacks for economic and social justice in the down-

town area. On August 27, 1961, racist elements, including sheriffs' officers, attacked the peaceful protesters. There was gunfire, and bedlam erupted.

The protesters retreated to the safety of the Black community. When the Stegalls, who some Blacks believed were looking for trouble, drove through a Black area, an angered crowd stopped them. Quick-thinking Black leaders rescued the couple and led them to the safety of Williams's home.

For saving their lives, however, Williams and the others were later charged with kidnapping.

"The Stegalls would have been killed if it weren't for me," Williams says. "Mrs. Stegall knows that."

Although the charges have been dropped against Williams, they are still outstanding against the others—Harold Reape, John Lowry, Mae Mallory, and Richard Crowder. The four were reindicted in 1965 after their 1964 convictions were overturned by the North Carolina Supreme Court. They were never brought to trial again, and William Kunstler, Williams's attorney, says he will seek to have their charges dropped.

Virginia marchers say: 'Ratify the ERA now!'

By Marcie Kuzeja and Toba Singer

RICHMOND, Va.—More than 500 women marched to the statehouse here January 14, demanding passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The demonstrators walked through downtown Richmond chanting "What do we want? The ERA! When do we want it? Now!" and "Hey, hey, what do you say, ratify the ERA!"

Many onlookers expressed support for the march. Some women shoppers joined in, while women in office buildings along the route gave clenched-fist salutes as they watched the demonstration from their windows.

The demonstration was organized by the Virginia National Organization for Women. ERA supporters participated from NOW, Richmond Education Association, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Virginia Commonwealth University, National Black Feminist Organization, Women Strike for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Socialist Workers party, and Women's Alliance. Buses came to the action from as far away as Pennsylvania.

The ERA, which would outlaw discrimination on the basis of sex, has not yet been ratified by the Virginia state legislature. Thirty-four states have ratified the amendment, and four more are needed by 1979 for the ERA to become law.

A rally at Monroe Park featured as speakers NOW National President Karen DeCrow; National Women's Political Caucus leader Frances "Sissy" Farenthold; Junior Bridge, assistant state coordinator of NOW; and Elise Heinz, coordinator of Virginia ERA Central.

As a result of the demonstration, a campus ERA committee has been formed at Virginia Commonwealth University here. The new group, VCU for the ERA, plans further actions to mobilize support for the amendment in Virginia.

As March 8, International Women's Day, approaches, ERA supporters in many cities are planning to celebrate this traditional working women's holiday with activities focusing on the ERA. The March 5-8 weekend provides an opportunity to draw together labor, women's liberation groups, Black organizations, students, and others in coalitions to answer the right-wing offensive of the anti-ERA forces.

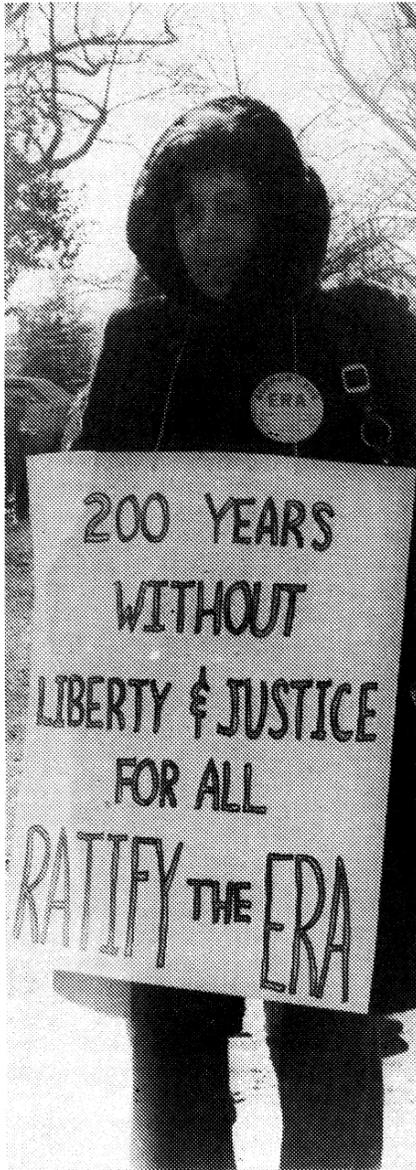
The Los Angeles Coalition for the ERA has called for a regional conference at Los Angeles City College February 7. The opening session will be a debate on the ERA, featuring Mary Nichols, an attorney in equal employment cases and a member of the National Women's Political Caucus, versus Maurine Startup, California chairperson of Stop ERA. The debate is cosponsored by Los Angeles NOW and other women's groups.

The rest of the conference will be devoted to sessions on organizing to win the ERA, including plans for International Women's Day, and workshops on "Equal rights on the job and in the unions," "Minority women and equal rights," and "National actions for the ERA."

In Philadelphia, NOW has called for a March 6 demonstration for the ERA, marching from city hall to the First Unitarian Church, where an afternoon teach-in will take place.

Michigan Women for the ERA is organizing a teach-in March 6 at Wayne State University.

In San Diego the ERA Task Force of the Coalition of Labor Union Women has called a January 28 city-wide meeting of groups supporting the ERA to plan strategy.



Militant/Martha Harris

NOW has scheduled a week of ERA protests in Illinois in April, including a demonstration at the state capitol in Springfield.

At a statewide conference of 200 women January 17, New Jersey NOW passed a resolution urging all local chapters to organize ERA activities around International Women's Day.

ERA supporters in Arizona, one of the states that has failed to ratify, will march on the state capitol on January 30. The preceding evening a teach-in on the ERA will take place at Arizona State University in Tempe, sponsored by the Campus Coalition for the ERA.

Women in Indiana confronted their legislators on January 16 in a picket line of fifty people organized by NOW at the state capitol in Indianapolis.

In Minneapolis 130 people turned out for "A Speak-out on the ERA" addressed by trade unionists and members of NOW. The speakers were Sue Welsh, president of Local 1164 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Elaine Onasch, president of Twin Cities Coalition of Labor Union Women; Ramona Austin, minority task force coordinator for Minnesota NOW; and Virginia Watkins, state coordinator of NOW. The speak-out was sponsored by the Militant Forum.

Louisiana women held a meeting of fifty in New Orleans recently to discuss strategy for winning ratification in that state. The meeting was organized by ERA Central, which includes a spectrum of unions, women's groups, and civil rights organizations. The Greater New Orleans AFL-CIO, Louisiana Federation of Teachers, Communication Workers, and A. Philip Randolph Institute are part of the coalition, along with the NAACP, Common Cause, YWCA, National Black Feminist Organization, NOW, State Nurses Association, and American Civil Liberties Union.

Pitt. teachers hold firm despite judge's attacks

By Dan Rosenheim

PITTSBURGH, Jan. 20—More than 3,000 striking members of the Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers (PFT) rallied today in the Hilton Hotel in downtown Pittsburgh to demonstrate their determination to hold firm and win a decent contract.

Despite heavy fines hanging over all the teachers for defying a court-imposed back-to-work order, the atmosphere at the rally was one of solidarity and high spirits.

A volunteer band of strikers played music and teachers held signs with the names of their schools high in the air. Other signs read, "In union there is strength," and "Divided we fall."

Albert Fondy, president of the PFT, told the teachers, "You've already proven that you're more than equal to any kind of pressure that can be applied from any source. As long as our unity is maintained, we cannot and will not be defeated."

The teachers struck last December 1 to halt cutbacks and layoffs threatened by the school board, maintain limits on class size, and win salary increases to make up for inflation. Their refusal to back down in the face of strikebreaking attacks by the school board and local courts is clearly having an effect on the board.

This morning, for example, the board accepted a financial settlement proposed by a special "fact-finding committee." The committee was appointed by Judge Donald Ziegler without the approval of the teachers, who see no reason to put their demands in the hands of any third party.

The proposed financial settlement, though, turned out to be substantially larger than anything the board had previously offered.

Speaking for the PFT, Fondy described the recommendation as "certainly a major move in the right direction." He noted, however, that the proposal to submit other issues, such as class size, to binding arbitration was totally unacceptable.

"As of this minute," Fondy said, "we have not resolved the very critical issues that face this strike. The only thing that will make the negotiations move is you: a strong, firm, orderly, unified strike."

Fondy also assured the teachers that any settlement would be subject to membership approval. "There will be no hurry-up in getting an agreement ratified," he said. "The terms will be printed up, and there will be a ratification meeting."

Albert Shanker, national president of the American Federation of Teachers, flew into Pittsburgh for the rally. He pointed to the right to strike as the major issue at stake:

"The freedom to strike is as basic as the freedom to speak, or to worship, or



Militant/Fred Stanton

Edward White, staff representative of Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers, addressing Militant Forum in support of embattled teachers.

to assemble. What right does a worker have if he cannot withdraw his labor?"

Unfortunately, other portions of Shanker's speech were less to the point. Toward the close of his remarks he gave this explanation of why the current strike is so important: "Do we want this country to resemble slave countries like China or Russia or Cuba, or do we want it to resemble free countries like England and Canada and Israel?" This remark was not well received by many teachers.

In other strike developments, the PFT was permitted to reoccupy its offices after a \$100,000 bond was put up on its behalf by the Amalgamated Food Employees Union. The teachers had previously been evicted by sheriffs operating on instructions from Judge Ziegler, who had ordered the sale of the union's office equipment to meet the punitive fines he has imposed.

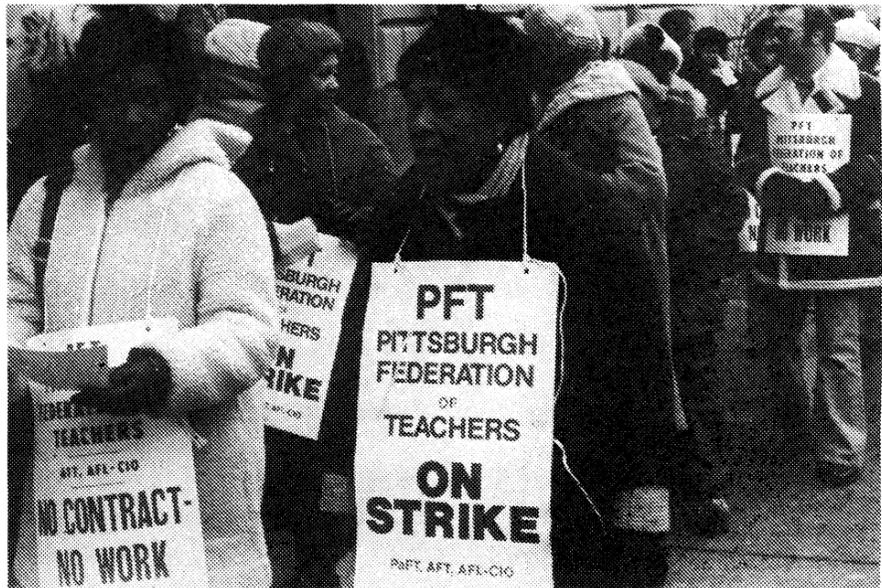
Court actions taken against the union so far include an antistrike injunction, imposition of heavy fines against the union and against individual teachers, and the eviction.

In addition to confiscating union property, Ziegler has threatened to collect the fines levied against the union—which now total \$75,000 and are growing by \$10,000 a day—by taking over the union dues checkoff. Each striking teacher has been hit with a \$100-a-day fine, on top of the union fines.

Ziegler says he will not consider wiping out the fines at the time of a settlement: "There are no circumstances under which I would remit the fines."

These moves are intended to cripple or destroy the teachers union during

Continued on page 26



Militant/Fred Stanton

Injunction, stiff fines, and eviction of union from headquarters haven't been able to break determination of striking Pittsburgh teachers.

U.S. out of Angola!

"We must not face a future in which we can no longer help our friends, such as in Angola," Ford told Congress in his State of the Union message. He appealed for cooperation from the assembled lawmakers in his moves toward involvement in a new Vietnam-type colonial war.

Ford had reason to expect that cooperation would be forthcoming. Despite plenty of rhetoric about peace, the Congress has refused to take decisive action to block U.S. war moves. Shortly before Ford's speech, the House agreed to go along with an administration request to postpone still further a vote on limiting military shipments to Angola.

During more than a decade of war in Vietnam, the politicians in Congress, while talking passionately about peace, consistently approved appropriations for war. If the antiwar movement had decided to rely on the Democrats and Republicans to stop that war, we would still be fighting there today.

Independent, mass action in the streets forced the United States to get out of Indochina. The same kind of action is needed now to stop Ford from turning Angola into a new Vietnam.

That's why the recent demonstrations against U.S. involvement in Angola, reported on in this issue, were so important. More and bigger actions of that sort are urgently needed now.

'New era' in N.Y.

The day after Gerald Ford called for a "New Realism" in government, New York's Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey submitted a 1976 budget that he said was aimed at putting the state's fiscal affairs "in touch with reality." In both cases the message was the same: more for corporate profits, less for workers.

To "begin a new era for New York State," Carey announced a wage freeze, 5,500 new state layoffs, and budget cuts totaling \$600 million. The biggest reductions are in welfare (\$132 million) and public education (\$110 million).

Loss of \$100 million in state aid to New York City will mean "major cuts in community services above what was anticipated," the mayor's office announced. The City University alone lost another \$63.3 million.

These are just a few of the effects of New York City cutbacks made *before* Carey's budget message: Eight libraries closed. Night school and adult education ended. Eleven of the city's nineteen eye clinics closed, leaving 10,000 children without eye care. Twenty-eight day-care centers closed, affecting 1,800 children. Average wait for a public ambulance extended from thirteen minutes to twenty. All city plans to build low-income housing abandoned. And much, much more.

Last month, the leaders of the New York trade unions told their members to accept wage cuts and tax increases without protest. Sacrifices by workers were required to "save the city" from default, they said.

Far from being satisfied, the Democrats and Republicans are stepping up their assault on jobs and social services. Until there is a massive, united resistance by the labor movement, there is nothing to stop them. Carey's budget is just the beginning.

The right to know

In his State of the Union message, Ford called for an end to the "sensationalism" of public disclosures of secret CIA plots. Earlier this month, the White House stressed that "the mere publication of allegations, whether true or false," is a threat to the government.

The Ford administration is conducting a counteroffensive to protect the "right" of the government to carry out its operations behind the backs of the American people. Ford is trying to whip up a campaign to blame those who uncover CIA secrets for everything from the electoral advances of the Communist party in Italy to the assassination of a CIA agent in Greece.

But this campaign is not going to deter the American people from insisting on their right to know the facts about the government's secret operations: the truth about the methods used and the motives served.

Open all the files on CIA crimes!

Vanishing distinction

The lead editorial in the January 11 *New York Times* made a couple of interesting points that I've never seen in the mass media before. The editorial was about the recent moves made by the Italian and French Communist parties to show their independence from the Moscow line.

It has long been true that the parties of the Third International were no more revolutionary than those of the Second—the main difference being that the former supported the Kremlin's foreign policy objectives. As the CP's publicly take their distance from their Russian mentors, the distinction tends to vanish.

In any event, I was surprised to see the *Times* refer to "the alignment of the Western world's two most powerful Communist parties on virtually a Social Democratic approach."

I was even more surprised to see the same editorial consider a key tenet of the Trotskyist critique of Stalinism: that the Kremlin bureaucrats do not promote, but *fear*, independent socialist revolutions in other countries, above all in Europe.

Citing the views of a very pro-Moscow Stalinist, Spanish CP head Santiago Carrillo, the *Times* editors wrote: "Moscow, he said recently, fears that Communist accession to power in the West would lead to 'a bloc of European socialist countries' independent of the Soviet Union with Western-style freedoms that would become a pole of attraction for Eastern Europe and 'the whole world's working class movement.'"

That is a real bureaucrat's nightmare, all right.

Cliff Conner
New York, New York

Call for action

There are two things I feel I must speak out on: the Equal Rights Amendment and the opposition to busing.

The only way we are going to win the ERA and have equal education for Blacks and other minorities is to speak out and show the opponents that we mean business. I feel that if people don't actively take part in demonstrations, but privately agree with the amendment and with busing, then they are not helping.

J.L.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

'Guidelines' sham

I would like to make an addition to a recent article. As to the December 26 *Militant* piece "Levi proposes 'legal' Cointelpro," readers might be interested in knowing that the proposed guidelines suggested to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence have already been proven to be a sham in at least one glaring instance.

The legal alibi that the attorney general would make into law would allow the FBI to "obstruct or prevent" groups planning activities in cases where the FBI sees a "likelihood" that force or violence will be used. As the *Militant* article mentions, these "preventive actions" can easily be used to stifle dissent.

Nowhere is the bald lie inherent in this ruse more clear than in the murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo, who was shot down by racists while driving her car in 1965. Though her death was big news at the time, no one seems to care much that an FBI agent has confessed to going along for the ride with Klansmen on the day of the

murder, doing nothing to prevent its commission, and even participating in the event.

Though FBI superiors knew Mrs. Liuzzo would be killed, they did nothing to stop the perpetrators. A hooded "FBI agent-turned-private-citizen" gave this information to a congressional committee recently.

So when Levi asks us to conjure two "violence-prone" columns of marchers heading toward each other and then asks us to imagine the FBI benignly blocking streets or changing signposts, let's take these statements for what they really are: reconstituted baloney.
Albert Cassorla
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Time to speak up

I have just read the story in the December 19 *Militant* about the demand for a reopening of the inquiry into the death of Martin Luther King and the support it is receiving from some labor circles.

However, the story would have been more complete if the labor people who have *not* joined this tendency were mentioned. There is no doubt that King was moving, and swiftly at that, in the direction of economic action and support of union organizing drives in the South when he was assassinated. Given the massive (but belated) show of support for the Memphis sanitation workers by Walter Reuther and others at that time, it is somewhat strange to find all of these people absent from the outcry caused by the plots against King by the FBI.

One of the strangest aspects to all this is the lack of response from the union that one would think should show some interest: the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Those AFSCME members in Local 1733 in Memphis who called on King to help them in 1968 must have had some reason for asking him for support and leadership in that strike. They also must know something about the harassment King and others suffered at the hands of federal, state, and local authorities.

This is also intriguing when we consider that the secretary-treasurer of that union is also the nominal leader of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Yet the offices of AFSCME have been completely silent about the issue.

When *all* of the participants in the Memphis drama reveal all that they know about King's role, and the need for that leadership, in the Memphis strike and his plans for organizing workers in the South, we may be able to reopen the inquiry. It would help if one major union could join in this effort.

Lou Victor
San Francisco, California

Save the library

New York City ordered the closing of eight library branches to take place January 17. So on January 15, 125 people held a demonstration at the Columbia branch of the New York Public Library and decided to start a sit-in to prevent its being shut down.

A number of ideas on how to solve the library cutback were proposed. One idea, opposed by almost everyone, was to just accept the cuts and operate the library with volunteers. One Democratic party district leader said we shouldn't do that "immediately" but should put up a bit of a fight first.

Marie Runyon, the present Seventieth District assembly member, presented her suggestions with a

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Dunlop's departure

commanding air. She felt the money could be gotten to keep the library open by cutting back in other areas, for instance, hiring fewer chauffeurs for elected officials. Most of her examples were rather peripheral, except for one serious proposal—fire the provisional city workers.

I think most felt that Socialist Workers candidate Ruthann Miller made telling points when she explained that the money existed to keep the library open and concretely suggested deducting the necessary \$28,000 per year from the city's contribution to the military budget. She also said that, as someone committed to organizing workers into a union, she would have nothing to do with any proposal advocating laying off one group of workers to "save" the jobs of another group of workers.

The next day Miller brought her entire class from the Children's Free School to the library to give them a firsthand lesson in how to fight back.

Flax Hermes

New York, New York

Eye-opener

Your recent articles on the United Farm Workers organizing efforts in the Imperial Valley of Southern California remind me of something that may be of interest to your readers.

In the early 1960s, the growers in Imperial Valley were unable to get as many *mexicano* and Chicano laborers as they needed to harvest their crops. So they turned to another source—the youth of San Diego.

They spread stories and ran advertisements about big opportunities to make some fast money harvesting the crops. They painted the working conditions as easy with adequate living quarters and meals provided.

Naturally, this appealed to many youth. Dozens of high school and college youth, mostly white, went to the valley expecting to make some extra money and not break their backs doing it. Within about a week, these young people had gotten a bitter taste of what it was like to be a farm worker.

Unlike what they had been told, the working conditions were miserable and the pay was low. Their meals consisted of insufficient, poorly cooked foodstuffs, mostly with a starch base. The housing was insect-ridden and overcrowded, and bathroom facilities were almost nonexistent. Working conditions were not easy either, with ten- and twelve-hour workdays at grueling stoop labor.

All of these horror stories filtered back to San Diego as these youth returned home, many sick with diarrhea and other disorders. This sparked some outrage among the white families here who were shocked at what had happened to their children. I believe it even prompted an article in the *San Diego Union* that called for an investigation into the reported conditions.

It's not very often that the shoe is put on the other foot, but when it is it can really open your eyes. *Viva la causa!* Victory to the UFW!

Page W. Tulloch

San Diego, California

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

The resignation of Labor Secretary John Dunlop on January 13 signaled no shift in labor policy by the Ford administration, only a quiet recognition on the part of all concerned that the relationship of class forces in this country is changing and that new tests of strength between the union movement and the employing class are inevitable.

Dunlop will return to his teaching position at Harvard University. Whether in government or out, he serves the employers as economic adviser, labor consultant, and strikebreaker. One of his accomplishments that recommended him for top job at the Labor Department was his defeat of the 1973 one-week strike of New York hospital workers while head of the Nixon Cost-of-Living Council.

Dunlop's departure from the Ford cabinet came as a direct result of the presidential veto of the common-site picketing bill, which would have established labor-management-government machinery to control wages and eliminate strikes in the construction industry. The bill had been drafted by Dunlop, endorsed by Ford, and accepted by the top officialdom of the building-trades unions.

When Ford, under pressure from sectors of the ruling class seeking a showdown with the crippled craft unions in the construction industry, backed out on his promise to sign the new legislation that some thought would give these unions a new lease on life, Dunlop was compromised and forced to resign. His further usefulness to the employers depends upon maintaining his working relationship with top layers of the union bureaucracy, a relationship he has cultivated throughout his career as labor consultant and arbitrator.

The inept Ford tried to dissuade Dunlop from leaving. But in his prepared statement the departing Labor Secretary said, "My decision reflects a professional judgment of what practically can and cannot be done this year."

One reason for Ford's veto of the construction industry control bill was Dunlop's failure to win the active support of the contractors who maintain bargaining relations with the building-trades unions. They served on the President's Collective Bargaining Committee in Construction, and had endorsed the new legislation. They refused to campaign actively for it

and in the end appeared to lend secret support to the campaign of the open-shoppers against it.

The labor policy of the Ford administration remains to curry favor with the union bureaucracy by promising class collaboration and "labor peace" while organizing merciless class warfare against the unions.

Indications are that W.J. Usery, Jr., director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, will be appointed to succeed Dunlop. He will continue on the same path. The change of face at the Labor Department will hardly be noticed.

When Ford "went back on his word," the officials of the building-trades unions made a big show of resigning from the Collective Bargaining Committee—all nine of them, including Teamsters union President Frank Fitzsimmons.

Robert Georgine, president of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, reminded Ford and the employers of past sacrifices. "It was the building and construction tradesmen," he said, "who donned the financial straitjacket tailored by the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee [created by Dunlop in 1971 for Nixon] when, during a period of soaring inflation and sizable unemployment, no workers of the nation except us were under any wage restraints."

The worst blow of all came from the "good" contractors, those willing to recognize unions. "After all these months and years," Georgine says, they "abdicated their responsibility to determine policy in the construction industry to the National Right to Work Committee, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Round Table [served by Dunlop as consultant], and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce."

Georgine told them off. "We have neither the disposition nor the time to play charades with a management which has indicated it is merely a proxy for the most virulent antiunion forces in the United States. . . ."

The union officials marched away to seek new "friends" in the Democratic party.

One of the first assignments of the new Labor Secretary will be to coax these ruffled labor leaders back into this game of charades. He can count on the Democrats to give them a nudge in that direction.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Inside Wallace's prisons

So them is also involved, eh?

Along with the usual scurrilous scalawags and pusillanimous pointy-heads, "thugs and federal judges have just about taken charge of our society."

Alabama Gov. George Wallace was grumbling about this the other day after a federal judge told him how to run his prison system.

The judge said Alabama prisons were "barbaric and inhumane," and on January 13 ordered the implementation of major changes within six months.

The ruling is believed to be the most extensive ever for a state prison system. A spokesperson for the federal bureau of prisons said, "If the decision stands, it is going to bring about a revolution in state prison systems."

At one Alabama prison, the judge found, bunks are "packed together so closely that there is no walking space between them [and] mattresses spread on floors in hallways and next to urinals."

In other prisons, according to the judge, "windows are broken and unscreened, creating a serious problem with mosquitoes and flies. Old and filthy cotton mattresses lead to the spread of contagious diseases and body lice. Nearly all inmates' living quarters are inadequately heated and ventilated. The electrical systems are totally inadequate, exposed wiring poses a constant danger to the inmates, and insufficient lighting results in eye strain and fatigue. In general, Alabama's penal institutions are filthy . . . overrun with roaches, flies, mosquitoes and other vermin. . . . In one area at Draper, housing well over 200 men, there is one functioning toilet."

The food in Alabama prisons, the judge said, is

"unappetizing and unwholesome." Food services are unsanitary; garbage "sits in large open drums throughout the dining halls," and "some inmates drink from used tin cans."

Hence, the judge ordered three "wholesome and nutritious" meals for prisoners each day; visits each week and unhampered letter correspondence; basic educational training "designed to teach a marketable skill"; recreational programs for every prisoner; adequate medical treatment; and at least sixty square feet of living space for each prisoner, a change of linen at least once a week, and a supply of personal toiletries at no cost.

The final stipulation, on living space, has always been a critical factor of conditions in prisons and detention facilities. Overcrowding was a precipitator of the January 1974 rebellion at Alabama's Atmore prison, and recently a federal judge handed down a broad decision concerning overcrowding in detention centers in New York City.

Wallace, the Democratic presidential hopeful who pretends to stump for the abused and misused, complained that the Alabama judge's changes will create a "hotel atmosphere" in the prison system.

State officials, including Wallace, may be held personally liable if the judge's stipulations are not met.

Roistering as if he were at a hog-killing session in the country, Wallace—the thug who abetted the murder of Black children and stood in the schoolhouse door to block desegregation—now urges voters to put him in office so, as the *New York Times* reported, he can give a "barbed wire enema to some of the federal judges in this country."

Jan. 15 protests demand jobs and justice

By Steve Clark

Jobs, desegregation, police brutality and frame-ups, FBI harassment and assassination plots: these were some of the major issues addressed by this year's January 15 activities commemorating the birthday of Martin Luther King.

In King's hometown of Atlanta, an estimated 10,000 people turned out for a "March for Full Employment." The action was sponsored by the National Committee for Full Employment, a coalition of trade-union officials, civil rights leaders, and elected government figures.

Several thousand students from the all-Black Atlanta University complex made up the demonstration's largest contingent.

Most visible among the union participants were the several hundred members of Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. The march route was flooded with picket signs bearing the AFSCME Local 1644 emblem and reading "Full employment in 1976," "I have a right to a job," and "Jobs not welfare." Street-width banners led off both the AFSCME contingent and that of the Georgia Association of Educators, the state affiliate of the National Education Association.

Three busloads of unionists from Memphis AFSCME Local 1733 also marched in Atlanta. It was while visiting Memphis to support striking Local 1733 sanitation workers in 1968

that Dr. King was assassinated.

Unfortunately, none of the speakers at the Atlanta rally offered a program to fight unemployment, limiting their remarks on the whole to electing a Democrat president next November.

The rally speakers included Coretta Scott King, New York City Mayor Abraham Beame, three prominent Black big-city mayors—Coleman Young, Maynard Jackson, and Richard Hatcher—and top officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFSCME, Distributive Workers of America, and United Auto Workers.

Police killings of eight Black youths during the past year were the central focus of a march on the Columbia, South Carolina, state capitol building. "In far too many instances, police have set themselves up as prosecutors, judges and jury," said a statement distributed by march organizers, including the local NAACP.

The *New York Times* estimated the crowd at 10,000, while the *Charleston, South Carolina, Chronicle*—a Black weekly—reported a turnout of 20,000. Demonstrators also demanded that the state assembly, then in session, declare King's birthday a South Carolina state holiday.

Carolyn Burrows of the National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson spoke to an indoor rally of 500 in St. Louis on January 15. J.B. Johnson is a young Black from St. Louis now facing a retrial of a frame-up murder conviction.

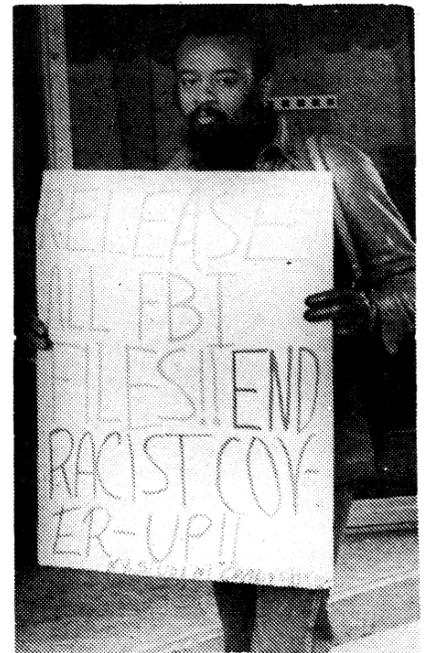
In New Orleans, a march swelled from 500 to more than 1,000 as it marched through the Black community. Among the speakers at the rally afterwards was the mother of Gary Tyler, a Black high school student sentenced to death on a trumped-up murder charge.

The recent revelations of previously secret files implicating the government in Dr. King's assassination provided the focus for other January 15 protests. The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) released a statement by fifteen prominent Black leaders calling for an investigation into the "mysteries surrounding the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King and Malcolm X."

PRDF is a civil liberties group that is building support for a \$27 million damages suit filed by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against government harassment and disruption of their activities. Among the statement's signers are U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.); Julian Bond, a Georgia state legislator; and Audrey Colom, president of the National Women's Political Caucus.

In Los Angeles seventy students at California State University heard Rashaad Ali, a leader of the Northern California Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), speak on FBI involvement in the King assassination.

The New York City SCAR joined the Research Group on Assassination in picketing the Manhattan FBI headquarters to demand that all FBI files



Militant/Lou Howort

Many January 15 actions spotlighted role of FBI in King assassination.

on Black activists be opened to the public.

At a widely covered Minneapolis news conference, local NAACP President Arthur Cunningham joined SCAR leader Lorraine Page and PRDF representative August Nimtz in demanding an independent commission of inquiry into the King assassination.

FBI harassment and mounting unemployment were the themes of activities in San Diego, Philadelphia, Denver, Chicago, and other cities sponsored by Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity). PUSH is a nationwide civil rights group based in Chicago.

In Washington, D.C., PUSH founder Jesse Jackson—one of King's top aides at the time of his assassination—spoke to an indoor meeting of 400 before leading 250 of the participants in picketing the White House. Jackson expressed his solidarity with fifty striking *Washington Post* press operators, who joined the picket line.

In Tinton Falls, New Jersey, sixty people picketed the local FBI office demanding "Stop FBI erosion of democratic rights." The picket line was sponsored by the Shore Citizens for Better Human Relations.



AFSCME Local 1644 was largest union contingent in Atlanta march for jobs

Militant/Harris Freeman

Louisville: 2,000 demand 'Keep buses rolling!'

By Ken Plotnik

LOUISVILLE—Nearly 2,000 people, young and old, Black and white, braved thirty-degree weather here to attend a march and rally on January 15, the birthday of Martin Luther King. The demonstration was called by the Kentucky Southern Christian Leadership Conference (KSCLC) in conjunction with the local NAACP.

The marchers, arm in arm, sang "We Shall Overcome" under banners proclaiming, "Keep the dream alive—keep the buses rolling," "Stop the racist attacks," and "Protect black school children."

The leaflet publicizing the march and rally cited a "new upsurge of racism, violence and hatred" in Louisville and surrounding Jefferson County "generated by anti-busing forces, and encouraged by high officials in Washington and Kentucky."

"We will pledge ourselves anew to struggle for the effective and just implementation of the desegregation plan in our schools . . ." the leaflet said. Schools in Louisville and its Jefferson County suburbs were desegregated last September under a court-ordered, cross-district busing plan handed down by

U.S. District Court Judge James Gordon.

After an hour winding their way from Central High School through downtown streets, the marchers assembled on the Jefferson County Courthouse steps to hear speeches by Lyman Johnson, president of the local NAACP; Rev. Bernard Lee, executive vice-president of national SCLC; Rev. Charles Kirby, president of KSCLC; and others. Tommy Brown, president of Service Employees International Union Local 557, blasted the participation of many local union officials in the anti-busing movement, pointing out that these same officials have ignored the thousands of unemployed Louisville workers.

Dick Gregory, the well-known comedian and civil rights activist, also spoke at the rally. Illustrating the true character of Louisville's antibusing movement, Gregory said, "America's biggest hang-up isn't busing, it's the 'niggers' on the bus."

"I tell you," Gregory said, "if the good schools don't come to us, we're going to go to them."

The high spirits of the rally turned sour when "greetings" were read from

Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll. Carroll, an outspoken opponent of busing, recently announced that he has proposed no funds in the state budget to finance busing in Jefferson County. Last fall Carroll said he would not welcome any presidential contender to Kentucky who did not support an amendment to the U.S. Constitution banning busing.

Only fifty marchers remained to hear remarks by another local antibusing politician, Todd Hollenbach. Hollenbach, Jefferson County's top elected administrative official, has spent thousands of dollars of taxpayers' money to fund antibusing activities.

The January 15 march was Louisville's largest probing activity since desegregation began last September. Among the sponsors of the demonstration were the Louisville Student Coalition Against Racism, which publicized the march on the University of Louisville campus; Progress In Education; the Louisville Coalition of Labor Union Women; Kentucky Federation of Teachers; United Black Protective Parents; Louisville Civil Liberties Union; Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Young Socialist Alliance; Southern Conference Educa-

tional Fund; and October League.

This show of strength by the Black community and its supporters came at an opportune time. On December 18 the leaders of twenty-two local antibusing groups—including the Ku Klux Klan and John Birch Society—established a joint steering committee to plan activities to disrupt school desegregation.

The coalition had discussed holding a January 15 countermarch, but had decided against it over the objections of the most rabid elements. Concerned Parents, Save Our Community Schools, Louisville ROAR, and other antibusing groups have demagogically claimed that they are not racist. Protesting the celebration of Martin Luther King's birthday, they realized, could point to only one conclusion.

The steering committee has already suffered one casualty. United Labor Against Busing, whose major backing came from International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761, recently withdrew from the group. It could not withstand the stigma that necessarily followed association with organizations such as the KKK.

Rejects 'white flight' dodge

Appeals court upholds Boston busing plan

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—On January 14 the United States First Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously upheld Phase II of Boston's busing and desegregation plan. The plan was ordered last May by U.S. District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity. The appeal was filed by the Boston School Committee, the Home and School Association, and Mayor Kevin White.

The three-judge panel's fifty-one-page reply to the appeal was unusually sharp in its language. Calling the school committee "intransigent and obstructionist," the court said, "These elected officials engaged in a pattern of resistance, defiance and delay" in implementing school desegregation.

The decision explicitly rejected the plaintiffs' argument that Garrity should have taken the danger of "white flight" to the suburbs into account before ordering extensive busing under Phase II. This argument has gained increasing currency among antibusing forces as a liberal camouflage to hide their racist opposition to school desegregation.

The Boston School Committee voted immediately to appeal the ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court. The circuit court decision also bodes ill for the racists' appeal of Garrity's decision last December 9 removing South Boston High School from school committee jurisdiction. Garrity at the same time stripped the committee of its authority over desegregation and school security throughout Boston, hampering its ability to disrupt court-ordered busing.

As schools reopened January 5, state and local police remained on duty at both South Boston and Charlestown high schools, where racist opposition to desegregation remains high. The previous night 200 "Southies" staged a protest march through the neighborhood in sub-freezing weather.

On January 8 sixty-two Black South Boston students were suspended for refusing to enter the school. They were protesting the fact that Blacks were not allowed to enter and leave school with impunity, as were white students.

They pointed out that no action had been taken against small groups of whites who had walked out of "Southie" and Charlestown during the first several days of school. These racist



Black students protest discriminatory treatment January 8 by refusing to enter South Boston High School. Sixty-two Blacks were suspended for this action, while white students come and go as they please with impunity.

walkouts were significantly smaller than those during the fall, indicating a certain ebb in the fervor of many antibusing students.

On January 13 about twenty-five Puerto Rican students at South Boston High School initiated a boycott of classes, rebelling against racist treatment at the school. They demanded an immediate upgrading of bilingual-bicultural programs, guaranteeing them instruction in science and mathematics, now absent from their curriculum.

The next day School Supt. Marion Fahey announced plans to launch court proceedings against 900 "truants." Most but not all of the 900 are white students boycotting desegregated public schools. These students could be removed from the "truancy lists" if the all-white private academies most of them now attend are certified by the Boston School Committee. These pri-

ivate schools have been set up by racists throughout Boston to circumvent desegregation.

The racists were stunned by the Garrity receivership order and the defeat in the appeals court. But their sniping continues, nonetheless.

Virtually all of the Black South Boston students who testified before Garrity during the hearings leading up to the receivership order have been forced to transfer to avoid violent reprisals by racist whites. On December 28 the car of a Black family in Boston's predominantly white Hyde Park area was bombed, and their home was spray-painted with the message "Nigger go home."

On January 5 racists packed the swearing-in ceremony of newly elected members of the Boston School Committee—all of whom are outspoken antibusing figures. The crowd chanted, "Here we go, Pixie, here we go!" at the

appearance of Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, a heroine among Boston's bigots. Palladino sported a fake diamond tiara spelling out the words "Stop forced busing."

At the first city council meeting of the new year, Louise Day Hicks—a Democrat and national president of ROAR, the country's major antibusing coalition—was elected council president. Hicks promptly announced that busing may result in "payless" workdays for some city employees, claiming that the expense of desegregation is "bankrupting" the city. Major Kevin White has echoed this demagogic claim.

The temporary calm in the most tense schools—South Boston and Charlestown—may only be a short-breathing space. Busing comes to East Boston next fall, and "Eastie"—led by its own "Pixie" Palladino—is girding for a battle.

'Southies' applaud Wallace's racist message

BOSTON, January 9—The yellow school buses have been rolling out of "Southie" every ten minutes for more than an hour, carrying hundreds of George Wallace supporters from that neighborhood to a downtown rally at the posh Statler Hilton Hotel.

The big crowd that has packed the main ballroom has not come for the country music or corny jokes—which are amply provided—but to hear the "little man's champion," George Wallace, blast the eggheads and the commies, the big foundations and the welfare cheats, and—most of all—"forced" busing.

It looks like an antibusing rally, with gangs of hulking men from the South Boston Marshal's Association, a semiclandestine group of racist thugs, patrolling the crowd. Several weeks ago these bigots brought Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon David Duke "up South" to get the real word on strategy and tactics.

The rally begins more than an hour late. An Eagle Scout leads the "Pledge of Allegiance." A South Boston priest

recites a benediction, urging the Almighty to give George Wallace the "strength of an archangel."

Local heroes are introduced: a racist Teamster official; a longtime Wallace campaign organizer; Boston School Committee member Elvira "Pixie" Palladino. A huge cheer goes up.

Then comes Albert "Dapper" O'Neill—a Boston City Council member and an honorary lieutenant-colonel in the Alabama state militia. A bigger roar.

Now, the big moment. George Corley Wallace. Standing ovation—maybe a minute long—and the banners and placards from South Boston, Charlestown, and East Boston, and the huge ROAR flag (a shramrock over an Italian tri-color), are waved in the air.

Local reporters predicted a small crowd, especially because of the cold weather. Instead, 2,000 have turned out.

Wallace's rambling tirade predictably attacks "big government" and "the bureaucrats." He blasts those "welfare cheats" with "\$30,000 in the bank." He

attacks the Soviet Union and the "Red Chinese," and comes out "for God, family, and country" and the biggest defense budget possible. "We have got to be number one again," he says.

Wallace boasts that many years ago, when he clamored for "law and order," he was called a racist. But today virtually all the Democrats say the same thing. He states his support for capital punishment, causing war whoops to interrupt his speech. His campaign theme is to save "the great middle class" from the superrich—"like Rockefeller and his crowd"—and from "those who just want a free ride."

But busing? Not a word. Oh, there's an allegory about free choice. About how old George has captured the hearts of Black Alabamans and couldn't possibly be a racist. Or how "some federal judges think they can run our lives better than we can." That brings giant applause, but it's not the stem-winder the faithful came to hear.

The reason? George Wallace is dead serious about running for president. The image of the cracker governor

whose chief aide was Jim Crow doesn't fit him these days. He would become too easy then to push to the fringe.

But you know where he stands, nonetheless. Like when he tells the story about Alabama farmers gathered around the Confederate monument. And when the code words of racism come pouring out.

Wallace, according to reports, feared creating a real ruckus in Boston. When he left he told reporters, "I left the city cool."

But the violence of the antibusing forces was right on the surface that night. A drunken South Boston youth opened the rally by trying to beat up a Secret Service agent. Twice, a balcony packed with racists erupted into brawls as gangs of bigots jumped others in the crowd they deemed not enthusiastic enough for old George. As the rally broke up, racists began fistfights outside, pushing one frightened man into traffic. Inside a white, middle-aged man spat on a Black photographer. —J.H.

Houston refinery battle

Building trades face union-busting attack

By Al Prochaska

HOUSTON—Thousands of angry construction workers took to the streets for three days of protests against union-busting tactics by Charter International Oil Company, which operates a refinery here.

On Thursday, January 8, Charter terminated its contract with the Lummus Construction Company, which had been building a catalytic cracker at the Charter refinery. As a result, some 300 workers employed by Lummus were laid off the following day. Lummus employs only union labor.

Lummus was replaced by Payne & Keller, which has a reputation in the Gulf Coast area as a scab-herding outfit. Payne & Keller is involved in a similar antiunion operation in Lake Charles, Louisiana, some 150 miles east of here.

On Monday, January 12, some 100 union workers gathered outside Charter's main gate to protest the dismissals. A confrontation with scabs entering the plant occurred and several trucks were turned over.

The next day, about 200 unionists again gathered outside the refinery gate, this time confronted by scores of Houston cops, including tactical-squad units with dogs. Seven workers were arrested, and initial reports said they were charged with "inciting to riot."

The protests reached their peak the next day, Wednesday, as more than 3,000 construction workers—pipe fitters, electricians, carpenters, and others—met at their various union halls at 5:00 a.m. They then went to the Charter main gate.

Pent-up anger

The workers tore down a chain link fence and surged onto the plant grounds. Pent-up anger built up over five days exploded. A melee ensued in which trucks and other construction equipment were overturned and destroyed. Seventeen fires were reportedly set.

Police showed up in force about an hour after the protest had started. At about 8:30 a.m. the word was passed through the crowd of construction workers to disperse, apparently by union leaders, and in about twenty minutes the area was cleared. Then the regular refinery workers, members of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union, began to go into the plant.

I talked with one OCAW member as



Cops confront protesting construction workers at Charter oil company refinery

he stood outside the gate. He told me he was worried that if the company succeeded in driving out the building-trades unions, then next January, when the OCAW contract with Charter expired, his union would be forced to sign a settlement on company terms.

Another OCAW member said he wished there had been a picket line at the gate, so that OCAW members could have refused to enter the plant. Without a picket line, he said, "If you don't want to go in, you have to say you're sick. If you refuse to work, they can fire you."

There had been no picket signs carried and no picket line set up at the plant gate. I asked an electrician why. Like most of the other workers there, he was in his late twenties or early thirties. He told me, "Well, a picket line is only three or four people, and you need a hell of a lot more than that to stop this company from running rats in there."

But a picket line of 3,000 construc-

tion workers could have shut the plant down tight and effectively appealed to other unions, especially the OCAW, to support the construction workers' demands.

Instead of organizing that kind of action, the building-trades union officials allowed the workers to let off some steam through one attack on the plant. But the union officials are not ready to lead a serious effort to regain the lost jobs.

Court injunction

Late Wednesday, a state judge issued an injunction forbidding further demonstrations. M.A. Graham, secretary of the Houston-Gulf Coast Area Building and Construction Trades Council, called the order "ridiculous." Graham explained that union leaders were already "trying to stop the protests."

On Thursday, January 15, more than 1,000 Houston cops in riot gear were sent to the plant. Five hundred were stationed inside. The rest pa-

trolled the streets in the vicinity of the refinery. No demonstrators appeared at the plant.

Construction work is transient by nature, and with new construction booming in Houston, most of the affected workers will probably have new jobs within a week. But what has happened is a setback for the construction unions. In the face of massive mobilizations of cops and a court injunction, the unions called off the protests and the refinery continued to operate. Despite the large number of militant workers who mobilized, the 300 laid off did not get back their jobs.

It is no coincidence that this attack on union rights came so soon after President Ford's veto of the common-site picketing bill, a law that would have allowed a union to picket the entire construction site in a dispute with a single contractor.

Construction contractors are stepping up their pressure to drive down wages and working conditions. Recently, bricklayers in Dallas agreed to a two-dollar-an-hour wage cut to make "their" contractors more competitive with nonunion contractors.

Open-shop state

Texas is one of the nineteen states, mostly in the South, that have open-shop "right to work" laws. Consequently, Texas building-trades unions are weaker than in other parts of the country. And the events surrounding the protests are being used to step up the offensive against the construction unions.

Whether the building trades can resist further attacks remains to be seen. The unions will have to overcome their archaic craft structure and develop tactics that are more effective in reaching out and mobilizing the support of the rest of the labor movement and working people in general. They will also have to resist the divide-and-conquer tactics of some who tried to portray this week's conflict as one between "un-American" undocumented workers and "American" workers whose jobs are being taken away. There are so-called illegal aliens on both sides of the line here.

The recent events showed that construction workers can be mobilized and are willing to fight to defend their jobs and their unions. It also showed that this militancy is not enough. They also need a strategy that can lead to victories.

Judge gags Hampton murder suit attorneys

By Charles Jackson

CHICAGO—U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry clamped a gag order on all parties in the trial of the Hampton civil suit on January 16. Perry acted at the request of an attorney for Edward Hanrahan, one of the defendants.

The court action seeks damages from state, local, and federal agencies for the 1969 police raid in which Black Panther party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed. The suit was initiated by the families of Hampton and Clark.

The gag order, which barred attorneys and other parties in the case from talking to the news media, was an attempt to cut across the widespread media attention and public sympathy the suit has garnered.

Perry issued the order after a closed meeting with the attorneys. Later, when Jeffrey Haas, one of the Hampton attorneys, rose in open court to object to the ruling, Judge Perry

jumped to his feet yelling about "disruption" of his courtroom.

As Haas was trying to explain why the order was unconstitutional, Perry ordered a U.S. marshal to remove him. One reporter observing the scene commented that Perry's behavior was reminiscent of the notorious Judge Julius Hoffman during the Chicago conspiracy trial a few years back.

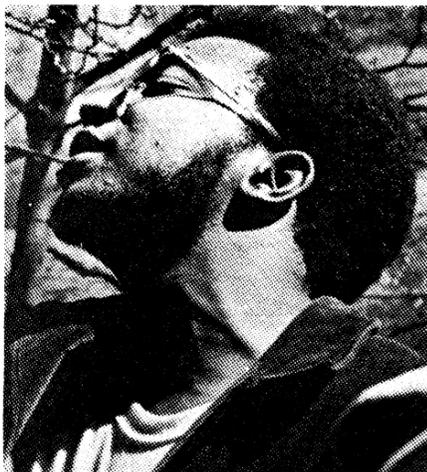
Perry later threatened to remove G. Flint Taylor, another Hampton attorney, if he tried to object to the gag order or to Perry's expulsion of Haas.

Four days later, however, when defendant Edward Hanrahan wanted to speak to the news media, Perry "modified" his order to permit this.

Meanwhile, an all-white jury is being selected to hear the case. So far five of the six jurors for the trial have been chosen. All five are white. Blacks have been systematically eliminated from the jury pool by defense attorneys through peremptory challenges. Such

challenges allow attorneys to remove a prospective juror without having to provide any justification.

On January 16, Hampton attorneys subpoenaed FBI Cointelpro ("Counter-



Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, slain in 1969 cop raid.

intelligence Program") documents said to outline a secret plan in which "local law-enforcement agencies [are] to be employed by the FBI to raid Black Panther party offices and homes wherein Panthers and police would be wounded and killed and Panthers arrested. . . ."

Before Judge Perry issued his gag order, Taylor told reporters, "We have a reliable informant who told us that such a plan existed and that he saw it in writing. We are demanding that these documents be brought into court."

Earlier attempts to have Cointelpro documents introduced as evidence of a massive FBI-police conspiracy to destroy the Panther party were denied by Judge Perry. Despite widespread revelations of FBI plots to provoke violence between the Panthers and other groups, Perry has maintained that the "Counterintelligence Program" is irrelevant to the police murders of Hampton and Clark.

Face decertification elections

Milwaukee Meat Cutters' strike in second year

By Bill Breihan

Members of the Milwaukee Amalgamated Meat Cutters union Local 248 have been on strike for one year now.

Last January 750 packinghouse workers were forced to strike when the Milwaukee Independent Meatpackers Association, the employers organization, tried to impose a wage-cutting contract on the union. The city's nine major packinghouses were shut down immediately by mass picketing that came to involve many hundreds of Milwaukee trade unionists.

A number of Milwaukee unions and the County Labor Council (AFL-CIO) came to the aid of the strikers by donating thousands of dollars and turning out many of their members in rallies and pickets in support of the strike.

Despite the determination of the strikers and the breadth of labor and community support for the strike, the Meatpackers Association has refused to give in on a single union demand. They broke off negotiation talks for a five-month period and recruited hundreds of local and out-of-state strikebreakers to reopen the struck plants.

The employers have also enlisted the services of a notorious union-busting law firm in the area—the Patrick Brigden firm. In the last two years this outfit has been employed to break strikes at Harley-Davidson, Masterlock, Everbrite, Hein-Werner, and other Milwaukee-area plants. Though unsuccessful in its efforts to break the



Striking Milwaukee meatcutters carried banner in last year's labor march for jobs in Washington. Employers forced strike by trying to cut wages.

unions in any of these shops, the Brigden firm has pulled out all stops in its effort to crush the Meat Cutters union.

The courts have been very friendly to Brigden and his association clients. Two injunctions against the union have resulted in the collapse of the union-organized boycott of scab-produced meat and in a series of charges against the union that have threatened to result in jail sentences for the strike leadership.

The Meatpackers Association has also been able to establish a cozy relationship with the Milwaukee office

of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). In December the board threw out every single charge of unfair labor practices that the Meat Cutters had brought against the packinghouse companies.

According to NLRB representation election rules, a company that has been struck for one year or more has the right to call for a "decertification election" to allow its employees to decide whether they choose to retain their present union as the official bargaining agent. The Meatpackers Association has recently requested such an election from the NLRB.

The association claims that only

their present employees—the strikebreakers—should be allowed to vote in the election since they are "permanent" replacements. The union has challenged this claim.

Harding Bond, president of Local 248, told the *Militant* that only strikers should be allowed to vote in the decertification election. He noted that the NLRB election rules are clear on the point that "temporary" replacements during a strike cannot vote in a representation or decertification election.

The NLRB will rule on this dispute, and elections will likely be held in February or March.

Judging by the bias of previous NLRB rulings, the union is prepared for the worst. If only strikebreakers are allowed to vote, the union plans to go ahead with a campaign to win the strikebreakers' support in the election for the union. If, in spite of the campaign, the union loses the election, Local 248 will be "decertified" for a full year and the strike effectively broken.

Throughout the Meat Cutters strike, members of the Socialist Workers party and supporters of the mayoral campaign of Socialist Workers party candidate Bernie Senter have been active in building support for the strike in the union movement and among student and community organizations. Senter and his supporters have walked the picket lines, distributed thousands of leaflets and posters, and helped in fund-raising activities for the strikers.

Airline companies open anti-employee offensive

By Terry Quilico

CHICAGO—Several airline companies, encouraged by the recent success of Trans World and Eastern airlines at freezing wages, are stepping up attacks on the living standards of their employees.

Workers at National Airlines ended a 127-day strike on January 5 after a federal court ordered the Association of Flight Attendants to vote a second time on a previously rejected offer. The airline, which threatened to use scab crews, requested the ruling.

The judge in the case also barred all four members of the union negotiating team from using union resources to influence the vote. Under extreme pressure, the once-rejected National offer was accepted on the second vote.

In December, 17,000 members of the International Association of Machinists struck United Air Lines, the nation's largest. The strike, which began

just before the Christmas travel rush, won the union an average 28 percent boost in wages and fringe benefits.

United carried out a major propaganda offensive against the IAM during the strike. A full-page ad in many daily newspapers signed by Edward Carlson, United chairman, bemoaned the fact that he could not have "the satisfaction of bringing friends and families together this special time of year . . . because of a strike by one of our unions." Carlson's ad went on to admit that the company could have taken the easy way out and accepted the union's demands, but in order to maintain private ownership of the airlines "the carriers must make reasonable profits on a continuing basis."

In 1974, United's "reasonable" profits were \$101 million, according to *Fortune* magazine.

The New York Times, while estimating that the machinists' strike might cost United \$104 million, also noted

that the airlines' Mutual Aid Pact could cut the loss by half. The Mutual Aid Pact is an agreement among the airlines to funnel a portion of unstruck airlines' revenues to airlines undergoing strikes.

Meanwhile, Pan American World Airways has announced that it will "furlough" 337 flight engineers despite a no-furlough agreement with the Flight Engineers' International Association. The FEIA had agreed to a \$1.5 million wage cut over eight months in the pact, which was signed last September. The FEIA had earlier accepted a "voluntary" 8.12 percent pay slash.

Pan Am has not tossed the entire agreement out the window, however. The airline is still going to honor the part of the pact that calls for lower wages.

Members of the Air Line Pilots Association continue a walkout begun November 14 at Airlift International, an all-cargo airline. Airlift threatened all

three of its unions—ALPA, IAM, and the Air Line Employees' Association—that unless all union contracts were extended for up to eighteen months with no pay increases, the company would go out of business.

The ALPA contract expired on June 30, 1974. Thus far the company has refused to negotiate except to insist on extending the expired contract through June 1976.

In an open letter to airline workers, discussing the company's position, Airlift Senior Vice-president E.M. Leath defended the president's \$100,000 annual salary. Leath said the boss's pay was the result of "the American way to success—through individual effort." On the other hand, the pilots' strike, he said, amounted to "mob action through coercion and the like."

In an earlier letter to the company, ALPA had referred to the deaths of several crew members in crashes.

Continued on page 26

CIA taught city police illegal spy techniques

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—After six months of stalling, the CIA has turned over some files to the *Washington Star* that were requested under the Freedom of Information Act. These documents—"sanitized," according to the *Star*—detail the agency's "assistance" to local police departments.

In the Rockefeller report on the CIA released last June, agency ties were alluded to with cops in Washington, D.C., and surrounding areas, Chicago, Miami, Los Angeles, New York, and Boston. Only a general and laudatory description of this association was given. Most of the CIA aid, the report stated, was an "effort to share with law enforcement authorities the benefits of new methods, techniques and equipment developed or used by the Agency."

The files released to the *Star* now disclose that those "new methods" and "techniques" included the arts of cracking safes, conducting burglaries,

and replastering walls damaged during break-ins and bugging operations.

A typical CIA training session in 1969 included ten days of "photo surveillance," five days of "surreptitious entry," four days of "audio surveillance," two days of "wall restoration," and three days of "operational problems against safesites" (secret CIA residences and offices).

The CIA program in Washington, according to the documents, was requested by local cops and was "predicated on the need to combat the tangible threats posed by radical terrorist groups within its jurisdiction."

"Tangible threats" included the specter of massive, peaceful antiwar demonstrations in the nation's capital. The CIA set up a special "Division on Vietnam Moratorium Mobilization in Washington," which provided the local police with a "mobile communications system . . . eight Radio cars and . . .

two agent personnel assigned to each vehicle."

The agency considered its surveillance of that fall's demonstrations especially successful because "the demonstrators rarely equated the POV's [privately owned vehicles] with the MPD [metropolitan police department] and, in most instances, took them to be news media vehicles."

Things were going fine until Watergate threatened to put a spotlight on such "professional consultation." CIA security director Howard Osborn recommended continuing some of the programs "quietly and discreetly," while ending others until the "Watergate incident has been put to bed one way or another."

According to the Rockefeller report, such assistance to the local cops ended in 1973 and is now provided by the FBI. The files given to the *Star* go no further than early 1973 so as not to make a lie out of that "blue ribbon" commission report.

Rent strike 50,000 strong

What Co-op City residents are fighting for

By Sally Whicker

NEW YORK—"If I had to pay the 25 percent increase, I couldn't afford to," one young woman who lives in Co-op City told the *Militant*. "I'd have to move out."

She isn't alone. Nearly 50,000 residents (80 percent of the total) are waging a rent strike to protest hikes in the cost of their apartments.

Co-op City, located in the northeast Bronx, is an enormous complex of thirty-five high-rise buildings, six townhouse clusters, three shopping centers, and five public schools.

Opened in 1968, the cooperative housing development looked promising to workers and retirees of modest means. The low- and middle-income project was subsidized by the state. Residents have to meet economic tests to prove they don't make too much money.

The apartments are occupied by factory and office workers, teachers, postal workers, and other government employees. Many of them are retired, living on Social Security and union pensions. They are overwhelmingly white; many are Jewish.

For most of the older residents, the move to Co-op City was, they hoped, their final move. They left their rent-controlled apartments in run-down sections of the city, and invested their life savings in the co-op.

Tenants bought their apartments with an average down payment of \$450 per room. Monthly carrying charges and maintenance fees, they were told, would average \$23 per room.

This was in 1965, long before construction was completed. Since that time the monthly payments (which residents commonly refer to as rent) have already risen to an average of about fifty-three dollars per room—more than a 100 percent increase! And additional increases are scheduled in the near future.

Resistance organized

When the directors announced a 25 percent increase in May 1975 (retroactive to April of that year), it met with fierce resistance among the tenants.

A coordinating body, Steering Committee III, was formed to organize activities against a rent increase. (Steering Committees I and II were earlier tenant organizations). The steering committee organized and began collecting from 80 percent of the residents.

When the state rejected their appeals to relieve the situation, the residents went on strike.

"The main reason I joined the rent strike is that since we've been living here, we've been increased over 100 percent. Something is wrong somewhere," said a middle-aged woman who was waiting at Co-op City to catch a bus to work. "We're hopeful that if



CO-OP CITY: Kickbacks, payoffs, and profiteering have pushed rents beyond the reach of many tenants.

we all stick together, something will come of it."

A retired garment worker said he "was supposed to move in for \$92.75 [a month] and I pay \$144 already. Thirty-seven dollars on top of this will be \$180 some-odd dollars.

"They told us, Co-op City—you'll have a paradise. So now we got the paradise! I can't afford it . . . up to \$225 for three rooms. Who can afford it? If I had known, I would never have moved."

He had been one of the demonstrators who had gathered in front of Gov. Hugh Carey's office recently.

"I was in the demonstration, by Carey's office. It's [the strike] going to be effective. They're not going to win."

Carey's Betrayal

Carey's role in the strike is one of the things that has left the residents bitter toward politicians and determined to carry the fight through on their own strength.

In August 1974, when Carey was battling Howard Samuels for the Democratic nomination for governor, he came to Co-op City and vowed to help the residents battle the rent increases. If elected, he promised there wouldn't be any increases.

"I run for governor," proclaimed Carey, "to honor the commitments we have made, not to break them. And I stand here to reaffirm my personal commitment to the thousands of people who live in [state-subsidized] housing throughout the state. . . .

"Yes, it involves a subsidy. But at a time when we subsidize grain deals and luxury housing, airlines and railroads, it is unconscionable to deny average people decent housing on the basis they should not get the help they were promised."

By Clemens Bak

CHICAGO—Students, faculty members, and community activists from around Illinois spoke out against proposed tuition increases in higher education at a public hearing here recently.

"The tuition increases would be an immediate disaster for Blacks and other minorities," said Steve Williams, a representative of the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Earlier this month the Illinois Board of Higher Education approved a tuition hike for the 1976-77 school year at Illinois public universities. The IBHE is responsible for preparing long-range policy recommendations, which are then presented to the state legislature.

After this speech, the Co-op City Democratic club switched its endorsement from Samuels to Carey. The Co-op City vote (more than one-third of the total Democratic primary vote in the Bronx) went 6 to 1 for Carey.

But, now safely in office, Carey has forgotten his promises. In fact, the state government, which administers Co-op City, has mounted a strong campaign to break the strike.

When the strike began in June, the Co-op City board of directors resigned, leaving the state division of housing in control.

(The residents, who supposedly own the buildings collectively, have no control over the administration. The residents' "shares" in Co-op City don't entitle them to a vote. One of the demands of the strike is issuance of voting shares to the residents, so they can exercise control over Co-op City.)

The state has been carrying out legal proceedings against Steering Committee III and against committee chairperson Charles Rosen, a thirty-two-year-old printer and member of the International Typographical Union.

At the request of state officials, judges have hit the steering committee with antistrike injunctions. The strike leaders have been fined individually and as a body to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars for refusing to hand over the millions of dollars of rent money being held in escrow.

More recently, the directors of Co-op City have threatened to cut off heat and hot water (this in subfreezing temperatures).

Behind soaring costs

Why have the rents skyrocketed? The answer to this question lies hidden in the financial books of the United Housing Foundation, which built Co-

The first part of a three-year program, contained in the board's 112-page "Master Plan Phase 4" is designed to enable the state to "establish public university undergraduate tuition rates at a level equal to one-third of instructional costs, and graduate levels one-third higher than undergraduate." Over a three-year period the increases would total \$300 per student.

Black State Sen. Richard Newhouse, testifying at the hearing, noted that the proposed tuition hike and a plan to halt the expansion of any new educational facilities or the hiring of more faculty would "completely gut what advances Blacks and Latinos have made in higher education."

David Pagan, a University of Illinois

op City, and the Riverbay Corporation, the UHF subsidiary that owns Co-op City. If the tenants were able to conduct their own investigation, with their own auditors, they would without question uncover a swamp of profiteering, payoffs, kickbacks, and swindles through which the politicians, lawyers, and contractors involved in the project have enriched themselves.

Before the residents of Co-op City even moved in, all kinds of favors, no-bid contracts, and other manipulations were under way.

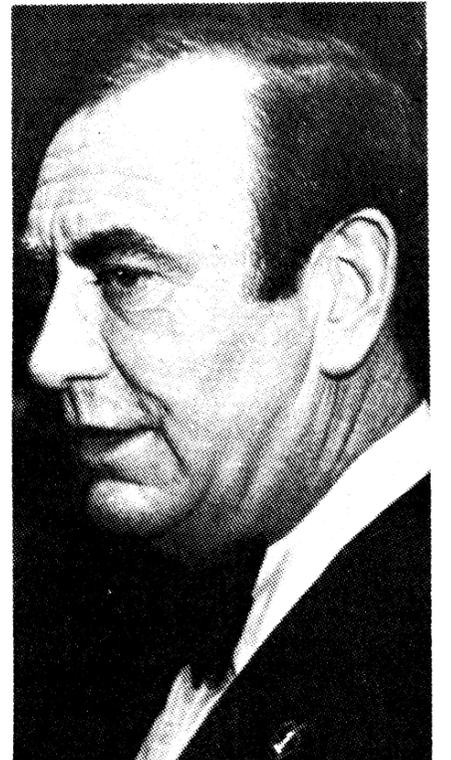
As a result, construction costs soared from \$258 million to \$340 million, which led to an increase in the mortgage loan from \$236 million to \$375 million. All of this, of course, was passed on to the tenants.

Rent-strike organization

Organizing a rent strike on this scale is no simple matter. The fact that it has been as solid as it has is testimony to the tenants' anger and their determination to stand together and win.

The members of Steering Committee III were elected by the residents. Frequent meetings are held, open to all. The steering committee keeps the tenants up-to-date through leaflets and meetings. In addition, the complex is broken down into sections with marshals for each section, and captains in each building.

The strike is efficient. In view of the deception, fraud, and mismanagement by the state, it is clear that the people of Co-op City can do a far better job of running the complex than the Democratic and Republican politicians can. Whatever the outcome of the strike, the residents are not likely to forget this.



CAREY: Trail of broken promises

student, reported to the hearing that \$7,500 was already being cut from the skimpy \$30,000 budget of the university's bilingual program.

Reed Lee, the University of Illinois student government president, explained that students already have to contend with cost increases in food, rent, and transportation.

John Pottinger, the chairperson of the Student Government Committee to Fight the Tuition Hike and a leader of the Circle Campus Young Socialist Alliance, called on students from around the state to respond in a united way through rallies and teach-ins that will result in a statewide effort of students to block the master plan.

Students protest Illinois tuition hike

By Dick Roberts

Liberal Oklahoma Democrat, presidential aspirant, Sen. Fred Harris: fee not disclosed.

Louisiana Dixiecrat, Sen. Russell Long: \$40,000.

Pennsylvania Republican, Senate minority leader Hugh Scott: \$5,000 each spring; \$5,000 each fall.

Former Republican President Richard Nixon: \$100,000.

Former Democratic President Lyndon Johnson: \$50,000.

Liberal Oregon Republican, Sen. Mark Hatfield: \$10,000.

Conservative Washington Democrat, presidential aspirant, Sen. Henry Jackson: \$10,000.

Minnesota Democrat, presidential aspirant, Sen. Hubert Humphrey: \$25,000.

So goes the Gulf list.

There are many other names, but these are the better-known recipients of tens of thousands of dollars from Gulf Oil Corporation's secret political slushfund.

The details of Gulf campaign contributions and other illegal activities in recent years are contained in a 298-page study released December 30.

"The depositions and documents indicate that, for more than a decade, Gulf lobbyists and operatives crisscrossed the nation, handing over [to] the politicians cash drawn from a secret and admittedly illegal \$10.3 million fund," states the November 26 *New York Times*.

"According to the allegations," the *Times* continues, "sealed envelopes were discreetly passed out by Gulf—once in a motel washroom in Indianapolis, once behind a barn in New Mexico and on other occasions at equally private but less bizarre locations."

Foreign operations

Besides describing funds dished out to Democratic and Republican politicians at home, the study also discloses considerable bribery overseas.

- Gulf contributed \$50,000 in Beirut, Lebanon, for a pro-Arab propaganda campaign in the United States.

- In Kuwait, where Gulf's holdings have been taken over, the company provided Sheik Abdulla, the ruler of Kuwait, with the use of an aircraft and also paid \$2 million to build the "Fahaheel Sea Club."

- The ruling dictatorship in South Korea received \$4 million from Gulf. A so-called Gray Fund was maintained to make payments to the South Korean president's staff, the prime minister's staff, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and the Korean Central Intelligence Agency.

- Gulf "gave substantial amounts" to former Bolivian President Gen. René Barrientos Ortuño. Barrientos was "elected" to power in July 1966, formalizing the rule of a pro-U.S. military dictatorship.

- The report disclosed contributions to Swedish and Canadian political parties by Gulf subsidiaries in those countries.

- In Italy, Gulf made payments totaling \$627,000 to three publishing concerns that "in effect constituted political contributions," the report said. These included the Christian Democratic party and the Socialists. The Italian state oil firm also received Gulf money.

Watergate

As far as it goes, this study pins down more of the secret political workings of a major U.S. corporation at home and abroad than any recent disclosure. It is a direct outgrowth of Watergate.

The Watergate special prosecutor's office had revealed a number of corporations making illegal donations to Nixon's 1972 election campaign committee.

These revelations brought the Securities and Exchange Commission into the investigation. The SEC is supposed to guarantee the full financial disclosure of corporate finances for the sake of investors. If a corporation has a campaign slush fund, the corporation presumably should reveal the existence of its slush fund to stockholders.

The Internal Revenue Service has also launched investigations stemming from Watergate. Between the IRS and SEC as many as fifty, and perhaps more, corporations are under investigation. Some of their findings have already been leaked to the press.

Gulf is the most spectacular case.

Midway in its investigation, the SEC asked the directors of Gulf to appoint a committee headed by an "outsider"—that is, someone who does not own Gulf shares—to review their political activities.

The outsider, former Chase Manhattan Bank chairman John McCloy, and two Gulf directors prepared the report issued last month. Considering

Gulf oils wheels of capitalist corruption



the composition of the committee, it can hardly be described as impartial to the rulers of this country!

McCloy not only represented the Rockefellers for years as head of Chase, but also served as chairman of the Ford Foundation. The Gulf directors on McCloy's committee represented the Mellon interests who control Gulf.

Multinational corporations

On foreign activities it is evident that McCloy only touched the tip of the iceberg. Gulf is the seventh-largest oil company. It has 219 foreign subsidiaries, 89 percent of which are wholly owned by Gulf. Most of its profits come from foreign operations.

A chapter of more political importance than any of those disclosed by McCloy, for example, would be Gulf's long collaboration with Portuguese imperialism to protect its operations in Cabinda, Angola. Gulf is the largest foreign investor in Angola.

It also has holdings in Denmark, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Formosa, France, Puerto Rico, Ecuador, Spain, Switzerland, and Wales. And it is certain that Gulf's foreign operations go beyond merely bribing officials, that is, they include direct repressive activities.

But so far as Gulf's domestic largesse is concerned, the SEC and McCloy provide valuable data.

The thing that jumps out is Gulf's indifference to the political parties, Democratic or Republican, and to the avowed political beliefs of the recipients of its bribes.

For Gulf, the question is who holds office. It would invariably give contributions to both parties in campaign periods. But the big money flowed once the candidates were in office—and the more important the office the more the cash. The twice-yearly tributes to Republican Senate leader Scott, who is retiring under the pressure of these revelations, are a case in point.

Campaign reform

The facts underline the impossibility of ridding the capitalist electoral system of corruption.

Corporate payments to federal campaigns have been illegal since 1907!

But it is one thing to pass laws and another to enforce them. The Gulf revelations show that the everyday operation of paying off capitalist politicians was carried out in a far-from-routine manner.

A tiny handful of Gulf officials, centered at the highest level of management, and using bank facilities outside of the country, conducted the secret bribing operations.

What was routine about it is that virtually every leading politician received the funds. Ask the Humphreys and Scotts or the occupants of the White House to investigate their backers. Any

system of campaign reform will break down in the government itself.

The Federal Election Commission, which also grew out of Watergate, is supposed to oversee private and corporate campaign financing and to enforce the disclosure of campaign contributions.

But *how*? The actually decades-old process revealed in the case of Gulf is completely secret, and the federal commission has no authority whatsoever to penetrate this secret process. If the legislators themselves won't talk about their backers—and they won't—and if the corporations won't talk about who they are financing—and they won't—how can the federal agency carry out its supposed duties?

This governmental agency is meant to dupe voters, not to break down the necessary channels of capitalist campaign finance—a fact well known to the legislators who voted to set the commission up.

Ruling class

The McCloy report implicitly proves the point.

Under the pressure of Watergate and the unending series of questions it raised, the most powerful sectors of the American ruling class decided they had better make a showcase.

Why not Gulf? The Mellons own plenty of other corporations (Alcoa, the Mellon National Bank, Koppers, Carborundum, etc.), and besides, it isn't Mellons who get slapped on the wrist. It is the chairman of Gulf who has to step down, and there are many more where he came from.

So a committee is appointed of ruling-class agents picked by the ruling class.

This committee does get the facts! That is, to the degree that the ruling class decided to let some information out about Gulf, it was only to this select body of its most trusted representatives.

McCloy has to be credited with some candor. After nine months' perusal of Gulf papers, his committee asks how such illegal activities of corporations can be avoided in the future. "The tone and purpose given to the company by its top management" will determine whether political bribery is eradicated, the committee states.

Reading this, the editors of the *New York Times* appeal to "business executives . . . to learn to respect the democratic system."

* * *

"Open the books!" is an important slogan of the working-class movement, and its validity is underlined by every aspect of the Gulf exposé.

It means: open *all the books to workers*—from the campaign ledgers of the windbags and hand raisers in Congress to the balance sheets of their masters in the safes of the mightiest corporations.

Denounce 'overemployment'

Portuguese rulers step up attacks on workers

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

By David Frankel

The Portuguese government has stepped up its offensive against the working class and its allies. The attack has been cautious, reflecting the regime's fear of provoking a new upsurge, but its objective is clear. It is aimed at restricting and pushing back the economic and political gains made by the Portuguese masses since the April 25, 1974, coup that overturned the Salazarist dictatorship.

On the economic front, Premier José Pinheiro de Azevedo's government called for "voluntary and conscious acceptance of sacrifices" on December 20, 1975, while announcing new guarantees for foreign investment. The meaning of this policy was amplified by Azevedo December 23. In a televised speech he said that the fate of the economy depended on "the discipline of labor unions and workers." According to *New York Times* correspondent Marvin Howe, "He warned that unrealistic wage claims and overemployment had caused many enterprises to close."

MFA treachery

The MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement)—aided by the Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders—has been trying to force the working masses to pay for the capitalist economic crisis since it came to power in April 1974. At one point this objective was cloaked in the demagogic call to win the "battle for production." Now Azevedo states the MFA's program more openly, talking about "overemployment" at a time when 13 percent of the work force is unemployed.

Marvin Howe described the impact of the regime's austerity program in the January 11 *New York Times*:

The Government's call for sacrifices hit home most powerfully with the removal of subsidies on essentials and the subsequent huge price rises.

An analysis of the rising cost of living just published by the weekly newspaper *Tempo* showed dramatic increases in Lisbon: eggs now cost \$1.60 a dozen, up 33 percent; potatoes are up 21 percent and carrots 140 percent.

The high food prices affect Lisbon most seriously, but the prices of gasoline, postage stamps and transportation are national.

The price of high-octane gasoline has risen by 40 percent, to \$2.45 a gallon, and public transport fares have increased by an average of 100 percent.

Another aspect of the government's offensive was manifested January 9 when the regime announced that its land-reform program would not be applied at all in the northern two-thirds of Portugal, nor in part of the South as well.

Launched new attacks

The regime has also launched new attacks on the rights of assembly and protest. It chose the occasion of a January 1 demonstration in Oporto, called to demand the release of 140 persons arrested in the wake of the November 25 coup attempt, to test its repressive options.

Members of the Republican National Guard opened fire on a crowd of 3,000 persons, killing three and wounding many others. The government defended the shootings and charged that the demonstration had been part of a plot to enable the prisoners to break out of jail. In addition, demonstrations outside prisons in Oporto were banned.

A further attack on the right to demonstrate was reported in the January 3 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La*



Construction workers demonstrate in November 1975 for wage increases. Capitalist leaders hope to push back gains won since April 1974 coup. Militant/Ben Atwood

Opinión. An unsigned dispatch quoted a communiqué from the Oporto government, which argued that "the demonstration was illegal" because its organizers failed to give the president of the municipal council forty-eight hours' notice of their plans.

A similar demonstration in Lisbon on January 1 was broken up by commandos, who scattered the crowd by driving armored cars into its midst and firing over their heads.

Paramilitary cops

The regime's use of the Republican National Guard, a paramilitary police force known for its right-wing character, was hardly accidental. A report from Oporto in the January 3 *Washington Post* pointed out, "A massive recruitment campaign for 10,000 extra men is being boosted by television commercials."

There have also been some signs that the Azevedo government is trying to whip up sentiment against "outside agitators." One of those killed at the Oporto demonstration was a twenty-two-year-old German student, Günther Bruns, who the government claimed was "interfering in Portuguese politics."

According to a report from Lisbon by Harold Sieve in the January 11 issue of the London *Sunday Telegraph*, "Portugal has begun expelling the first of the thousands of foreign revolutionaries, who, she claims, have been fomenting extremist agitation and using the country as a training ground in subversion and terror."

Sieve added: "The military rulers are moving swiftly after making their expulsion threat last week. The Supreme Revolutionary Council then denounced 'foreign elements' often undesirable in their own countries and proposed legis-

lation to deal with them."

The latest probe in the regime's attack on democratic rights came on January 13 when the ruling Council of the Revolution proposed a plan that would ensure continued military rule in Portugal until 1980. In a dispatch from Lisbon in the January 18 *Washington Post* Bernard Nossiter said that "the military plan would enable the Council to dissolve the elected legislature and veto many of its decrees on everything from nationalization through foreign affairs to defense.

"To be sure, this blueprint is not the last word. The civilian political parties are examining it and their agreement must be obtained before it becomes effective. They are likely to insist on a reduced military role and should gain some concessions. But in the end, it appears the power will rest where it has been, with the men who made the coup of April 25, 1974."

A January 18 dispatch from Lisbon in the *New York Times* quoted Socialist party chief Mário Soares, who denounced the plan. "The new proposal is antidemocratic and consecrates military guardianship over our political life," he said.

Unfortunately, Soares has refused to come out in opposition to the capitalist offensive that prepared the way for this latest attack. The working class as a whole has been deeply divided and disoriented by the policies of the reformist Socialist and Communist party leaders.

Instead of breaking with the MFA, the SP and CP leaders have participated from the beginning in the capitalist government and vied with each other to win the position of the MFA's privileged ally. Instead of attempting to unite the masses in defense of their basic interests, the SP and CP leaders

have acted as agents of the capitalist government in the working class, supporting the MFA's policies to the hilt.

By taking responsibility for the MFA's capitalist policies and attempting to pawn off capitalist governments as progressive and revolutionary, the reformist leaders have disoriented the working class and opened the door to rightist forces.

This was demonstrated January 12 at a rally of right-wing farmers at Braga. One speaker told the crowd, estimated at 10,000 by *Washington Post* correspondent Nossiter, "Men who have never been out of Comercio Square [seat of the Agriculture Ministry in Lisbon] and out in the fields can't draw up laws for us. If they want to help us, bring us cheap fertilizer and machinery to work this barren land. Build roads . . . Give us fair prices and credit."

Revolutionary gov't

This is precisely what a genuine revolutionary government based on the workers and peasants would do. By utilizing such policies the Cuban revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro were able to carry out perhaps the most thorough land reform in the world, with the enthusiastic support of the small peasants.

Because the Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders are opposed to a socialist revolution in Portugal or anywhere else, they have refused to give up their reliance on the capitalist regime. On January 17 the Stalinist-controlled trade-union federation sponsored a demonstration against the wage freeze. But as in the CP's earlier conflict with the Azevedo government, the Stalinist leadership hopes to utilize such demonstrations to pressure the MFA into granting it a few more posts. Also, the Stalinists hope to use the economic issue to win votes in the upcoming elections to the Constituent Assembly.

The turnout at the January 17 demonstration was estimated at only 25,000 by *New York Times* reporter Howe, far below what the CP alone has been able to mobilize on previous occasions.

However, an enormous potential for struggle remains. The economic crisis and the capitalist offensive are going to continue and deepen. The Portuguese working class has been confused and misled by Stalinist, Social Democratic, ultraleftist, and centrist leaders, but it has not been defeated. The mass mobilizations of the construction workers in mid-November showed a glimpse of the power that can be tapped by a united struggle of the working class in defense of its interests.



Communist party chief Cunhal (left) and Socialist party leader Soares. CP and SP have supported MFA government, competing with each other for position of MFA's privileged ally.

World Outlook

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

JANUARY 30, 1976

Peasants greet returning exile

Hugo Blanco met with cheers in Peru

LIMA—"Hugo Blanco en Perú—Victoria popular!"

The cheers greet him everywhere. Blanco is home again, and he is already out rousing socialist sentiment and exposing the Peruvian regime's "pretended revolution."

Recently he visited the area of his former activity as a peasant organizer, the province of La Convención in eastern Peru. The two weeks of travel had been the same from the beginning: policemen, a lot of them, all the time and everywhere. But everywhere the threat of the uniforms was drowned in flowers and embraces.

Tierra o muerte! Land or death! In every village the truck passed, people stood along the road shouting the watchword from the old days. Even though there had been a news blackout, it had been impossible to stop the word that Hugo Blanco was coming back.

An ice-cold rain started to fall, and all of us, except Blanco, looked for protection under the truck's canvas. He wanted to see his home country again after twelve years.

"Kausachun!" Long live Hugo Blan-

co, in the peasants' language, Quechua. From the outskirts of the village to the peasants' meeting place in the center of Quiabamba, the people crowded along behind the truck. It was the middle of the night, but the people wanted to hear Blanco speak. They wanted to have him sit at their tables and dance the *huayno* with them.

Two hours' sleep on a cold dirt floor before the next day's meetings and problems.

It was here in the valley of La Convención that the peasant revolt began. And it was Hugo Blanco who led it. Because of this, La Convención is one of the areas where the Peruvian government has been most active in applying its land reform.

However, there are many problems that remain to be solved. The peasants now own the land they are cultivating, but they do not have any control over the prices of their products. The Peruvian peasants are still paid miserably, but they are too divided to do anything about it.

Many peasants are organized in so-called *ligas agrarias* (agrarian leagues), a form of organization that

the government initiated. The strongest opposition to these agrarian leagues comes from the CCP (Confederación Campesina del Perú—Peruvian Peasant Federation), which the peasants started themselves.

The Trotskyist party to which Blanco belongs does not have a majority in the CCP, but Blanco has joined the organization. "It's only as a united group that we can defeat the government," he argues.

"What a tragedy!" Blanco despaired after the first day's meeting with the peasants. Stones had been thrown, arguments had led to blows, and throats had become raspy in the attempt to unite the peasants.

But Blanco was more optimistic after his two-week campaign. "The masses themselves are not sectarian," he says.

The repression is not as strict now as it was during the previous military government. Then people were sent to prison without being indicted or tried. But Blanco is nervous nonetheless. He is always under surveillance.

"... the farmers of today and tomorrow will never forget Hugo Blanco..." This traditional *huayno* song

often released the tension that accumulated in the atmosphere. It was written when he was in prison on the island of El Frontón. His companion, who was in prison for "only five years" and now has neither identification nor a steady name, sang the song when we were on the train going "back home" to Chupimayo, where Blanco worked as a farmer.

At the train's exit there were four policemen. There are always some representatives of "law and order" on the trains. But are there usually so many? And do they usually carry machine guns?

"But I will go on working," says Blanco. "I'll be working against their capitalist policy and for a socialist revolution."

He says, "Our success was limited in La Convención largely because we were without a strong party. It's very important that I now stay in Lima and take part in the building of the party. It doesn't matter how many strikes and land occupations we have. They won't lead anywhere if they are not coordinated and supported by the masses."

Regime arrests Hernan Cuentas

Hernán Cuentas, a leader of the Peruvian miners union and the Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Marxist Workers party), has been arrested by Peruvian authorities.

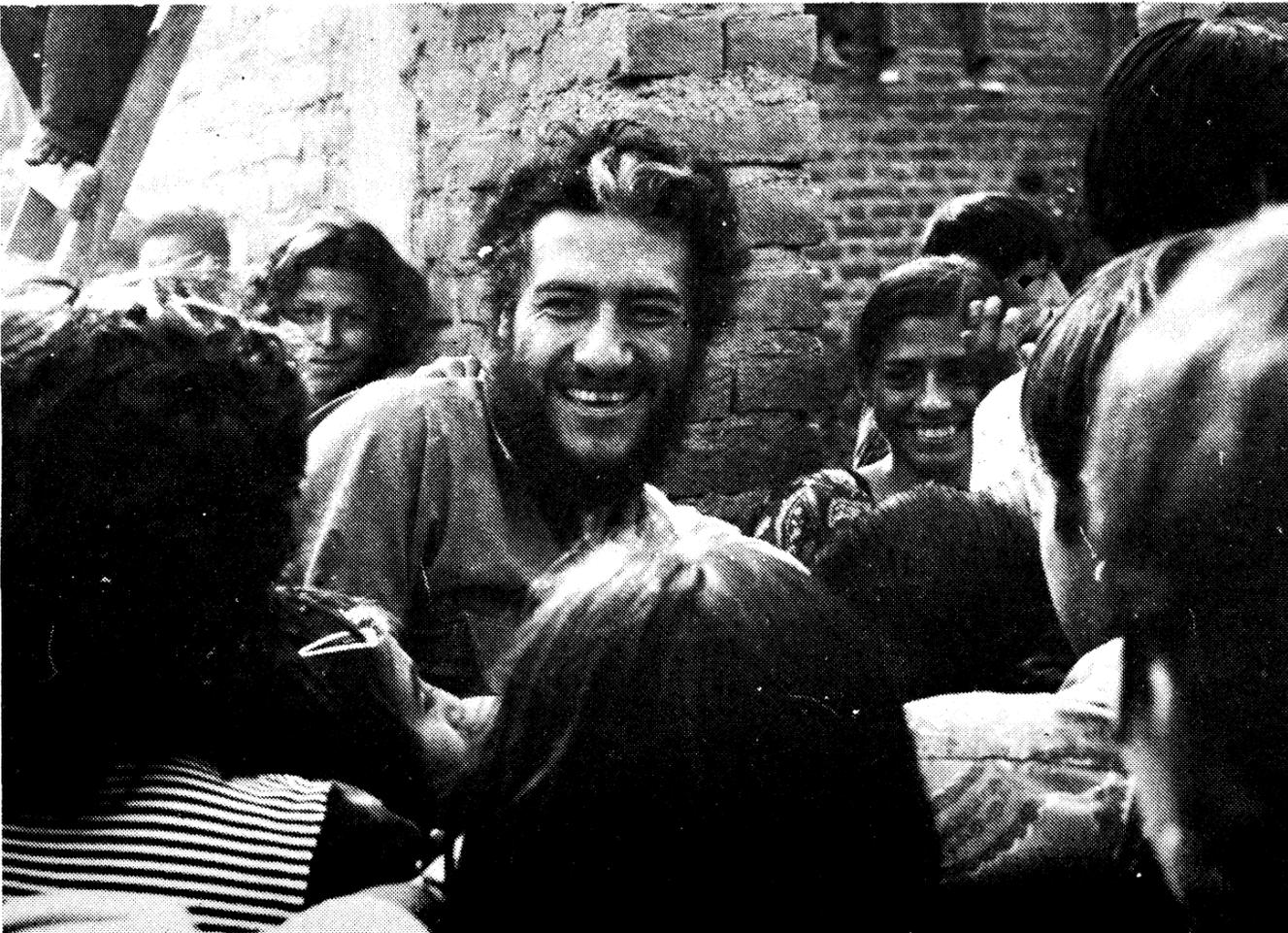
Cuentas, who is also a member of the International Bureau of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, has not been charged with any crime, according to the report on his arrest in the January 8-15 issue of the Paris weekly *Informations Ouvrières*.

Following his arrest, Cuentas was sent to the El Sepa penal colony, located in a disease-ridden area of the Amazon jungle, *Informations Ouvrières* reported. Sent to the colony along with him were another miners union leader, Victor Cuadros Paredes, and four lawyers—Ricardo Díaz Chávez, José Ono, Genero Ledesma, and Arturo Salas Rodríguez.

According to *Informations Ouvrières*, information on the arrests was made public December 18 in the Peruvian magazine *Marka*, which published a letter from the wives of the political prisoners.

The same issue of *Marka* also announced the formation of the Committee for Political Amnesty (Copapol), supported by more than twenty trade-union, workers, teachers, and student organizations.

As its first public action, *Informations Ouvrières* reported, Copapol organized a mass meeting of 30,000 persons in Lima to protest political repression.



Hugo Blanco, back in La Convención where he led peasant rebellion

East German dissidents call for socialist democracy

[The following interview with dissident East German poet and balladeer Wolf Biermann and philosopher Robert Havemann appeared in the October 23 issue of the West German weekly *Stern*. The translation is by Russell Block.]

Stern. Professor Havemann, Mr. Biermann, about ten years ago both of you were blacklisted in the GDR,¹ but just the same you remain among the most ardent defenders of socialism. We have listened to Biermann's newest love songs, but these love songs are a political indictment. We listened to a record that was brought into the GDR illegally. It was taped in your apartment in East Berlin, Mr. Biermann, and produced in the West, although it is intended for the citizens of the GDR, where it will never be sold. How much schizophrenia does one have to get used to as a citizen of the GDR?

Biermann. This is the kind of schizophrenia that results from social conditions in a divided Germany. In my case, certain social conflicts, problems, and paradoxes find their expression in an especially drastic form and with particular clarity.

Stern. Are you in this respect a typical representative of the GDR?

Biermann. In any case, I am one of the forms in which the GDR expresses itself. Of course, these songs are primarily intended for the people of the GDR. It would certainly be better if VEB Deutsche Schallplatten distributed these songs.

Stern. But they don't. What laws did you have to circumvent in order to get this sample record?

Biermann. Well, the fact that it is here is certainly not illegal, that it was brought in from across the border. . . .

Havemann. So many things come here from the West, why not a record like this? There are certainly a lot of books that are not allowed in through official channels, but can still be found in the libraries and are even read by [East German CP leader Erich] Honecker.

Biermann. Well, to tell the truth, I also wonder how the record got here. I don't know.

Stern. One day you found it under your front door?

Biermann. One day I woke up and in my mailbox there was this record, neatly folded up. I flattened it under my iron, put it on the turntable, and what do you know, it was my own songs. How nice, I thought, more of these should be made. And as it turns out, there is a company in the West that is willing to do the pressing for me.

Doubts about system?

Stern. And you have never developed doubts about the system that forces you to rely on elves when you are waiting for a package from the West?

Havemann. That is not part of the system.

Stern. So, you unremittably defend the idea of the GDR?

Havemann. No, we are not for the idea of the GDR. We are for socialism in Germany. Naturally, in the GDR at least the first step has been taken. That is why we are for the GDR. That is the only reason. But we are outraged at how much socialism is disavowed and defiled here.

Biermann. There is no special GDR "idea."

Havemann. We are for overcoming and abolishing capitalism in all of Germany, in all of Europe, everywhere, and for replacing it with socialism.

Stern. Might that not have as its result—to take a small example—that no Biermann records would be produced at all?

Biermann. Like everyone else, I can only choose between the possibilities open to me, not those I would like to have. There are different concepts about the idea of socialism, ones that are so divergent they have to be discussed with tanks, as we learned in Prague in 1968.

Stern. Why? Have conditions become more liberal in the GDR under Honecker?

Havemann. You have to grant the people around Honecker one thing: They're at least smart enough to understand that it is in their interests not to start a row with us—what do you say in the West—"critics of the system." They have recognized that they actually help us when they do this, that they would create a deep receptivity for the record and its political content. They don't want this kind of row. They want to appear in the West as serious, worldly people.

Stern. Then the system hasn't become more liberal, just smarter?

Havemann. The Russians have gained experience, too. They don't throw Sakharov into prison. With other people, where there is less publicity, less attention—they are a bit less cautious about how they handle them.

Still jailed

Stern. Are politically disagreeable people still jailed in the GDR?

Biermann. Just as before. We know of cases enough.

Havemann. These so-called ordinary people are jailed for a fraction of what we say or do every day.

Stern. Aren't you afraid?

Biermann. I am afraid.

Havemann. The only people who are not afraid are those who do not know that they are in danger or are too dumb to see it.

Biermann. Once our ideas about democratic socialism have brought the people of the GDR into motion—then the rulers may decide that it is more useful, more expedient to jail us. At such a time, it may seem necessary to them to smash us in a spectacular manner, just to let others see what is in store for them.

Stern. How many supporters do you have?

Havemann. More than the party.

Biermann. You wisecracker.

Stern. The SED² has two million persons.

Havemann. Two million members, not supporters.

Stern. How can you determine who your supporters are?

Havemann. You notice it in the receptivity of people you meet, who you don't know at all, but who know who you are.

Stern. What would your chances be to organize your criticisms of the system that you now put forward in an individual, and thus in a certain sense nonbinding, way?

Havemann. We don't need to do this. All the organizational prerequisites for the dissemination of ideas are already present in the GDR. They don't have to be created. There is the party, the mass organizations . . .

Disseminate ideas

Stern. But they are not going to disseminate your ideas.

Havemann. On the contrary. Even while refuting us they organize the dissemination of our ideas. Many comrades have to read what we publish in the West as a part of their job. Broadcasts from the West having to do with us are transcribed ten times over and sent to party bodies where they are read by hundreds and thousands of people, and, of course, by thousands more who are not supposed to read them. This has an influence on the politically active portion of the population—namely, those middle and upper party functionaries who are already burdened with second thoughts. These people are not party supporters. They are people who have to make a living by putting their time in this apparatus, and they are not at all in agreement with it. They have their gnawing disagreements, and no good way of getting things off their chests except among themselves and in private. Our ideas are spread everywhere. They all listen to Biermann. The Stasi³ listens to Biermann just like in the Stasi ballad.

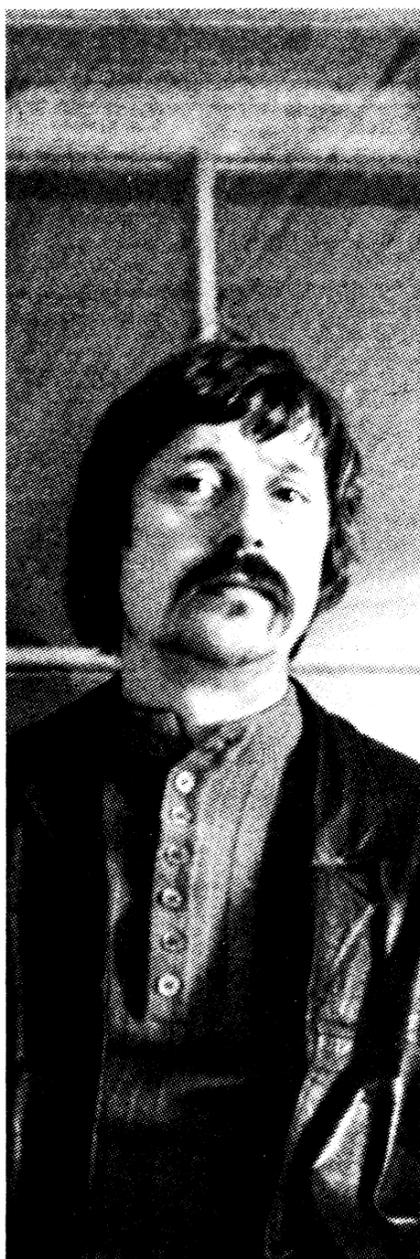
Stern. That's very sly.

Biermann. Why not? Of course, that is only one channel for dissemination—the official one, so to speak. But there are other, lower-level channels, the direct ones. The young people, almost all of whom have cassette recorders, copy tapes. I think my songs have a wider distribution in the GDR than in the West. All that's necessary is for a single record to get in, it's recut, "resawed," as they say here, many, many times. You know the story about the chess board and the grains of wheat.

Stern. If you put twice as many grains on each square as you put on

2. Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity party, the East German CP).

3. Staatssicherheits Dienst (State Security Agency, political police).



Wolf Biermann

1. Deutsche Demokratische Republik (German Democratic Republic).

the previous one, eventually it amounts to x billion. On this account both of you still choose to live in the GDR instead of the Federal Republic?

Havemann. Yes, of course. Things in the Federal Republic are getting lousier all the time. Franz Josef Strauss, official blacklisting . . .

Stern. Perhaps that's a trick they learned from the GDR.

Havemann. . . . the disillusioning developments in the left, and the marked tendency toward restoration. Add to that crises, mass unemployment. As the capitalist crisis deepens, its fascist tendencies grow stronger.

Stern. In comparison with the GDR, the Federal Republic is still more liberal by far.

Biermann. From a historical point of view it certainly is unjust and politically perverse that bourgeois society, this syphilitic whore with three coats of makeup, can parade in front of us while we stand there hanging our heads—heads full of great ideas, great plans and expectations, and great real opportunities.

More liberties

Stern. You say from a historical point of view. Can you give an example of where there are more individual liberties in a socialist society than there are in bourgeois society?

Biermann. Czechoslovakia in 1968 has shown how quickly purely formal socialism can develop into the next higher phase—socialist democracy.

Stern. Doesn't the example of Czechoslovakia in 1968 prove just the opposite—the complete suppression of freedom of opinion?

Biermann. I completely disagree because in this connection I always remember that fine quotation from Brecht: "Our defeats prove nothing except that we who fight against baseness are too few, and from the observers we expect that they are at least ashamed." For me the Prague Spring has very much in common with the Paris Commune. The fact that the commune was crushed after seventy-two great days, rich in experience, was not taken by the communists of that day as proof that it is not possible to carry out a socialist revolution. Just the opposite.

Havemann. Marx and his friends celebrated this event as the first instance of historical proof that democratic socialism is possible, despite the defeat.

Stern. The GDR is, however, very far removed from your conception of a socialist society?

Havemann. Of course. In the GDR as in the Federal Republic the negative signs are growing stronger. Here they are following a course whose object is to imitate the West. What the GDR represents politically is not socialism but a highly perfected state monopoly system. There is no socialist economic planning. Basically they are striving for the same economic goals as the West.

Biermann. . . . allegedly only better and freer from crises.

Stern. Better in what way?

Biermann. Better—this they can boldly proclaim as long as the people are confined and have no opportunity for making comparisons.

Stern. If the wall were torn down tomorrow would there be mass flight?

Havemann. If nothing else were changed, people would flee en masse.

Stern. Then the only thing that is better about the GDR is the means of repression?

Havemann. Actually socialism should provide freedom of opinion on a scale far beyond the capacities of capitalism, where to a large extent freedom of opinion is only formally maintained.

Stern. How so?

Havemann. To the extent that people could say anything they want without being jailed. Only they would not be allowed to disseminate their opinion at all. But you are right: Under our present-day form of socialism it is worse here. The state functions as the direct agent of repression with police violence. That is why everything here is so wretched, that is why most writers and poets speak only the language of slaves. Compared with conditions here, the freedom of expression in the West is naturally an advance. But it should actually be the other way around.

Stern. A real socialist revolution has not taken place in the GDR at all?

Private ownership

Havemann. It has taken place to the extent that private ownership has been eliminated. But the private owners have not been replaced by the workers as a whole, those who work for a living, in short the people who produce; instead they have been replaced by a party clique, a state hierarchy.

Biermann. Nevertheless, this is a decisive, precious step forward over every bourgeois capitalist society. And the example of Prague has led me to understand how quickly a socialist democracy can develop out of a bureaucratically deformed socialism.

Stern. What are the most important criteria you set for a real socialist society?

Havemann. Freedom of speech, freedom of information, freedom to choose one's profession and place of residence, freedom to travel, and the ability to leave the country.

Biermann. And in addition, individuals should not be free to make others work for them, to secure privileges for themselves, to organize themselves into a privileged caste, to prevent others from developing by means of a repressive apparatus. There should be no freedom to reestablish bourgeois relations of property and power. In short, no freedom to turn the clock back historically.

Havemann. Of course, there is more too. Even now, in socialism human society is making history consciously for the first time. That means that it is indeed necessary to plan the future, to develop visions of our goals. This

entails an imaginative attitude toward reality.

Stern. Are you a utopian then?

Havemann. Yes, in the sense that I believe that in order to have progress in historical development it is necessary to be able to imagine the repeal of the conditions one lives in, to be able to imagine how different the world could be from the world we live in.

Stern. But how can you change the world you live in against the party and the Soviet Union?

Havemann. It can only be done with the party and the Soviet Union. Of course, that is a fact that at first could make one very pessimistic. But in Czechoslovakia in 1968 they succeeded in moving the party and the state to change themselves from within.

Stern. But not the Soviet Union.

Huge number of people

Havemann. Of course. We found out in Prague that every development will simply be suppressed as long as there is a regime in the Soviet Union that feels threatened by such developments. But that can change too. There are a huge number of people in Czechoslovakia, in Hungary, in the GDR, in Poland, and in the Soviet Union who are of the opinion that the course we have mapped really leads out of the difficulties we face. Capitalism is no longer in a position to solve these problems; this has been clear at least since the ecological crisis. The limits of growth are the limits of capitalism.

Stern. Aren't you grabbing at this growth-crisis argument like a drowning man grabs at a straw? You obviously find it welcome as a new argument for justifying your socialist ideas.

Havemann. What do you mean a straw? It is a historical necessity.

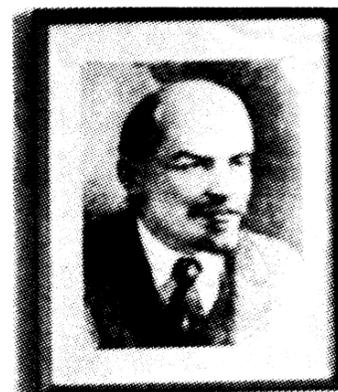
Stern. Originally the idea of socialism was based on, and defended by, human and not ecological necessities.

Everything changes

Havemann. I am convinced that the grounds for the necessity of socialism formulated by Marx one hundred years ago can no longer be formulated today with the same form and the same content as they could then. That does not mean, however, that Marx's analysis was wrong. Modern capitalism lives from growth—that is basically clear even in Marx—but Marx naturally thought that the limits of growth would be reached much earlier.

Stern. Mr. Biermann, on your record there is a song called "The Elbe at Dresden." The last line is: "Everything remains as it is." Have you really resigned yourself?

Biermann. When you are sad, disillusioned, in despair—whether it is because of love or an idea, socialism, for example—then you can easily lose your feeling for change in the world. Then it is easy to arrive at the false conclusion that everything will remain as it is. The Elbe song ends with cautiously happy music, which conflicts with the basic pessimistic tone. And this music is the real message of the record and perhaps our attitude in general: Everything—despite all—changes.



Robert Havemann

Zambia regime represses exiled Zimbabweans

By Tony Hodges

LONDON—Sam Geza is a member of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Several years ago, he was forced by the repressive white settler regime in his own country to seek refuge across the border in Zambia.

For two and a half years, Geza taught economics at the University of Zambia in Lusaka. But suddenly, on June 1, 1975, he was flung into jail by the Zambian authorities. Released five months later on November 4, he was given thirty days to clear out of the country.

Geza's case is typical of the plight of the hundreds of Zimbabwean nationalists now being hounded by the regime of Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda. The crackdown has coincided with Kaunda's drive for "détente" with racist South Africa and a negotiated settlement of the crisis in Zimbabwe—a "settlement" that most observers believe would postpone African rule in the country for years.

Two weeks after his release, as he was packing his bags to leave for Tanzania, Geza told me of his ordeal at the hands of the Zambian police.

"I and three other ZANU comrades were arrested when we were driving through the town of Petauke near the Mozambican border. I was taken to the police station at Chipata and grilled for eleven hours, nonstop, by nine people from the Special Branch, the Immigration Authorities, the Security Police, and the Intelligence Unit."

'Prohibited immigrant'

Geza spent one month at Chipata before being transferred to Lusaka Remand Prison. At no point in his five months' detention were any charges laid against him. "I was declared a prohibited immigrant, even though I had a valid visa and a work permit."

This practice of declaring Zimbabwean exiles prohibited immigrants (PIs) is a common one, Geza said. "Zimbabweans who escape to Zambia to join the liberation movements are often immediately thrown in jail. When I arrived at Lusaka Remand on June 27 there were 120 Zimbabweans there as PIs. At least 80 of them are still in jail.

"There was one case of thirty-six Zimbabweans who arrived by plane from Botswana under the auspices of the African National Council (ANC) and with prior clearance from the Zambian Defence Ministry. They were all declared prohibited immigrants on arrival at Lusaka International Airport and sent to Lusaka Remand. They were freed after a prison riot on July 9.

"The Zambian authorities are pressing to have the PIs 'voluntarily' repatriated to Rhodesia. Every two weeks they pass around forms saying 'I agree to be repatriated.' Conditions are made very harsh. Cells built for 50 are crammed with 100 prisoners. Sometimes there aren't enough blankets, and 500 people have to share two toilets." Geza did not know how many Zimbabweans were being held as PIs in other Zambian jails.

Sixty-five detained

In addition to the PIs, about sixty-five ZANU members, including many of the movement's top leaders, have been detained since March without charge or trial under Zambia's notorious "Preservation of Public Security Regulations." Among them are five members of ZANU's Supreme Council: Mukudzei Mudzi (secretary), Josiah Tongogara (defense secretary), Matuku Hamadzaripi (treasurer), Rugare Gumbo (publicity secretary), and Kumbirai Kangai (welfare secretary). All six members of ZANU's High Command, the movement's military leadership, have been detained.

The pretext for the arrests was the murder of ZANU Chairman Herbert Chitepo on March 18 after four months of internal factional fighting within ZANU's ranks that left several dozen ZANU members dead. Nobody knows who killed Chitepo. But the Zambian government saw an ideal opportunity to strike a blow at the whole movement. Zambian police picked up many of those now detained while they attended Chitepo's funeral on March 22. The government said they would be held while an International Commission of Inquiry investigated the events leading to Chitepo's murder.

"The commission met in July," Geza told me. "But then it only interviewed people on the periphery of the affair. Sadat Kufa, Chitepo's bodyguard, who

was wounded in the attack, has never been seen by the commission. Then, the commission suddenly stopped work. Its report is still not out."

"The Zambian government say they have confessions but these could not stand up in court, which is why only one of the detainees, Tyupo Chigowe, has been brought up on charges. The commission has not found a shred of evidence that these people were involved in the murder of Chitepo. The Zambian government is worried what would happen if these militants were released. Would they resume the struggle and upset the détente exercise?"

Amnesty International

There is a considerable body of evidence that the ZANU detainees have been tortured. On May 21, Amnesty International announced that it had "received reports from usually reliable sources that a number of the ZANU detainees had been tortured."



KAUNDA: Seeks South African détente

They include Rugare Gumbo, ZANU's information officer, and Josiah Tongogara, who as ZANU's chief of defense was one of the main tacticians of ZANU's guerrilla activities in Rhodesia."

According to Geza, "Some of the ZANU detainees were interrogated by people suspected to have come from Rhodesia. Black and white interrogators spoke fluent Shona, indicating that they could only have come from Rhodesia. They used sleep deprivation techniques. One prisoner had paraffin poured over his back and set alight. People have been hanged upside down from trees.

"Kufa was taken from hospital before his wounds had healed and

beaten up in jail. He still has bomb fragments in him and hasn't recovered from the shock and the beatings. Since Amnesty International protested, the physical tortures have stopped. But they continue to use psychological methods. Chigowe has been kept in isolation since mid-October and is not even allowed to exercise."

On September 11, the Zambian crackdown assumed an even uglier profile. Eleven ZANU members were gunned down by Zambian troops at the Mboroma ANC camp near Kabwe. The Zambian government refused to allow ZANU representatives to inspect the bodies—perhaps, it is widely suspected, because they were shot in the back. The shootings followed a disturbance over food in the camp, which is run by the Zambian army.

Witch-hunt methods

Kaunda's witch-hunt methods against ZANU are in keeping with his own domestic police-state practices. Zambia has been in an official "state of public emergency" continuously for more than eleven years. A "state of public emergency" allows the president, under the Emergency Powers Act, to "make such regulations as appear to him to be necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of the Republic, the maintenance of public order, and the suppression of mutiny, rebellion and riot." It is this law which allows the president to detain persons without trial and, also, to amend any law except the constitution.

All political opposition to the ruling United National Independence party (UNIP) has been progressively crushed. In 1968, the United Party, led by N. Mundia, who had previously been a minister in Kaunda's cabinet, was banned. Two years later, the government closed the University of Zambia for several weeks and expelled seven leaders of the students union following student protests in the capital. The same year, the government gave itself powers under the Industrial Relations Act to ban strikes.

In February 1972, the United Progressive party (UPP) was banned. Its leader, Simon Kapwepwe (who had once been vice-president of UNIP), and dozens of UPP members were detained. The following December, the Zambian constitution was amended to make all opposition political organizations unconstitutional.

Now, Kaunda is using the full force of the repressive apparatus to keep the reins on those Zimbabwean militants in his country who might not go along with a deal that falls short of immediate African majority rule.

U.S. planned war with Britain

In 1925 Leon Trotsky insisted in his book *Where Is Britain Going?* that the economic expansion of the United States at the expense of the British empire would lead to a situation in which Britain "must either fight America or submit to her."

The accuracy of Trotsky's assessment recently received confirmation from an unexpected source. As a result of the "freedom of information" laws passed by Congress following the Watergate scandal, the U.S. government declassified a document known as "Basic War Plan Red."

Drafted in 1929, on the eve of the Great Depression, the top-secret plan was a blueprint for war with Britain. Such a war was likely, the planners argued, because of "constantly increasing Blue [U.S.] economic expansion

and commercial penetration into regions formerly dominated by Red [British] trade to such an extent as eventually to menace Red standards of living and to threaten economic ruin."

U.S. war aims, according to the military plan, "should be the expulsion of Red from North and South America and waters adjacent thereto and definite elimination of Red as a strong competitor in foreign trade."

Also planned was an invasion of Canada, with the seizure of the key Canadian ports of Halifax on the Atlantic Coast and Vancouver on the West Coast. Areas of Québec and Ontario near the Great Lakes were to be occupied as well, and Canadian rail communications were to be cut in Winnipeg.

Noting Britain's problems with its

colonies, the plan added, "Some of the colored races, however, come of good fighting stock and, under white leadership, can be made into very efficient troops."

A Reuters dispatch printed in the December 19, 1975, *Los Angeles Times* said, "State Department and Pentagon officials emphasized that the plans were purely defensive—except for what one termed 'that preemptive foray into Canada to protect ourselves.'"

The Reuters dispatch quoted another official who said: "I think the State Department probably is still reluctant to allow the release of other similar 'war game' plans. Some countries, especially in Latin America, are very sensitive and might misunderstand that the Defense Department feels it has to have these sorts of scenarios."

What makes Tom Hayden run?

By Nelson Blackstock

LOS ANGELES—It was 11:45 when I arrived on the San Francisco State campus one morning last November. At noon Tom Hayden was set to speak.

Early leader of SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), antiwar organizer, and defendant in the famous "Chicago conspiracy trial," Hayden is now a candidate for the Democratic party nomination for U.S. senator from California.

I heard that day what I later discovered was Hayden's standard campaign talk. He starts with the radicalization in this country—the change in the way increasing numbers of average people are thinking. There is deep distrust of big business, Hayden notes, singling out a popular target—the oil companies.

By the time Hayden had finished speaking that afternoon, one thing had become strikingly clear: this campaign is a totally serious Democratic party operation. Contrary to what some might assume, it is in no way just a "protest campaign" run within that party.

To understand the Hayden campaign it is useful to set it in the framework of what is happening in this country today.

The U.S. rulers face a crisis. After squandering billions in Southeast Asia, they were finally forced out and left with a new and growing set of problems at home—rampant inflation, the worst economic downturn since the 1930s, and a widespread radicalization.

And they have the problem of

At about this same time Hayden contributed a rather revealing article to *Rolling Stone*. As a journalist he accompanied Edmund Brown during the final days of his successful campaign for governor of California.

Hayden portrays Brown in an extremely favorable light, helping to further the myth that somehow there is something redeeming about a capitalist politician who listens to Gregorian chants and reads Eastern religious philosophy.

Brown plays an important role in Democratic party politics today. Hayden's personal familiarity with Brown and his campaign obviously influenced Hayden's decision to run for office and the character of his own campaign.

While at the Hayden headquarters, I also talked to Fred Ruf. He's the Los

proach like Ronald Reagan." Instead he planned to use a "scalpel."

Moscone also had high praise for Governor Brown, whom he seems to view as a model at performing surgery on social services.

Another piece of Hayden's literature features a photograph of Hayden talking with Brown.

Like Moscone, Brown has not publicly endorsed Hayden. In fact, he is formally an officer in the Tunney campaign. But according to Fred Ruf, Brown as governor would automatically assume such a post in the campaign of an incumbent Democratic senator. More noteworthy has been Brown's failure to promote Tunney's candidacy.

The day after Hayden first announced his election bid an unusual article appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*. It was authored by Tom Quinn, one of Brown's top aides.

In a bemused-sounding editorial, the *Times* later wrote: "True, Quinn's comments on Hayden fell short of an endorsement. But he concluded that Hayden was an 'honest and decent' fellow who might just carry off one of the political 'wonders' that occur now and then in California politics."

What becomes obvious is that there is a Brown-Hayden connection.

Brown is the prototype of a new, reactionary type—the liberal cutback artist.

Newsweek called him a "closet Reaganite," who has been "bleeding the budget more than even Reagan dared."

Brown preaches what he calls the politics of "lowered expectations" and "fiscal conservatism."

Hayden has echoed some of these themes. In November the Associated Press reported that Hayden "says he is a fiscal conservative and would vote to cut some social welfare programs if elected to the U.S. Senate." Furthermore, the dispatch added, Hayden "said he agrees with Governor Edmund Brown Jr.'s view that Americans must lower their expectations."

Apparently troubled by some of the response to the story, Hayden sent a letter about it to the *San Francisco Chronicle*. But the carefully worded statement didn't really deny its accuracy.

'Perplexed'

Village Voice columnists Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway, noting Hayden's inclination toward Brown's brand of politics, wrote that Hayden has "perplexed" some of those working on his campaign. "The problem is, nobody knows what Hayden really thinks," one of them said.

Omari Musa's campaign supporters have no such problems. The Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate, Musa has a clearly stated platform, and he has been forcefully putting forward his views in speeches up and down the state.

The Black socialist's point of view is no mystery. "Capitalism is in trouble," Musa recently said. "The capitalists are out to pay for their economic difficulties by slashing social services. That's what is behind both Reagan's meat-ax and the scalpel used by Tom Hayden's friends George Moscone and Jerry Brown.

"Talk of 'fiscal conservatism' in this day and time is geared to the game plan of the wealthy few who call the shots in both the Democratic and Republican parties."

There is a logical relationship between Hayden's decision to run as a Democrat and the direction his campaign has taken. A look at the Democratic party as an institution and how it carries out the capitalist game plan will be the topic of a future article.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

TOM HAYDEN: His race for U.S. senator from California is emerging as serious experiment for Democratic party

"The radicalism of the '60s is the common sense of the '70s" is the slogan of the Tom Hayden campaign. It strikes a chord repeated in his campaign oratory: back in the sixties Hayden was working against the Vietnam War long before very many elected officials came out against it. The Nixon administration tried to send him to jail. "Now some of them have gone to jail," Hayden points out. "Nixon is sitting in San Clemente, and I'm out here running for U.S. Senate."

Clearly, the message goes, Hayden was more farsighted than the politicians in office during the past fifteen years. And now with the emerging economic crisis, he has the credentials to provide leadership "for the decisions that must be made during the next twenty-five years."

But when it comes to specifics, Hayden's proposals for handling the problems—far from providing real answers—seem to be limited to uncritically supporting measures already put forward by many of the same politicians responsible for the war in Vietnam.

For example, Hayden says he is for guaranteeing everybody the right to a job. Good. But, how?

Through the Hawkins-Humphrey bill now before Congress. Cosponsored by at least 111 Democratic and Republican members of Congress, this deceptive legislation wouldn't provide jobs for more than a tiny fraction of the millions now unemployed. All it would do is set up some new federal agencies and refurbish some old ones.

Hayden is also for the right to medical care. But his only proposal has been to support the Kennedy health-care bill. A lucrative boondoggle for the big insurance companies, it would do nothing to take the scandalously inadequate American health-care system out of the hands of private profiteers.

Watergate. After a seemingly unending series of exposures of how the capitalists rule, they are left with the American people demonstrating an unparalleled suspicion of capitalist politicians.

This presents a dilemma for the ruling class. In order to govern most effectively and efficiently they must have representatives who can command people's confidence. Since the rulers are currently out to drive down the standard of living of American workers, their need for such politicians is more urgent and difficult to fulfill than usual.

The search for individuals who can fit the bill is an ongoing process. A degree of experimentation is sometimes involved. Testing the waters. In my opinion, that's where Tom Hayden's race for U.S. Senate comes into the picture.

Origins of campaign

How did Hayden—probably singled out by the media more than any one individual as a symbol of the 1960s' student radicalization—come to be a serious contender for the Democratic nomination for Senate?

I explored this question with Sam Hurst, Hayden's state press coordinator.

We talked in Hayden's central headquarters—a twenty-room suite in the chamber of commerce building in Santa Monica.

Hurst comes out of the student antiwar movement. Before the campaign, he worked with Hayden in the Indochina Peace Campaign.

Electoral politics

"Late in 1974 we could see that the war wouldn't last much longer," Hurst told me. "We began to think about what we were going to do when it was over." Increasingly, they thought in terms of what Hurst calls "electoral politics."

Angeles regional coordinator.

Ruf is an example of another type of Hayden staffer—the Democratic party pro. In fact, you might even say he is something of a Democratic party mercenary. He runs election campaigns for a living.

Ruf said he was convinced of the viability of a Hayden campaign through discussions with other Democratic party professionals who were on the West Coast last year for a fund-raising telethon.

One of Ruf's main jobs is to raise funds from "traditional liberal Democrats."

"Now that Hayden has credibility, we are getting money from these people," Ruf said.

How did Hayden establish that credibility? At least a partial answer came from Peter Anderson, chief field organizer in Northern California.

Anderson, too, has a background in Democratic party politics. He is one of at least three Hayden people formerly on the staff of Sen. John Tunney, whom Hayden is challenging in the Democratic party primary.

At first wary

Many Democrats were at first wary of Hayden's candidacy, Anderson said. "But after they heard what Tom had to say, they began to take him seriously."

One of the main things Hayden does with his time is meet personally with influential Democrats.

Campaign literature issued by Hayden reports that last October 4 Hayden met with George Moscone, then running for mayor of San Francisco. Hayden supported Moscone, Anderson told me.

Moscone won. Upon his election, the first thing the new mayor did was announce a vigorous program of cutbacks. Moscone told the press he was not going to use "the meat-ax ap-

Sets ERA action campaign

YSA discusses women's liberation

By Ginny Hildebrand

"After the defeat of the state Equal Rights Amendments in New York and New Jersey last November, newspapers one after the other proclaimed 'at long last' the death of the women's movement," said Young Socialist Alliance leader Nancy Brown, addressing the recent YSA convention.

But, she continued, "they are dead wrong. Women's liberation sentiment is alive, well, kicking, and more widely accepted than ever before."

Brown's women's liberation report was adopted by the fifteenth national convention of the YSA, held at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, December 28 to January 1. The report recommended that the socialist youth organization help initiate a nationally coordinated action campaign for ERA ratification.

Young socialists and other ERA supporters, Brown said, can use the schools as organizing bases to involve women's, labor, and Black groups in coalitions to win the ERA. She pointed to International Women's Day, March 8, as an appropriate focal point for a national campaign of marches, teach-ins, and debates.

During the discussion on Brown's report, several YSA delegates related experiences in building ERA movements in their states. Julie Scott from Atlanta described the YSA's participation in a broad coalition organizing for a January 10 ERA march. As reported in last week's *Militant*, the march drew 3,000 participants.

Laura Garza discussed the participation of YSA members at the University



Militant/Lou Howort

'ERA supporters must be brought together in demonstrations to show we are majority,' Nancy Brown told YSA convention delegates.

Brown pointed to cutbacks in day care, affirmative-action programs, and abortion rights as examples. The clearest attack on women's rights, she continued, is against the ERA. "The right wing has chosen the ERA as the battleground upon which they are challenging the whole women's liberation movement."

Brown explained that the ERA would "give women a weapon to use in the battle for equality. . . . In struggles for women's rights, the law of the land would formally be on the side of women." Four more states must ratify the ERA by 1979 before it can become part of the Constitution.

During the discussion, several delegates pointed out that the leaders of the anti-ERA drive are also virulent opponents of Black rights and the unions.

Describing the manslaughter conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin for performing an abortion, Boston delegate Anne Teesdale said, "It was no coincidence that this attack took place in Boston, against a Black doctor, in the midst of a racist campaign to stop school desegregation."

Another Boston delegate, Reba Williams, described how the chief antibusing group, ROAR, broke up a pro-ERA rally.

Strategy to win ERA

"The ERA has suffered defeat after defeat over the last year for two reasons," Brown explained. "First, opponents of the ERA have mobilized their forces across the country. . . . Second, and most important, . . . the majority who support the ERA have not been mobilized in action to win it."

Instead, Brown continued, many ERA supporters, including the National Organization for Women, have relied on lobbying and electing "friendly" Democratic or Republican candidates.

"Lobbying," Brown said, "is not oriented toward convincing or involving large numbers of people or educating them. It is aimed at convincing legislators to vote the right way in return for votes on election day. . . ."

Instead of lobbying, she continued, "the majority who support the ERA must be brought together in visible, public demonstrations of support to show that we are the majority. . . . We need to unite ERA supporters from

every state—states that both have and have not ratified the amendment."

ERA supporters also can't rely on electing "friendly" politicians, Brown said. "The ruling class effectively uses the 'liberal image' of the Democratic party to draw women out of struggles in the streets and into the legislative hallways. . . ."

Allies in ERA fight

"The potential for ERA actions goes far beyond the women's movement. Today, the union movement can be a powerful force in the ERA fight," Brown explained. The AFL-CIO now supports the ERA, and the recent convention of CLUW voted to support a mass-action and educational cam-

campaign to win ERA ratification. Brown urged YSA chapters to seek the active participation of unions in all ERA activities. She also emphasized the importance of involving Black campus and community groups in ERA coalitions.

"Black women are among the lowest-paid workers," stated Pat Wright, who is fighting the elimination of a day-care center at New York City Community College where she works. "We suffer racist discrimination as well as sexist discrimination. And with these cuts coming down on campus and in the Black community . . . disproportionate layoffs—all of these things really bring home to us why it's so important to get Black women involved in the ERA."

Miesa Patterson, a YSA leader and ERA activist from Atlanta University, said, "Some Black women think that Black liberation only involves fighting racism. They neglect the fact that it involves liberating all sectors of the Black population—be it women, be it students, be it Black GIs. You liberate Black people wherever they are, and it doesn't necessarily just involve the fight against racism."

Women's liberation workshop

In a later part of her report, Brown discussed a broad range of campus feminist activities.

An entire workshop was devoted to YSA members discussing their involvement in campus feminist activities, ranging from defense of abortion rights, to struggles for women's studies programs, to bringing feminist speakers such as anthropologist Evelyn Reed onto campus.

Brown and other convention participants pointed to the increasing tendency among feminists to identify with the ideas of socialism. By involving women's liberationists in struggles and discussions about our strategy and socialist perspective, Brown said, many feminists will realize that the YSA is the organization they belong in.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Miesa Patterson from Atlanta University spoke on importance of feminist movement for Black women.

of California at Los Angeles in the October 29 "Alice Doesn't Day" feminist demonstration of 5,000 people, and their ongoing work in a new ERA action coalition.

Women's rights under attack

Citing a recent Harris poll, Brown said that 70 percent of the population supports the ERA and other polls show that the majority of women support many of the other aims of the feminist movement. In particular, she said, support among working women has grown, as shown by the formation of several workingwomen's organizations, including the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

"Women now expect the right to equal treatment—the right to a job, to legal abortion, an equal education, and day care," Brown stated. However, in the current economic crisis, she explained, "The gains that women have made have become a major target of reaction."

Socialism and feminism

"I'm a Marxist and I'm a feminist," Linda Jenness, the 1972 Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, told 125 YSA convention participants. She led a class on the relationship between the struggle for women's liberation and the need for socialist revolution.

"As a woman fights for abortion rights, or child care, or equal pay," Jenness said, "she becomes conscious that her oppression, her inequality, is not limited to the lack of child care, abortion rights, or equal pay. She runs up against an enormous economic, social, and psychological oppression that permeates every institution, every nook and cranny of society."

"For women to have the child-care centers we need, the hospitals we need, the housing and jobs we need—we have to gain control of the vast wealth and resources of this country. And to do that, you have to make a revolution."

Serious feminists, Jenness said, must both build the women's liberation movement and "help build the revolutionary socialist party and revolutionary youth organization."

Arlene Frank, a twenty-year-old women's studies major at the University of Michigan, attended the class. "I've been in feminist politics for a number of years," she said. Frank also considers herself a socialist and came to the convention

to find out more about the YSA. Before she left she joined.

"I was really impressed by the number of women who hold leadership positions in the YSA and the huge percentage of women members," she said. "And most of the people who gave reports in front of the entire convention were women. Then the emphasis on the ERA and other feminist issues in the workshops—it all just made me see that this was a real good place for me."

Susan Seletsky made a similar decision last fall after she worked with Brooklyn College YSA members in building an ERA coalition. She was one of the speakers at a program celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the YSA, held the first night of the convention.

Seletsky told the audience, "I was a feminist before I joined the YSA. At first I thought that maybe I could join a feminist, all-women's socialist organization." But, she said, she soon realized "we aren't about to make a revolution with only half the population. So, I joined the YSA because I was a feminist, and because I realized that we can't achieve the liberation of women without a socialist revolution."

"The YSA," Seletsky added, "shows us how to achieve the goals that the feminist movement has set for itself."

—G.H.

Unionist speaks out

Lessons of the Berkeley teachers' strike

By David Warren

BERKELEY, Calif.—Teachers in Berkeley, like their counterparts around the country, have been fighting to maintain the quality of education against massive cutbacks sought by local school boards. Our five-week strike last fall is a good example both of the broad support the teachers unions can win and of the many obstacles they face in these struggles.

The walkout by Berkeley teachers—the first in the city's history—was also one of the most solid ever in California. Ninety-five percent of regular

David Warren is a member of the Berkeley Federation of Teachers and served as a picket captain during the recent strike.

teachers honored the picket lines, as did 97 percent of the substitutes—even though the board was offering them fifty dollars a day to scab.

The strike was conducted jointly by the rival Berkeley Federation of Teachers (BFT) and the Berkeley Teachers Association (BTA), despite the bitter factional warfare that divides their national organizations, the American Federation of Teachers and National Education Association.

The strike also had strong backing from parents and students. The board kept the schools open, but 80 percent of students stayed away. Several demonstrations were held to show the breadth of community support for the strike.

Even so, the strike settlement fell considerably short of teachers' demands for preserving educational standards, and the board is threatening even worse budget cuts in the next school year. It has become obvious that the strike was only one skirmish in a wider battle that is certain to explode again.

Denied bargaining rights

Until the recent passage of a new state law, California teachers did not have the legal right to collective bargaining. School boards were only required to "meet and confer" with a Certificated Employees Council, which has proportional representation of all teachers organizations. Negotiations could result in an "understanding," but not a signed contract.

This past year in Berkeley the nine-member council has included four members from the BFT, four from the BTA, and one from the Berkeley Pupil Personnel Association. Under the state's new collective-bargaining law, an election later in 1976 will give one group exclusive rights to bargain for all teachers in the district.

In negotiations last spring, the Berkeley school board entered the now standard plea of "no money." An agreement was reached at that time that included no salary increase for teachers. In return, the board conceded on a number of important educational policies. These included a promise of no layoffs; class size limits; a prohibition of disruptive transfers of teachers; and a faculty budget-review committee. This agreement was signed on April 15.

Agreement torn up

Two weeks after school recessed for the summer, however, the board unilaterally abrogated the agreement, claiming it had "discovered" a \$3 million budget deficit. Although the amount of the alleged deficit declined during the course of the strike, the board insisted on massive cuts from the April 15 agreement, including, among other things:

- a 15 percent salary cut for teachers, later reduced to 1.2 percent;
- elimination of class size limits,



Parents and students rally in support of teachers during Berkeley school strike

Militant/David Warren

along with other measures to increase teacher work load;

- reduced medical benefits;
- drastic cuts in money for school supplies; and
- unlimited power to transfer teachers.

During the summer the board—made up of liberal Democrats who had been elected with the support of many teachers—launched a public attack on the teachers, calling them "incompetent" and "overpaid" and trying to turn the community against them.

Teachers responded by leafleting neighborhoods with their side of the dispute. A community desk was set up in the BFT office, and volunteer parents began to organize school strike support committees. In September, the teachers voted by a 4-to-1 margin to strike.

The teacher organizations answered the school board's alleged budget deficit by charging the board with misusing tax money to maintain a bloated central administration at the expense of classroom needs. To the board's surprise and dismay, these charges were verified by a special committee appointed by the board itself to investigate the budget.

The board organized eight public meetings, most of them in the Black community, to convince people there was not enough money to operate the schools at the previous level. The meetings turned into indictments of the board's own policies.

Political weakness

The board proved unable to crack the strike on the picket lines or in the communities. It had to find another way to get the teachers back to work without granting their demands.

To do so it exploited the central weakness of both the BFT and BTA leaderships: their belief that local Democratic party politicians, such as U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums, could be relied upon to defend teachers' interests; and, flowing from that, their failure to try to mobilize full support from the Bay Area trade-union movement.

Despite the "pro-labor" and even "radical" image assumed by Berkeley Democratic party politicians, not one of them (aside from city council member Ying Lee Kelley, herself a striking teacher) backed the strike. Instead, in the guise of standing above the conflicting sides, various Democratic officeholders put forward plans under which teachers would return to work

while the issues were settled by a "neutral" arbitration panel.

On October 6, the strikers met and voted by 623 to 159 to go back to work, submitting the dispute to a panel made up of one member designated by the board, one by the unions, and liberal Democratic Judge Spurgeon Avakian as the "neutral" chairperson. The panel's recommendations would be subject to approval by both parties.

Rank-and-file teachers were far from enthusiastic about the proposal, but the majority agreed with one striking counselor who said, "I can see no other alternative at this point. We have done all we could do." Many expected that with Avakian as the swing vote, the panel would recommend restoring virtually all of the April 15 agreement.

Results of arbitration

By putting their demands in the hands of an arbitration panel, however, teachers had unwittingly given up their one effective source of pressure on the school board and city administration: the strength of their strike. The proposal to accept arbitration was, naturally, couched in rhetoric about resuming the strike if the panel's decision was inadequate. But the school board correctly counted on it being extremely difficult to call the teachers out again.

The panel's recommendation, issued October 27, restored about one-half of the amount cut by the school board—not much more than the teachers were offered during the first week of the strike. The cuts in salaries, supplies, and health plan were among those restored. Present class sizes are supposed to be maintained at least in the lower grades, although the panel's language here was ambiguous.

The school board promptly accepted the recommendation, but at the same time warned that drastic program cuts would be needed to avoid a budget deficit. The board is already threatening to lay off fifty to seventy-five teachers next year.

To underline its belligerent attitude, the board has also begun transferring teachers in violation of the agreement. At one school, teachers protested these involuntary transfers by sending all the students onto the playground for the day rather than reassign the students of the transferred teachers.

At a November 12 meeting, teachers voted to accept the recommendations, with 366 in favor and 60 opposed.

Following the strike there was signif-

icant sentiment among the teachers and their community supporters to recall the school board members for their antiunion, anti-education actions. This sentiment was not effectively organized, however, because the teacher leadership failed to consider an alternative to their treacherous Democratic party "friends."

A leaflet prepared by the BFT leadership argued that "political realities mitigate against successful recall of the entire board." More specifically, the leaflet said, "A critical problem to the BFT was: if the recall of the entire board could be successful, who would take their places? Political and community groups urged that the BFT not support any recall."

Instead, the BFT leadership proposed recall of only *one* school board member. By late November even this token effort had been abandoned.

Problem is political

But the question posed by the recall proposal goes to the heart of the problem facing teachers in Berkeley and around the country. In all of these local strike actions it becomes increasingly clear that the problem is political.

The Democrats and Republicans who now control the schools use many different methods, from overt strike-breaking to more devious schemes like the arbitration panel put over in Berkeley. But in the face of the present economic crisis they are all united behind a program of cutting social services and attacking public employees.

Teachers and other working people need our own independent political organization.

We need to replace these capitalist politicians with our own representatives.

The labor movement has the power to put people into office who will allocate funds for social need such as schools, day-care centers, and medical facilities—not for the Pentagon. We can elect representatives who will support our struggles for decent living and working conditions—not oppose and undermine them.

Labor's own candidates, working men and women supported by independent political structures based on the unions and community organizations, can defeat the Democrats and Republicans.

That is what is now necessary to defend the gains that workers have made in past struggles.

Calendar

ATLANTA

IS NEW YORK CITY'S CRISIS ATLANTA'S FUTURE? Speaker: Dick Roberts, member, SWP National Committee. Fri., Jan. 30, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1. Two classes on **The Roots of the Current Economic Crisis**. Sat., Jan. 31, 10:30 a.m. and 1:30 p.m. Donation: 50 cents each class. 68 Peachtree St., Third floor. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

CLEVELAND

THE UNQUIET DEATH OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG. A film distributed by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. Fri., Jan. 30, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

NEWARK

LAST HIRED, FIRST FIRED: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION VS. SENIORITY. A panel discussion with: Lawrence Stewart, Teamsters Local 560 and SWP; Prof. Freeman, Rutgers University; Dianne Feeley, New York NOW. Fri., Jan. 30, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. (at Central and Broad). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 624-7434.

NEW ORLEANS

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS AND PATHFINDER BOOKSTORE GRAND OPENING. All kinds of books. Guest: Evelyn Reed, author of *Woman's Evolution*. Sun., Feb. 1, 2:00 p.m., open house; 3:30 p.m., talk by Evelyn Reed. 3812 Magazine St. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

PHILADELPHIA

IS ZIONISM A FORM OF RACISM? Speakers: Joel Hodroff, YSA; Dr. A.M. El Messiri, Arab League. Fri., Jan. 30, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

ST. LOUIS

ANGOLA: ANOTHER VIETNAM? Speakers: Karim Abdul Aziz, Nation of Islam; Wale Musa, St. Louis Committee on Africa; Renita Alexander, SWP. Fri., Jan. 30, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN DIEGO

ANGOLA: ANOTHER VIETNAM FOR THE U.S.? Speaker: Tony Thomas, member, SWP National Committee. Fri., Jan. 30, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

TWIN CITIES

THE 1934 TEAMSTER STRIKES. Speakers: Harry DeBoer, a leader of 1934 strikes; George Tselos, U. of Minn. visiting assistant professor of American history; Joe Henry, Twin Cities SWP organizer. Fri., Jan. 30, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. SE, Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT IN 1976. Panel discussion with: Del Dobbins, coordinator NOW National Task Force for Minority Women; Susan Holleran, D.C. CLUW vice-president; Junior Bridge, Virginia NOW ERA assistant coordinator. Fri., Jan. 30, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. NW, Fourth floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...Spain

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of the Fourth International) point out in the December 12, 1975, issue of their newspaper, *Combate*, that after the civil war the Franco regime "put its assassins on the payroll to paint on the walls of Barcelona [in Catalonia], 'Don't bark like a dog, speak the language of the Empire!'"

To this day it is illegal to use Basque, Catalan, or Galician in courts or in plenary sessions of governmental bodies. The Francoist slogan of "Speak Christian!" is still the official answer of the government to the oppressed nationalities.

King Juan Carlos may be able to ride out the current strike wave, but this is only a taste of mobilizations to come. The people of Spain have announced loud and clear that they are not going to stand aside while Franco's heirs decide their fate behind closed doors.

...teachers

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and after the strike. Recognizing that the entire labor movement is threatened, the Allegheny County Central Labor Council has taken certain steps to support the teachers. The council has publicly endorsed the strike and has promised to mobilize the ranks of other unions, if needed, to replace any teachers arrested on the picket lines.

These expressions of support have not, however, been translated into the sort of decisive labor action needed to rebuff the strikebreaking attacks.

Teachers here are aware that in Philadelphia in 1973 the labor coun-

cil's threat of a city-wide work stoppage forced the local school board to back down in its attack on teachers. In New Haven, Connecticut, last fall the threat of a general protest strike helped teachers there win a major victory. The potential certainly exists in Pittsburgh as well for united, massive labor action.

Meanwhile, student and community forces are working to help build broad public support for the teachers. A teach-in on the strike will be held January 22 at the University of Pittsburgh. On January 23 a support picket line has been called by parents, community activists, and some individual unionists. The rally will be addressed by a representative of the PFT.

Last Friday, January 16, the Pittsburgh Militant Forum sponsored a meeting in support of the strike. Edward White, staff representative from the Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers, discussed the issues in the strike. William Hall, a Pittsburgh high school student, also addressed the forum.

Ellard Yow, a member of the United Electrical Workers union and of the Socialist Workers party, voiced the SWP's support for the teachers, calling the school board's actions "part of a national offensive against the American people's standard of living."

Yow said city officials are lying when they claim there is "no money" to meet teachers' demands for higher salaries and better schools. "The millions of dollars in taxes that flow from Pittsburgh to Washington are squandered on military hardware for wars, such as in Angola and the Middle East," he said.

In addition, the corporate giants headquartered in Pittsburgh "extract billions in profits from the labor of working people. If Gulf Oil can afford to send \$4 million to their favorite reactionary politicians in South Korea, if they can afford to set up a \$10 million slush fund for payoffs to capitalist politicians in the United States, they can certainly afford to pay higher taxes to support the social services we need."

The fight to redirect these resources toward human needs "is more than a simple trade-union fight," Yow said.

"It is a political struggle. The Democrats and Republicans are not going to serve us. Working people need a political party of our own, a labor party."

"A labor party based on the power of the trade unions would be able to educate, organize, and mobilize people in the factories, mines, and office buildings to win the things we need, such as vastly improved medical care, education, mass transportation, and housing.

"It would take up the special problems of the oppressed. At the top of its agenda would be a strategy for ending racial oppression and desegregating the school system. The racism in this society benefits only our class enemies.

"A labor party would represent the majority who work for a living, not the tiny minority who parasitically live off our labor."

Pointing to the potential for working-class unity, Yow stated, "The secretary, the steelworker, the miner—these are the parents of the children whose education is threatened by the actions of the school board. They have the same needs and the same aspirations as the teachers."

...airlines

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Leath's cynical reply was: "It just seems to me that you must have known the type of work involved when you signed on for the job."

Airlift has admitted it is training scab crews. The company also tried unsuccessfully to block unemployment compensation for members of the other two unions locked out when the pilots' strike began by claiming the members of ALEA and IAM were participants in the strike.

It is clear from the pattern of union-busting attempts by the airlines that the airline workers and their unions must meet the company offensives with united actions. Otherwise the attacks can only intensify and eventually roll back the gains airline workers have won in the past.

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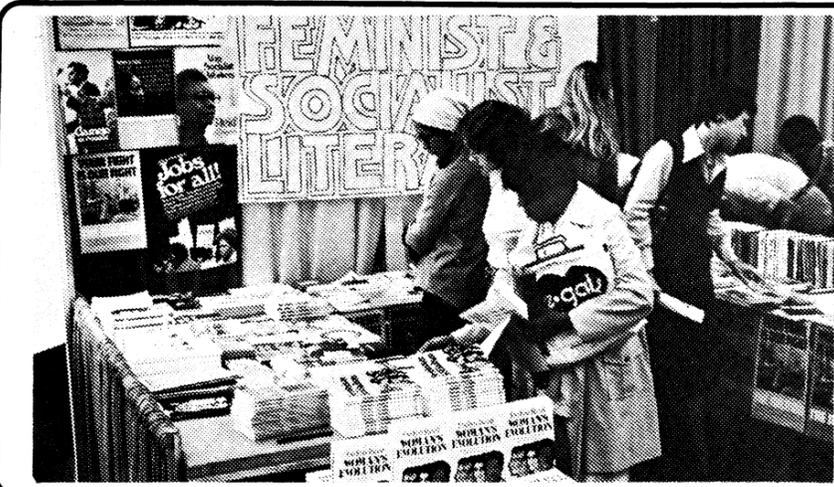
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Profit the motive

Kepone: deadly poison strikes down workers

By Frank Lovell

The story of deadly Kepone is an example of how "free enterprise" threatens life. It is the story of deceitful business interests and their easy manipulation of government agencies. It is an example of how the profit motive destroys all social and moral values, how the acceptance of anarchistic capitalist methods leads to disaster.

Kepone is Allied Chemical Corporation's trade name for chlorinated ketone, a chemical closely related to government-banned DDT, Aldrin, and Dieldrin. It is used in diluted form in roach and ant pesticides, and for spraying potato plants and banana trees. The shipping labels, which refer to Kepone only by its chemical components, say it "may be fatal if swallowed, inhaled, or absorbed through skin."

Hearings on Kepone contamination were scheduled for January this year by a Senate agricultural subcommittee. But this was only after Kepone had destroyed the sewer system of Hopewell, Virginia, where it was manufactured; contaminated the James River, which has been closed to fishing; and hospitalized at least 29 of the 149 workers who for sixteen months produced the substance.

Kepone was manufactured by Life Science Products Company under contract to Allied Chemical Corporation, which was the only customer.

Workers in the plant were told that Kepone was harmless. They worked with, lived in, and breathed the Ke-

pone dust, which was everywhere, filtering outside the plant and covering a section of Hopewell for blocks around.

Delbert White, the thirty-year-old former plant superintendent, carried the dust home in his clothers, as did the other workers. He had to quit working because of the shakes before the plant was finally forced to close. It is unlikely that he will ever work again.

His wife, nine-year-old son, and five-year-old daughter show symptoms of the poison. The children suffer erratic eye movements and shakes. A dog kept by the family developed bleeding and was destroyed.

Other workers and members of their families have suffered tremors, memory loss, slurred speech, weight loss, liver damage, erratic eye movement, stillbirths in women, and sterility in men.

Researchers fear that Kepone may work in a "vicious circle" in the human body. It is stored in fatty tissues, passed into the blood stream, captured by the liver, and returned to the body tissues. Dr. Robert Jackson, a Virginia state epidemiologist, says, "We don't know how to get Kepone out of the body."

How many Hopewell residents in the vicinity of the closed plant suffered permanent injury is not yet known. A report by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency revealed that air and water samples taken forty miles away contain traces of Kepone. Some reports fear that what hap-

pened in Hopewell may be one of the worst industrial "accidents" in this country, but there is ample evidence that it was no accident.

Company knew of danger

The toxic properties of Kepone were known at least fifteen years before Life Science was put in business to produce it. Dr. Paul Larson, retired head of the pharmacology department of the Medical College of Virginia, concluded a three-year study for Allied Chemical in 1960 that proved Kepone "to be highly toxic to animals." It was known to be a cancer-producing substance. When asked if Allied knew of the danger to humans Dr. Larson said, "Of course."

Allied Chemical, a New Jersey-based corporation, grosses more than \$2.2 billion in annual sales. It employs about 4,000 workers in the Hopewell area, "chemical capital of the South."

Two of Allied's former employees, William Moore and Virgil Hundtofte, set up Life Science Products under contract to Allied Chemical. It is not known how they happened to choose the name Life Science for their new "private venture." Both had been around long enough to know they were dealing in death, not life.

There was nothing "accidental" about arrangements that allowed Allied to evade Environmental Protection Agency regulations and disclaim responsibility for the damage that ensued.

Hopewell's public works director, C.L. Jones, was a former plant manager for Allied Chemical. He managed Allied's agricultural products plant in Hopewell, which originally produced Kepone. It was Jones who recommended use of the city's sewage system for disposal of waste from the Life Science Products plant, giving assurances that no harm could come of it.

Gov't agencies indifferent

In all the protective agencies, at all levels of government—the Virginia State Health Department, the Virginia State Water Control Board, the Virginia Air Pollution Control Board, the health department's Bureau of Industrial Hygiene, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration—there was almost total indifference to the danger of Kepone. The presence of large quantities of the deadly substance in the water and air was known as early as October 3, 1974.

Even though workers at Life Science were being hospitalized, nothing was done until the town's sewage system finally failed. Kepone had destroyed the bacteria in the huge holding tanks where solid wastes were broken down.

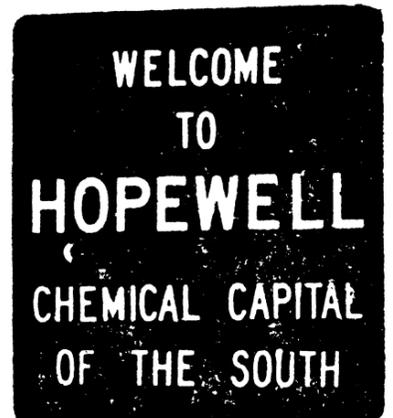
Raw sewage backed up in all the main lines. At that point something had to be done.

One of the reasons nothing was done earlier is because Allied Chemical always had attorneys and other representatives to "explain" the harmless effect of recorded pollution and other danger signals.

Local inspectors were often intimidated by the power of the giant corporation. The heads of protective agencies are always slow to act against giant corporate interests for political reasons, and sometimes for other considerations.

Mentality of politicians

It is part of the common mentality of established Republican and Democratic party politicians who are necessarily



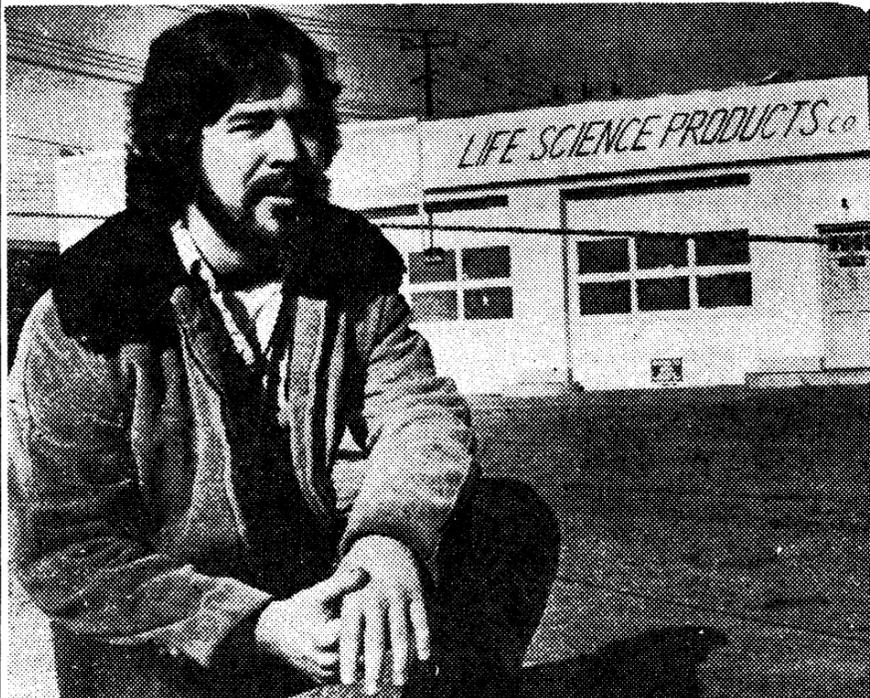
committed to support the capitalist system of production that life in this society depends upon the corporate structure. They think that big corporations must be protected no matter what the cost. They are reluctant to halt any production, even the death-dealing variety.

Even when Virginia's Gov. Mills Godwin announced the closing of the polluted James River to fishing because of Kepone poisoning, he felt constrained to reassure the public that Allied is "a highly reputable national chemical company."

The townspeople of Hopewell think they depend on the chemical industry for their livelihood. So it seemed only natural for Mayor Harold Butterworth to explain that, so far as he knows, "The chemical plants posed no particular issue."

"We accepted the fly ash that settled on our cars and the chlorine that smarts your eye as a way of life," says Butterworth.

Like the capitalist system, it is a way of death. But it doesn't need to be accepted.



Life Science workers like Alan Blevins experienced permanent physical injury through exposure to Kepone. But government officials ignored dangers.