

THE MILITANT

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

Desegregation in peril

Boston: new wave of racist violence

[The following is a statement by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president.]

Desegregation in Boston is in peril. The racist forces are getting bolder every day. They are well organized. They are encouraged by the antibusing stance of government officials of both the Democratic and the Republican parties.

The racists believe their campaign of

A call to action

violence can subvert the court-ordered busing plan. They believe they can terrorize the Black community and cow all supporters of desegregation into silence. They believe they can deal the struggle for Black rights a blow that will be felt across the country.

We must prove them wrong.

In the past few weeks the antibusing movement has escalated its drive to keep the schools segregated. They have created an atmosphere of violence—an atmosphere identical to the one that produced lynch-mob attacks last year.

This terror has been taken *inside* the schools. White students, acting under the direction of antibusing groups like ROAR, are assaulting Blacks in the classrooms and corridors, trying to enforce their “whites only” rule through intimidation and violence.

At the same time, the Democratic party officials who rule Boston are giving the green light to the establishment of segregationist private academies for white students who are boycotting the schools.

What is happening today in Boston is not only a Boston issue.

It is a national emergency.

It must be answered by a renewed mobilization of all those forces committed to defending Black rights and the besieged Black community in Boston.

Boston remains the focus of an effort by extreme racist forces to stop further progress of the Black freedom struggle. If this reactionary movement succeeds in Boston, it will grow in strength and confidence all over the country.

And if their onslaught against Black rights succeeds in blocking school desegregation, they will branch out—as they have already begun to do. They will incite new attacks on the struggles to end discrimination in employment, in housing, and in every other aspect of life.

The racist strongholds in Boston have become fertile ground for the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazis, and right-wing demagogues of all kinds. These forces

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NOW calls May 16 nat'l action for ERA



Militant/Joel Aber

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In Brief

NEW YORK CAIFI MEETING: Last week's "In Brief" gave the wrong date for a protest meeting, "Repression in Iran," sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). The meeting will be held in New York City at 7:00 p.m., February 26, at Teachers College, Horace Mann Auditorium, Columbia University.

CAIFI announced that a new addition to the speakers list is Prof. Aijaz Ahmad, who will be speaking on the activities of SAVAK (the shah's secret police) in Pakistan. Also speaking are Ramsey Clark, Eric Bentley, Reza Baraheni, Muriel Rukeyser, and Ivan Morris. For more information contact: CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone (212) 673-6390.

D.C. 'POST' STRIKE LEADERS SPEAK OUT: James Dugan, president of striking press operators at Local 6 at the *Washington Post*, and Tom Grubisich, initiator of the Rank-and-File Strike Support Committee in the Newspaper Guild, will be featured speakers at the Washington Militant Forum on Friday, February 20. In January Grubisich was elected president of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild.

The forum, which begins at 8:00 p.m., will be held at 1345 E Street NW, Fourth Floor. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

RAILROADING J.B. JOHNSON: Racist officials have waged a long and vicious campaign against J.B. Johnson of St. Louis. Framed up as an accomplice to the shooting of a cop, Johnson, twenty-five, has already spent three-and-a-half years of his youth in jail. Now he is being denied a two-month continuance for his new trial. He needs the delay because his chief attorney, William Kunstler, will not be available until April.

Judge George Cloyd and the prosecutor's office waited until seven days before the scheduled trial date to announce the decision. In response, Johnson's lawyers moved to disqualify the judge, who anticipated the motion. Immediately he disqualified himself from the case and assigned Judge Corrigan, who quickly announced his intention to proceed with the trial on February 17.

The National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson is protesting this denial of Johnson's constitutional rights with a February 13 picket line at the county courthouse. Messages of protest should be sent to Circuit Court Judge Corrigan and Prosecuting Attorney Courtney Goodman at 7900 Carondelet, Clayton, Missouri 63105.

ABORTION RIGHTS: Twenty-five women demonstrated at Gerald Ford's New York campaign office on February 5. The picket, called on twenty-four hours' notice, protested Ford's statement two days earlier against the right of women to choose abortion. Demonstrators chanted, "Abortion is our right, to keep it we will fight!"

About half the picketers, including several Blacks, came from the City College of New York Women's Center, which initiated the action.

The same day in Minneapolis, sixty-five people picketed at the University Hospital. They were protesting the January closing of the abortion clinic and the possible appointment of a doctor who opposes abortion and contraception as the new head of the obstetrics and gynecology department.

DEVLIN TO TOUR U.S.: Bernadette Devlin will tour major cities in the United States for four weeks beginning April 5. The internationally known Irish revolutionary will be speaking on the current situation in Ireland and the relevance of socialism to the Irish struggle.

The tour is being organized by Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, a division of Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 741-0690.

SAN JOSE CHICANOS PLAN MARCH: San Jose Chicano organizations plan to mobilize their community in a February 17 march on city hall. They are demanding justice for Danny Treviño, who was murdered by cops several weeks ago as he sat unarmed in his car. Chicanos are demanding prosecution of the killer-cops and damages for the Treviño family. The march is sponsored by the Committee on Public Safety, which is a broad coalition of local groups. Marchers will assemble at 5:00 p.m. in St. James Park.

MEATCUTTERS' RIGHT TO SURVIVE: Harding Bond, president of the Milwaukee Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, Local 248, recently spoke at the Milwaukee Militant Forum on "The Meatcutters' Strike—One Year After." The strike, which involves 750 meatcutters and allied workers, is still holding strong after thirteen months. Bond said that the axis of the strike has become the "question of the right to survive as a local union."

The employers have done everything—from recruiting

out-of-state scabs, to using the courts, cops, and the National Labor Relations Board—in their drive to bust the union.

Bond explained that the terrible economic squeeze on working people means that employers can get scabs "because of that large labor surplus out there waiting to cut your throat for your job. Every scab that crosses that picket line should be our friend. He should be fighting with us. We shouldn't be fighting each other."

Forty-six strikers have been fired for alleged violence at the picket lines. Four unionists face indictments that came out of a witch-hunt grand jury investigation.

NAZI FRATRICIDE: Last August 15, Joseph Tommasi, leader of the National Socialist [Nazi] Liberation Front in Los Angeles, was gunned down in the front yard of the rival American Nazi party. Jerry Jones, who shot him, pleaded guilty to second-degree murder. On February 2 Jones was sentenced to 300 days in jail and five years' probation. The judge gave him credit for 228 days already served.

Tommasi exposed the attitude of the Los Angeles Police Department when he boasted in a news interview that his gang has been responsible for bombing the Socialist Workers party and others. "We know the cops aren't interested if we bomb the left," Tommasi had told the *Los Angeles Free Press*. Tommasi had split from the American Nazi party because he felt it didn't relate sufficiently to "armed struggle."

FORD MAILBAG: Fifteen hundred Americans recently invested in newly inflated thirteen-cent postage stamps to send President Ford their views on his State of the Union address. Many had less than kind words, according to columnist Jack Anderson. One Pennsylvanian wrote, "I have a W-I-N button left over from your speech of last year when you threatened to make an all out effort to reduce inflation. . . . When do I start to wear the button?" An eleventh grader from California castigated Ford for the way revenues are raised. Big corporations, the youth said, make as much as \$2 million per hour "and paid about two per cent in taxes. My mother, on the other hand, got about \$4 an hour and paid 27 per cent in taxes."

Of course, there were letters from well-wishers, too. A fan from Michigan told the president he had nothing to fear in 1976 from people like Ronald Reagan. As for Hubert Humphrey, he continued, "the Good Lord spare us. He'll talk the nation to death. Mother once asked him if he'd been vaccinated with a phonograph needle."

Commenting on Ford's pious performance in the heavenly wrap-up to his speech, one writer commented, "God I trust—It's you I worry about." —Ginny Hildebrand



Special Offer For New Readers

The Equal Rights Amendment still isn't law, and its supporters around the country are stepping up a campaign to get it passed. Keep up with the latest developments in the drive to ratify the ERA by reading the *Militant* every week. Subscribe now.

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Illinois site of May 16 rally

NOW sets nat'l equal rights action

By Ginny Hildebrand

The National Organization for Women has announced plans for a national demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment in Springfield, Illinois, on Sunday, May 16.

From NOW's national office in Washington, D.C., Alice Cohan, a national board member from New Jersey, told the *Militant*, "We're calling a national mobilization in Illinois to show that ratification of the ERA is not an issue that just affects those people living in Illinois, but rather affects all people in this country, be they woman or man. We plan to come from all over the country to Illinois to tell the legislature how important and vital it is to pass the ERA."

The Illinois House of Representatives has passed the amendment and it is now pending in the state senate. NOW hopes that a victory in Illinois will spur a renewed drive for national ratification of the amendment granting women equal rights.

Cohan said word has gone out to NOW chapters across the country urging them to start organizing for May 16.

"In New Jersey," Cohan said, "we already have an 'Illinois ERA mobilization committee' working and we're going around to all of our various chapters to encourage support. It looks pretty likely that several of the states—probably Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and possibly New York—will be going together by train."

Maureen Rogman, the Illinois NOW state coordinator, told the *Militant* that Illinois NOW got support for the action at the NOW national convention in October. A NOW National Board meeting in Phoenix last month began to make concrete plans for the rally.

'The time is right'

The demonstration was originally set for Tuesday, April 20. But the date was changed to May 16, a Sunday, Rogman reported, because more people from Illinois and other states will be able to come on a weekend.

Organizers are calling the demonstration "Illinois Rally for Equal Rights."

"The time is right to mobilize all ERA supporters," said Rogman. "And Illinois was chosen as the state to do this in."

"The point is that in an election year, in the bicentennial year, it is absolutely disgraceful that the state of Illinois has not passed the ERA."

"We are also trying to bring this



International Women's Day rallies, marches, and teach-ins planned for early March can build support for national NOW action.

issue to a moral level so that the people of the United States—not just NOW but any other organization, anyone who supports the Equal Rights Amendment—will see that this is the time for commitment."

Rogman said that while the demonstration is being organized by NOW, other groups supporting the ERA are being asked for their support.

Among the first groups to pledge support for the May 16 action were the Illinois ERA Coalition and Georgians for the ERA. GERA organized a broad demonstration of 3,000 on January 10 to demand that Georgia ratify the ERA.

Right now, Rogman said, plans are under way for spreading the word about the May 16 demonstration. Next week, NOW will be opening a "Rally

for Equal Rights" national coordinating center at 5 South Wabash in Chicago.

Rogman is urging all supporters of the ERA to get behind the action. "We'd like to reach every person in the United States who supports the ERA," she said, "and have them make some kind of commitment in whatever way they can, whether it's money, or actively coming, or organizing in their own state—whatever they can do."

Building May 16

Momentum for the NOW national demonstration could accelerate quickly with the help of ERA activities that are planned in cities across the country for International Women's Day, March 8.

GERA, for instance, is sponsoring a

benefit at the Great Southeast Music Hall in Atlanta on March 8. On March 10 at Spelman College, there will be a panel of Black women discussing their struggle for equal rights.

San Diegans for the ERA is planning a march from downtown San Diego to a rally in Balboa Park on March 6. The action was initiated by unionists in the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and involves members of two NOW chapters, campus feminist and socialist groups, a women's studies and a women's health-care center, and the Socialist Workers party.

An International Women's Day Celebration will take place March 8 at the University of California Berkeley campus. Workshops and cultural events will be followed by an evening "Rally for Women's Rights" with speakers on the ERA, abortion, and affirmative action.

Bicentennial parade

Ratification of the ERA and defense of abortion rights will be the themes of a "Bicentennial Women's Rights Parade" in Houston on March 6.

On the same day at Wayne State University in Detroit, the Coalition to Defend the ERA will sponsor a panel discussion and workshops. Panelists will be Martha Griffiths, former U.S. representative from Michigan; a representative of the NAACP; Marcia Davis, Joanne Little Detroit defense coordinator and aide to Rep. John Conyers; Peg Russell, a CLUW activist and leader of the United Postal Workers Union; Odessa Komer, head of the Women's Department of the United Auto Workers union; and Wayne State English instructor Esther Broner.

After the workshops, activists will discuss how to mobilize Michigan ERA supporters for May 16 in Springfield.

On March 13, the Saturday following International Women's Day, New York NOW and the New York University Women's Center are cohosting a one-day strategy conference at NYU.

The International Women's Day events in these and many other cities can be a springboard for organizing the national mobilization on Springfield, Illinois. Members of women's organizations, unionists, Blacks, students and many others who represent the majority ERA sentiment in this country must be brought into this action. May 16 can be a historic day for women's rights when the American people say, "200 years is enough, ratify the ERA now!"

L.A. conference plans ERA march

By Sally Frumkin

LOS ANGELES—More than 300 people turned out for a February 7 Equal Rights Amendment conference here at Los Angeles City College. Participants heard a debate between an opponent and a supporter of the ERA, and then set plans for an action campaign to win passage of the amendment.

The activists unanimously decided to organize a May 16 regional march and rally in solidarity with NOW's national "Illinois Rally for Equal Rights." The action proposal passed by the gathering pointed to a March 8 ERA picket at the Federal Building in Los Angeles and a March 6 San Diego march and rally as examples of May 16 building activities that could be organized for International Women's Day.

The ERA debate at the conference was moderated by Lisa Specht, who is

the coordinator of the American Civil Liberties Union Women's Rights Project. Mary Nichols, attorney and vice-chairperson of the California Air Resources Board, spoke for the ERA; and Mary Schmitz, a national board member and California vice-president of STOP-ERA, spoke against the amendment.

Nichols said, "Women and men have the right to be judged on the basis of their individual qualifications, their strengths, their brains, their competence, and not on the form of their chromosomes." The ERA, she said, "makes the statement that it is the consensus of the American people that the qualifications or category of sex in and of itself shall not be the basis for any form of discrimination before the law."

Schmitz presented a very different view of women's place in society and made it clear that she thinks American

women have all the equality they need.

She opposed women having equal access to any job of their choice. Citing a \$30 million suit against U.S. Steel that resulted in a mandate to hire 20 percent women on the production line, she said, "Now ask your husbands or your fathers what goes on at the line of production of a steel mill and see if you think that's advancement for women."

Schmitz also said that existing laws favorable to women's rights have made a women's rights amendment totally unnecessary.

Nichols explained that many of the legal changes that Schmitz pointed to "have been accomplished under the pressure of the women's movement and the ERA."

Schmitz further revealed the reactionary mentality of the anti-ERA forces when she stated her opposition to court-ordered busing.

Sharon Wilkes, international staff

representative of the Communications Workers of America and vice-president of the Los Angeles Coalition of Labor Union Women, brought greetings to the conference from CLUW. Messages of solidarity were also read from Mary Ann Seday, midwestern regional coordinator for NOW, and Lanny Kennedy, vice-president of the Arizona Coalition for the ERA.

The conference was sponsored by the Los Angeles Coalition for the Equal Rights Amendment and drew activists from a wide range of feminist groups and ERA coalitions throughout California and Arizona, including Arizona State University Campus Coalition for the ERA, CLUW, Sisters United at Cal State L.A., five NOW chapters, San Diegans for the ERA, San Jose Committee for the ERA, National Council of Jewish Women, the ACLU Women's Rights Project, and the Socialist Workers party.

Action needed to beat back racist assault on Boston desegregation

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The court-ordered desegregation of Boston's public schools, a product of years of struggle by this city's Black community, is now faced with the most serious challenge yet mounted by the racist movement that has fought the busing plan from the day it started in the fall of 1974.

Following planned disruptions that rocked schools the week of January 19 in Hyde Park, East Boston, and Charlestown, the bigots have further escalated their offensive against Black rights. The racists are more organized now than at any time in their decade-long drive against desegregation.

On February 4, Boston School Committee chambers were the scene of an open declaration of war on School Supt. Marion Fahey. One hundred fifty members of the major antibusing organization, ROAR, packed the halls to demand her resignation.

On February 1, Fahey, a product of the patronage machine of the school department bureaucracy, had publicly denounced the school committee for its obstruction of desegregation. She accused a "radical antibusing group" of organizing violence in the schools.

Fahey is also the federally appointed receiver of South Boston High School, an appointment that makes her answerable to Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity, who placed the school in receivership December 9. This new role has placed her at odds with the antibusing school committee.

The racists' drive against Fahey is really aimed at the court order itself. So far, Garrity has been silent in the face of this new provocation.

Racist violence continues

The racists are continuing their campaign of violence. On February 3 a twenty-two-year-old man was arrested in an unsuccessful attempt to plant bombs in Garrity's automobile.

That evening ROAR members broke up two meetings organized by the court-appointed City-wide Coordinating Council (CCC) to discuss further desegregation planned for the fall of 1976.

At the South Boston-Roxbury district meeting, which took place at city hall, thugs prevented members of a CCC panel from speaking. They recited the Pledge of Allegiance, sang "God Bless America," and shouted that they would kill members of the panel.

One South Boston white woman present at the meeting who opposes ROAR had the windows of her car smashed out later that evening.

Hundreds of sign-waving ROAR members packed the East Boston CCC meeting, hooting and whistling at parents who came to discuss complying with desegregation.

East Boston is slated to be desegregated next fall for the first time. Plans call for the area high school to become a "magnet" city-wide technical school. This school has been the scene of disruptions and near riots to protest the plan.

Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, who is a leader of ROAR in East Boston and a school committee member, was cheered by the disrupters when she called the CCC panelists "a bunch of communists."

It is now an open question whether East Boston will be desegregated even under the modest magnet plan. Garrity is reportedly considering exemption for the all-white neighborhood. This would be a clear concession to the racist mobilization and an obvious cue to



bigots across the city to jump into the breach.

Meanwhile, Garrity has publicly ignored another ominous development. At its February 4 meeting, the school committee certified South Boston Heights Academy—an all-white "private" school set up to circumvent desegregation. The week before, the board certified a similar academy in West Roxbury.

These segregationist academies, along with the continuing calls for a white school boycott, are part of the drive to sabotage desegregation. The white student population has reportedly been reduced by 8,000.

By certifying these academies, the board is giving legal sanction to the boycott, and officially approving the resegregation of the schools.

Garrity approves budget cuts

On February 3, Garrity reversed a previous position and gave the school committee the go-ahead to plan cuts of \$7 to \$8 million in the school budget, including large-scale layoffs of teachers and aides.

Like growing numbers of cities, Boston is running a deficit this year. Elected officials, from the members and sympathizers of ROAR who run the city council to Mayor Kevin White, have sought to pin the blame for the lack of city funds on the costs of implementing desegregation.

This poisonous demagoguery is aimed at further intensifying antibusing sentiment, and making the Black community the scapegoat for the cuts being carried out by the city's capitalist politicians.

The proposed cutbacks pose a further threat to Black rights. Nearly 40 percent of nontenured teachers, and a majority of teacher's aides, are Black or Latino. Many of these teachers have gotten their jobs as a result of an affirmative-action hiring program ordered by Garrity. If the layoffs follow seniority rules, the last hired will indeed be the first fired, wiping out the initial gains made against racist discrimination in the white job trust of Boston's school system.

reversing the Supreme Court and twenty years of history." Overturning busing, Pottinger said, "is not necessarily desirable."

Hicks responded with threats of violence. "This whole thing had better be a new ball game or he'll have to bring all his marshals up here," she said.

Black community speaks out

In response to the growing racist upsurge, the Coordinated Social Services Council, a prodesegregation coalition of more than forty Black community agencies, held a February 4 news conference. Council member A. Robert Phillips and National Student Coalition Against Racism Coordinator Maceo Dixon spoke.

Phillips declared the council's support for the Black students who, he said, have become "the direct victims of acts of undisguised hate, perpetrated by certain elected officials, appointed officials, and by their deliberately misled followers."

Dixon accused city officials of being "responsible for the warlike tension in this city." He demanded that the government act to halt the racist violence and enforce school desegregation.

"If the police can't enforce the law," Dixon declared, "federal troops must be brought into the racists' strongholds."

The rights of Black people in Boston and throughout the country, Dixon emphasized, are being jeopardized by the racist reign of terror and the refusal of the government to take decisive action to implement desegregation.

"We must respond to the antibusing mobilization," he told the *Militant*, "with a renewed countermobilization of all those who are willing to stand up and say 'No!' to the racist violence and obstruction. We've got to turn out the Black community and everyone else who has a stake in beating back this reactionary antibusing crusade."

Attorneys for the Black parents who filed the original suit resulting in Garrity's desegregation order have made it clear that they will fight to see that no Blacks or other minority teachers are fired as part of the layoffs.

Meanwhile, on February 6, city council president Louise Day Hicks and other key Democratic party leaders in the racist movement met with Assistant U.S. Attorney General J. Stanley Pottinger to press for the "rights of the white minority in Boston's schools."

Pottinger told them that "we have no plans to work for the reversal of the overall thrust of the law [regarding school desegregation]. That would be

A climate of terror for Boston Blacks

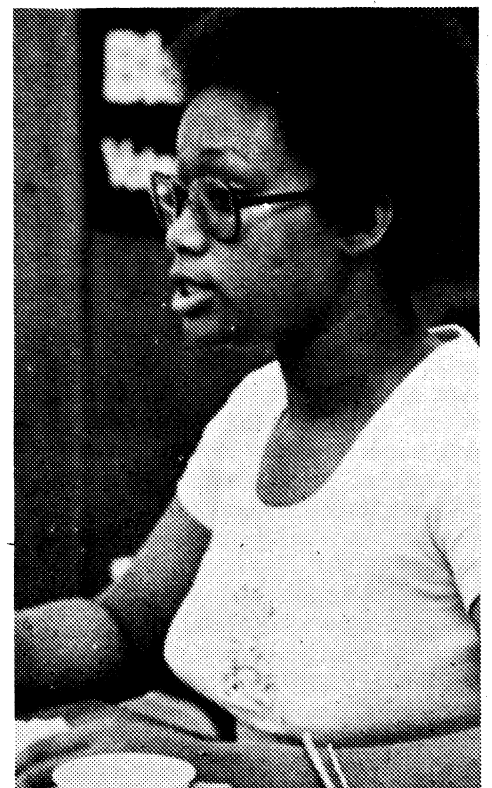
BOSTON—"Get the nigger bitch!" was the cry of three men who grabbed NSCAR staff member Reba Williams, choking and beating her as she walked home the night of February 8.

Williams had gotten off a streetcar and was walking alone on Huntington Avenue in a mixed area populated by Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and whites.

"I saw three white men in their early twenties, standing in the door of a bar that is a hangout for racists," she said. As she passed by, they jumped her, shouting epithets.

Williams said she feared "they were trying to move me to a car to take me away or to rape me." She struggled, yelling for help. Fortunately, a Black man across the street saw the scene and rushed over. The racists ran when they saw him and his large dog approaching.

The assault, Williams said, "showed in a very gut way just how bold these racists are, coming into the Black community and roughing us up. We have got to begin to teach these bigots a lesson." —J.H.



NSCAR leader Reba Williams was victim of racist assault.

Antiracist coalition calls nat'l meeting in Boston

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—In an emergency decision, the coordinators of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) have shifted the site of the organization's February 21 national steering committee meeting from New York City to Boston, because "of the crisis situation facing desegregation in Boston."

The coordinators' decision came in response to the stepped-up campaign by the city's racist antibusing movement "to literally cripple the workings of the desegregation process," coordinator Maceo Dixon said.

"Our emergency national gathering will set nationally coordinated actions to defend desegregation and Boston's Black students, whose physical safety and right to equality in education are in grave jeopardy," Dixon continued. "We will also map out an educational campaign to counteract the news media's freezing out of the truth about this crisis."

The steering committee sessions, open to all supporters of desegregation, will start at 1:00 p.m. in the Stone science building, Room 50, at Boston University.

Reports on the Boston situation will be given by Mellissa Wilson, a leader of the Hyde Park High School Black students; Maceo Dixon; and others. Also speaking will be Ruth Batson, a longtime leader of the desegregation struggle; and Cathy Darby, director of the New England Regional NAACP Youth Council.

The meeting will mark the first anniversary of NSCAR, which was founded in February 1975 at a conference of 2,000 people at Boston University. Since then, the organization has become involved in numerous battles against racism across the country, highlighted by its pivotal work in organizing support for the May 17, 1975, NAACP-called demonstration here of more than 15,000. NSCAR's more than seventy chapters have been engaged in struggles against cutbacks and for bilingual and bicultural education and the implementation of affirmative-action programs.

Chapters have participated in defense efforts for Black victims of racist injustice, including Joanne Little, Hurricane Carter, J.B. Johnson, and Robert F. Williams.

The Boston SCAR chapter has been at the forefront of the response to the renewed racist offensive. It has organized news conferences and picket lines and has worked with Black high school students and the Bradley family—who were driven from their home by racist terror.

Although the steering committee meeting has been moved to Boston, a rally in support of desegregation will be held as originally planned in New York City on February 20, the night before the steering committee. The rally will be at Baruch College in New York City, beginning at 7:30 p.m.

Among the speakers will be: Robert F. Williams; Michael Myers, assistant national executive director of the NAACP; Luis Fuentes, fired Puerto Rican school superintendent from District One; and Juanita Steele, president of Local 205, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

For further information on the steering committee meeting, contact NSCAR at 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02121.

Farm labor board wiped out; UFW vows strikes, boycotts

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Like other groups fighting for their rights, the farm workers have long been advised that the best way to advance their cause is to "work within the system." But no one told them that one of the rules of the game was that they weren't supposed to win. As soon as they started winning, the game was abruptly called off.

Last year, the California legislature passed the Agricultural Labor Relations Act, providing for secret-ballot elections through which field hands could determine what union they wanted to represent them. The measure was enacted after agreement on it had been reached between the principal contending forces in California agriculture—the growers and their Teamster allies on one side, the United Farm Workers on the other.

Despite fraud at the polls and lax law enforcement, the UFW consistently led in the elections. It won 195 elections, compared with 120 for the Teamsters. Throughout, the UFW held a two-to-one lead.

So, on February 6, the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB), which implemented the laws, was strangled. The growers and Teamsters simply lined up enough votes in the legislature to block approval of funds necessary for the continuing functioning of the board, and it had to close up shop.

When the bill went into effect last August, money was appropriated to provide for the functioning of the ALRB through this coming July. However, the board conducted many more representation elections than anticipated and its funds ran out early. Special funding was needed to keep the board going.

Approval by two-thirds of the state senate was required. A minority bloc of Republicans and farm-area Democrats was able to stop the appropriation.

The UFW responded to the elimination of the ALRB by declaring that it would turn to strikes for union recognition and to extension of the grape and lettuce boycotts in its continuing struggle to win contracts.

UFW leader César Chávez branded the killing of the board "a day of infamy for farm workers," declaring "Our only recourse is to take our case to the people of California and return to strikes and boycotts."

Initiative on ballot

The union slated a February 12 news conference at which, it was indicated, union attorney Jerry Cohen would announce plans to place an initiative on the state ballot enacting a new farm labor law.

To place such a measure on the ballot would require a petition signed by more than 300,000 registered California voters. However, the support the union enjoys in the state makes this an entirely realizable goal.

There is every indication that if an effective campaign were mounted, such an initiative would have a good chance of passage.

In 1972, California growers placed on the ballot a proposition that would have virtually outlawed farm unionization. They spent a small fortune to win passage of the bill. The UFW, with its meager resources, led the opposition to it. The result was that the growers' proposition was defeated by a 58-to-42 percent margin.

Meanwhile, the UFW is pressing ahead with its unionizing drive.

A focal point of that drive will be in the Coachella Valley, where preparations for the spring grape harvest are getting underway.

In a telephone interview February 9, Eliseo Medina, UFW director of organization in Coachella, said that with the opportunity to participate in representation



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Farm workers demonstrating in Los Angeles last December to publicize scab-produce boycott. Boycott takes on new importance with death of farm labor board.

elections cut off, the union "has no alternative but to go back to organizing for strikes."

UFW supporters in the fields, he said, "are extremely upset" over the refusal of the politicians to continue funding of the ALRB. About 200 of the Coachella workers had travelled all the way north to Sacramento to participate in a UFW demonstration at the capitol February 6. And they returned particularly angered by the refusal of the legislators to act.

Recent events in the Coachella Valley show why the growers and Teamsters have lost their stomachs for secret-ballot elections. Several months ago they began initiating elections at ranches and tried to steal them by bringing in phantom crews to vote.

Yet despite that crooked game, Medina said, the UFW won ten elections in the area to nine for the Teamsters. The UFW won the right to represent about 1,500 workers in these elections, compared with 500 for the Teamsters.

Strikes and boycott

Medina said that if there is a strike situation, "the growers will find themselves in a worse situation than before. Now they can't go around saying that workers want the Teamsters. That's been pretty well exploded. We'll be in a position to make the strikes and the boycott more effective than before."

In the strategic Imperial Valley area, the UFW has also demonstrated its strength during the current lettuce harvest. Inter-Harvest, the nation's biggest lettuce grower, reportedly has agreed to renew its contract with the UFW. Announcement of the terms will follow an anticipated ratification of the contract by the union membership. Fifteen other ranchers affiliated with

the Western Growers Association have also reportedly arrived at an agreement with the UFW on tentative terms of a master contract.

In the union representation elections held in the Imperial Valley, the UFW thoroughly trounced the Teamsters. Their most recent major victory was at the Bruce Church ranch, the nation's third-largest lettuce grower.

It was such union victories that led the growers and Teamster bureaucrats to take a dim view of elections, and apparently it was no big trick for them to secure sufficient votes in the legislature to throttle the law.

However, it would be a mistake to assume that it was only the Republicans and rural Democrats who were responsible for the phasing out of the ALRB.

The most powerful single figure in the California Democratic party is Gov. Edmund Brown. At the same time the farm labor law was enacted, he was able to line up legislative forces that seemed diametrically opposed to each other.

But he did little more than go through the motions of favoring continued funding when the issue was before the legislature.

He said he was opposed to the blackmail demands that the law be amended even more in the growers' favor as a condition for voting funds. But at the same time he did little to bring effective pressure to secure the votes actually needed for passage.

The farm labor act was passed because of the strength of the UFW. It was the strike actions in the fields, coupled with the effects of the boycott, that induced the growers to opt for elections. More of the same kinds of actions will be needed in the new stage of the fight now unfolding.



CALIFORNIA'S GOVERNOR BROWN: Did little to block bipartisan campaign of state legislators to kill farm labor board.

By Linda Jenness

NEW YORK—At 8:30 in the morning on Tuesday, February 3, it was bitter cold, with slush on the ground, as Catarino Garza and several supporters of his campaign for Congress joined striking students at Stuyvesant High School. Several hundred students were gathered outside the school for the second day in a row to protest the latest round of teacher layoffs, which will cut deeply into their educational programs.

"We need education, not administration!" they chanted. And, "Hey, hey, what do you say? Education is here to stay!"

Garza spoke with Jenny-Anne Martz and Martin Soggesse, president and vice-president of the student body, who were leading the protest. "This is my alma mater," Garza told them, "class of '46."

"Class of '46? That's the same year Albert Shanker graduated from here," replied Soggesse. Shanker is the head of the United Federation of Teachers.

"That's right," said Garza. "We graduated from the same high school in the same year and we're in the same union, but that's where the similarities end. I'm out here supporting your fight against these cuts, while he's supporting the politicians who are carrying out the cuts. He's a Democrat and I'm a socialist."

Catarino Garza is running for Congress in the Eighteenth Congressional District of New York City on the Socialist Workers party ticket.

Garza, forty-eight, was raised in the South Bronx in New York. Until taking a leave of absence to run for office, he was a bilingual teacher at Public School 25 in the Bronx and a chapter chairperson of the UFT.

Garza is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party.

The 18th C.D. includes Manhattan's predominantly Puerto Rican Lower East Side, where the Garza campaign headquarters is located (on Second Street between Avenues B and C).

Headquarters opening

The headquarters was opened Friday, February 6, with speeches by Garza and Nicomedes Sánchez on "Why the Lower East Side needs a Socialist in Congress."

Sánchez is a Puerto Rican leader of New York's Lower East Side community. Twice a candidate for the community school board on the Por los Niños slate, he's a well-known supporter of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese control of the schools in District One. He has been active in community groups and the Puerto Rican movement in New York for more than a decade.

Sánchez described to the audience how his community organizing and attempts to achieve reform had led him to the conclusion that the problems in society could only be eliminated through a socialist solution. This realization led him to join the Socialist Workers party.

"We're running this campaign," Garza told the gathering, "to tell people who are willing to fight against the attacks on our standard of living how it can be done."

"The rulers of this city tell us that you can't squeeze blood from a turnip. That we can't get money for the things we need if there is no money. But the fact of the matter is that there is money."

"There's so much money in Washington that they can spend \$108 billion on the war budget."

"A socialist in Congress would tell it like it is. We shouldn't spend any money for war. This government already has enough atom bombs to blow the world up ten times. What more do they want?"

"I say stop the spending for war to make the rich richer. We need that money to fix up the Lower East Side, the South Bronx, Harlem, and Bedford-Stuyvesant."

The campaign headquarters is decor-

Why New York's Lower East Side needs a socialist in Congress



Socialist candidate Catarino Garza (center) joins protest against school cutbacks. Garza calls for using war budget to pay for education and other social needs.

ated with bright orange posters proclaiming, "*Educación Bilingüe Bicultural! Es nuestro derecho.*" (Bilingual, bicultural education. It is our right.) And many campaign supporters sport large buttons with the same slogan.

Garza and his campaign workers will help continue the struggle of recent years in school District One on the Lower East Side for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of the schools. This fight has been opposed by the racist Shankerite leadership in the United Federation of Teachers.

Garza's Democratic opponent, incumbent Rep. Edward Koch, is known as a liberal. He has also opposed the fight for community control of the schools. Koch's opposition to community control is paralleled by his recent retreat on the question of busing.

"I am no longer certain," Koch recently said in Congress, "that I am correct in my belief that compulsory busing and racial balance in schools help to achieve the goals of quality education for all and an integrated, stable society. My heart tells me that in certain circumstances we should bus, but my gut tells me it is not working, and my mind asks why not ascertain the facts for review?"

Garza, on the other hand, is making defense of busing and of the Black students in Boston and other cities where the racists have mobilized a major issue in his campaign.

"The racist violence and terror in Boston has escalated," says Garza, "and so must our efforts to 'Keep the buses rolling.' Koch, like so many liberals, wants to turn and run. I say

we must not give an inch to the racists."

Garza's campaign manager is Katherine Sojourner. She was the SWP's candidate in the 18th C.D. in 1974 and has been an activist in the District One school fight for several years. During Garza's first hectic week of campaign appearances, she was occupied with the details of scheduling speeches, organizing volunteers, and collecting contributions to finance the campaign.

"This is one of the most important SWP campaigns in the country," Sojourner told me. "We think it's going to have an impact throughout this city and throughout the country. Of course, we're campaigning in the 18th C.D. and here on the Lower East Side, but that's just one aspect of the campaign."

"Garza's campaign is also important to teachers across the country because he's a member of the UFT and has something to say about what should be done in that union," Sojourner continued.

Puerto Ricans

"As a Puerto Rican," she said, "he also plans to speak out on the issues facing Puerto Ricans in this country and on the island."

"So his campaign reaches far beyond the boundaries of the 18th C.D. and the Lower East Side. But this is where we'll be concentrating our efforts."

By the time of the elections in November, Sojourner predicts, every resident of the Lower East Side will know that there are two candidates—Koch and Garza—and the differences between them.

"We've already set up meetings with many of the Puerto Rican leaders in this community to ask for their support and help," Sojourner said. "With their help, the help of Nick Sánchez and others, we're going to go door to door, work the many housing projects in this area, have street rallies and block parties."

"We're planning to organize supporters through block captains, building captains, and project captains."

Fighting spirit

Through its consistent hard work in support of the struggle for community control of the schools, the Socialist Workers party has won a reputation as a party that fights, and knows how to fight, for the oppressed. "Through this campaign," said Sojourner, "we want to carry that fighting spirit into the political arena and build the party here on the Lower East Side."

Garza's first week of campaigning began with a Sunday afternoon get-together at the home of Arthur and Ethel Lobman, activists in the Lower East Side. The Lobmans invited friends and other activists from their building to meet Garza and to lend their support to the campaign.

"In this building," Ethel Lobman told the gathering, "we've had coffee klatches for the peace movement and for the Por los Niños slate. The Democrats always have meetings here. I thought it was time for us to have a coffee klatch for the socialist candidate." About fifteen people were present.

This was the first of many such events planned for the campaign.

"Our goal," Sojourner told me afterward, "is to convince this community to work for Garza, vote for Garza, and help pay for Garza's campaign. In fact, our campaign budget is based on getting a large number of regular monthly contributions from people who may not agree with everything Garza stands for, but believe his campaign is a step forward."

Sojourner expects most contributions to be small, and is encouraging supporters to make monthly pledges of five or ten dollars. The meeting at the Lobmans' was a good first step. Several people made monthly pledges.

The question of the attacks on education is a major one not only in District One, but throughout the city.

Right after the early-morning student rally at Stuyvesant High School on Tuesday, Garza went to Brooklyn to march with teachers and students from another school protesting the budget cuts. The demonstrators, from John Jay High School, marched to the central board of education offices in Brooklyn for a short rally. None of the Democratic and Republican politicians were there. Along with Garza, however, was Pat Wright, socialist candidate in the Fourteenth Congressional District, who spoke at the rally.

Garza and his campaign supporters handed out a leaflet prepared by a group of teachers who are organizing a

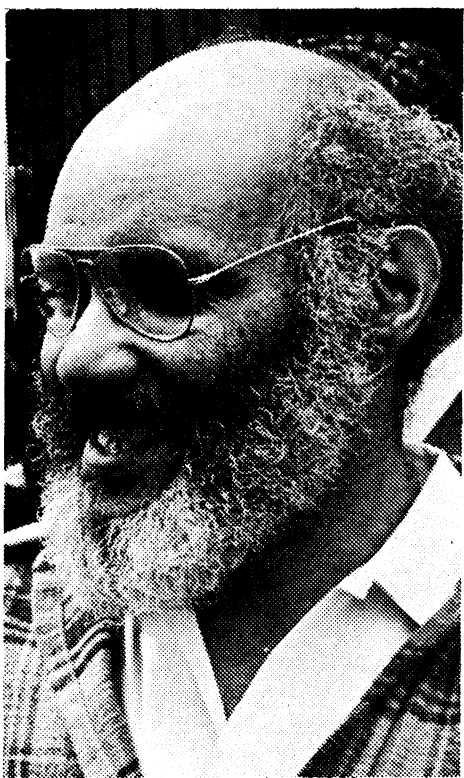
Garza for Congress

If you would like to work for Catarino Garza's campaign for Congress—or just want more information—stop by his campaign headquarters at 221 East Second Street, between Avenues B and C. (Telephone: 212-260-6400.)

Or fill out the coupon below and we'll mail you free campaign material.

Clip and mail to: Garza for Congress, 221 East Second Street, New York, New York 10003.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____



Militant/Phil Reed

Puerto Rican leader Nicomedes Sánchez is one of community activists backing Garza's campaign.

Teachers for Garza group.

The leaflet read, in part:

"I think it is clear—following defeat after defeat for New York teachers and our union—that it is in the political arena that we must fight; but we must not continue to rely on politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. . . .

"A new course means educating ourselves and the rest of the labor movement to the fact that it is only people from our own ranks, people with no ties and no interests except those of working people, who must represent us in office. I advocate breaking with the Democratic and Republican parties and the establishment of a party of labor based on the unions."

Teachers for Garza

Later in the week Garza met with a group of teacher supporters to discuss how to take the campaign into the UFT.

Ed Berger, a teacher at Grady High School and member of the UFT, explained the goal of Teachers for Garza.

"Many teachers are fed up with Shankerism and are looking for an alternative," he asserted. "Garza has a program for the UFT—a program that calls for *breaking* with the Democratic and Republican parties and for *breaking* with the racist policies of the UFT."

"We think teachers, not just in the 18th C.D., but around the city, have an interest in getting someone like Garza elected to Congress," Berger said, "and that's what we're trying to do. We want to take this campaign into the UFT and win teachers to it."

Garza wound up his first week of full-time campaigning at a demonstration of 2,000 in Co-op City. Residents of Co-op City have been on strike against rent increases there. They were joined by residents of other co-ops from around the city. The residents of Village East Towers on the Lower East Side, where Garza lives, sent a bus to the demonstration, and Garza and some of his campaign supporters were on the bus.

During the week, Garza also spent some time at a new bookstore, La Librería Militante, which is housed in the same building as his campaign headquarters.

La Librería Militante, which occupies a small storefront, is planning its grand opening on February 21. Bookstore manager Pedro Torres said, "Once the bookstore is officially open, I think many community activists will see it as a center of information for the community."

One kind of information people can get there is information about the Catarino Garza campaign.

"We've invited Garza to be here for our opening," Torres told me, "so that people who come into the bookstore that day can meet him."

California teachers' local calls for independent labor political action

By Jeff Mackler

"Be it finally resolved that the California Federation of Teachers submit this resolution to the AFT national convention in Miami and call on our national organization to use its resources now employed to elect Democratic and Republican 'friends' of education and labor to instead encourage labor's political break from these two parties through independent labor campaigns, making labor the political champion of this country's poor and working people."

HAYWARD, Calif.—Hayward Local 1423 of the American Federation of Teachers recently passed a resolution entitled "Labor's Independent Political Action."

With the final paragraph quoted above, the membership voted to submit

Jeff Mackler is organizer of American Federation of Teachers Local 1423 in Hayward, California.

the resolution to the upcoming conventions of the 30,000-member California Federation of Teachers and the 600,000-member American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

The same meeting also adopted a resolution calling on the AFT to lend full support to the use of busing to desegregate public schools, and to call for the "full intervention of local, state and national authorities when racist elements seek by force to prevent Black students from attending desegregated schools."

The local also voted endorsement of a national demonstration for ratifica-

tion of the Equal Rights Amendment. The action, to be held May 16 in Springfield, Illinois, was called by the National Organization for Women.

Low Hedgecock, president of the Hayward AFT, was among those who spoke in favor of the resolution for independent labor political action.

"What convinced me," he said, "was week after week getting copies of the *New York Teacher* and seeing pictures of AFT President Shanker with Mayor Beame on one side and Governor Carey on the other."

"The union paper always pictured these politicians as friends of labor and made great efforts to get them elected. Then look what happened. Those same politicians tore up the union's contract and fired thousands of teachers."

The discussion was opened by Lois Weiner, author of the resolution and the local's recording secretary. "We have our own organization, the union," she said, "and we don't allow administrators in. We need our own political organization as well, one that doesn't allow employers and their representatives in."

"The labor movement has to stop seeing itself as a special interest or pressure group within the Democratic party. Our job is to produce programs and ideas ourselves to lead American society."

This writer also spoke in favor of the resolution. I pointed out the tremendous potential power labor could exert in the political arena.

Teachers in California recently helped to elect liberal Democratic Gov. Edmund Brown, who promptly became a "fiscal conservative" and engineered

massive cutbacks in education and social services. The pattern has been repeated in state after state.

As a result, millions of working people, who don't register either Democrat or Republican, are beginning to look for an alternative that represents them. The labor movement can provide this alternative, and the teachers union movement can play an important role in starting the discussion.

Before the membership meeting that overwhelmingly passed the motion, most of the leadership of the 300-member Hayward local was skeptical about the resolution's chances of passing. But it was felt that even if the resolution failed it would provoke a valuable discussion in the local.

A few members of the local argued that "third party" movements had never been successful in the United States and that in many ways the Democrats were more "progressive" than the labor movement. The same arguments have been used in the past in the AFT to defeat resolutions calling on labor to break from the parties of big business.

But this time few teachers bought the pro-Democratic party arguments. It was a significant change from the past.

After the membership meeting, the executive board remained to discuss informally what had happened.

One board member pointed out, "Labor's politics might be bad now, but they're the only ally we have. What are we supposed to do, form an alliance with the National Association of Manufacturers? At least the labor movement is our organization and we can make its program reflect our needs."

NYC students protest school cuts

By Jacob Harris and Ruth Nebbia

NEW YORK—Responding to the massive cutbacks being instituted by the board of education in the New York City schools, several hundred students at Stuyvesant High School in New York's Lower East Side refused to enter the building on February 2.

The students were demanding an end to the cuts in science and math programs and reinstatement of thirteen teachers who had recently been laid off. Braving the eight-degree temperature and high winds, they held a spirited picket line in front of the school.

A loudspeaker was set up just outside the school, and the students

expressed their reasons for the protest. Above the chanting of the picket line, one Black student made the point very clear: "If they cut back, we're not going back!"

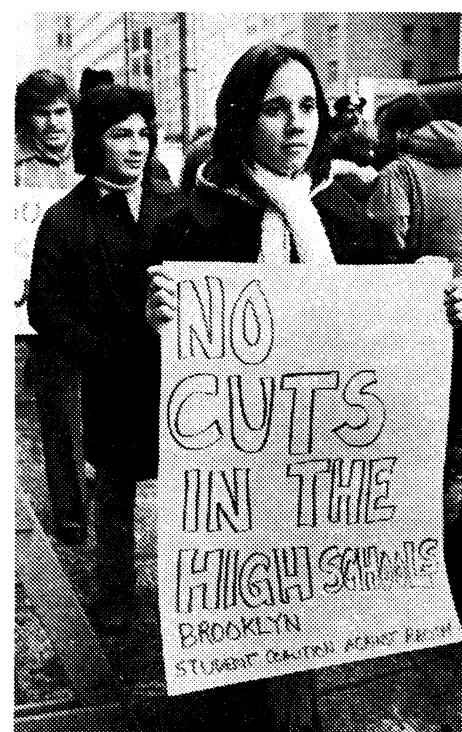
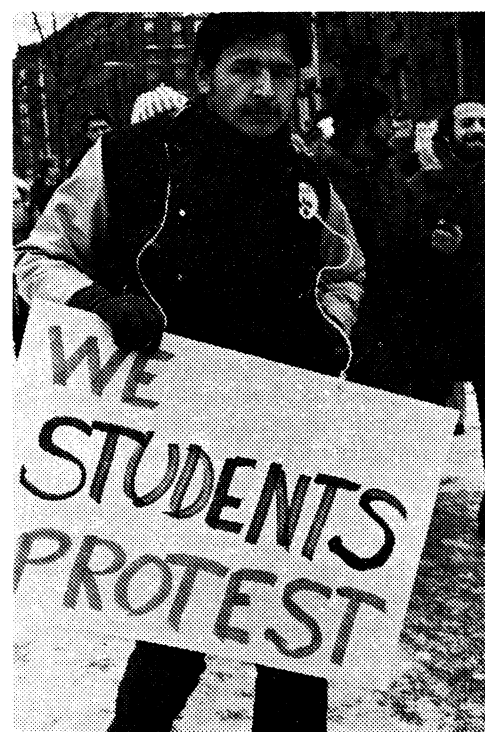
On the following day, February 3, 150 parents, teachers, and students from John Jay High School in Brooklyn marched three miles from their school to the board of education building. The demonstration was called by the John Jay Parent-Teacher Association, with the support of the student government, to protest the firing of thirty-four teachers, cuts in elective majors, and overcrowded classrooms.

The protesters picketed the board of education while a delegation met with

representatives of the board. One member of the delegation, a teacher, expressed his disgust with the board's statement that it would rehire some of the laid-off teachers at the expense of other school facilities.

Pat Wright, Socialist Workers party candidate in the Fourteenth Congressional District in Brooklyn, spoke to the picketers from the steps of the building. She pledged her support for the fight against the cuts, and denounced the Democratic and Republican parties as the ones responsible for the cutbacks in the city's schools.

She was interrupted twice by the cheering crowd when she demanded money for education be deducted from the more than \$100 billion war budget.



Students from Stuyvesant and John Jay high schools want teachers rehired and classes restored

Militant/Lou Howort

Defends undocumented workers

San Diego SWP opens race for Congress

By Mark Schneider

SAN DIEGO—"Full employment and justice for the oppressed Chicano and Black communities will be the central issues of my campaign," stated Don Sorsa at a news conference here February 10.

Sorsa was announcing his campaign as the Socialist Workers party candidate in California's Forty-second Congressional District. This district borders on Mexico and has a large Black and Chicano population. Sorsa, twenty-four, is an unemployed sewage worker.

"Capitalist politicians have been placing the blame for our officially recognized 11 percent rate of unemployment on undocumented workers, the so-called illegal aliens. But that is

not the reason for unemployment. It's meant to hide the real reasons," Sorsa charged.

"Unlike my Democratic opponent, incumbent Lionel Van Deerlin, I oppose the Rodino bill. As many Chicano organizations have pointed out, this bill would only give employers an excuse not to hire Chicanos. It seeks to make a scapegoat of Chicano and *mexicano* workers for a problem they did not create.

"To deal with unemployment, I propose a massive public works program and shortening the workweek with no cut in pay, to spread the available work around," Sorsa said.

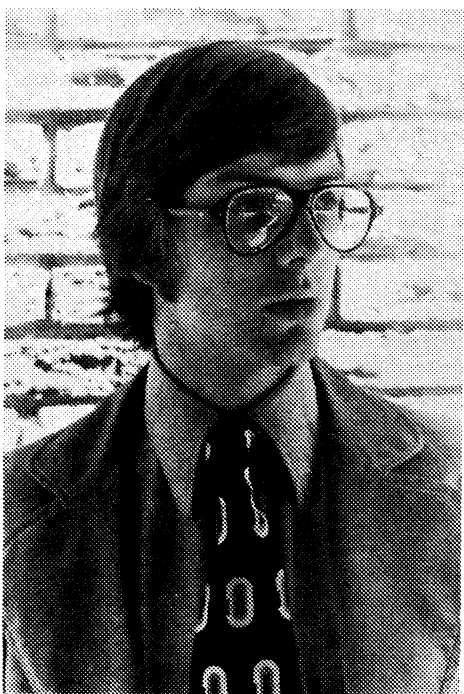
The socialist candidate blasted Van Deerlin for his recent vote against releasing the report of the congressional committee investigating CIA crimes.

Sorsa also spoke out on the recall and election campaign backed by the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights in National City. After the October murder of a Puerto Rican youth by a National City cop, the committee launched a recall campaign against the mayor and two members of the city council. The recall petition drew support from 25 percent of the registered voters.

The committee is currently supporting candidates against the other two city council members and a candidate for school board.

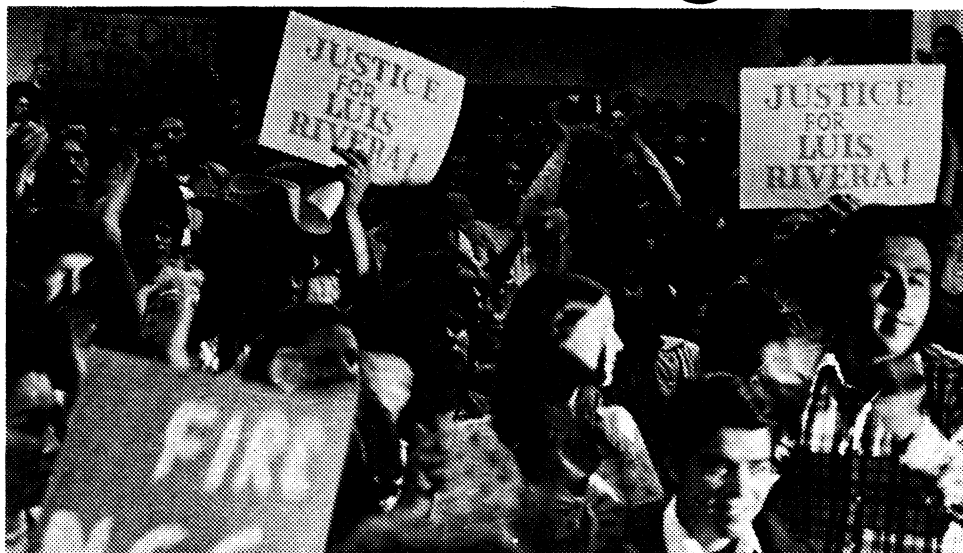
"I urge a vote for Oscar Cañedo, Jesse Ramírez, and Luís Natividad, the ad hoc committee candidates, because their campaign represents a break with the Democratic and Republican parties. It points toward further steps of independent Chicano political action," Sorsa said. "La Raza Unida party, which champions the struggles of Chicanos, offers an example of such action.

"I call on trade-unionists and oppressed minority political groups to



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

SORSA: 'Full employment, justice for Chicanos and Blacks, will be central issues in my campaign.'



Militant/Marc Rich

Chicano protests against racist police killings led to launching of independent campaigns for city council and school board in National City. Sorsa urges vote for Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights candidates.

join in endorsing this slate," Sorsa continued. "The labor movement should follow this example by launching its own independent party based on the power of the unions."

The socialist candidate condemned the city officials' rejection of two-thirds of the signatures on the recall petitions. Sorsa charged that there is "a conspiracy by the National City Council to throw out the names on the recall petition by invoking technicalities. False precinct maps supplied to the ad hoc committee, illegal monitoring of the recall petitions, and the bugging of the city clerk's office bear this out.

"A lawsuit being prepared by the committee against this illegal swindle has the socialist campaign's full support."

Sorsa was joined in the news conference by Omari Musa, California SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Musa pledged to publicize the National City

struggle throughout the state.

Musa also called for the prosecution of FBI agents responsible for the murder of two Black Panthers here in the late 1960s. Secret FBI memos recently released by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence show that the FBI illegally conspired to destroy the Black Panther party and US, a Black nationalist organization led by Ron Karenga.

"The Black community," said Musa, "should hold its own public hearings. This will ensure against an official whitewash by the city council, which has called its own hearings. The publication of all secret FBI memos is essential to begin to know the whole truth."

Plans were also announced for extensive door-to-door canvassing and a series of campaign meetings throughout the district.

Socialist backs independent

Wis. Black candidate challenges Democrat

By Tom Mauer

MILWAUKEE—Michael McGee, a leader of Milwaukee's United Black Community Council, is running an independent campaign for alderman in the city's First Ward. His main opponent is the incumbent, Orville Pitts, a Black Democrat who switched loyalties briefly in 1972 to support Richard Nixon.

In a recent campaign statement, McGee pointed out that neither the Democratic nor the Republican party has ever "fulfilled one promise made to the people. We have not received our forty acres and a mule promised by the Republican party. . . . Nor have we received the new deal promised by the Democrats. . . ."

Blacks "must become independent" of the two major parties, McGee says. "They are one [party]."

Bernie Senter, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Milwaukee, is calling for a vote for Michael McGee in the First Ward.

"McGee's campaign represents an important step forward for independent Black political action," Senter said.

"The Democratic and Republican parties offer no way out for Black people in overcoming the racist discrimination they face in this society. The two major parties are completely tied to the capitalists, who profit from racism," Senter continued.

"McGee deserves support because his campaign points to the need for the

formation of an independent Black political party that can lead the Black struggle, not just on election day, but every day."

The United Black Community Council, formed about two years ago, is composed mainly of young Black nationalists. Many of them are Vietnam veterans.

The UBCC has played a major role in organizing protests against police murders of Black youth. In 1975 the UBCC helped initiate a Community Review Board that found the police guilty of murder in the shooting deaths of Steve Gaston and Charles Dailey.

Before the UBCC was formed, McGee worked for two-and-a-half years with the Black Panther party. While the February 17 primary election is officially "non-partisan," McGee lists himself as the candidate of the Black People's Unity party. The party is not running any other candidates.

McGee has been an advocate of Black control of schools in the Black community as a means for Black people to get a better education for their children. Unfortunately, he counterposes this progressive struggle to the fight for school desegregation, another way in which Black people are trying to obtain an equal education.

McGee's stand against busing for school desegregation has been demagogically used by local racists. In an interview published in the *Bugle American* magazine, Arthur Jones, the Nazi party candidate for mayor, said he

agreed with McGee's position on busing.

Senter has made support for busing a central issue in his campaign. The socialist candidate is the only mayoral candidate to side with the Black community in its fight for busing to desegregate the schools.

A federal court judge recently found the Milwaukee School Board guilty of consciously segregating the city's schools and issued an order for desegregation. It is expected that the order will be implemented through busing, and already opposition to possible busing is growing among whites.

A recent survey by the *Milwaukee Sentinel* found that 72 percent of all those surveyed in the city would oppose busing for desegregation. However, in the Black community, more than 60 percent said they would "actively support" a busing program.

Milwaukee has a history of mass struggles against unequal education and for school busing.

McGee's position disorients his supporters in the coming fight against racist opposition to school desegregation. McGee, however, stated at a Militant Forum in December that if a busing program supported by Blacks met violent resistance from whites, he would defend both the Black community and busing.

The UBCC played a key role in organizing mass, independent protest actions after the Christmas Eve, 1974,

slaying of a Black youth, Jerry Brookshire.

The protests against the police murder of Brookshire were led by the UBCC against the opposition of most of Milwaukee's Black elected officials, including Orville Pitts.

Other points in McGee's platform call for developing jobs to end unemployment, cracking down on slum landlords, free, city-funded community health centers, and better care for senior citizens.



Militant/Linda D'Rand

Milwaukee SWP mayoral candidate Bernie Senter calls for vote for Michael McGee, independent Black candidate for alderman.

Petitions for ballot slot

Penna. SWP aims to get 53,000 signatures

By David Bernard

PHILADELPHIA—There are now more than a dozen Democrats and Republicans vying for their party's nomination for U.S. president. After all of the infighting and posturing is over, one thing will be clear: when Americans go to the polls in November, both the Democratic and Republican parties will have *their* candidates on the ballot in every state in the country.

For socialists, getting on the ballot is not easy. The Democrats and Republicans have rigged things so that independent candidates have to gather enormous numbers of signatures on petitions just to have the right to run.

Take Pennsylvania for example. The Socialist Workers campaign committee will be launching its winter-spring ballot drive here this month. In Pennsylvania, the third-largest state in the nation, supporters of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid will be faced with an enormous challenge. The state election law requires that more than 30,000 valid signatures be collected during a three-week period—February 18 through March 10.

Barry David, Eastern Pennsylvania Socialist Workers campaign coordinator, said that campaign workers plan to collect more than 53,000 signatures. "We are collecting a lot more than the minimum to ensure that state officials will be unable to question that we've adequately met their requirements," he stated.

"In Pennsylvania," David explained, "Socialist Workers candidates have been on the ballot in every presidential election year since 1948. In 1971, the state passed more restrictive laws. They were obviously worried that political developments in this country were creating a favorable climate for socialists. They more than tripled the number of signatures we had to collect."

Along with petitioning for Camejo and Reid, Pennsylvania socialists will also be working to put their newly announced candidate for U.S. Senate, Fred Stanton, on the ballot. Stanton is a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers party in Pennsylvania. He was one of the founders of the Pitts-

burgh SWP and the party's candidate for lieutenant governor in 1974.

Stanton will be running for the seat being vacated by Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott. After it was revealed that Scott had accepted thousands of dollars in illegal Gulf Oil political payoffs, he decided not to seek office again.

The Pennsylvania petitioning drive will open a national push to put Camejo and Reid on the ballot. The national campaign committee has mapped out plans to meet the ballot requirements in thirty or more states and the District of Columbia this year. The 1972 Socialist Workers slate secured ballot status in twenty-three states and the District of Columbia.

"Despite the large number of signatures needed, the cold weather, and the short period of time, we are all very optimistic here," said David. "In the

last few years we have noticed a new receptivity to socialist ideas in Pennsylvania."

Philadelphia, for instance, faces the same type of fiscal crisis that New York City has been going through. "People here are beginning to blame the Democratic city administration as well as both the Democrats and Republicans in Washington," David said.

"Because of this new political climate, we expect our ballot drive here to be one of our best vehicles to introduce at least 50,000 (and probably many more) Pennsylvanians to the socialist alternative in 1976. We're certain that many of these will get actively involved in campaigning for socialism."

David indicated that a special campaign leaflet is being prepared to distribute to people who sign petitions. Along with the national platform—"A Bill of Rights for Working People"—

this leaflet will let signers know what the socialist campaign stands for and will invite them to sign up to help.

Despite the new climate of receptivity to socialist ideas, collecting 50,000 signatures in less than three weeks is a monumental task. How do campaign organizers propose to do it?

The ballot effort will be organized out of two main centers—the Pittsburgh campaign headquarters for Western Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia headquarters for Eastern Pennsylvania. Special all-day Saturday mobilizations of as many supporters as possible are scheduled for February 21 and 28. In addition to Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, teams will be out on the streets of Erie, Allentown, Bethlehem, and Chester.

The Philadelphia campaign office has also announced that ten campaign supporters have volunteered for a special full-time petitioning team. They will collect signatures in both Pittsburgh and Philadelphia for two solid weeks. They have set themselves a goal of 10,000 signatures.

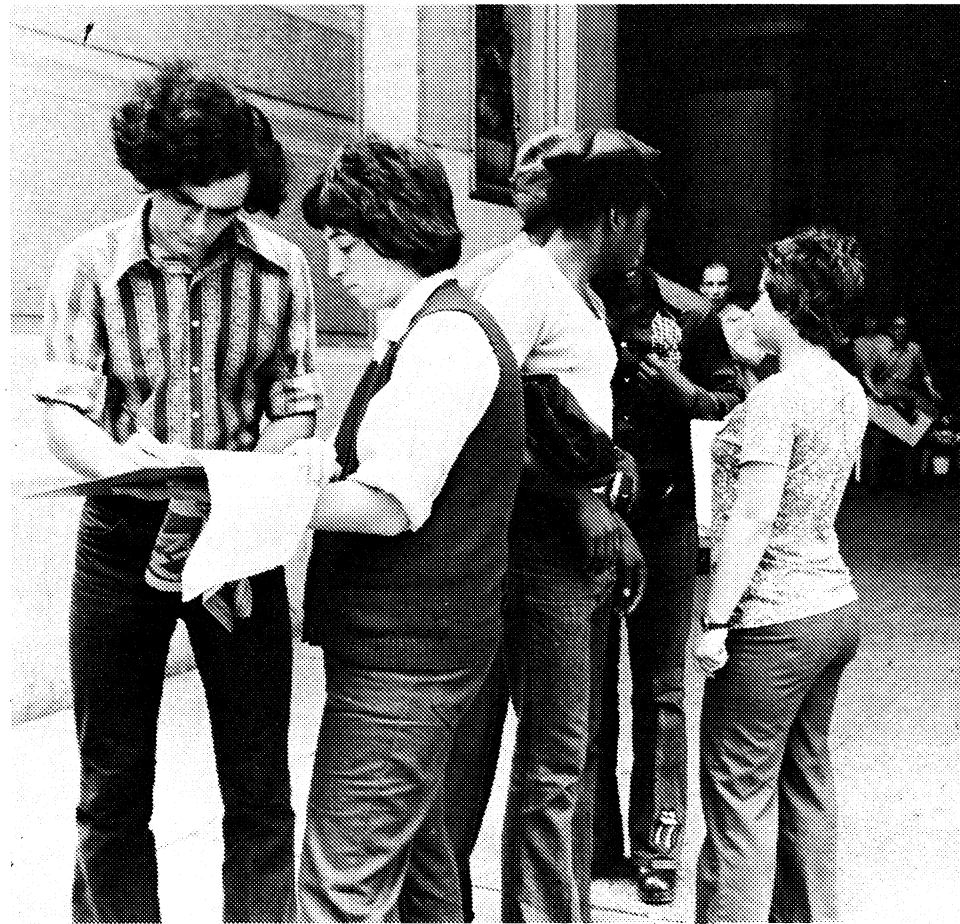
Team member Harvey McArthur, one of the top petitioners in previous campaigns, has vowed that the team will go way beyond its initial goal.

Peter Camejo has sent out a letter to Pennsylvania supporters urging them to sign up to participate in the ballot drive. Anyone who can help collect signatures during the Saturday mobilizations or on any weekday should contact the Pittsburgh or Philadelphia campaign offices. Students will be able to work with campaign supporters in the Young Socialist Alliance to collect signatures on their campuses.

The fight to get on the ballot will also involve tremendous expense. Socialist candidates have access to neither corporate funds nor the federal matching funds reserved for the capitalist candidates. Contributions can be sent to either of the two Pennsylvania campaign headquarters at the addresses listed below:

Philadelphia—1004 Filbert Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107. Telephone: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh—3400 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213. Telephone: (412) 682-5019.



Pennsylvania petitioners gathering signatures during 1974 campaign. Socialists plan to meet ballot status in thirty states.

Calls for ERA actions

Reid speaks at Pitt. on needs of Black women

By Karen Pewitt

PITTSBURGH—Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid joined actress Ruby Dee in an evening devoted to "Black Women in America" here recently. Reid focused her speech on the need to organize a movement to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The passage of the ERA, Reid said, would provide women with a valuable new weapon in the fight for equal rights. "We must demand equality under the law, followed by the demand to implement that equality," Reid told the audience of 300.

"If we want change, we have to fight for change," Reid said, urging mass actions in the streets to win ratification of the amendment.

The program was the second evening of the fifth annual Women's Cultural Festival, held at the University of Pittsburgh. The festival, which ran from January 28 through February 1, was organized by the Pitt Undergraduate Women's Union and cosponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and Gay Students at Pitt.

Dee, who has appeared in such films

as *Raisin in the Sun* and *Claudine*, read from the poetry of a number of Black writers. Her presentation included African folk tales and the reading of some of her own poems.

The highlight of the evening came during the discussion period, which continued for nearly an hour. The center of attention was Reid, her ideas, and her campaign.

One woman asked her, "How does it feel to be the first Black woman running for the vice-presidency? And secondly, could you tell us how we can help you get on the ballot in Pennsylvania?"

Because of the reactionary election laws in Pennsylvania, the Socialist Workers party must collect more than 30,000 valid signatures on nominating petitions to qualify for the ballot. What is worse, this must be accomplished in only three weeks, in the winter.

Reid urged all those in attendance that evening to support her campaign by helping in the petition drive.

A reception for Reid and Dee was held after their presentations. One woman ran up to a Socialist Workers campaign table and said, "Where's

this woman been? She's fantastic! Tell me, how can I help her campaign?" She was the first of seven people who signed up during the reception to help petition.

The opening night of the festival featured speeches by Kate Millett and psychologist Phyllis Chesler, author of *Women and Madness*. Six hundred people attended this session.

Chesler described her situation as a feminist at the university where she taught. "I was never promoted," she said, "and the more I published, the more I perished."

Using her own experiences as an example, Chesler pointed out the problems women are facing today. She noted that with the worsening economic situation, recent gains made by women in previously all-male job categories have begun to be erased.

The concluding session was attended by 100 women. Entitled "Pittsburgh Feminist Network," it included presentations on the ERA, sex discrimination cases, the fight against anti-homosexual laws, and a variety of other activities.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg
REID: "We have to fight for change."

...Boston

Continued from page 1

are virulent opponents of Chicano and Puerto Rican rights, women's rights, and the rights of undocumented workers.

The leaders of the antibusing drive masquerade as defenders of "white workers' interests." But behind the antibusing mobs, as Paul Jennings, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, pointed out last fall, stand "persons who generally oppose everything that labor stands for and who have as their objective the total destruction of trade unions." They are the sworn enemies of the entire working class—white and Black.

The racist leaders in Boston hide their true aims behind code words like "neighborhood schools." But the gangs hurling rocks at Black students and driving Black families from their homes in previously all-white neighborhoods tell the true story.

In Boston, "neighborhood schools" means for Blacks: "Stay in your neighborhood and *keep out* of the white neighborhoods."

As one South Boston youth put it: "Our folks don't say 'nigger,' they say 'alienation of our rights.' But let's face it, we all mean the same thing."

The truth about this assault on the Black community is being hidden by the capitalist news media. The indignities and abuse suffered by Blacks every day in Boston go unreported in the newspapers and on television. The facts about the highly organized disruption in the schools are suppressed. Only when a lynch mob nearly succeeds in killing someone does a report break through this conspiracy of silence.

The presidential candidates of the two capitalist parties are joining in this cover-up. Vying with each other for the racist vote, the liberals and conservatives alike fall all over themselves expressing "sympathy and understanding" for the antibusing movement. Many have echoed President Ford in his denunciations of "forced busing." Leaders of both parties call for a constitutional amendment to outlaw busing for desegregation.

The few candidates who have not openly capitulated to the racists stand silent on the question.

Vernon Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, hit the nail on the head when he angrily pointed out that Ford's State of the Union message "included not one word about the government's commitment to enforce the civil rights laws . . . about mob attempts to defy court orders to desegregate the schools . . . not one word!"

"Nor did Senator Muskie's reply [for the Democratic party] include even a single reference to the hopes and aspirations of Black people," Jordan said.

The cowardly retreat of the Democratic and Republican politicians has further emboldened the antibusing forces. Seeing no resistance, they think they can sweep aside the busing order and—in fact if not in law—overturn the 1954 Supreme Court ruling declaring segregated schools unconstitutional.

This racist mobilization must be met by a countermobilization of the Black community and its allies in the fight for justice and equal rights.

A campaign of action is urgently needed to arouse supporters of desegregation in Boston and around the country.

We need rallies, meetings, and demonstrations to cut through the news blackout and get out the truth.

Antiracist forces have to display their numbers and their power nationwide through visible demonstrations of support for the Boston Black community.

School segregation was declared illegal in 1954. But it was only through the massive actions of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s that the ruling began to be implemented.

In Boston, the court order requiring busing was the result of a long and determined struggle against the segregationist school committee and city council. Now it is clear that it will take a continued, massive fight to prevent the court order from being sabotaged.

Last May 17, the NAACP, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and other groups turned out 15,000 people in the streets of Boston to turn back the racist tide and to demand that the government enforce the law of the land on school desegregation. That demonstration dealt a blow to the racists.

Today, desegregation is in danger again. More actions like the May 17 march are necessary to show the world once again that the racists don't own the streets—or the schools—of Boston.

Zionist view of 'compromise'

The letter sent some weeks ago to the *Militant* by Janet Heller [January 16 issue] is typical of many young Jews. Sympathetic to the struggles of the 1960s, they are willing to hear both sides of the argument over Zionism but still don't distinguish between the nationalism of the oppressed and of the oppressor.

Her point on mutual compromise and Jews and Arabs recognizing each other was answered by none other than the leader of Israel's right wing and former leading Zionist terrorist Menachem Begin. Speaking at Ein Hahoreh, a Mapam party kibbutz, and quoted in the October 17, 1969, issue of the newspaper *Yediot Aharonot*, he said:

"My friend take care. When you recognize the concept of 'Palestine' you demolish your right to live in Ein Hahoreh. If this is Palestine, then you are conquerors. You are invaders. If it is not your country then what are you doing here? You came to another people's land as they claim, you expelled them and you have taken their land."

Dennis Brasky
Chicago, Illinois

Thanks

Please extend my expiring two-month subscription to the *Militant*. Enclosed is \$7.50 for one year. Thank you for providing such an intelligent, analytical, noncommercial alternative newsweekly. It brightens my week and sharpens my perceptions, politically and humanistically.

D.G.
Kingston, Rhode Island

Sound the alert

GIs at Fort Lewis, Washington, are now getting overseas immunizations. The scuttlebutt around the base is that they may be destined for Angola soon.

We must mount a high-pitched campaign both within and outside the military to get the U.S. out of Angola!

D.W.
Bellingham, Washington

New York teachers

In your National Picket Line February 6 it was reported that President Albert Shanker of the American Federation of Teachers tried to pull the 217,000-member New York State United Teachers out of the National Education Association. "In this way," you speculate, "Shanker hopes to keep for his own purposes the \$5 million yearly dues that NYSUT currently pays to the NEA."

If this was Shanker's purpose, he must be disappointed. The plebiscite didn't turn out as planned. After a scurrilous month-long campaign against the NEA, the returns that were announced January 27 showed less than half the claimed membership bothered to vote. Of those who voted, 72,317 went along with the executive board's recommendation and cast a yes vote to disaffiliate. A surprising 28,572 voted no.

You predicted that the vote on NEA disaffiliation will "most likely" split NYSUT. I'm not so sure about that.

If the NEA provides some answers for how teachers can win, that would attract teachers away from the AFT. Right now teachers in New York have indicated how little faith they have in the leadership of NYSUT. That's a blow to Shanker. However, it seems he is going to use that \$5 million New

York teachers paid to the NEA to make up for the dues of laid-off teachers and to tighten his grip.

Actually, there isn't that much difference between the two organizations. It's just that the NEA seems to be much better on most issues in our field, such as women's rights, affirmative action, busing, and bilingual education. Teachers feel that they have a better chance in the NEA to voice their opinions, influence the policies of the organization, and fight for better schools and more jobs.

It would be good if the two organizations could work together for these goals, and in some school districts they do. But not in New York.

Ed Berger
New York, New York

On Black independence

We Black people are in a state of dependence. We depend on other people's point of view on the problems of freedom, equality, and justice. We follow behind such figures as Mao Tsetung, Lenin, and Marx. We should get solutions out of our own minds, Black minds.

As long as we run after other people for our solutions, we will always be in the tricks and traps that are set for us. I am not saying that these people's doctrines are not right; maybe they are. The point is that we Black people should think for ourselves.

The "puppets" are the major cause of this kind and all kinds of mixups we have in our purpose now. They are more dangerous to us than the white political power structure, and the way that they are being tricked, it might take another 400 years to get this mess right.

A prisoner
Oklahoma

Clear position

The presidential election campaign is well under way, and so far the Democrats and Republicans are going about it in the same old way: keep quiet on the issues, don't let anyone know what you really stand for, push the "personality."

Sometimes they blurt it out loud and clear, though. I think the prize for the most unequivocal slogan of the month should go to Richard Turner, the attorney general of Iowa. Supporting Ronald Reagan for his position on capital punishment, Turner says, "Give me Reagan and give me death."

Roll over, Patrick Henry.
D.D.
Dubuque, Iowa

'Racial showdown'

I think your readers will be interested in remarks Roy Wilkins of the NAACP made in a recent interview with *U.S. News & World Report*.

U.S. News asked Wilkins to assess the progress of Blacks in the last two decades. Wilkins replied:

"Over all, we have made progress. But there is also a feeling that we have retrogressed somewhat in some areas. Our gains in civil rights have not always been matched by gains in such things as housing, jobs, income and education. . . . I have a feeling that we're on our way to a racial showdown in this country."

"Q A racial showdown? Why?

"A Because the young blacks, now that they're coming into power, have no patience with the things that their fathers and mothers knew and endured. Change is coming too slowly for them. They want it now. . . .

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



New face, same policy

"Q Do you believe that racism can be eradicated in the American society?"

"A I would hope that racism would be foreign to the society that we will develop here.

"You see, every way a black person turns—in employment, housing, jobs and schools—he finds racism. He's learned to live with it, or at least some of it. But I sometimes wonder whether it is right to ask a man to endure peaceably all a black man has to go through in order to come out as a whole man. I believe that, but I don't think I can force that attitude on other people. I can understand why the black man's patience is beginning to grow thin."

Joe Greene

Buffalo, New York

Rape frame-up

I have just recently become involved in a campaign here in Alabama to defend a brother on a trumped-up rape charge.

Dave Mack Humphrey, a twenty-one-year-old native Huntsvillian, and number two on the Alabama A & M University golfing team, has been convicted of four counts of rape, one count of attempt to rape, and one count of first-degree burglary. He is facing seventy years.

Dave was convicted by an all-white jury of attempting to rape a policewoman on the patio of the Huntsville police station, not more than thirty paces from the main entrance.

In spite of the policewoman's identification given at the scene that her assailant was around five-feet eleven to six feet in height, weighing 180 pounds or more, and of dark complexion, Dave was arrested. Dave is five-feet nine, weighs 155 pounds, and is light-skinned.

Support is most urgently needed to help Dave gain his freedom and to alleviate the gross injustice dealt to him.

Those interested can contact the Dave Mack Humphrey Legal Defense Fund, Post Office Box 36, Normal, Alabama 35762.

Ed Vail

Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Hail the chief

Militant readers who wonder why the Los Angeles Police Department—one of the biggest and best-financed in the country—can't catch right-wing bombers may be interested in the announcement that Police Chief Edward Davis will be the main speaker at the annual Los Angeles John Birch Society dinner March 6.

Birch Society head Robert Welch said that with the chief's presence this year's dinner "will be of more palpable consequence" than previous ones.

With what the *Los Angeles Times* described as his "customary humor," the racist Birch leader added: "We are sorry to report, however, that neither Idi Amin of Uganda, Colonel Qaddafi of Libya, nor Indira Gandhi of India is expected to attend."

George Thurber

Los Angeles, 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.

When W.J. Usery takes office as the new labor secretary, he will do so as the latest—probably last—representative of the Ford administration's labor policy. His assignment is to soothe the wounded feelings of the union officialdom while the government's antilabor drive continues in high gear. His background, experience, and training qualify him for the job at hand.

He was once an official of the Machinists union, then was graduated into the government bureaucracy as "labor mediator." He served Nixon as assistant secretary of labor for labor-management relations, and in February 1973 was appointed director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. He was also a special assistant to the president for labor-management negotiations. He is reported to have an "understanding" with Ford who, it is said, is anxious to use Usery as a mediator in contract negotiations, which this year involve some 4.5 million workers.

Usery will take office in the wake of his predecessor's departure over Ford's veto of the "common situs" picketing bill. John Dunlop had put together a scheme to eliminate strikes and regulate wages in the construction industry. It would have granted formal status to representatives of the building-trades unions on government supervisory boards.

After first endorsing the plan, Ford vetoed it in response to open-shop forces who oppose any form of union recognition and are the advance guard in a drive to destroy unions. Usery's first job is to convince the union bureaucracy that nothing much has changed, "you win a few and lose a few," labor-management relations will continue the same as before the flap over "common situs," don't rock the boat in these troubled times.

A report in the January 31 issue of the *AFL-CIO News* on Usery's appearance at the Senate confirmation hearings indicates that the first stage of softening up and winning back a show of confidence from the top union bureaucracy started off well. The union publication reports approvingly that "Usery expressed personal and professional admiration for his predecessor [and] made clear that he shared Dunlop's support of the vetoed bill."

In testimony, he also supported:

- the right of public workers to strike, although not "advocating" strikes;
- inclusion of farm workers under federal labor law, "in some fashion";

• repeal of the right-to-work Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law (but thinks this issue is unlikely to come before the Senate soon); and

• "every possible way to stimulate job creation . . . and to help people find work."

His credo: "I believe that it is essential to support and defend the collective bargaining process, recognizing the legal right of workers to withhold their labor, but at the same time working tirelessly to avoid conflict and to promote labor-management peace."

All this is designed to convince unwary workers and union officials that they have a "friend" at the head of the Labor Department. The fact remains that government policy is handed down through the White House, not the Labor Department. And the labor policy of this capitalist government will remain hostile to unions so long as Democrats and Republicans occupy the White House.

The "labor peace" that Usery and others in government talk about depends upon the relative strength of the employers, how much they think they can get away with. When they think they have the upper hand, as they now believe, they wage war. When they are in a weakened position, they seek peace. The Labor Department serves as an agency to disarm the workers and their unions in all circumstances. The "peace" this department seeks is that which comes with a disorganized and docile labor force.

Usery is slick.

If he can get the collaboration of the top union hierarchy with nothing substantial to offer them in exchange, his essential job will be easier. His degree of success this year will be measured in the negotiations now starting in the trucking, auto, rubber, and construction industries.

His purpose in all these negotiations is to keep the peace by holding down wages. Where the employers bring war on the unions in their drive against wages, as in the agricultural fields of California and at the *Washington Post*, the Labor Department is powerless "to support and defend the collective bargaining process" because there is neither the will nor the way to do it.

This is common knowledge to most union officials at all levels, especially those at the top. Those who *want* to be taken in will appear to be deceived by the soft talk of Usery, pretending that he is a "friend" of the union movement. He is not. Like his predecessor, he is hostile, and dangerous.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza



Why I'm running for office

[Beginning this week, "La Lucha Puertorriqueña" will be written by Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in the Eighteenth Congressional District of New York. The 18th C.D. includes Manhattan's Lower East Side, where an intense struggle for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of the schools has taken place over the last few years.

[Garza is a bilingual teacher and a member of the United Federation of Teachers. He is a veteran trade unionist and a leader of the Socialist Workers party.]

January 30 was my last day as a bilingual teacher at Public School 25 in the South Bronx. I took a leave from teaching to run for U.S. Congress on the Socialist Workers party ticket.

Thousands upon thousands of teachers have been laid off during the New York City financial crisis. Naturally, many of my co-workers wanted to know why I decided to voluntarily leave my job.

A major reason centers on the drastic cutbacks that have affected the students and the teachers and other workers in New York. Particularly hard hit have been Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and women.

The leaders of the unions, including my union, the United Federation of Teachers, have abdicated their responsibility to protect working people. The "winners" they urged us to support in the Democratic party are making losers out of the majority of New Yorkers.

I am convinced that the workers in this city *can win* if we build a strong movement that is not tied to the

coattails of the Democratic and Republican parties. Teachers, municipal workers, day-care workers, women, and the oppressed nationalities need a voice in this city. We need a voice that puts the blame for this crisis where it belongs—on the profit-hungry bankers and financiers and the two parties that work for them, the Democratic and Republican parties.

I left my job to challenge the right of the powerful rich to grow richer while the majority grow poorer and poorer.

The Democrats and Republicans have nothing to offer but *more* misery for victims of racism and sexism, for the elderly, the sick, and children without child care.

I left my job to go into the streets, *los barrios*, the ghettos, the schools, and the workplaces, and onto the picket lines to talk socialism to the people who suffer daily under capitalism. The vast resources and wealth of this country should belong to us, not to the tiny handful of rich who now control them. Human needs must be put before profits. *Es nuestro derecho*. It is our right.

Through my campaign, maybe I can convince other people that we need workers to run the country instead of the lawyers, bankers, and businessmen who run it today. Puerto Ricans, women, Blacks, auto workers, hospital workers, teachers, day-care workers, secretaries, steelworkers—they are who live and work in this country, and they are who should *run* the country.

The Democratic and Republican parties have sold us out time and again. We need our own party, a workers party, a labor party.



Can't win 'em all—"The Central Intelligence Agency is having a 'going out of the airlines business' sale. The CIA is selling off the last remnants of the Air America Helicopter and Airplane fleet, the airline it operated during the Vietnam War. . . . Air America reportedly once had 125 aircraft of its own and a staff of 5,000 employees."—*Flight Line Times*, an aviation paper.

Problems, problems—As if things weren't bad enough, a reported shortage of skins means that the price of mink coats will be up 25 percent this year.

Good health!—Convalescents en route to Miami may be interested in an

Environmental Protection Agency finding that the water there contains some twenty-four industrial chemicals, including five known or suspected carcinogenics. However, the agency is not sure if the pollution is at an unsafe level, so it's not recommending any action.

Equalineage—According to British law, the male issue of a monarch enjoy precedence over female in inheriting the crown. However, several Labor MPs insist that under the new Sex Discrimination Act, Princess Anne should be second in line on the basis of age. "She should be given equal opportunity for the job," one MP declared.



'Hey, here's a drinking source that tests out pretty good. . . . It has traces of water in it.'

Pure food and propaganda—Beech-Nut baby foods sent a "public service" mailing to 760,000 mothers warning of "some potential danger" of homemade baby food. One specialist declared that the cited risk of poisoning was "virtually zero." Consumers Union, incidentally, recently found insects, rodent hairs, and paint chips in samples of Beech-Nut baby foods.

Saps the bodily juices—According to Adam Knieste, a California choir director and "music therapist," rock music is "more deadly than heroin." He said rock is mostly noise and noise can cause hostility, fatigue, narcissism, panic, indigestion, blood pressure, hypertension, plus other problems.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Segregation in private schools

Take this! Biff-biff Take that! Thook Thank you, huff-huff, U.S. appeals court in Richmond, Virginia, for backing the fight for Black rights. Not many of your colleagues are so interested these days. But I see that the defendants have gone to the Supreme Court, so it's not over yet.

Pardon me a sec, while I explain this case to *Militant* readers.

A little while back, two Black families tried to enroll their children in private, white elementary schools in Fairfax County, Virginia. The schools, however, refused them admittance because they are Black. So the parents went to court.

They based their case on an 1866 Reconstruction-era law—it was reenacted by Congress in the 1960s—that gives Blacks the right to "make and enforce" contracts. Ergo, the Black parents argued, their children were denied their rights because they aren't white.

Not us, the defendants, Fairfax-Brewster School and Bobbe's School, claimed, we would never stoop to such a level.

Nevertheless, the appeals court overruled the

schools. A private school, the opinion says, "may not exclude a black applicant, solely because of his race, while accepting white applicants with comparable qualifications."

When the case comes before the Supreme Court, lawyers for the parents plan to use part of a 1968 high court ruling based on another section of the 1866 law.

In that case, a St. Louis Black man contended that a white real estate firm had refused to sell him a home in a white area. The man cited the 1866 law giving Blacks the right to "inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property." The high court ruled in favor of the man. "All racial discrimination, private as well as public, in the sale or rental of property" is prohibited, it said.

* * *

There has been no water ordeal. No poison test. And the 1486 definitive statement on the subject, *Malleus Maleficarum*, makes no mention of Democratic and Republican Black elected officials (BEOs) among the standard types of warlocks, witches,

practicers of the black arts, and worshippers of graven images.

But there are growing numbers of Blacks who believe that BEOs are in a pact with the devil, nonetheless.

Thomas Fleming, a columnist for the San Francisco *Sun-Reporter*, a Black weekly, wrote January 10:

"Black public officials and those Blacks who rode to some economic success because of the viability of Black elected officials have largely adopted the rhetorics and mannerisms of whites in similar economic brackets as the Blacks. The Black elected officials hold one concern, and that is for their own perpetuation on the public payroll. . . .

"As of today there has not been a single Black who holds pretensions of leadership that has offered a pragmatic program in the arena of politics which might alleviate some of the grave problems which beset the more unfortunate Blacks, and if anyone thinks that the unfortunate Blacks are the minority among Blacks, then all he has to do is travel about the big urban centers of the nation."

The American Way of Life

A burnt offering

The financial gods of New York who have been demanding sacrifice upon sacrifice from the city's working people have finally been honored with a burnt offering: ten residents, mostly Latinos, mostly children, of a building at 311 West Ninety-fourth Street on the Upper West Side of Manhattan.

Around midnight the morning of February 4, fire broke out in the tenement. By the time fire fighters arrived—up to a half hour later—it was too late. Too late for Verónica Daverne, age one, and six other children. Too late for three adult women.

Fire Commissioner John O'Hagan and Mayor Abraham Beame put in a personal appearance to bemoan the tragedy. "It's a terrible thing," the mayor said.

Along with laying off fire fighters, that's part of his honor's job. He utters appropriate expressions of sympathy and grief, to show that the government has a heart. And gets paid well for doing it, affording him the convenience of not having to reside in the tinderbox tenements where Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other working people live.

Fire Commissioner O'Hagan also has a job to do, for which he too is well paid. He covers up evidence of the crime.

A resident who survived said he tried to reach

authorities for fifteen minutes before his call to the 911 emergency number was answered.

Another survivor reported that police were on the scene for twenty-five or thirty minutes before the fire fighters arrived, calming people with assurances that help was on the way.

Commissioner O'Hagan brushed aside these reports, saying, "When you're waiting for emergency vehicles, a minute can seem like an hour." He said fire fighters arrived three minutes after the first alarm.

Imagine the scene. Even before police arrived, people had come out of the building or climbed onto the fire escape screaming "Help!" and "Fire!" Neighbors came to their assistance, piling sacks of garbage to break the fall of people jumping from the fire escape, since apparently nobody knew how to lower to the ground the last section of the ladder. And Commissioner O'Hagan claims nobody tried to notify the fire department? Not even the cops who were telling people that help was on its way?

El Diario-La Prensa, a Spanish-language daily, has been carrying extensive coverage of the tragedy.

They interviewed the head of the fire fighters union, Michael Maye, who said, "If there had been

enough personnel, the deaths of ten people in the fire would not have happened." He noted at least one fire department unit in the vicinity had been shut down as part of the budget cuts.

Official records will list the deaths as accidental, since the fire was accidental. But the deaths were no accident—the ten were murdered.

The motive was money, the billions of dollars in arms profits and interest that constantly flow into the coffers of the banks and big businessmen who own this country.

The weapon was cutbacks, the slashing of the budget for fire-fighting equipment and personnel to ensure that the billions keep right on flowing into those coffers.

The killers were the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties who are carrying out the cutbacks and layoffs at the behest of their capitalist masters in conscious disregard of the lives and safety of working people.

It was no "accident." The ten were murdered. Murdered just as surely as if President Ford, Gov. Hugh Carey and Mayor Beame had lined them up against a wall and shot them in cold blood.

—José Pérez

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—"The 1973 Supreme Court decision granting women the right to abortion on demand was a victory for all women. Any efforts by the misnamed 'pro-life' forces and their friends in the Democratic and Republican parties to reverse that victory should be met with a united response from all supporters of women's rights."

This is the stand taken by Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo in response to President Ford's February 3 abortion statement. Ford said he did not "believe in abortion on demand" and he did "not agree with the [Supreme] Court decision of 1971 [sic]."

"Ford says he would favor a constitutional amendment handing power back to the states to decide whether women can have abortions," Camejo said. "What he means is that he wants to return to the pre-1973 days, when women with enough money could always travel far enough to get safe abortions. But poor women had to choose between dangerous, illegal abortions and unwanted pregnancies."

The issue of abortion, catapulted to front-page headlines by Ford's statement, will undoubtedly be an important issue in the 1976 election campaign. But it is one that all the Democratic and Republican

"Vote pro-life," the crowd chanted at the Capitol rally. About a dozen members of Congress addressed them.

Tongue-tied politicians

It is this noisy and financially powerful minority—at odds with the majority of Americans—that has left the capitalist candidates tongue-tied on abortion. It's an "emotional issue," the office seekers explain, that is too explosive for the American people to deal with rationally.

Abortion as a campaign issue first gained national attention when Democratic presidential contender Jimmy Carter made a last-minute appeal to the anti-abortion forces in the January Iowa primary. He favored "a national statute" to "restrict the practice of abortion in our country."

The anti-abortionists set a "get out and vote for Carter" campaign into motion, including messages in the Sunday church bulletins.

That hurt Sargent Shriver—the only Catholic in the race—according to Shriver supporters.

"Sarge lost votes because they thought he was pro-abortion," complained Eunice Kennedy Shriver. "It was a misunderstanding. For him to go down on the abortion question is so unjust."

"Abortion should not be an issue," she concluded. In other words, Shriver is opposed to abortion, but has refused to subject his liberal "Kennedy image"

decision on abortion without reservations.

Yet none of them have released statements in response to Ford's attack on the right to abortion, at least not according to their national headquarters in Washington. A spokeswoman for Udall told the *Militant* that Udall "tries not to talk about it any more than he has to."

Reagan has scored big with the anti-abortionists. A telegram from him was read to great applause at the January 22 rally in Washington. "The right to life belongs to all human beings, born and unborn," said Reagan, who is an advocate of capital punishment.

Similarly, George Wallace supports a constitutional amendment to outlaw abortions.

Sen. Henry Jackson shares Ford's position. While he shies away from support for a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion, he favors giving the states power to "regulate" its practice.

Ellen McCormack, a Long Island, New York, Democrat is making opposition to the right to abortion the basis of her campaign for president. "I am running in defense of unborn babies," she says. Backed by well-financed anti-abortion groups, McCormack has raised more than \$135,000 in campaign funds and has met the requirements to qualify for tax-subsidized federal matching funds.

She plans to spend most of her portion of taxpayers' money on radio and TV anti-abortion commercials. The latter will feature pictures of fetuses and prematurely born babies.

The anti-abortion movement has credited itself with injecting the issue of abortion into the 1976 presidential campaign. The newsletter of the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life gloats over the Iowa primary:

"In going after [the anti-abortionists'] votes, Carter unwittingly made abortion, at a single stroke, a vital *national* issue, and the well-organized anti-abortion voting-bloc a *decisive* force."

'Intimidated by feminists'

The anti-abortion movement views its intensive lobbying effort as a struggle to counter the "pro-abortion feminists" who have "intimidated" the Democratic politicians.

"State option" proposals, like Ford's and Jackson's, are cop-outs, say the reactionaries, who continue to press for a constitutional amendment.

Last September a Senate subcommittee rejected five proposed amendments, one by only a four-to-four tie vote. Hearings before the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights were held on February 4 and 5.

As the "pro-lifers" paraded in and out clutching their symbolic artificial roses on February 4, University of Texas Law School professor Joseph Witherspoon gave a frenzied presentation on the motives of our "founding fathers."

According to his version of history, the Constitution's framers were without question thinking of life as starting from conception when they used the word "person." Witherspoon pleaded with the committee to "let the American people have a chance to put an end to this slaughter" through a constitutional amendment.

Rep. Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.) objected. Surely the word person in the Constitution, Badillo asserted, "means white, male person." That's why we needed the Thirteenth Amendment to end slavery, and that's why we now need the Equal Rights Amendment, he said.

Pressed to state his position on the ERA, Witherspoon finally admitted he "would oppose adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment until we adopt a human rights amendment that protects the rights of the unborn child."

Witherspoon said that passage of the ERA might be interpreted as a pro-abortion constitutional amendment, thus putting an end to his movement's efforts.

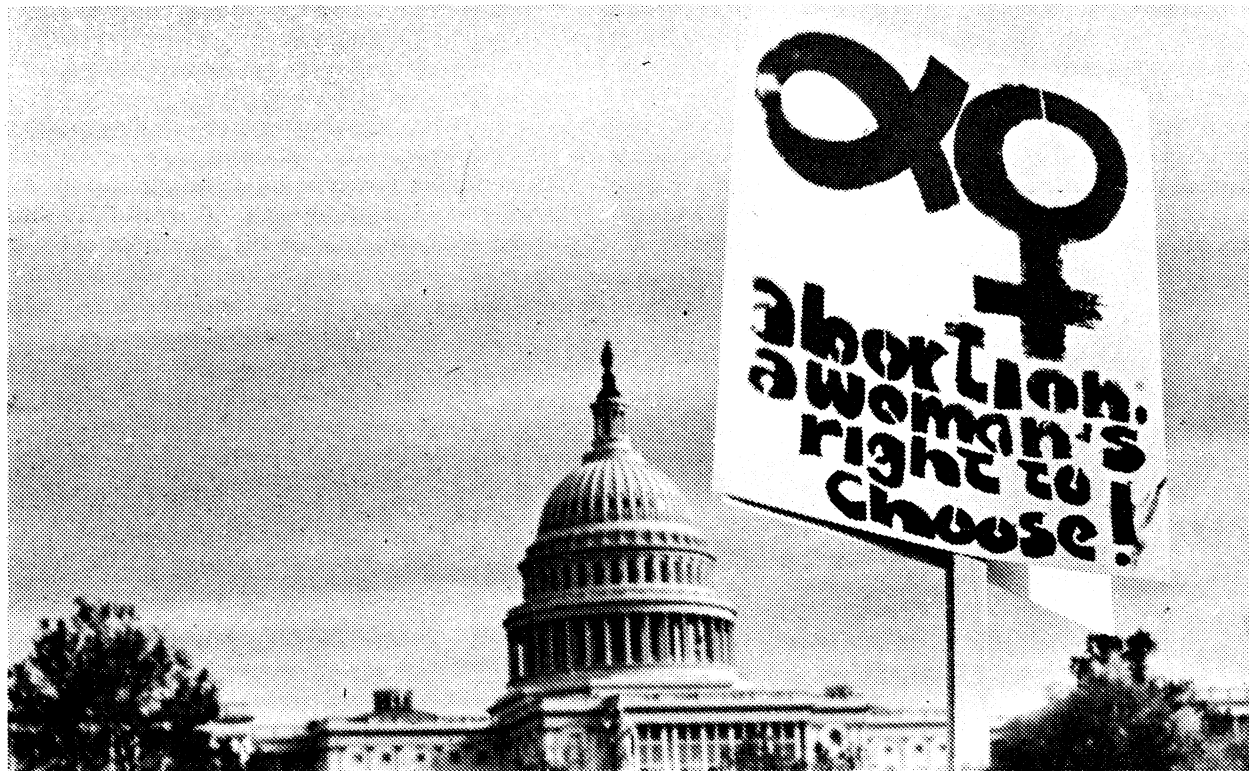
There is little likelihood that a constitutional amendment on abortion will be debated in Congress as a whole during this session. But there is reason to be alarmed at the growing visibility of the anti-abortionists.

Like the racists opposing school desegregation and the sexists campaigning against the ERA—many of whom are the same people—the "pro-lifers" would like to return this country to another day when Blacks and women "knew their place."

"These forces have been encouraged by the statements of some capitalist candidates and the inaction of others," says socialist candidate Camejo. "This is no time for women to put their hopes in the campaign promises—slight as they are—of the Democrats and Republicans."

"But it is time to show the rulers of this country that the American people want more abortion services, not fewer. We won't stand for any backsliding."

Where presidential candidates stand on right to abortion



Militant/Lora Eckert

candidates, with the exception of avid abortion foes Ronald Reagan and George Wallace, have studiously avoided.

Since the 1973 Supreme Court decision, between 2 and 3 million legal abortions have been performed in the United States. A 1975 Gallup poll found that three out of four Americans think abortion should be legal.

Even a poll commissioned by Catholic bishops found that 65 percent of Catholics—who are taught that abortion is murder—approved of abortion under some circumstances.

Yet the anti-abortion movement, backed by the powerful Catholic church hierarchy, has thrown its resources into reversing the Supreme Court decision. At its prodding, most states have passed laws restricting various aspects of abortion.

The anti-abortionists have introduced eighty-six bills into the current Congress and have pushed for regulations and amendments cutting off funds for abortions and related services.

On January 22—the third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision—the anti-abortionists demonstrated in Washington, D.C., for a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion. Busloads of parochial schoolchildren, on holiday from classes for the event, marched down Pennsylvania Avenue in an action estimated at anywhere from 15,000 to 65,000.

to the beating it would take were he to join forces with the right-wing "pro-lifers."

Shriver has succeeded in skirting the issue. In response to a series of very specific questions distributed to candidates by the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), Shriver offered a treatise on "moral values."

'Intangible' equality

"The values relevant to questions of equal justice are intangible, difficult to grasp, and sometimes best expressed by poets, rather than by bureaucrats," he told the abortion-rights group.

None of the capitalist-party candidates have taken a forthright public stand for abortion rights.

Sen. Frank Church's position, as stated in his campaign literature, is that he "has pledged to uphold and enforce the Constitution of the United States—as mandated by the Supreme Court."

He has in mind, however, a selective enforcement, exempting those hospitals and institutions that have a "moral" objection to performing abortions, whether federally funded or not. He authored the 1973 "conscience amendment" providing for such exemptions.

NARAL's survey found that Senators Birch Bayh and Fred Harris, Gov. Milton Shapp, and Rep. Morris Udall all support the Supreme Court

Kissinger hires more mercenaries

Angola: U.S. gov't urged S. Africa invasion

By Ernest Harsch
From *Intercontinental Press*

Despite repeated denials in Washington, there is mounting evidence that the White House encouraged the South African imperialists to intervene in the civil war in Angola.

South African Defense Minister Pieter W. Botha strongly hinted as much during an interview in Cape Town February 3.

As reported by *Washington Post* correspondent Bernard D. Nossiter, Botha declared that the South African intervention had the blessing of several African countries (presumably the regimes in Zaïre and Zambia), as well as at least one "free world" power.

Although repeatedly questioned, Botha refused to identify that power as Washington, stating, "I would be the last man to destroy our diplomatic relations with the United States."

When asked about reports in the press that the intervention in Angola was arranged between the Central Intelligence Agency and the South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS), Botha remarked, "If it were so, it was not the only channel."

An unnamed South African "high official," cited by *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm in a February 5 dispatch, spoke more freely, indicating that Washington had in fact encouraged Pretoria to intervene. The South African drive into Angola, Kamm reported, was initiated "on the understanding that the United States would rush sufficient supplies to make it possible to counter the Soviet-supported movement," the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

Contacts with Americans

That understanding, the official added, had been based on contacts with American officials. "We had been in touch," he said. "We felt if we could give them a lapse of time they could find ways and means."

Earlier in the interview the South African remarked, "We accepted the utterances of Mr. Kissinger and others. We felt surely he has the necessary pull to come forward with the goods."

Although the official quoted by Kamm did not name the American authorities who had been in direct contact with Pretoria, Nossiter reported in his February 3 dispatch from Cape Town, "Informed sources here say that the U.S. encouragement was delivered by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the resigning U.S. ambassador [to the United Nations], to his South African opposite number, Pik Botha, and also by U.S. Ambassador [to South Africa] William Bowdler to Prime Minister John Vorster."

In his February 3 interview, Defense Minister Botha declared that between 4,000 and 5,000 South African troops were still occupying a strip of territory up to fifty miles deep along the entire length of Angola's southern border. He said they would remain there until Pretoria received guarantees that Angola would not be used as a base for guerrillas of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for Namibia's (South-West Africa) independence from South African rule.

"We are prepared to withdraw from Angola," Botha said, "when we are satisfied that Angola won't be used to overrun the Ovambo with independent elements and refugees." The Ovambos are the largest ethnic group in Namibia and comprise SWAPO's principal base of support. They inhabit northern Namibia, with about 100,000 Ovambos living in southern Angola as well. Some of the earliest South African military incursions into Angola, in

June and July 1975, were directed against the SWAPO guerrilla bases in that country.

Continued threat

The continued South African presence in southern Angola also remains a direct threat to the Angolan independence struggle. Pretoria's revelations of the scope of its Angola intervention are a warning to the Angolan nationalists that South African troops are

mercenaries, despite repeated revelations that it was behind the operation (see *Intercontinental Press*, January 12, 19, 26, and February 9). However, during testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa January 29, Kissinger refused to rule out that CIA money was being used for that purpose.

Kissinger was then asked by Senator Charles Percy, "Are U.S. funds being used, though, directly or indirectly, to

and economic interests in Angola.

In a February 4 speech, Kissinger focused on the handicap that the antiwar sentiment among the American population placed on Washington's war drive. Warning that "an atmosphere of suspicion" and "acrimonious controversy" was jeopardizing a "strong, coherent and effective international role," Kissinger declared that "the principal danger we face is our domestic divisions. . . ."

Heightened differences

These "domestic divisions" have heightened differences within U.S. ruling circles over what approach in Angola would best advance American imperialism's interests. Many congressional leaders, business interests with operations in Angola, and even officials within Kissinger's own State Department have indicated that they see no qualitative differences in the economic or political policies of the three contending nationalist groups in Angola. Nor do they foresee a significant or long-term diplomatic gain for Moscow if the MPLA wins.

After describing Moscow's past failures in attempting to gain political leverage in Africa, Senator Robert Byrd, the Democratic party majority whip, stated in the Senate February 2 that if Moscow learned anything, "it should have been that African political groups will accept military and economic support from any source. Once in power, however, this past support will buy no influence with the new government. . . ."

"The Popular Movement forces that the Soviets are supporting in Angola are no more Marxist than the opposing forces are pro-Western."

The MPLA has been doing its best to encourage such a shift in Washington's policy.

The MPLA minister of economic planning, Carlos Rocha, said in an interview in Luanda, "It appears that the attitude of the American Congress is not that hostile to our republic. Now this is very important."

He then said, "We accept the presence of private firms in our territory but they must be subject to the laws of the country. We think that in (1976) we will be signing some agreements for companies to open in our republic." (Quoted in a report by Caryle Murphy in the January 27 *Washington Post*.)

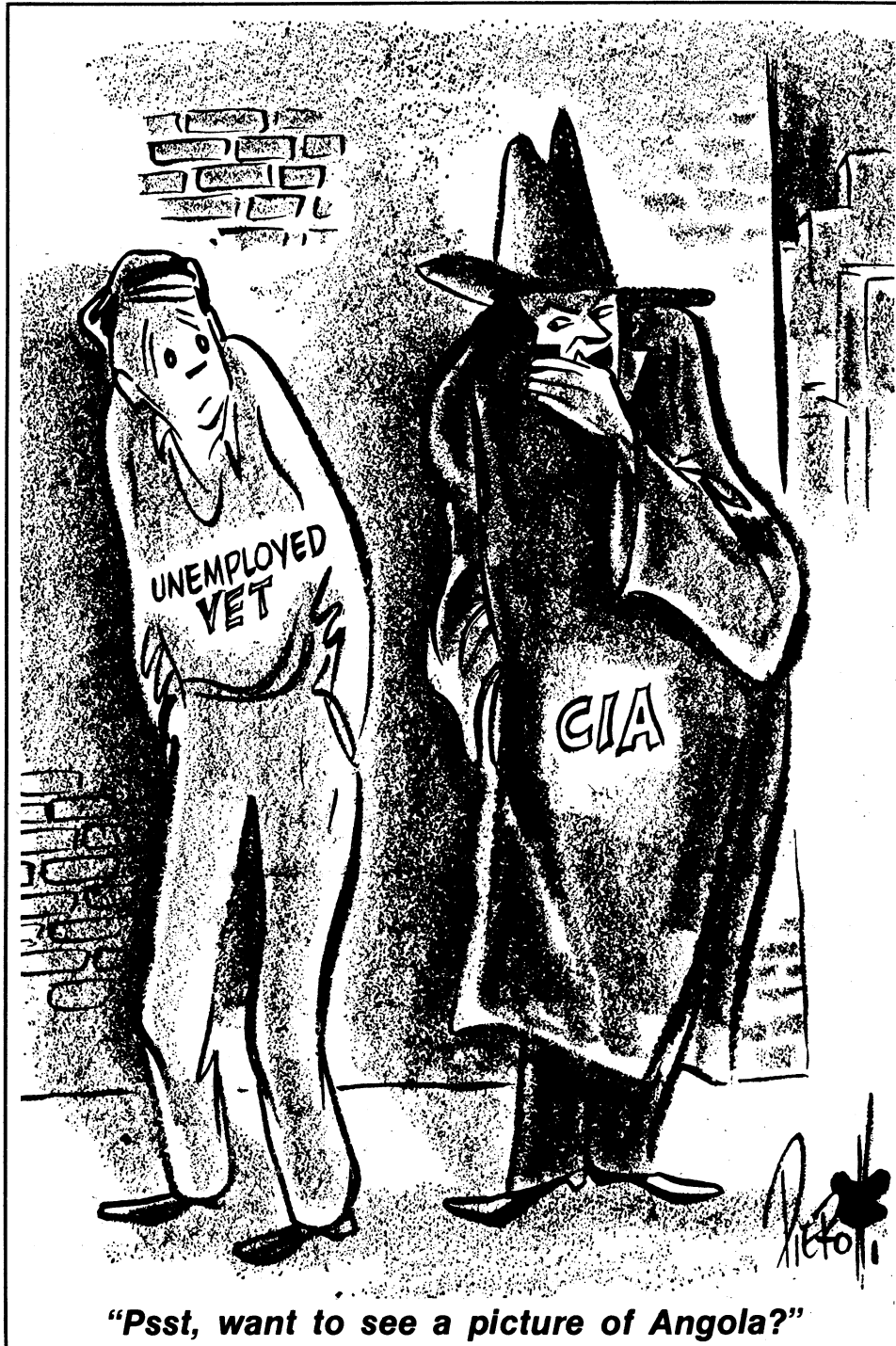
Gulf Oil

One of the American companies the MPLA has sought to maintain relations with is Gulf Oil, the largest foreign investor in Angola.

The February 3 *New York Post* reported that A.J. McIlroy, a journalist for the London *Daily Telegraph*, was expelled from Angola for inaccurately reporting that the MPLA planned to take over the Gulf facilities. The *Telegraph* said the MPLA "denied categorically that the government of the People's Republic of Angola was considering the nationalization of Gulf's operations, and it also denied it was seeking any form of compensatory payment from Gulf."

The MPLA general director of information, Luis de Almeida, said, according to a report by Caryle Murphy in the February 1 London *Sunday Times*, "If we were really anti-American, we would have nationalised the Cabinda Gulf operations. But we didn't because we would be called communists."

The MPLA has even advised Washington on how to prevent increased Soviet political influence in Angola. According to Murphy, MPLA leaders have told Washington that "the way to counter Russian influence 'is not by fomenting aggression, but rather by being actively present in the country alongside your rivals.'"



"Psst, want to see a picture of Angola?"

ready to intervene in the civil war again if necessary.

The seriousness of that threat was underscored by the manner in which Pretoria pulled its forces back from the front lines in central Angola in late January. The South African troops remained on alert in "nonoperational areas." And according to Kamm in a February 3 dispatch from Pretoria, there are indications that South Africa is continuing "logistical support" to the UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), which is fighting in central Angola against the advancing MPLA forces.

Washington has also sought to keep the MPLA under constant pressure to prevent it from winning a military victory. To bolster the strength of the MPLA's rivals following the pullback of South African forces, Kissinger greatly escalated the recruitment of American and European mercenaries to fight with the UNITA and FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front).

Kissinger has continued to deny that the CIA is directly recruiting these

recruit American mercenaries?" He replied: "It depends how you define 'indirect.'"

Flexible definition

Kissinger apparently had a very flexible definition for the word. According to British newspaper reports February 1, more than \$20 million, mainly from the CIA, was being used to recruit British mercenaries to fight in Angola. (Cited in the February 3 *Christian Science Monitor*.)

The February 7 London *Economist* reported, "The total mercenary draft of the past 10 days, including those recruited on the continent, probably amounts to more than 1,000. Besides these some 200 (mostly black) ex-servicemen have been recruited in the United States and are either on their way or soon will be—even though they are thereby breaking American law."

While the effectiveness of the mercenaries may be limited, they could nevertheless perpetuate the civil war. In seeking to wear down the Angolan nationalists, one of Washington's aims may be to force the MPLA into agreeing to a coalition with one or both of its rivals. A weak and divided coalition regime would facilitate Washington's efforts to advance its political

Protests hit U.S. role

D.C. Angola meeting forms nat'l Black coalition

By José Pérez

Protests against U.S. intervention in Angola are continuing. Reflecting the deep opposition among Blacks to the U.S. role, a national Black coalition has emerged to oppose the U.S. and South African aggression in southern Africa.

A February 9 news conference in Washington, D.C., announced the formation of the new group.

The coalition was launched at a February 6-8 meeting at Howard University. Present were some 130 participants, representing many local and some national organizations. The meeting set up an ongoing working committee to organize the coalition's work.

Among the sponsors of the national meeting on U.S. involvement in Angola were Rev. Charles Cobb, Sr., of the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice; U.S. Representatives John Conyers, Ronald Dellums, and Charles Rangel; and the National Black Assembly.

The tone of the three-day meeting was set by Sylvia Hill, an instructor at Washington Technical Institute, when she stated, "We have to be against the militaristic, imperialistic, racist role of the United States in Angola." All the participants agreed with the thrust of this statement.

However, differences emerged at a plenary session on Saturday on what position the coalition should take toward the various Angolan factions and other countries involved in the civil war.

Representatives of the National Black Assembly urged that a stand be taken against the Soviet and Cuban role in the conflict. A motion to this effect was roundly defeated, and as a result that group decided not to formally affiliate with the coalition.

There were also differences over one of the six points proposed as the basis of the coalition. The disputed point stated: "We support forces in southern Africa who are fighting against white minority regimes and U.S. imperialist designs, such as SWAPO, MPLA, and all progressive forces throughout southern Africa."

Supporters of UNITA (a group that is a rival of MPLA in the civil war) and others urged that the coalition take no stand in support of any specific faction. A motion to delete references to any individual group narrowly lost by a vote of thirty to thirty-six, with many abstentions.

Those who back the MPLA in the

Angolan civil war took that vote to mean approval of their position. Others, including some central organizers of the conference, interpreted the vote as support for the MPLA against imperialist-supported white minority regimes, but did not view it as a statement of support to the MPLA in the Angolan civil war.

The other five principles of unity adopted by the coalition were as follows:

- "We are for the complete liberation of the peoples of southern Africa from the forces of oppression, imperialism, and neocolonialism."

- "We view ourselves as having the responsibility for taking action against U.S. actions which affect Black people

wherever we are in the world.

- "We oppose the U.S. presence in Angola."

- "We oppose the illegal, racist regime of South Africa in Angola and on the continent of Africa itself."

- "We oppose U.S. military, economic, and political support and alliance with South Africa."

Meanwhile, demonstrations took place in several U.S. cities during the first week of February protesting U.S. intervention in Angola:

- In San Francisco, 600 people picketed the Fairmont Hotel February 3 while Henry Kissinger delivered what was billed as a "major foreign policy statement" inside.

The picketing was preceded by a

rally at Union Square. The rally heard a tape of a speech by Martin Luther King in which the slain civil rights leader first declared his opposition to the Vietnam War.

- Despite subfreezing weather, 400 people marched from the Boston Common to Faneuil Hall February 7 in a demonstration sponsored by the Angolan Solidarity Coalition.

- "No more Vietnams! Out of Angola now!" resounded off the walls of Philadelphia's Broad Street February 7 as 250 marched to protest U.S. intervention in the civil war.

The march ended in a rally at the local offices of the Gulf Oil Corporation. Speakers there included Jack Hart of United Electrical Workers Local 107 and Rosemary Mealy of the American Friends Service Committee.

- Some sixty people participated in a February 7 Denver action organized by the U.S. Hands Off Angola Coalition, a group open to all those opposed to U.S. intervention regardless of their views on other questions.

- Thirty people took part in an evening rush-hour picket line in front of the federal building in Houston on February 6. Sponsors of the protest included Democratic State Rep. Mickey Leland; Minister Mahmood Ansari of the Nation of Islam; José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Texas Raza Unida party; Larry Chatman, student body president at Texas Southern University; and Pedro Vásquez of the SWP.

- Some 250 people marched February 7 in Chicago's Loop area from the Civic Center to the YWCA, where an indoor rally took place.

Unfortunately, the demonstration was marred by actions of some of the organizers. Members of the Communist and Workers World parties, supported by members of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, initiated a successful move to exclude representatives of the SWP from demonstration planning meetings on the grounds that the SWP refused to side with the MPLA in its conflict with the other Angolan factions.

While SWP members were allowed to participate in the action itself, members of the Spartacist League were ordered to leave the march on the pretext that the slogans on their placards had not been approved by organizers of the demonstration.

Such sectarian behavior is a barrier to broad and effective action against the U.S. intervention in Angola.



Militant/Frank Lord

Calif. marchers protest jailing of Dennis Banks

By Kathleen Fitzgerald

SACRAMENTO, Calif.—Nearly 500 people marched to the state capitol here February 6 and held a rally to demand that the extradition of Dennis Banks to South Dakota be blocked.

Banks, a national leader of the American Indian Movement, was declared a fugitive from "justice" after he failed to appear for sentencing in Custer, South Dakota, last August. He had been convicted on framed-up rioting charges by an all-white jury. Those charges stemmed from a peaceful Indian demonstration two-and-a-half years earlier that was savagely attacked by police.

Banks was arrested January 24 in El Cerrito, a suburb of San Francisco. Early that morning, thirty-five heavily armed FBI agents surrounded the home of Native American studies professor Lehman Brightman and ordered all the occupants to come out.

Brightman is a well-respected Indian leader in California. He had initiated

and chaired the Native American studies program at the University of California at Berkeley before he was harassed and forced to leave by the university administration. He is currently head of the Native American studies program at Contra Costa Community College.

FBI agents arrested both Brightman and Banks. Brightman was subsequently released, but is facing charges of harboring a fugitive.

Bail for Banks was set at \$100,000. In addition to extradition to South Dakota, where authorities are waiting to sentence him to up to fifteen years in prison on the rioting conviction, Banks faces removal to Portland, Oregon. There he is under indictment on trumped-up firearms and explosives charges. Two other Indian men, Russell Redner and Kenneth Loudhawk, are expected to go on trial on the same charges as Banks in Portland.

Asked by reporters why he had sheltered Banks, Brightman replied,

"Because he is a friend of mine," and "I respect the man."

At the capitol rally, the 500 mostly Indian protesters heard Brightman; Ellen Moves Camp; Carol Stubbs, who is national secretary of AIM; and Jack Forbes, Native American professor at the University of California at Davis.

After the rally, a delegation met with Gov. Edmund Brown to demand that he block the extradition of Banks.

The protest was sponsored by the Dennis Banks Bicentennial Legal Offense Coalition. This coalition was formed at a January 28 meeting of 150 people, more than 100 of them Indians, held at the Inter-Tribal Friendship House in Oakland, California.

Among the groups working with the coalition are local chapters of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

On February 3, the UC Berkeley SCAR sponsored a protest rally at that campus attended by more than 300 students.

Addressing the audience, Brightman said that for Native American people the bicentennial year means "200 years of racial oppression and bigotry for all minorities."

He explained that the U.S. Constitution was never meant to include Native Americans. Although the Constitution guarantees freedom of religion, Brightman noted, Indian religions were outlawed until the 1930s.

Native Americans, according to Brightman, have nothing to celebrate in this bicentennial year. The arrest of Dennis Banks is another proof of this, he said.

On February 5, Brightman spoke to ninety students at Laney College in Oakland. That meeting was cosponsored by the campus SCAR and the Latino Student Union.

The same day he spoke to a meeting of 100 people at San Francisco State College, sponsored by SCAR and the Student Council of Native Americans.

SWP leaders discuss new party tasks

By Larry Seigle

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers party met in Milwaukee at the beginning of last month. The meeting, or plenum, was the first gathering of the leadership body since last August, when it was elected at the SWP convention.

The agenda included reports and discussion on the two countries that have recently been at the center of the class struggle: Portugal and Angola. Previous issues of the *Militant* have reported the positions adopted on developments in these countries, and the national committee's call for a nationwide campaign of action against U.S. intervention in Angola.

In addition to these international points, the plenum had a thorough discussion on political developments inside the United States. The members of the committee and the organizers of the party branches (who were invited to attend) looked at the progress the party has made in carrying out the turn toward the new opportunities in the organizations and movements of the working class, decided on at the convention last summer.

In addition to the campaign against the U.S. war drive in Angola, the plenum discussed three central activities of the party on a national scale: building the movement to defend busing and defeat the racist offensive in Boston and other cities; organizing actions to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment; and mobilizing support for the 1976 SWP presidential campaign.

The meeting made plans for further expansion of the party and for stepping up recruitment of new members. Finally, the national committee elected a new political committee, the body responsible for leading the party's work on a week-to-week basis.

Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, gave the report on political developments in the United States. Doug Jenness reported for the political committee on the implementation of the party turn.

New stage of radicalization

At the convention in August, the party adopted a resolution on "The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist Revolution." At the heart of this resolution is the fact that the radicalization in this country has reached a new stage: the beginning of the radicalization of the working class. The end of the long period of economic expansion in the years since World War II—an end signaled by the depression of 1974-1975—has opened the way for a new step forward in class consciousness.

The plenum provided the party leadership with an opportunity to continue the discussion on this resolution in light of the political developments that have taken place since the convention.

In his report, Barnes took up recent developments in the three areas that the resolution describes as "the *real* perspectives that continued capitalist rule presents to the American workers": new military adventures abroad, curtailment of democratic rights, and deepening attacks on the standard of living.

"Four months ago we said there would be adventures attempted by American imperialism," said Barnes, "and we got one soon after the convention ended—in Angola." The reaction to the U.S. moves toward war in Angola has been qualitatively different from what happened at the early stages of the Vietnam War, when the antiwar forces were a small minority.

The first disclosure of Washington's secret intervention ignited widespread public debate and opposition. This reaction deepened the divisions within the ruling class itself over the wisdom of pressing ahead. Leaks began pouring out of the government, which in turn fueled the antiwar sentiment.

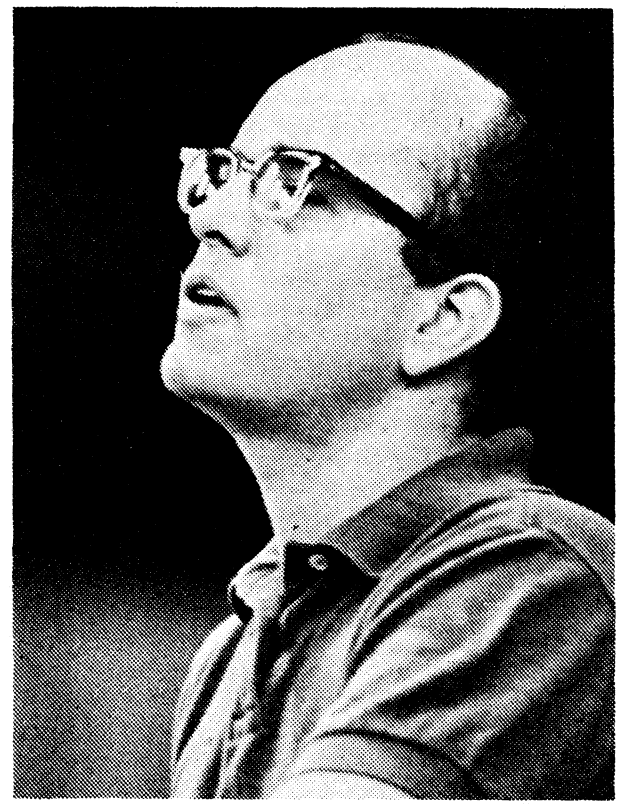
But the fact that the American people, in the wake of Vietnam, are opposed to any new foreign wars, doesn't mean that Washington will just sit back and decide not to intervene militarily in Angola or anywhere else it sees its interests threatened. "More adventures are going to occur," said Barnes. "Be prepared. They are absolutely necessary in the decline of imperialism."

Does 'recovery' mean crisis is over?

But what about the widely publicized economic "recovery" of the past months? Does the bottoming out of the depression mean that the economic crisis is over? Industrial production is up, profits are booming, the stock market is up substantially.

But, Barnes explained, the other side of the so-called recovery is what's important. Unemployment has barely been reduced at all. Inflation remains above 6 percent, and threatens to increase sharply again at any time.

The period of "recovery" has also been a period of escalating cutbacks in the quantity and quality of social services, symbolized by New York City. For



Militant/Dave Wulp
Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, presented report on political developments in the United States.

working people, real living conditions have continued to slide. Those at the bottom, the most oppressed sections of the working class, have been hit the hardest by these cuts.

"Recoveries in a period of prosperity were one thing," said Barnes. "Even though we didn't take part in the 'American Century' like we were supposed to, the real standard of living for many workers rose. But recoveries in a long period of stagnation, in a period of growing social crisis, are something different."

This "recovery" is taking place at the expense of jobs, wages, social gains, and living and working conditions. These attacks are being carried out in such a way as to deepen the divisions within the working class. They come down hardest on the oppressed minorities, on the women, on the youth.

The goal of the ruling class is to maintain an industrial reserve army, a section of the working class that can be drawn into the labor market when needed, and thrown out when not needed. This pool of unemployed puts downward pressure on wages and working conditions for the class as a whole. To accomplish this, the capitalists need to create a special category of workers who are viewed as pariahs, or outcasts, by the relatively more privileged workers.

The attacks on jobs, social gains, and real wages have a double edge. "You always end up more segregated, not less segregated than before," Barnes said. "Not only do you have fewer teachers, but you have a smaller percentage of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano teachers. Not only is pay being cut, but you get less chance at equal pay."

This process is what underlies the deepening class polarization that is accompanying the crisis and the increase in the tempo of the class struggle. This polarization is taking the form of an offensive against the rights of women and minorities, such as the antibusing drive, the attacks on affirmative action, and the right-wing crusade to block ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The ruling class tries to present this polarization not in terms of class, but as a race conflict, or a battle of the sexes. But what is involved at bottom are the rights of the working class. This was illustrated, Barnes explained, by the reaction of AFL-CIO President George Meany to the antibusing and anti-ERA offensives. "Meany's reaction of positive statements on busing and the ERA was very much out of character for him," he said. "But even to a Meany, and to a certain number of those like him, the character of the organized opposition that defeated the state ERA in New Jersey and New York, and the character of the organized opposition to busing, smelled too much like the vicious, reactionary, union-busting forces in this society."

Barnes took up four examples of developments in the unions that illuminate the relationship between the labor movement and the social and political questions facing all working people: the United Farm Workers; the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW); the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign led by Ed Sadlowski in the United Steelworkers union; and the crisis facing the teachers and other public employee unions in New York. Members of the SWP have been actively involved in each of these union struggles.

From the beginning, the strengths of the United Farm Workers union have been its appeal to the

nationalist consciousness of Chicano and *mexicano* farm workers, and actions such as the boycotts that have gone beyond the "business union" methods of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and mobilized support among broad sections of the population.

When the UFW leadership made the mistake of joining the racist attacks on the "illegal" workers—a mistake that cost the union support from the undocumented workers and from many Chicano activists—the union's roots in the struggle of the Chicano masses were strong enough that it was able to correct that mistake and reverse its position.

But while the UFW's strength comes from its appeal as a social movement—*la causa*—its leadership's continued support to the Democratic party, and to Democratic politicians such as California Gov. Edmund Brown, remains its central weakness. This support to capitalist politicians remains an obstacle to further progress and a danger to the UFW's gains of the past few years.

Like the UFW, the Coalition of Labor Union Women has its roots in developments outside the unions. It is a product of the changing consciousness of millions of women, and their determination to fight for equal rights. "The goal of CLUW," Barnes said, "is to change the unions into organizations that use their power to fight for women on the job, in the union, and in society."

CLUW is an example of the impact on the unions of the radicalization of a section of the oppressed. "The social struggles, the struggles of the doubly oppressed, both inside and outside the labor movement, will be the decisive forces in the current stage to drive forward and change the union movement, to prepare it to meet the challenge that is coming."

But CLUW faces obstacles to achieving its potential. At its recent convention, it failed to adopt a position of uncompromising opposition to discriminatory layoffs. Unless CLUW establishes itself as an organization that puts the interests of union women ahead of every other consideration, it will be unable to win the ranks of union women to its banner.

Steelworkers Fight Back

Another important reflection of the new moods and changing thinking among sections of the union movement is the organization of Steelworkers Fight Back, led by Ed Sadlowski, director of District 31 of the Steelworkers union. Sadlowski is challenging the Abel bureaucracy and campaigning around the need to restore democracy in the union and to return control to the rank and file. Although he hasn't made an official announcement yet, Sadlowski is preparing to run for president of the union.

The roots of the Sadlowski campaign are in the ranks of the union, in the younger generation of workers who have entered the plants—the generation Sadlowski represents. To be successful, this movement will have to go to the ranks, and involve them and mobilize them in the struggle.

One of the positive contributions of Sadlowski is his recognition of the fact that racism has been used by the employers to weaken the union movement by keeping the working class divided.

"The Sadlowski campaign is a fight to throw Abel out and to democratize the Steelworkers," said Barnes. "It deserves everyone's complete support."

"We say, 'Yes, we want a democratic labor movement.' But democratization for what purpose? That's what we want to address ourselves to. We're for a fight for democratization, to transform the unions into instruments of class struggle, to transform the labor movement into a movement that will think and act socially, that will champion the oppressed and draw them into the labor movement, and will act politically independently of the employers."

Sadlowski accurately describes what the unions and the union officialdom have become. But he doesn't give an explanation of how they evolved from the progressive social movement of the early days of the CIO into their current state, in the grip of a narrow-minded, conservative bureaucracy.

"Here is where we have a contribution to make," Barnes said. Steelworkers, and members of other unions, are going to be more interested in discussing the real history of the unions, the process by which they became subordinated to the Democratic party and integrated into the capitalist state apparatus, beginning with the preparations for World War II under Roosevelt. There are going to be more and more people open to reading about, thinking about, and discussing these kinds of questions as they fight to democratize the labor movement."

Offensive against the unions

Although a direct confrontation with the union movement as a whole is not yet on the rulers' agenda, they are attacking the more vulnerable

unions, trying to break their power, and probing for further weak spots. Nowhere is the antilabor onslaught clearer than in New York City, where the heaviest blows have been delivered to the unions. And nowhere has it been clearer that the policy, followed by teachers union head Albert Shanker and other union misleaders, of relying on the Democratic party is completely bankrupt.

Most of the municipal unions in New York were built on the basis of collaboration with the Democratic party administrations in city hall. In return for union political support, the Democratic politicians allowed the unionization of municipal workers and made concessions in terms of wages and benefits.

But the new economic crisis has shattered these old relationships. Now it is the Democrats who are carrying out the cutbacks and layoffs. "The gains of that policy," explained Barnes, "were possible in a different period. That period is finished and done with. The ruling class cannot make those kinds of concessions."

'Think socially, act politically'

The drive against the unions and the attempts to deepen the divisions within the working class can only be met when the workers begin to "think socially and act politically." As the party's resolution puts it, "They must see the big social and political questions facing *all* the exploited and oppressed of the United States as issues of direct concern to them. They must stop placing their hopes in 'individual solutions' to capitalism's blows and begin moving toward collective political action independent of the employers and their Democratic and Republican hirelings."

This means that the labor movement as a whole has to support the struggles of the most oppressed, including the fight to defend affirmative-action gains in the face of discriminatory layoffs, the battle for busing to achieve desegregation, and other struggles of women and minorities. It also means that the working class needs its own political instrument, a labor party based on the unions, to defend its class interests.

None of the problems facing the labor movement, Barnes emphasized, can be solved on the trade-union level alone: "There can be no class-struggle left wing of the American labor movement and no leap forward that doesn't have on its banner independent political action. The union movement as it exists today can't even successfully defend the gains of the members it has, let alone the ones it is losing, or the millions of unorganized workers."

As more and more working people begin to see that the old methods are no longer producing the same results, they are becoming open to the idea of independent working-class political action. To meet this opportunity, the national committee decided that the party should begin an educational campaign on the need for a labor party. This will be carried out through the *Militant*, through the party's election campaigns, and by party members active in unions and other working-class organizations.

This campaign will link the need for working-class action on the political front to the struggles and issues that face the labor movement.

"It is a necessary component of taking action in a new way and a new situation," Barnes said. "We are talking about a party of a new type that leads struggles and fights unconditionally for the oppressed and the exploited."

Implementing the party's turn

The party's turn, explained Doug Jenness in his report, means "taking all the party campaigns around the key political questions of the day—Angola, ERA, defense of affirmative action, busing, defense of undocumented workers, support to the party political rights suit—and our *Militant* sales and election campaigns to the organizations, workplaces, and communities where the awakening sectors of the working class live and work."

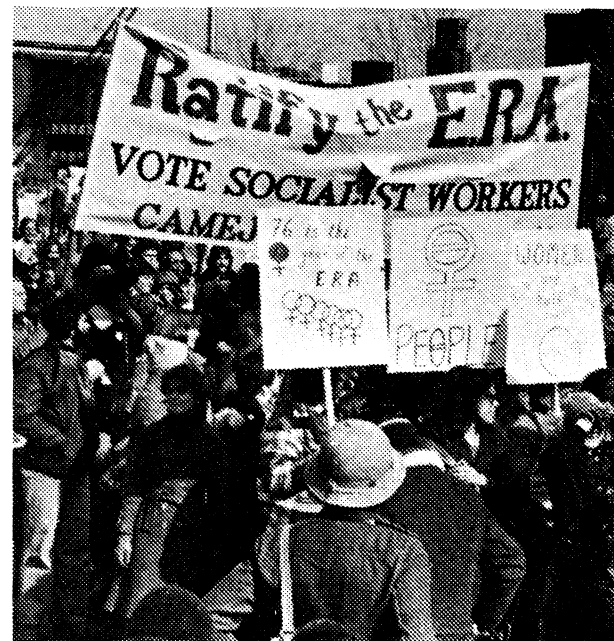
The SWP's national campaign to help organize against the racist attacks on busing in Boston has been an important factor in the response that has been mobilized. Through this work, the party has become more involved in local antiracist struggles and has strengthened relationships with groups like the NAACP, the Nation of Islam, and many local Black organizations. The SWP has helped to build the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and has worked with NSCAR in support of busing, in defense of victims of racist frame-ups, and in other activities.

In his report, Jenness stressed the opportunities that exist for collaborating with the NAACP, which has taken a strong stand on key political issues on which many other Black groups have buckled:

Continued on next page



Militant/Flax Hermes



Militant/Harris Freeman



Militant/Flax Hermes



Militant/Maceo Dixon

...SWP leaders discuss tasks

Continued from preceding page

defense of affirmative-action gains and busing. The NAACP is on a recruiting drive and is anxious to have antiracist activists join.

At the convention in August, the party decided to increase its involvement in the women's liberation movement. In recent months, the central issue facing this movement has been the battle over the Equal Rights Amendment, and SWP members have been active in organizing rallies and demonstrations for the ERA. Jenness noted that there is a lot of sentiment among members of the National Organization for Women for action around the ERA. There is also a growing interest among NOW activists and other women's liberationists in the relationship between feminism and socialism.

"If there has been a weakness in our work around the ERA," Jenness said, "it is that we've seen it solely as an issue for women's liberation organizations and CLUW. We should also take the ERA issue to all unions." The major unions have endorsed the amendment, and several have been involved in pro-ERA actions already.

Members of the SWP who belong to trade unions are taking the ERA and other issues into the unions. For example, party members are participating in a nationwide committee being formed inside



Through presidential campaign of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, socialists are winning many new members.

the American Federation of Teachers to win teachers to support busing and to participate in probusing activities. The focus of this campaign is a resolution that would reverse the AFT's present reactionary stand on busing and put the union squarely behind the desegregation fight.

Campaigning for socialism

Among the most effective ways of taking advantage of the new openings are the party's election campaigns. Through the national campaign of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, and through bold and innovative campaigns for local offices, the SWP is reaching wider layers of radicalizing people, acquainting them with what the party stands for, and winning new members. Jenness reported that of new members joining since the convention, the largest number first came into contact with the party through the election campaigns.

The initiative of the SWP in the electoral arena stands in glaring contrast to the default of other radical organizations. The Communist party, which originally promised to announce its candidates last June, still hasn't fielded a slate. Other groups, like the Maoist organizations and the International Socialists, are simply ignoring the elections.

But Camejo and Reid have been crisscrossing the country, participating in picket lines and demonstrations, speaking on campuses, distributing

literature at plant gates and unemployment lines, and appearing before union meetings, Black groups, and women's organizations.

More than a half million copies of the SWP platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," have been distributed, 44,000 of them in Spanish.

Jenness reported that the party is undertaking a major effort to get on the ballot in thirty states plus Washington, D.C., compared with twenty-three states in 1972. This large-scale petitioning effort will be tied in to political campaigning with street meetings, rallies, and widespread distribution of literature.

The recent campaign of Patricia Bethard for city council in Seattle highlights the possibilities for building the party through aggressive socialist campaigns on a local level. Bethard qualified for a runoff election by finishing second in a "nonpartisan" primary. The Seattle SWP responded to this development by making the campaign the focus of the branch's activity. A storefront in the Black community was opened up to serve as a second headquarters.

"Bethard campaigned around every important issue facing the Black community in Seattle with positions that were in sharp contrast to those of the Black Democratic incumbent," Jenness reported. "Short, snappy leaflets that ordinary people could understand were distributed—about 25,000 of them." Bethard finished with 26 percent of the vote.

At the end of the campaign, the branch decided to keep the second headquarters open and formed a new, small branch in the area.

Dividing branches

The division of the Seattle branch, which grew out of the successful election campaign, is part of a process of bringing the party's organizational forms into harmony with the political turn. In the recent past, larger, city-wide branches have been the norm. Although the party constitution sets a maximum number of fifty for a branch (the minimum is five), some branches have grown to seventy, eighty, or even more, members.

But as the SWP has turned toward deeper involvement in the struggles of the working class on the job and in the communities of the oppressed nationalities, the unwieldiness of the large branches has become more and more of a problem. By dividing the large branches into two or more branches in a city, or paring them down in size by members moving to new cities where branches are being established, several things are accomplished. The party is expanding its areas of activity and influence with more branches, while the smaller size of the party units facilitates winning and educating new members and speeding up the process of developing leadership.

The new, smaller branches will vary somewhat from each other in the focus of their activities, depending on the opportunities in their area. Smaller branches of ten or fifteen members won't be involved in as many different party projects and campaigns as the larger branches. Where two or more branches exist in a city, they are part of a local. As the branch divisions proceed, the executive committees of the locals will play a more important role in leading the party. These are the bodies responsible for directing the party's work on a city-wide basis and seeing that the party's campaigns are being implemented in a balanced way in the local area.

Many of the new branches are oriented toward Black, Puerto Rican, or Chicano communities and organizations. The Lower East Side branch in New York, for example, is involved in the political life of the Puerto Rican community. There is also a new branch in the predominantly Latino Mission District in San Francisco, and a new branch in the Chicano community of East Los Angeles. An SWP branch to be established soon in San Antonio will be oriented primarily toward the Chicano movement.

"There could be no better measure of how well we're doing on the turn," Jenness said, "than to come to a future convention or plenum and hear a report that we have several branches whose membership and leadership are predominantly Black, Puerto Rican, or Chicano, and branches where meetings are conducted bilingually or even just in Spanish."

Several of the branches in Chicano and Puerto Rican communities are conducting classes to teach English-speaking party members Spanish. Campaign materials are printed in Spanish and English, and bookstores carry a large selection of socialist literature in Spanish. "Unfortunately," said Jenness, "we don't have a Spanish-language organ of our own that we can sell, but there are some things we can do until we get the resources and personnel to do it. We can sell the publications of our Mexican and Puerto Rican cothinkers and

Intercontinental Press," which has a section in Spanish. The Houston branch sold 200 copies one month of the Mexican Trotskyist newspaper.

A central theme of the reports and discussion at the plenum was the opportunity to win new members to the party. Speakers from around the country reported a significant increase in the number of people who are expressing interest in joining the party.

In the past, a high percentage of new members had previously gained experience in the Young Socialist Alliance; but this is now changing. Many of the people joining the SWP now are new to socialist politics. From September 1 to December 1, 112 new members were taken in. Of these, more than a third had not previously belonged to the YSA.

The plenum discussed the fact that many people who are considering joining have been hesitant to take the step because they feel they don't yet know enough about the party to make the commitment that membership entails. To help provide a bridge into the party for those people who are ready to say, "yes, probably" to membership, but aren't completely sure, the national committee decided after a thorough discussion to modify the procedure by which new members join the party.

The plenum established the category of provisional membership. Applicants for membership will become provisional members for three months, during which time they can participate in branch meetings and other party activities, attend classes, and get to know how the party operates. At the end of that time, they can make a final decision about joining.

If the experience of the past few weeks is any indication, the SWP is already on its way to a substantial increase in its rate of growth. In the five weeks since the plenum, 105 people have joined the party—well over double the rate of the period leading up to the plenum.

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World Outlook

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

FEBRUARY 20, 1976

Statement by Leonid Plyushch

Behind the walls of a Soviet 'psychiatric' prison



Patients at the Soviet mental clinic, Troizkoje

[Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch, now living in exile in France, held a news conference in Paris February 3 at which he thanked all those whose protests helped secure his release from a Soviet psychiatric prison-hospital. He asked to be excused for being unable to answer the innumerable messages of support he has received and then read the following statement, which we have translated from the February 4 *Le Monde*. Paragraphs deleted in the French text have, where possible, been supplied from the excerpts printed in the February 4 *New York Times*.]

In that entire flood of letters there was only one that was strongly negative. It is a curious document, which I would like to read to you.

Traitor, degenerate, if out of considerations of humanism you have been allowed to leave Russia, it is simply proof that there even traitors enjoy liberty. At the same time, in confining an idiot to an asylum you were given exactly what you deserved. You,

as a mental defective, committed a number of vile acts against your fatherland. Scum of your sort is picked up by the capitalist trusts; they need it to continue to enslave the working masses. You are going to sing their tune, thundering out propaganda against the fatherland. But do not forget that here too the worker will break his chains. Europe is flaming with strikes, everywhere the people are against the parasites, defending their right to live and work. Your name is known to all working people, you deserve only censure, you have no right to the confidence of the working masses, you have risen from the people, you have carried out your studies at the expense of the people. The life of workers is harsh, you have given fine thanks to the people and the fatherland. May you, your wife, and your children be damned, you outcast of the human race. You have defecated on the people and the fatherland. One steps around shit, otherwise one soils oneself. That is why you were thrown out of the insane asylum and out of Russia. I convey to you the sentiments of French workers who have learned that you are living in this city.

The signature is unreadable and

there is no return address.

That letter is beyond comment. I am convinced that no French worker could have written such a letter. It reflects the point of view of ordinary Soviet Stalinists; it shows their moral and intellectual level.

The sensation created around me is something I find highly disagreeable. But I hope that it will draw the attention of a great part of world public opinion to the fate accorded those in the USSR who hold their own views, and that it will strengthen the worldwide struggle for human rights.

Behind Plyushch's arrest

I am going to tell you briefly the facts of my "case." I am thirty-seven years old, I am of Ukrainian nationality. I carried out my studies in Kiev, at the state university. I am a mathematician by profession. Until 1968 I worked at the Institute of Cybernetics of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Officially, I was fired to reduce the number of personnel, but in reality it was because of a letter of protest I wrote to the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* about the case of Ginsburg and Galanskov.¹ After that I was unable to find any work. I was arrested in January 1972 on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda. How did it happen that I then found myself in prison, later in a psychiatric hospital?

In 1964, after the dismissal of Khrushchev, I wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party; I expressed my views on democratization in the USSR. The letter ended up, by chance, with the KGB [Soviet secret police]. I was requested, in the course of a conversation, not to write such letters for two years, without really being told why. I kept my job and was even put in charge of propaganda and of a seminar in philosophy.

In 1966 I began to write articles for the *samizdat* press, articles on the nature of the Soviet government, on its ideology, on the national question in the USSR. A Marxist by conviction, I took Marx and Lenin as a point of departure for my examination of all these questions. I demonstrated that Stalinism is nothing more than a Thermidorian and bonapartist distortion of the October revolution; that a form of state capitalism had been erected in the Soviet Union, that property is held not by the people but by the state, isolated from all the classes; that the bureaucracy is at the service of an abstract capitalist, the state; that in regard to the national question, the Soviet Union is following the policy of the tsarist regime.

1. Soviet dissidents sentenced respectively to five and seven years of prison in 1968.



PLYUSHCH: Hopes his experiences will draw world attention to fate accorded those in USSR who hold their own views.

I held the view that in the Soviet Union a revolution was impossible, that it was not desirable, but that a gradual democratization was essential, to be carried out through reforms from above and propaganda carried out among the population. Seeking to participate in a practical way in the struggle for democratization, I circulated *samizdat* publications and gathered information for the *Chronicle of Current Events* and the *Ukrainian Herald*, which served as tribunes for the struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union.

In 1969 I became a member of the "Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union," which carried out legal protests against violations of the Soviet constitution and the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man.

On January 15, 1972, I was arrested and put in isolation in Kiev prison, where the KGB of the Ukrainian Republic directs preliminary investigation of cases. Everything I have mentioned above was brought out against me. From the first day of the investigation I refused to make any statement whatsoever. I knew that anything I said about my friends, even if it was in their favor, would only be used as an accusation against them. Neither the KGB nor the procurator's office are interested in the truth. I told the investigators that I considered the KGB an anticonstitutional organization and that I did not wish to be a party to their crimes against the people.

'Psychiatric' treatment

As early as 1969, an acquaintance of mine, Bakhtiyarov, was told during an investigation that I was a schizophrenic and that I was in a mental hospital. For this reason I was convinced from the first day of my arrest that I would be put in the Dnepropetrovsk mental hospital. I understood that my tactics of silence during investigations increased the threat, but I did not want to go back on my principles.

In May 1972 I was sent to the Serbsky Institute for a so-called foren-

Continued on next page

...Plyushch

Continued from preceding page

sic psychiatric examination, to be carried out on hospital premises. But I spent six whole months in Moscow's Lefortovo prison. The decision to compel me to undergo forced treatment was simply announced after a few conversations with psychiatrists, including academicians Andrei V. Snezhnevsky, D.O. Lunts, Nladzharov, and Morozov—all of whom are leading Soviet psychiatric experts. Two examinations were held. I later learned that the diagnosis was "sluggish schizophrenia since adolescence."

From July 1973 to January 8, 1976, I was confined in the Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital. I was subjected to a "treatment" of neuroleptics—haloperidol and triftazin—I followed two courses of insulin therapy.

Most of those confined in the Dnepropetrovsk psychiatric hospital are mentally ill—murderers, rapists, "hooligans." The political prisoners, who



Protests in U.S. are part of worldwide effort to publicize plight of Soviet dissidents.

number about sixty, are for the most part of sound mind. There are also persons like Plakhotnyuk, Yatzenko, Ruban, Evdokimov, and Lupynos, who were arrested for alleged "anti-Soviet activity," or like the *perekhodtchiki*, those who have tried to leave for the West.

'More patients than beds'

The horror of the *psykhushka* [mad-house] gripped me from the start. In the ward there were more patients than beds. I was put as the third person on two bunks that had been pushed together. On the beds patients were writhing in pain from the haloperidol. One man's tongue was hanging out, another was rolling his eyes, a third walked around bent over in an unnatural way. Some lay in bed and groaned with the pain—they had been given injections of sulfur. They explained to me that they were being punished for bad behavior.

All the patients were dressed in underwear lacking buttons; I was ashamed in front of the nurses because in such "clothing" the sexual organs are visible.

Near the door, patients begged the guards to let them go to the toilet.

When I woke up the next morning, I saw two male nurses beating a patient. In the afternoon I was summoned for interrogation by Dr. Kamenetskaya. A male nurse came in and said that a patient had attacked some nurses and had then tried to hang himself in the toilet. She ordered him to be tied up and burst into the ward and started shouting at him.

The patients told me that he had not attacked anyone but they had beaten him up because he had asked to go to the toilet. But no one could make up his mind to tell the doctor about this because they were afraid of being punished with sulfur. The patients began to make fun of the victim, but he told them: "They'll beat you up too, you know."

I arrived in prison with a group of thieves who were feigning mental illness in order to "get a rest and eat better." On the second day they all admitted that they were quite healthy—so horrified were they by all that they had seen. A week later I was taken to another floor. Here the regulations were not so strict. Hardly anyone was writhing in pain from haloperidol. It was easy to get to the toilet. The patients wore dirty, ragged clothes but they were pajamas.

The patients immediately explained to political prisoners that they should not complain here. If you did you were given a reinforced treatment of neuroleptics, injections of sulfur. They prevented you from going to the toilet.

You had to admit to the doctors that you were ill and renounce your views.

At the beginning I argued with them and then I came to the conclusion that they were right.

Labeled 'anti-Soviet'

I met Evdokimov, a Leningrad journalist connected with the NTS [émigré organization]. We had some political discussions. They separated us, calling us anti-Soviet. One of the nurses told the patients we were "kikes." Some of the patients began to complain, saying that we were keeping them from sleeping during the day. I was transferred to another ward. Here there was another political prisoner. But the doctors had warned him not to talk to me. He kept silent.

A seriously ill patient nicknamed "Mister" shouted anti-Soviet slogans



Plyushch called on 'all honest people to join the fight' for release of Vladimir Bukovsky (top), Valentyn Moroz (bottom), and Semyon Gluzman.

and asked me to correct his demented letters to governmental authorities. The male nurses promised him that they would secretly send his letters outside, and for that they took all his food. He died two months later.

In this hospital the male nurses are common prisoners serving their sentences. For allowing the patients an extra trip to the toilet or a larger portion of *makhorka*—a black tobacco of poor quality—they demand that the patients give them items of food, shoes, and so forth. If you refuse to give them a bribe, you can be beaten black and blue. That is what happened to Evdokimov. I complained to the doctors and my situation grew worse. I was searched several times a day, and they took away my tobacco. I had to pay a bribe.

They take you to the toilets in groups six times a day and every other time you are allowed to smoke. The patients therefore smoke as much as they can, which causes vomiting.

I was prescribed haloperidol in small doses. I became drowsy and apathetic. It became difficult to read books. I started to spit out the tablets secretly.

Three months later they put me in the worst section, No. 9. Here the arbitrary rule of the male nurses is less evident, but on the other hand the "treatment" is much more intensive. Surveillance is more strict, the interrogations carried out by the doctors are full of mockery.

I was put in the *nadzorka* (surveillance ward) where they put the violent serious cases. Some fight among themselves, others writhe in epileptic fits, cry or laugh, sing bawdy songs, describe aloud their cases and sexual prowess, or ask to go to the toilet—in short, bedlam. . .

Most dangerous patient

I was considered the most dangerous patient in the hospital. The male nurses and the nurses were forbidden to talk to me. The other political

prisoners were warned that if they talked to me it would be the worse for them. When one male nurse started to borrow science-fiction books from me, he was told that he was associating with an "anti-Soviet person." For two days I sat next to a political prisoner in the dining room. Then they moved us and put us at different tables.

Once I talked to a young murderer for a whole evening about science fiction. The next day he was transferred to another ward. What is more, the doctors reproached me for making friends with another murderer, which was completely untrue. At the same time they reproached me for not talking to any of the patients.

To keep me in complete isolation, I was forbidden to go to the kitchen or into the yard in case I might accidentally meet other political prisoners.

In fact, eight months before my trial a letter was sent to the Dnepropetrovsk prison warning that in no case should any contact whatsoever be allowed between me and Plakhotnyuk, a doctor from Kiev.

During the interrogations the doctors asked me about my contacts outside. I refused to answer these questions, explaining that they concerned the legal investigation into my case. But these interrogations were very painful for me, as they discussed my beliefs and were accompanied by humiliating comments about them. They commented on my letters, and the letters from my relatives. For example, when my wife once complained about something, I am not quite sure what, in the behavior of my eldest son and praised the younger one, they told me that the eldest was on the right track whereas the youngest was schizophrenic. They hinted that my wife was mentally ill, too. And as for a close woman friend who wrote me affectionate letters, she was said to be my lover, and so they would not give me her letters.

In general the doctors suggested I stop writing to my friends, as they were all anti-Soviets and my correspondence with them proved that when I left the hospital I would continue my "anti-Soviet activities."

After the Pyotr Yakir-Viktor Krasin² trial they suggested that I write a confession. I asked them, "Do you really think that an adult can change his views so quickly? They can only be lying." The woman doctor agreed that they had lied but continued to put pressure on me to recant. But a confession alone was not enough. There had to be proof that I considered myself mentally ill. I answered carefully, saying that I was not a specialist and was unable to pass judgment on my state of mental health. Here it must be taken into account that I did not know their diagnosis and thus did not know what I should be contesting.

The doctors

A few words about the doctors, about their intellectual and moral level.

The patient asks, "When will I regain my freedom?" The doctor replies, "When I retire."

One of the patients called the doctors gestapo agents. They prescribed a sulfur injection for him (after a sulfur injection the temperature rises to 40 degrees [Centigrade; about 104 degrees Fahrenheit]; the spot where the injection is made hurts a great deal; the pain is so severe that the patient does

2. Dissidents broken under torture who publicly recanted their views at a news conference in Moscow September 5, 1973.



4,000 rallied in Paris October 23 to demand freedom for Plyushch

Informations Ouvrières

Plyushch puts French Communist party on the spot

Leonid Plyushch's indictment of the Kremlin's crimes against dissenters was an embarrassment to the French Communist party. The CP is eager to convince the French capitalists of its "independence from Moscow," and it is wooing broader support for its electoral bloc with the Socialist party and the bourgeois left Radicals. Ghastly tales of Soviet "mental hospitals" get in the way of these goals.

The impact of the Plyushch news conference was so great in France that CP leader Georges Marchais was forced to confront the issue—even if somewhat indirectly—in opening remarks to the party's twenty-second congress. The congress opened only one day after the release of the Plyushch statement.

"It is natural," Marchais said, "that we express our disagreement with repressive measures that infringe on freedom of opinion, expression, or creativity wherever they occur."

Referring to what he delicately labeled "certain occurrences" in the Soviet Union, Marchais continued, "We cannot accept in effect that the Communist ideal, whose object is the happiness of man and for which we ask the workers to fight, should be stained by unjust and unjustifiable acts. Such acts are in no way an obligatory consequence of socialism."

This is not the first time that the case of Leonid Plyushch has placed the French CP in an awkward position. Last October 23, 4,000 people rallied in Paris to demand Plyushch's release. The meeting drew very broad sponsorship, including the League for the Rights of Man; the National Education Federation, France's largest teachers union; Amnesty International; the French Democratic Confederation of Labor; and many other organizations and prominent individuals.

Among the political groups that supported and publicized the rally were the French Trotskyists of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire and the Socialist party. Lombardo Radice, a member of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist party, sent greetings to the meeting.

The French CP and the CP-dominated General Confederation of Labor did not build the rally. The meeting's broad support, however, forced the CP to comment on the Plyushch case in its daily newspaper, *l'Humanité*.

"Because we are not indifferent to the case of Leonid Plyushch," *l'Humanité* editorialized, "we have tried to obtain information about it for a long time."

"If it is true—and unfortunately up until now no proof to the contrary has been forthcoming—that this mathematician is interned in a psychiatric hospital solely because he has taken a position against certain aspects of Soviet policy or against the regime itself, we can only affirm in the most forthright manner our total disapproval and demand that he be freed as rapidly as possible."

not know what to do; many persons come down with hemorrhoids after the sulfur injections). This patient cried out in pain for twenty-four hours, trying to escape it by hiding under his bed. Out of despair he broke a window and tried to cut his throat with a piece of the broken glass. He was punished again and was severely beaten. Over and over again he asked everyone if he was going to die. It was only when another patient noticed that he was on the verge of death that they halted the sulfur injections. For two days they gave him oxygen and administered various medications. They saved him. In my opinion the sulfur injections were not of great help in curing his illness.

In a nearby section a "common criminal" patient told the doctors that three "political" patients (one of whom was a mute) "were carrying on anti-Soviet discussions." These patients were suspected of a "plot." They found a note on the mute: "And how much do the oranges cost?" This was taken to be a message in code. They began to inject into the plotters' veins doses of barbamy³ in a quantity never before witnessed in the hospital. The patients were returned to the ward in a state of complete unconsciousness. At the same time they were subjected to injections of sulfur. And all of this without explanation. They heard the story of the "plot" from an unofficial source.(. . .)

Ordinary people

Dr. Lyubarskaya said to me: "You are just an ordinary person. Why did you go into politics?"

I explained that one of the ideas of the Communists was the involvement of all the working people in political activity. The Bolsheviks were ordinary people, too.

Answer: "But you're not a Bolshevik," and explanation: "Your abnormality is shown by the way you have always, from an early age, been concerned with things that were none of your business."

The following episode says a great deal about the professional level of these doctors. I asked: "Why isn't psychotherapy used here?" Answer: "Psychotherapy cannot be used in psychiatry."

I have related what I myself saw and heard. But I have also been asked to tell of things that took place in the hospital before I was sent there. The situation of both the genuine patients and those who were of sound mind was worse. The male nurses beat them severely over the slightest incident. Lyubarskaya, the doctor treating me, was at that time in charge of an entire section. In that section the male nurses killed a patient. The matter was hushed up and the male nurses were sent to a camp. Lyubarskaya was then sent to our section as an ordinary doctor. In the early 1970s the male nurses killed a political prisoner named Grigoriev by causing his liver to burst. It seems that after these incidents the conditions were eased somewhat. I have been unable to verify these facts myself but I learned of them from political prisoners, about whose sanity I have no question, and from prisoners who are common criminals.

Break the will to resist

To sum up: What is the aim of "treatment" and conditions like these? I saw this in my own case. The aim is to break the human being during the first few days, to break his will to resist. Then the treatment with "neuroleptics" begins. I was horrified to see how I deteriorated intellectually, morally, and emotionally. I quickly lost interest in political questions, then in scientific questions, and finally in my wife and children. This was replaced by fear for my wife and children. My speech became jerky, abrupt. My memory deteriorated a great deal. At first I responded sharply to the suffering of the patients or upon learning that some friends had become traitors. Then I became indifferent to all that.

The effect of the neuroleptics was intensified by my isolation from all the other sane political prisoners. I did not want to hear the cries, the fights, the laughter, the crying, the delirium. For whole days on end I lay in bed and tried to sleep. The neuroleptics contributed to this.

I had no thoughts except those concerning the toilet, the tobacco, and the "tips" to the male nurses that would enable me to go to the toilet an extra time. And one other thought: "I must remember everything I see here so I can describe it later." Unfortunately,

I do not remember a hundredth part of what I saw.

Despite my apathy I was afraid that my deterioration was irreversible. I saw seriously ill patients who, I was told, had been healthy in body and mind a few years ago. You had been able to have some communication with them. Some political prisoners broke down before my eyes and gave in. The physical condition of Evdokimov and Plakhotnyuk greatly distressed me. I should emphasize that the protests by my wife and friends and the response they received from Western public opinion resulted in considerable concern being shown for my physical condition. I cannot say as much for the others.

This press conference and the statement I have just made enable me to draw the attention of world public opinion to the fate of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, and to call for stepping up the struggle for human rights throughout the world.

As a Communist by conviction, I would like to address myself to Communists of the West. When I was in the Dnepropetrovsk special mental hospital I learned that the French and Italian Communists had joined the fight for my release. I did not think that this would help me personally, but it was the fact that they were taking part that made me glad. For me it meant that Communists were fighting for a humane socialism.

We Soviet neo-Marxists have always placed hope in the Communist parties of France, Italy, and Great Britain. We hoped that these parties would continue the work of the Czechoslovak Communist party, that they would restore the Communist ideal and compel the Soviet Communist party to choose between Mao-Stalinism and Communism with a human face.

I hope that these parties will enter into active struggle to break out of the impasse in which all humankind finds itself, both in the "socialist" countries and in the capitalist world.

Here in the West I consider it a duty to my conscience to join in the fight for the release of political prisoners from the prisons, camps, and psychiatric prisons of the Soviet Union. At the moment a campaign is being waged for the release of my friends Vladimir Bukovsky, Semyon Gluzman, and Valentyn Moroz. I call on all honest people to join in this fight.

3. A barbiturate similar to pentothal.

Commemoration of 1968 massacre

Mexico City concert halted by brutal cop attack

Motorcycle police and *granaderos* (riot police) broke up a concert performance of the Centro Libre de Experimentación Teatral y Artística (CLETA—Free Center for Theatrical and Artistic Experimentation) in Mexico City's Plaza de las Tres Culturas January 25. The performance was organized to commemorate the October 1968 Tlatelolco massacre of hundreds of student demonstrators at the same plaza.

Swinging clubs and using karate chops, the cops charged the crowd of 1,000 persons attending the event. At least twelve persons were arrested and an unknown number injured as a result of the police attack.

The police launched the attack on the grounds that the CLETA program was interrupting another performance taking place in the plaza at the same time. This was a display of acrobatics by the motorcycle police, which was accompanied by music from three local bands, including one police band. The police also claimed CLETA was insulting government authorities and inciting public disorder.

CLETA explained what happened in a mimeographed leaflet, summarized in the January 28 issue of the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*. The theater

group's program had been planned and publicized over a month in advance. When they learned that another organization, under government sponsorship, would also be using the site, they began their performance on the other side of the plaza so as not to interfere or provide a pretext for a confrontation. Suddenly, the police stopped their show and charged the CLETA event. They ripped down CLETA's banners and began beating men, women, and children indiscriminately.

A woman who witnessed the attack told *Excelsior* she saw a local government functionary give the word to members of the Asociación Unica de la Juventud Tlatelolca (United Association of Tlatelolco Youth) to storm the platform where CLETA was performing. The Asociación Unica de la Juventud Tlatelolca was the main organizer of the other event.

According to an account in the January 26 *Excelsior*, those who fled were chased into nearby alleys and passageways by motorcycle police and *granaderos* with riot shields and masks.

Among those seriously injured were a member of the Liga Socialista



Mexican student being beaten during murderous 1968 cop riot

(Socialist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Mexico) and a reporter from *Excelsior*. The reporter was struck by the chief of the motorcycle cops when he tried to interview Enrique Salgado Cordero, the assistant director of police and traffic.

The twelve persons arrested were Laura Trejo Moreno, Rosalina and Eduardo Hernández Vargas, Jenaro Gómez Chávez, René Castañeda Dimayuga, Fernando Fuentes Luna, Víctor Cruz Jiménez, Samuel Díaz Rueda, Alejandro Gómez de la Rosa, Sergio Balcázar Minero, Juan Martínez Ramos, and Víctor Manuel Angeles Soto.

They face possible charges of disturbing the peace, intentionally damaging the property of others, assaulting and injuring government authorities, and inciting disorder.

The police attack was so obviously unwarranted that even the editors of

Excelsior commented on it. In the January 28 issue they stated:

"... both the actors, whose meeting was dispersed and several of whom were arrested, and the leaders of a group of residents of the housing complex surrounding the spot agree—apparently without any connection between the two—on denouncing a possible police provocation. It would lie in the deliberate prolongation of a festival, which in normal circumstances does not last as long as the one did Sunday, and in having included in the program a group of motorcycle traffic police, who participated in the act of dispersing and arresting the artists.

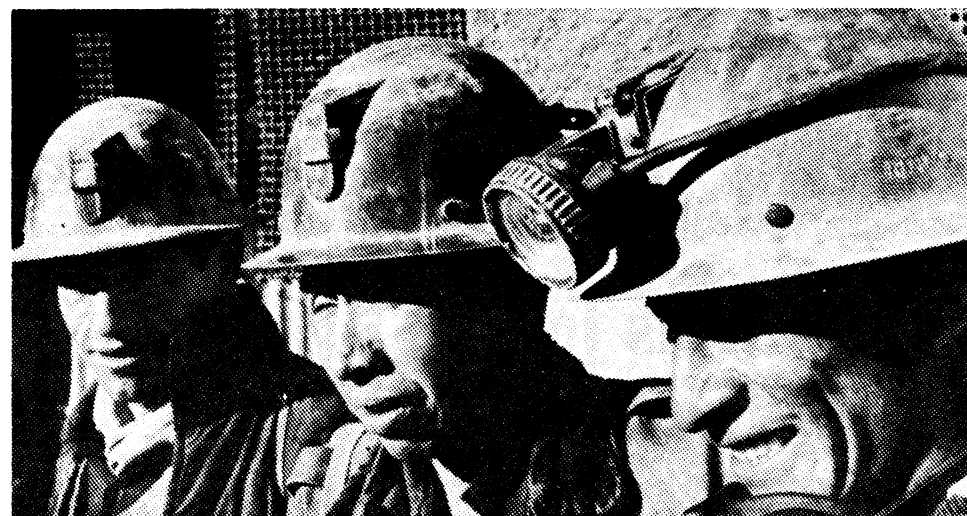
"Such extreme actions cannot be viewed with tranquility. The police have the duty to prevent rallies that threaten the public peace, but they cannot exceed their authority to the point of preventing the free expression of ideas in ways appropriate within the existing laws."

Miners' strike rocks Bolivia

The firing of 820 workers at a shoe factory has sparked the most serious crisis for the Bolivian military dictatorship since it came to power in August 1971.

On January 26, declaring their action "an elementary duty of class solidarity," 36,000 miners went out on strike to back up the shoe workers. The miners were followed by university students, who struck the following day. Workers at another shoe factory threatened to go out on strike as well.

The conflict began at the Manaco shoe factory in Quillacolla, about 275 miles southeast of La Paz. Manaco, the largest shoe factory in Bolivia, is



Tin miners at Siglo XX mine launched solidarity strike with fired Manaco shoe workers.

Canadian-owned. The 820 workers employed there went on strike for higher wages and improved conditions January 14, but they were ordered back to their jobs by the government January 22.

Interior Minister Juan Pereda denounced the strike, declaring that the shoe factory was one of the targets of a "subversive" plot against the government.

The military dictatorship of Gen. Hugo Banzer announced January 24 that the striking shoe workers had been fired. The miners' strike was

called in open defiance of the rightist regime.

In a news release quoted in the January 27 issue of the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*, the Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia (Trade-Union Federation of Bolivian Mine Workers) denounced "the arbitrary and inhuman step of the foreign monopoly Manaco and the complacent and biased attitude of the governmental authorities."

In addition, *Excelsior* reported, "The miners of the state sector, the country's most combative trade-union group,

warned that if the conflict is not resolved in a just way, shoes from Manaco will be boycotted in all the mining districts, and stores that offer them to the public will be taken over by workers committees."

The miners' strike was initiated by the trade union at the Siglo XX mine, which also demanded the release of political prisoners and full legality for the unions.

Although the nationwide mine strike was originally called for a period of twenty-four hours, a January 27 dispatch from La Paz published in *Excelsior* reported that the strike might continue until a settlement at Manaco was reached. According to the same dispatch, almost all the Manaco workers had returned to work January 26; they then walked out again when the company refused to take back thirteen leaders accused of being "extremists."

In Cochabamba, not far from the Manaco factory, workers at the second largest shoe factory in the country threatened to go out on strike January 27 to protest the detention of several labor leaders. The military regime had already declared a state of emergency in that city in response to the Manaco walkout and the miners' strike.

Meanwhile, according to the January 27 *Excelsior*, "... miners and university students began campaigns to collect funds, medicines, and food-stuffs for the strikers."

Colorado conference debates strategy for independent Chicano political action today

By Olga Rodríguez

ALAMOSA, Colo.—Chicanos have lived here in the rich San Luis Valley for more than 300 years. It has been the site of a continual battle between the Chicanos who work the land and the Anglo ranchers and corporations who stole it from them.

On January 16-17, nearly 400 Chicanos from Colorado and New Mexico, and a few from California, met in this city to discuss the problems facing Chicanos in Colorado and throughout the Southwest.

The purpose of the conference was to "strive for a new unity among Chicanos," said Priscilla Salazar in the keynote address. She is a member of the Adams State University United Mexican-American students, which hosted the conference.

The size of the gathering—the largest such meeting in some time—underscores Chicanos' interest in coming together to combat their oppression. The conference agreed to unite in response to attacks on the Chicano movement in Colorado.

Opposition to the official bicentennial celebration of the first American Revolution was a theme of a Saturday march from the campus to the Alamo-

Olga Rodríguez is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

sa courthouse, where a rally was held. Speakers at the rally denounced the government-sponsored bicentennial activities as nothing more than a celebration of 200 years of misery and racism directed against Native Americans, Chicanos, Blacks and other minorities.

El Teatro Moreno, formed by local high school students, performed several antibicentennial skits Friday night. The skits dramatized the racist oppression that Chicanos have suffered for 200 years in the United States.

Independent political action

The central political discussion at the conference was around independent Chicano political action and La Raza Unida parties. These independent Chicano parties emerged at the end of the 1960s and in the early 1970s in Colorado, Texas, California, and some Midwestern cities.

A debate erupted in the Political Parties '76 workshop on Friday. The two panelists were José Calderón of Greeley, Colorado, and Rudy García of Denver. Formerly the cochairperson of the Colorado Raza Unida party, Calderón has left the party and now describes himself as an "independent Marxist-Leninist."

Both speakers argued that Chicanos need to construct a "multinational, revolutionary vanguard party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao-Tsetung Thought." This perspective was given priority over the effort to build a mass Chicano party independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

The two panelists belittled nationalist struggles of Chicanos. Chicanos failed to win anything from their struggles in the 1960s and early 1970s, the Maoists contended. Furthermore, they argued, Chicano struggles for control over the political, social, and economic institutions in their communities have failed to advance the struggle for Chicano liberation.

This fight, in their eyes, was merely a struggle on the part of Chicano "opportunists" to get elected to public office.

Although the Colorado Raza Unida party did not have a panelist, Raza Unida activists from Denver and Pueblo spoke in the discussion. It



Some 400 Chicanos attended Alamosa, Colorado, conference organized to 'strive for a new unity among Chicanos.'

lasted for hours.

Eddie Montour, the current state cochairperson of the Colorado Raza Unida party, explained that his party had existed for seven years in Colorado and had grown out of the concrete experiences of Chicanos in that state. The party had been formed to politicize the Chicano people, he explained, and it accomplished this through the "tool" of Chicano nationalism.

Both Montour and the Maoists centered an attack on José Angel Gutiérrez—the founding leader of the Texas Raza Unida party, which has won several elections—for having allegedly "compromised" and "sold out" Chicanos.

Chicanos and socialism

The relationship between the struggle for Chicano liberation and the fight for socialism is being widely debated in the Chicano movement today, particularly among students. These Chicano activists are grappling with the problem of how to achieve the total liberation of their own people and how this relates to the struggles of other victims of this racist, exploitative system.

The lively discussion around this question was a very positive aspect of the political workshop.

A number of speakers raised questions about the Raza Unida party's work in Colorado during the past several years. The Raza Unida party must be more than an electoral party, they said. An independent Chicano party must also participate in mobilizing the Chicano people in activity in

response to their day-to-day oppression.

Some Chicanos mistakenly opposed the strategy of the Raza Unida party running candidates in elections. Participating in elections sows illusions in the system that oppresses Chicanos, they argued.

The Raza Unida party activists who spoke in the discussion did not put forward any prospects for the Colorado Raza Unida party in the upcoming 1976 elections. No candidates have been announced.

In fact, there was little or no discussion on the 1976 elections or what Chicanos should do about them. Among the first questions the Raza Unida party members and the Maoists were asked was what they were proposing for Chicanos to do in 1976. It was not answered adequately.

This question is not an unimportant one for Chicanos. The capitalist economic crisis is having devastating effects on the already depressed social and economic conditions of the Chicano nationality. Chicanos are once again the first fired and the last hired. The few gains Chicanos won through affirmative action are being wiped out. In addition, needed social services are being drastically cut back, and there is a mounting racist offensive against Chicanos' right to bilingual and bicultural education.

Support Democrats

The economic crisis opens the possibility of rapid growth of an independent Chicano political party like La Raza Unida party. However, at this time the overwhelming majority of

Chicanos still support Democrats.

The Raza Unida parties that do exist are confronted with the task of breaking the masses of Chicanos from the stranglehold of the Democratic party.

The still small parties will be able to do this only by providing Chicanos with a real alternative at the ballot box to the twin parties responsible for their oppression and by participating in ongoing struggle around the concerns of the Chicano people.

And there should be room in such parties for all Chicanos who want to build an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans. This includes Chicanos who have come to the conclusion that only a socialist revolution will liberate their people.

Increasing numbers of young Chicanos understand this question. As one Chicano student from Denver said in the discussion, "Socialism is not opposed to nationalism . . . I think that they complement each other."

No concrete proposals came out of the workshop dealing with Chicanos and the 1976 elections or with many issues now confronting the Chicano people in the Southwest.

But this discussion is far from over. The Raza Unida party of Colorado announced it will be holding a statewide conference. The discussion that began at the Alamosa conference can continue there. Although no date has been set, according to Raza Unida activists, it will take place in February or March in Pueblo.

Other workshops

On Saturday night the general assembly considered proposals from the workshops. The Chicano Student Movement workshop agreed to set up a coordinating committee to help reorganize Chicano students in Colorado on a statewide basis.

The conference passed a proposal from the Political Prisoners and Activists on Trial workshop calling for support to various Chicano political prisoners and frame-up victims. Among these were Verónica Vigil, a Chicana in jail for refusing to testify before a Colorado grand jury on the 1974 Boulder bombings that killed six Chicano students; and Dora Esquivel, a Chicana who, along with her son, was convicted of frame-up charges of robbing a sporting goods store in La Junta, Colorado.

The conference also voted to defend Juan Haro and Anthony Quintana, two activists from the Denver Crusade for Justice facing trial on charges of attempting to dynamite a Denver police station in September.

There were other proposals, supporting the American Indian Movement, the land fight still going on in the San Luis Valley and New Mexico, and activities opposed to the bicentennial celebrations.

Discussion beginning

In spite of the differences expressed around political perspectives for Chicanos, all agreed that the discussion was just the beginning.

The conference in Alamosa was an important step toward clarifying the differences that have divided the Chicano movement in that state and toward helping to forge a working unity to respond to the stepped-up racist attacks on the Chicano movement.

A Chicano student conference will be taking place on March 26-27. It was called by Chicanos Unidos for Action, a Chicano student organization at the University of Southern Colorado in Pueblo. For more information contact: CUFA, 2200 Bonforte, Pueblo, Colorado 81001; or call (303) 549-2120 or 549-2150.



Raza Unida party leader José Angel Gutiérrez addresses 1973 demonstration at state capitol in Austin, Texas. Protest was in response to cop murder of a young Chicano. Participation in such struggles is essential to future growth and development of Raza Unida parties.

Columbia opens antiunion scare campaign

By Flax Hermes

NEW YORK—Columbia University's President McGill, in a letter to "Members of the University Community" dated February 2, fired the opening rounds of the administration's attack against employees who are challenging its paternalistic claim to know what's best for them. Columbia's supporting staff—about 1,000 employees—will vote February 18 on whether we want to join the growing ranks of clerical workers who are part of Dis-

Flax Hermes is a clerical worker at Columbia University and an activist in the union organizing committee.

trict 65, Distributive Workers of America.

McGill maintains that as secretaries to famous professors we should be satisfied with the contributions we make to the progress of humanity: "The university has a special, educational mission quite unlike business and industry where the goal is profit."

Somehow Columbia University, which owns much of Morningside Heights and a chunk of the rest of the city, is supposed to be different from other employers. "The traditional model of industrial labor-management relations does not work well in the university context," McGill says.

The administration's attack is aimed



Low-paid secretaries should be satisfied with their 'special, educational mission' at Columbia, says administration.

at dividing us from other workers. White-collar university employees, who make as little as \$115 a week, are supposed to shudder at the thought of joining blue-collar workers in District 65, who make more money than we do. "The bulk of District 65's members are employed in the retail, wholesale, and warehousing industries. The union has had little experience with the unique relationships and diverse operations of a university," says McGill.

He neglects to explain that workers at Columbia-affiliated Barnard and Teachers College (who voted more than a year ago to join District 65), as well as members of District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees and members of Transit Workers Local 241 on campus, have higher salaries and better benefits than we do.

The administration's attack is designed to intimidate people from joining the union, through scare tactics. On February 6 the administration distributed two "fact sheets."

"District 65 would have you believe that its presence at Columbia would have no effect on your relationships with your coworkers and supervisors," begins one "fact sheet." "We suggest that District 65's strike record from 1969 to early 1975 in the New York City area does not support this statement," it continues, and then lists two pages of strikes.

The other "fact sheet" entitled "What Kind of Union is District 65?" seeks to portray the union as rigid and authoritarian. What's more, it falsely claims that in pursuing closed-shop agreements the union is seeking "to accomplish an illegal objective."

McGill says in his letter, "An outside organization with its own external goals is not likely to make a positive contribution to the solution of our common problems."

But the administration can't explain why some "insiders"—employees of Columbia University—have been working for three years to form a union so the supporting staff can have an effective voice in determining our salaries, benefits, and working conditions.

The union organizing drive was begun by and is being conducted by Columbia employees. We make our own decisions through the organizing committee, which has broad representation from the majority of almost thirty buildings on campus. And campus workers will make our decisions if we succeed in winning union recognition on February 18.

What the administration is trying to do with its scare talk about outside organizations is deny the right of campus employees to collectively bargain so we will have a say over our wages and working conditions.

Newark teachers end strike, ratify new contract

By Willa Madden

NEWARK—The 4,000-member Newark Teachers Union ratified a new contract on February 8, ending a week-long strike by teachers, aides, and clerks.

The NTU had originally demanded a 30 percent across-the-board salary increase and a cost-of-living clause.

The settlement, which NTU President Carole Graves called "the best package we could get," grants teachers raises averaging 8.5 percent over two-and-a-half years. There is no escalator clause.

The school board sought and obtained a court order outlawing the strike, but stopped short of trying to have the teachers cited for contempt of court for defying the order.

In the final days of the strike, negotiations revolved around how the raise should be divided. The union negotiators called for the bulk of the money to go to high-seniority teachers; the school board wanted to concentrate the increase on starting teachers.

The union argued that since the board is not hiring new teachers such increases would only exist on paper.

According to the compromise, the salary for starting teachers will rise

from \$9,460 to \$10,131; for teachers with eleven years' seniority, salary will increase from \$15,140 to \$16,901.

Negotiations are continuing on wage increases for 250 school clerks represented by the NTU.

The board had proposed getting money for salary increases by firing longterm substitutes and raiding fringe-benefit funds. The union rejected both ploys. The union also stayed off the board's attempts to lengthen the school day.

Other nonsalary demands won by the teachers include:

- Additional time for class preparation;
- Rotating homeroom and other special assignments on the basis of seniority, not the principal's whim;
- Establishment of a labor studies course as a secondary school elective subject, with personnel and curriculum selected by the NTU.

At the meeting that ratified the new contract, Graves said that support from other unions and community forces had been important in bringing the strike to an end.

The Service Employees International Union, which represents security, custodial, and maintenance workers, hon-

ored picket lines throughout the week. At many schools the teachers turned back trucks bringing supplies to the schools.

Especially significant was the support given the NTU by Elayne Brodie, a Black community leader who had been an outspoken opponent of two previous teachers' strikes.

At the ratification meeting, both Brodie and Graves spoke of the need for union members to unite politically to bring about an elected school board. Graves hinted she might run for office herself. The eight-person school board is currently appointed by Newark's Democratic party Mayor Kenneth Gibson.



Teachers applaud strike settlement at ratification meeting February 8

Pitt. graduate employees rally for union rights

By Mark McColloch

PITTSBURGH—One hundred twenty-five graduate teaching assistants and their supporters rallied January 30 at the University of Pittsburgh to demand collective bargaining rights.

The rally was held to protest a recent decision by the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board denying graduate employees the right to vote for a union.

It was sponsored by the Union of Graduate Employees, a section of Pitt's Local 3414, American Federation of Teachers.

In June 1974 the required 30 percent of the graduate employees and full-time faculty at Pitt petitioned the labor

relations board for a union representation election.

The university administration spent more than \$100,000 on legal fees in attempts to block unionization by stalling the board's hearings at every juncture. The board, staffed by appointees of Democratic and Republican state administrations, acquiesced, resulting in the longest hearings in the history of the Pennsylvania board.

Finally, on January 21 of this year, the board issued its ruling. It scheduled an election for the full-time faculty in March, but again postponed its decision on graduate employees, pending the outcome of a court case involving the status of interns as employees. This decision might not

come for two more years.

The university administration argues that the graduate employees are not workers—not even part-time workers. It is joined in this sham by the local chapters of the National Education Association and the American Association of University Professors.

Speaker after speaker at the rally demonstrated that the university's claim is nonsense.

Mary Czachowski, a teaching fellow from the English department, told the crowd that graduate employees teach 30 to 40 percent of the university course load.

John Miller from the economics department pointed out that deduc-

tions are taken out of his paycheck for all state and local taxes, including the city wage tax.

Linda Pritchard, who chaired the rally, received loud cheers when she characterized the university's non-employee dodge as "hogwash."

Ronaelle Novotny, vice-president of Local 3414, told the union supporters that an aggressive campaign is planned to force the administration to grant a collective bargaining election. The campaign may include picket lines, rallies, petitions, and possibly a strike, she said.

The next step is a mass meeting planned for February to expand support for the demand for an immediate election.

New details on FBI plots against Black mov't

By Baxter Smith

Of the 20,000 pages of FBI plots turned over to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, among the few made public by that Democratic-controlled body are scanty descriptions of operations against six Black organizations in the 1968-71 period.

The Nation of Islam, Rev. Ralph Abernathy's Poor People's Campaign, Rev. Charles Koen's Black Liberators and United Front, Joseph Waller's Junta of Militant Organizations, and Stokely Carmichael and the Black Panther party became FBI targets under its "Counterintelligence Program" (Cointelpro).

The new documents also reveal that in December 1970 the FBI began a program of targeting individuals it termed "Key Black Extremists" (KBEs).

To earn the label KBE an individual need only be "extremely active and most vocal" in opposition to racial discrimination, one document states. Another one adds:

"Intensified coverage to bring to bear the total capabilities of the Bureau on investigations of these individuals is warranted. We should cover every facet of their current activities, future plans, weaknesses, strengths, and personal lives to neutralize the effectiveness of each KBE. The finances, travel, utterances, and possible violations of Federal and local law of these individuals should receive the closest investigative and supervisory attention."

In explaining the vastness of the new disruption program, FBI head J. Edgar Hoover wrote in a December 23, 1970, memo:

"The term KBE does not require that an individual actually hold an official position in an organization but is to include others of equal importance because of their influence as black extremists."

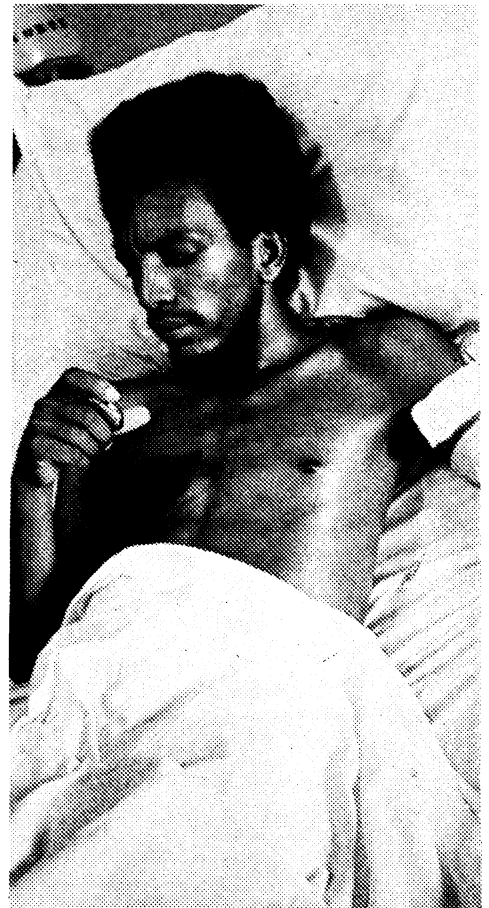
Uppermost in the minds of Hoover and his associates, the documents reveal, was the desire during the Black awakening of the 1967-71 period to trammel the efforts of Black organizations to win followers.

A battery of tactics were used in this process.

- The bureau in April 1970 seized on an opportunity to snaffle relations between the Panthers and Carmichael, the group's former prime minister.

Carmichael, who resigned from the group in 1969 and was living in Africa, criticized the Panthers in a speech during a visit to the states.

The bureau penned an account of his remarks and suggested it "be furnished to a cooperative news media source." The FBI's news story depicted



TARGETS: Ralph Abernathy, Stokely Carmichael, Charles Koen (shown recovering from fast in 1971) were just a few of Black leaders on FBI's enemies list.

Carmichael as having launched a "vindictive attack on the Black Panther Party organization and its black-and-white-revolution-together ideology."

The FBI wrote that Carmichael's remarks "may be used in generating additional mutual animosity between him and the Panthers to the benefit of the Bureau."

- In a February 1968 memo to Washington, the Boston FBI asked permission to supply material on the foibles of Nation of Islam leaders to a friendly radio talk show host. The interviewer would then twit the individuals into discussing "subjects which would be embarrassing for the NOI to answer."

Hoover wrote back: "You are authorized to furnish derogatory information about the Nation of Islam (NOI) to established source."

The next year, the bureau conducted a similar operation in Miami.

"This expose showed that NOI leaders are of questionable character and live in luxury through the large amount of money taken as contributions from their members," a document to Hoover said. "... Attendance by visitors at weekly NOI meetings has dropped 50%. This shows the value of

carefully planned counterintelligence action."

Hoover initialed the memo, "Excellent."

- A similar media operation was contrived in August 1968 by the Florida bureau against the Junta of Militant Organizations, the predecessor of the African People's Socialist party. Joseph Waller, the leader of the group, would be taunted on a TV program into making "wild remarks and present JOMO in a most unfavorable light in the Negro and white communities."

- The bureau also hoped to saddle the St. Louis Black Liberators and United Front, in Cairo, Illinois, with undue burdens by impugning the loyalty and morality of their leaders.

Between 1969 and 1970 the bureau circulated letters falsely accusing activists of debauchery and of squirreling away organization funds for the purpose of high living.

Rev. Charles Koen, the leader of the United Front, admitted the letters "almost destroyed my marriage." He recently filed a \$6 million damage suit against the bureau for its actions.

- The FBI also used a media operation against the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Poor People's Campaign.

The campaign, led by Rev. Ralph Abernathy, was set up to lobby Congress to end the poverty and oppression of Blacks. It eventually drew a couple of thousand Blacks to the capital in June 1968 even though the FBI had earlier manufactured news stories to malign the effort after campaign organizers procured motor vehicles to transport Blacks to Washington.

"The mule train got great publicity for the poor people," one FBI story said, referring to the dramatization of the broken promise of forty acres and a mule to freed slaves, "but when it comes to the hard work of 'turning the Nation's Capital upside down,' in the words of Reverend Abernathy, the poor people invest in several thousand dollars worth of automotive equipment."

The story added that the campaign "bought two more cars over the Memorial Day weekend, making the fleet as large as some of the car rental agencies in Washington."

Another FBI news story on the campaign reported that in one caravan descending on the capital there were 315 unsupervised Black teenagers. Therefore, it concluded, "Washington, D.C., faces an explosive situation."

Black teacher fights for tenure at U. of Wash.

By David Zilly

SEATTLE—Joe Brazil, a Black assistant professor of jazz and saxophone denied tenure through a racist decision by the University of Washington, has won a round in his legal battle to void that decision.

Seattle Superior Court Judge Norman Ackley denied on January 28 a university motion to throw out the suit filed by Brazil under the state's Open Meetings Act, which has been in force since 1971.

Brazil was denied tenure at a closed "special meeting" of the music faculty in October 1974. No minutes of the meeting were made, making it impossible, for example, to determine whether the quorum necessary to vote on tenure was present.

The decision was subsequently ratified at an open "special meeting" in

March 1975. A motion was passed ratifying all previous decisions of the music faculty. However, when Brazil's attorney tried to speak about the tenure question at the open meeting, that request was denied.

The university's lawyers argued in court that the closed meeting was legal and that the decision was legal because it was made at the second, open meeting.

Some seventy-five Brazil supporters had crowded into the courtroom. When the decision denying the university's motion to dismiss was announced, they broke out into applause.

After his court victory, Brazil stated, "I'm very elated at this time. It makes me feel that the student body and people like the Black Student Union and the Student Coalition Against

Racism have shown their presence and persistence in this case."

Those two groups have been working with the Joe Brazil Defense and Fund Raising Committee to demand that Brazil be granted tenure.

Recent activities organized by the campus groups include a rally of 125 people held January 26. Brazil supporters announced a petition drive that will culminate in another rally on February 27.

In conjunction with the university defense activities, a meeting was held in Seattle's Black community January 29 to drum up support for Brazil's right to tenure. Participants in the meeting included representatives of the Central Area Motivational Program (CAMP), Seattle Black Panther party, and *Facts* (a Seattle Black newspaper).

The university claims it is dismiss-

ing Brazil because he failed to generate enough interest in his courses and did not attend committee meetings.

These charges have never been substantiated. His courses are exceptionally popular, and up to 100 students wanting to take them have been turned away at registration time. Moreover, Brazil was never informed of committee meetings until he objected and demanded the right to attend.

Brazil charges that the real reason for his dismissal is "because I'm Black and I happen to be speaking out on my views." Brazil has been insistent on the need for more Black faculty and courses.

Having won a preliminary victory in the courts, Brazil has announced he will continue to push the suit, since the June 1976 expiration of his present contract is rapidly approaching.

Calendar

ATLANTA

MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS. A filmstrip presentation. Speaker: James Harris, SWP. Fri., Feb. 20, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St. NE, Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

CHICAGO: WEST-NORTH

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE MURDERS OF FRED HAMPTON AND MARK CLARK. Speakers: Bill Hampton, brother of Fred Hampton; Hollis Hill, attorney for Hampton civil suit. Film: *The Murder of Fred Hampton*. Fri., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 428 S. Wabash. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

CLEVELAND

SEXUAL STEREOTYPING AND TEXTBOOKS. Speaker: Claudia Trevithick, University Heights Project on Sexism in Education. Fri., Feb. 20, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

MILWAUKEE

WALLS AND BARS: PRISONERS IN WISCONSIN. Speakers: Linda Hoelzer, Prisoners for Survival; Bill Clayton, former prisoner, SWP; other former prisoners. Fri., Feb. 20, 8 p.m. 207 E. Michigan St., Rm. 25. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

PORTLAND

TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X. A film and speakers. Fri., Feb. 20, 8 p.m. 208 S.W. Stark, Rm. 501. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

ST. LOUIS

DESEGREGATE ST. LOUIS SCHOOLS! A public discussion of the NAACP school desegregation suit. Speakers: Forris Elliot, attorney for NAACP; Glenn White, SCAR. Fri., Feb. 20, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland Ave., Rm. 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

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TWIN CITIES

ELEVEN YEARS AFTER THE ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X. Speakers: Yusef Mgeni, codirector, Malcolm X Pan-African Institute, KUOM radio producer; Bobby Hickman, Inner City Youth League director; Lorraine Page, SWP. Fri., Feb. 20, 8 p.m. Pilgrim Baptist Church, 732 Central Ave. W., St. Paul. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE 'WASHINGTON POST' STRIKE: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS' ASSAULT ON THE PRINTING-TRADES

UNIONS. Speakers: James Dugan, press operators Local 6 president; Tom Grubisich, Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild president; Jim Gotesky, SWP. Fri., Feb. 20, 8 p.m. 1345 E St., NW, Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

ANGOLA: THE NEXT VIETNAM? Speaker: Malik Miah, member of SWP National Committee. Wed., Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th and Harvard NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...steel

Continued from back page

It took massive vote fraud for Evett to hold even a slim majority in the election. Sadlowski challenged the rigged vote and was able to get a Labor Department investigation. Eventually, faced with the certainty of a court-ordered rerun, Evett was forced to consent to a new election.

The Abel machine poured its resources and influence into defeating the challenger. But Sadlowski, campaigning on the theme of union democracy, had tapped a deep reservoir of anger and militancy among the rank and file. Hundreds of steelworkers turned out for the spirited Sadlowski rallies at union halls and plant gates.

And the Abel-Evett forces discovered, to their chagrin, that red-baiting Sadlowski as a "subversive" failed to stampede the membership.

With 300 Labor Department poll watchers supervising the November 1974 election, Evett was buried under a two-to-one Sadlowski landslide.

Steelworkers Fight Back can be contacted at 9271 South Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60617.

Sadlowski found, probably as he had expected, that winning the District 31 election was only a first step.

Evett had left with most of the district files and some of the funds. Much of the staff—which is paid by Abel, not by the district—remained tied to the machine. So did the leaders of many locals.

Winning rank-and-file control over the steelworkers union, it became clear,

would require a powerful, national movement. It would take a long fight.

"Right now," Sadlowski writes, "we're engaged in a campaign to call a special convention that would reorganize the union dues structure and roll back the salaries of International Officers and District Directors. We need 1500 locals to pass resolutions calling for this kind of special convention and we have almost half of that number to date.

"In the future Steelworkers Fight Back will undertake other campaigns around different issues—all intended to make our union live up to its potential as a vehicle to serve the interests of working people instead of high paid union bureaucrats. This may very well include running a slate of candidates for International Offices in the Steelworkers in 1977."

Neither Abel nor Secretary-Treasurer Walter Burke will be eligible to run for office again, having passed the compulsory retirement age. But so far the union hierarchy has not been able to agree on a successor to Abel.

One slate, headed by Lloyd McBride, director of St. Louis-based District 34, has already been announced. McBride is a machine stalwart who pledges to continue Abel's policies, including the no-strike pact in the basic steel industry, the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement."

Candidates for the top offices in the USWA must be nominated by a minimum of 125 union locals during a nominations period in December 1976. The election will be held by membership referendum in February 1977.

The Steelworkers Fight Back effort has attracted support from other parts of the labor movement. The initial mailing from Steelworkers Fight Back includes a letter of endorsement from Victor Reuther, a longtime leader of the United Auto Workers.

In Sadlowski's fight for a fair election in District 31, he was represented by well-known labor attorney Joseph Rauh. Rauh aided Arnold Miller and Miners for Democracy in ousting the corrupt leadership of the United Mine Workers in 1972.

Sadlowski's movement is often compared to Miners for Democracy, and

rightly so. But the conservatized bureaucracy that sits atop the steelworkers union is just as ruthless as the Boyle dictatorship was in the UMW—and far more powerful.

Nor will the multimillionaire owners of the steel industry look favorably upon the prospect of a militant, democratic steelworkers union.

These corrupt defenders of the status quo have power, influence, and immense financial resources.

But it was the strength of the rank and file that built the United Steelworkers. Organized and mobilized, they can take back their union and make it serve their interests.

That is the challenge before Ed Sadlowski and Steelworkers Fight Back.

Correction

In the article "An appeal from Louisiana's death row" in the February 6 *Militant*, the address given for the Gary Tyler Fund was incorrect. The correct address is: Gary Tyler Fund, c/o Juanita Tyler, 736 Mockingbird, Destrehan, Louisiana 70087.

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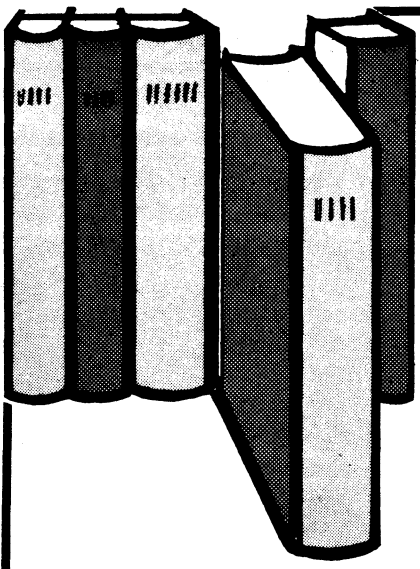
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THE MILITANT

SADLOWSKI: CHALLENGE IN STEEL



District 31 steelworkers at massive rally for jobs in Washington last April

Militant/Flax Hermes

By Andy Rose

A major challenge to the entrenched bureaucracy of the United Steelworkers of America is shaping up behind Ed Sadlowski, the insurgent director of USWA District 31.

Sadlowski won national prominence in 1974 when he wrested the directorship of the Chicago-Gary district, the largest in the USWA, from the bureaucracy's handpicked candidate.

Now Sadlowski has launched a nationwide movement called Steelworkers Fight Back. Its avowed purpose is to restore democratic, rank-and-file control over the steelworkers union so it can fight effectively for the needs of working people.

This campaign inside the 1.4 million-member steelworkers union will have repercussions throughout the entire trade-union movement.

It is a fight that deserves support from all steelworkers and other unionists who want to see—in Sadlowski's

words—"a tough, democratic labor movement."

In a widely circulated letter appealing for support to Steelworkers Fight Back, Sadlowski describes the purpose of the new movement:

"We are determined to eliminate the kind of tuxedo unionism some of our leaders have practiced in the past. We want to give our union back to the membership; and we're determined to make our union the kind of progressive political force its founders intended it to be."

Sadlowski cites the problems plaguing working people today: inflation, unemployment, lack of social services, corruption, big-business control over government and our lives.

"The only way we can fight back is through our unions," he says, "but in the last few years, the leadership of many unions simply hasn't done the job. In fact, many labor leaders today have become absolutely conservative.

They've bought into the national status quo."

An immense economic and social gulf separates the top officials from the ranks, Sadlowski charges. "[I.W.] Abel makes \$75,000 a year as President of the United Steelworkers where the average member makes about \$5 an hour."

Sadlowski hits the AFL-CIO leadership's flag-waving support to the Vietnam War as a prime example of a stand directly contrary to the interests of the workers.

"Who's the guy that was going? It was my son that works in the steel mill. It's not the banker's boy. The kid in the damn trenches in Viet Nam, that was the working-class kid."

Sadlowski's letter continues: "When democracy is snuffed out in our unions, when leaders begin to view the union as their personal gravy train for their fat \$75,000 salaries, it's no wonder that when times get tough real wages for

the average steelworker drop 5% in a year. It's no wonder, with that kind of staid inbred leadership, that the labor movement has a lower percentage of the total workforce under contract today than it did 30 years ago."

Sadlowski, who is thirty-seven, has given voice to the discontent and rebelliousness brewing among the new generation in the plants.

He doesn't believe in the litany of "class peace" and "harmony of interest" with big business preached by the AFL-CIO tops. And he speaks out against the racism and discrimination fostered by the country's rulers and accepted by much of the union leadership.

The movement around Sadlowski has its roots in the steel mills that sprawl for mile after mile along the southern shore of Lake Michigan. District 31, with 130,000 members working in 500 plants, includes nearly 10 percent of the USWA membership.

For more than thirty years the district was ruled as the personal fiefdom of Director Joe Germano. When Germano retired in 1973 he designated his faithful sidekick Sam Evett to succeed him.

Evett was a typical small-bore officeholder who had never worked a day of his life in the mills or shops.

Sadlowski's background is different. His father and grandfather were steelworkers before him. He joined the union as an eighteen-year-old laborer at U.S. Steel's South Works in Chicago.

Sadlowski served as a grievanceman and was elected to two terms as president of the 10,000-member Local 65 before serving a stint on the district staff. Then he decided to take on Evett in the February 1973 election for district director.

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Ed Sadlowski speaks out...



SADLOWSKI: 'We need a tough, democratic labor movement.'

On the right to strike (which was signed away by Abel in the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" with the steel industry): "The right to strike is the origin of the workers' power and any industrial democracy that will mean a better share of the wealth for us cannot be had by abandoning that right."

On the fight for jobs: "[The issue] is how the economy can create jobs which will put people to work in ways that lead to a better share of the wealth for those who need it most. Clearly we must begin

building more middle- and low-cost housing again, and more or improved mass transit systems. More money will have to be spent for health care, educational programs, parks and recreation, and community development programs."

On racism: "The biggest thing management has had going over the years is this game of divide and conquer—especially between Blacks and whites. . . . You can't be a union man and a racist. No way. You can't be a union man and be a redneck."