

THE MILITANT

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

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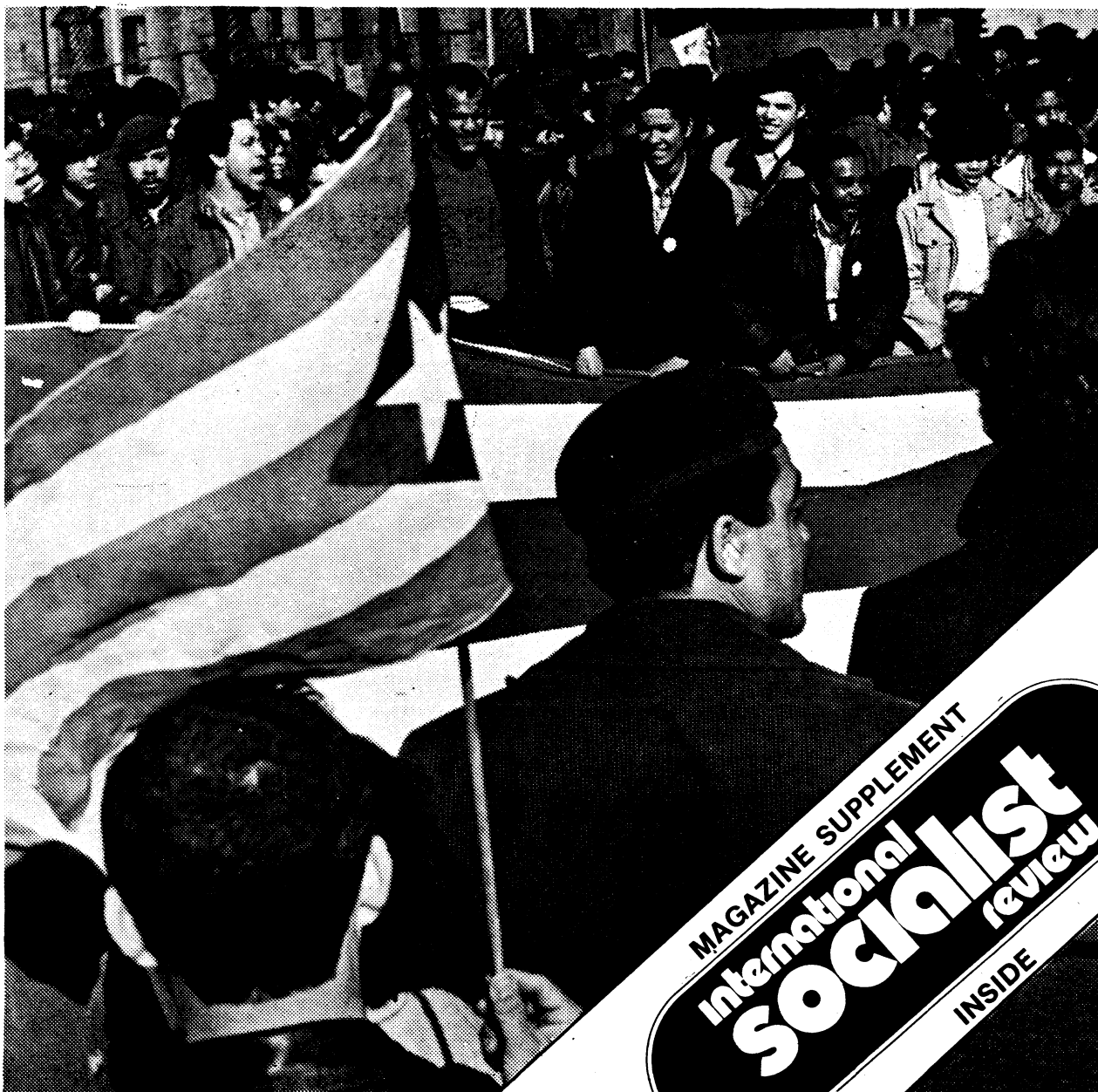
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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 40/NUMBER 13
APRIL 2, 1976
CLOSING NEWS DATE—MARCH 24

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: LARRY SEIGLE
Business Manager: ROSE OGDEN
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING
Washington Bureau: NANCY COLE

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Telephone: (213) 269-1456. Washington Bureau: 1345 E St. NW, Fourth Floor, Washington, D.C. 20004. Telephone: (202) 638-4081.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S., \$7.50 a year; outside U.S., \$13.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada and Mexico, \$35.00. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: £1.50 for eight issues, £3.50 for six months, £6.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

STOP EXECUTION: Desmond Trotter, a political activist on the island of Dominica, faces imminent execution by hanging. The government had been harassing Trotter for his leading role in African liberation solidarity demonstrations and his position as an editor of two Black nationalist newspapers. Now, to eliminate Trotter completely, the government has framed him on murder charges. An appeal to London's privy council has just failed. (Dominica is an "associate" state of the British Commonwealth.)

The Desmond Trotter Defense Committee has called for emergency protests to stop the execution. Telegrams should be sent to: Prime Minister Patrick John, Ministerial Building, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies. The committee can be reached care of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 254-6062.

MORE EVIDENCE OF TYLER FRAME-UP: Additional new evidence has surfaced in the frame-up conviction of Gary Tyler. Tyler, a seventeen-year-old Black youth, is on death row for the 1974 murder of a white student. He was convicted on the testimony of one "witness," Natalie Blanks, who swore she saw Tyler fire a gun from a bus into a mob of white racists. Several weeks ago Blanks recanted her testimony, saying that the police coerced her into lying.

On March 24 Blanks's lawyer, Sylvia Taylor, submitted an affidavit saying that she had met with the prosecutor and the judge at the time of the trial seeking written immunity for her client. She and Blanks's mother feared that the young woman's testimony was false and could lead to perjury charges.

With this new evidence, the defense has filed a motion for the judge and the prosecutor to excuse themselves from the hearing on a new trial for Tyler. The hearing is set for April 21. The Louisiana Supreme Court has stated that it will not rule on an already pending appeal of Tyler's conviction, until the Twenty-ninth Judicial Court rules on the motion for a new trial.

RACIST DEMOLITIONISTS: In last week's *Militant* we reported that vigilantes tried to blow away a Black family and their home in a suburb outside Louisville on March 2. The Coleman family narrowly escaped injury when dynamite exploded in their driveway, shattering windows in their home.

On March 19, representatives from forty-six Louisville community groups, trade unions, and churches held a news conference on the steps of the county courthouse. They demanded the arrests of the perpetrators of this assault. Jackie Garrett, chairperson of Progress In Education, a prodesegregation group, commended the Colemans for their courage. "Unfortunately," she continued, "most of our public officials have not been equally courageous. Their silence can only be interpreted as a sanctioning of the violence against the Colemans."

BLACK EDITOR TOURS FOR APRIL 24: Robert Allen, noted Black rights activist and editor of the *Black Scholar*, is coming to New York to help build the April 24 national prodesegregation march on Boston. Beginning March 31, the New York Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR) will sponsor meetings for Allen at Borough of Manhattan Community College, John Jay College, City College of New York, Teachers College at Columbia University, Brooklyn College, and New York University.

At 7:30 on April 2, Allen will be a featured speaker at a Martin Luther King commemoration meeting at the Robeson Student Center at the Newark campus of Rutgers University. Speaking with him will be Luis Fuentes, bilingual educator and former superintendent of New York's District One schools; and Rev. Buster Soares, president of Essex County Operation PUSH. And on April 4, Allen will participate in a rally for school desegregation in Queens at Andrew Jackson High School.

For more information contact: New York SCAR, Post Office Box 1968, New York, New York 10027. Telephone: (212) 280-3991.

JUSTICE FOR TREVINO: Protest against the murder of Danny Treviño, a Chicano killed by San Jose cops on January 22, continues with a March 27 "March for Justice" called by the Committee on Public Safety (COPS). This demonstration follows a February 17 march of 1,500. The Chicano community is demanding the jailing of the cops who murdered Treviño, an open grand jury hearing, an independent investigation of the case, and the establishment of a police review board.

NCLC MOVES AGAINST SWP BALLOT RIGHTS: The right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) has launched another attack on the democratic rights of working people. On March 17 NCLC member Henry Moss formally challenged Socialist Workers party ballot petitions

in Pennsylvania. In a three-week period, supporters of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, SWP candidates for president and vice-president, and Fred Stanton, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, collected 49,000 signatures to place the candidates on the ballot. This was well over the 30,000 required in Pennsylvania.

"The state board of elections spent over four hours counting and checking our signatures to be sure that we had the required number," stated Stanton in response to the challenge. "Our party has qualified for the Pennsylvania ballot every presidential year since 1948. Now the NCLC is trying to stifle the ideas that our candidates are expressing."

A hearing on the challenge will be held on March 29 in commonwealth court in Harrisburg.

ABORTION VICTORY: In New York, Medicaid funds must be made available to poor women who choose to have abortions. This was the recent decision of a three-judge federal district court. The ruling wipes out New York State Commission of Social Services regulations that denied these funds to women seeking "voluntary" abortions. It stems from a suit, *Klein v. Nassau County Medical Center*, brought in 1972 when the hospital invoked the regulations to refuse all abortions. At that time, the same three-judge panel rejected the state regulations, stating that to provide Medicaid reimbursement and hospital services for childbirth but not for elective abortions was to unconstitutionally coerce poor women into bearing children. However, the state appealed.

The recent ruling came after the U.S. Supreme Court instructed the federal district court to reconsider the case in light of the 1973 decision legalizing abortion. "This victory comes at an important time, when the right to abortion is under severe attack," stated Rhonda Copelon, a lawyer for the Center for Constitutional Rights. "The state fought hard to keep this regulation to provide local anti-abortion forces a handle to restrict access to abortions."

WAGES OF SIN DEPT: The chairman of Gulf Oil Corporation, Bob Dorsey, was ousted earlier this year after revelations that the company had greased the palms of capitalist politicians here and abroad to the tune of \$12.3 million in recent years. Though Dorsey departed under a cloud, it turns out to have a platinum lining. The deposed chairman gets a lump-sum retirement benefit of \$1.6 million, vacation pay of \$54,000, and \$16,330 under a stock-bonus plan. Plus a yearly pension of \$48,158 and the right to purchase 200,000 shares of Gulf stock at 20 percent below the current market price. Like, ouch!

—Ginny Hildebrand



Special Offer For New Readers

Will the ERA be ratified in 1976? Thousands of women's rights supporters are preparing to march on Springfield, Illinois, on May 16 to demand their rights now. The *Militant* will keep you informed of May 16 plans and other activities and discussions in the women's movement.

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Rhodesia talks break down

Racist regime rejects majority rule

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

The negotiations between Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and Zimbabwean nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo, which had been held behind closed doors for three months, were broken off March 19.

At a news conference in Salisbury, the Rhodesian capital, Nkomo said, "In the end the talks broke down on the single and fundamental issue of majority rule now."

The more than six million Blacks of Zimbabwe, who outnumber whites by 20 to 1, have been demanding Black majority rule for more than a decade. However, the white settlers, led by the racist Smith regime, have resisted all steps in that direction. Their privileges and economic position are based on the dispossession and domination of the Black population.

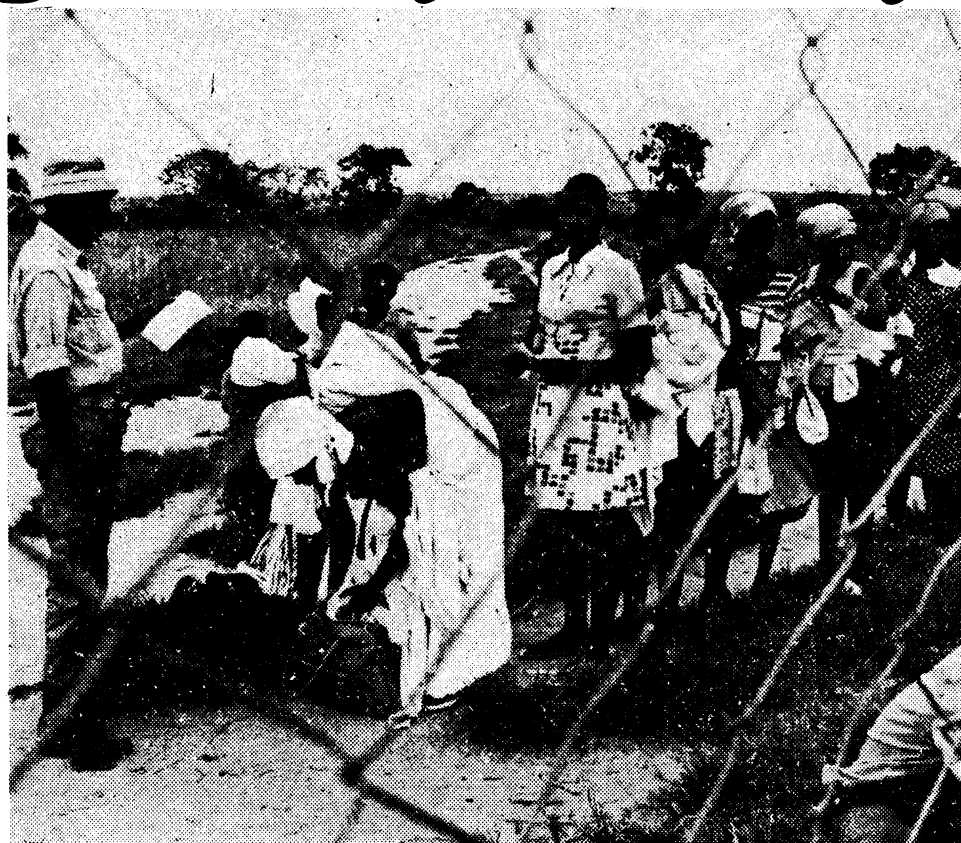
According to Nkomo, Smith was willing to consider accepting majority rule only after a ten- to fifteen-year transition period. The day after the talks were ended, however, Smith reaffirmed his total rejection of Black rule, stating, "I don't believe in black majority rule ever in Rhodesia, not in a thousand years."

Smith said in Salisbury March 19 that the reason for the impasse was Nkomo's insistence on the immediate resignation of the white regime and the dissolution of the Parliament, in which Smith's Rhodesian Front holds all fifty of the white seats (sixteen other seats are reserved for Blacks).

Smith also said that Nkomo called for a change in the racist voting qualifications to allow for the election of a Black parliamentary majority. The present high property and education qualifications in effect deny the right to vote to all but a tiny proportion of the Zimbabwean population.

Following the breakdown of the talks, both Smith and Nkomo called on Britain, the former colonial power in Zimbabwe, to step in.

"It is the goal of Britain to decolonize this country," Nkomo said. "If she is not prepared to play her role, then



Zimbabweans line up to be searched in Rhodesian 'strategic hamlet.' Forced resettlement of thousands of Blacks is aimed at isolating guerrillas.

Britain and the regime have left it to the people themselves."

Smith said, the day the breakdown in talks was announced, "I believe that the British Government should no longer avoid the responsibility which it claims and should now actively participate in resolving the constitutional issue in Rhodesia."

Replying to Smith's appeal, a Foreign Office spokesman in London stated March 19, "There is no question of the British Government becoming involved in these talks until it is clear that Mr. Smith accepts that there must be an early transition to majority rule in Rhodesia."

The British daily *Guardian* also rejected coming to Smith's aid. "There can be no rescue operation, diplomatic or military, from this country," it said.

This public rebuff to the Smith regime came on the heels of a similar statement by Washington. Secretary of State Kissinger, speaking before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee March 16, declared that Washington "will do nothing to help the white minority to exercise authority in Rhodesia."

A State Department official in the Bureau of African Affairs said that Kissinger's remarks were designed to "clarify" White House policy, "to make sure Smith doesn't misunderstand the signals."

Kissinger's clarification followed a warning to Havana and Moscow two weeks earlier not to get involved in the Zimbabwean conflict. That warning had been interpreted by some Rhodesian officials as a sign of support to

the Smith regime.

The British and American imperialists have applied some diplomatic and economic pressure on Smith in an effort to compel him to reach a compromise settlement with Nkomo. Their aim is to head off a mass upsurge that may threaten imperialist interests in all of southern Africa.

While ruling out a rescue of Smith, London has at the same time "stepped up its search for an informal bargain—possibly involving the Soviet Union, Cuba, Angola, and South Africa—that would reduce the prospects of a guerrilla invasion of Rhodesia that could, conceivably, lead to wider racial warfare throughout southern Africa," according to correspondent Robert B. Semple in the March 21 *New York Times*.

Guerrilla action in eastern Zimbabwe, along the border with Mozambique, has already risen sharply since the beginning of February. And with the breakdown of the talks, the prospects for an expanded armed conflict are even greater.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, a leading proponent of a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe, said March 19 that Africans had no choice but to intensify the armed struggle. He characterized the halt to negotiations as "the gravest hour in the history of our subcontinent."

The faction of the African National Council (ANC) opposed to Nkomo, which is led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, and James Chikerema, hailed the breakdown of the talks in a March 20 statement. That wing of the ANC has frequently denounced Nkomo's participation in the talks and has called for the overthrow of the Smith regime through guerrilla warfare.

Issued on behalf of Muzorewa in Nairobi, Kenya, the statement declared that Nkomo was now "irrelevant," although it invited him to "come back to the fold." The statement also called on all Zimbabweans to join the Muzorewa wing of the ANC.

Court orders new trial

Carter and Artis freed from prison

By Tom Tilitz

NEWARK—On Saturday, March 20, Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis walked out of prison.

They are free on bail after serving nine and one-half years for a crime they did not commit—a 1966 murder of three people in a Paterson, New Jersey, bar. Carter and Artis are reunited with their friends and families because the New Jersey Supreme Court has overturned their convictions and ordered a new trial, saying that the prosecution withheld "material evidence favorable to the defense."

This victory was the culmination of a massive defense effort involving thousands of people in demonstrations, petitioning drives, and benefit concerts actively supported by Muhammad Ali, Bob Dylan, and other prominent figures.

Support for Carter and Artis has been aroused by the particularly arbitrary and racist nature of the frame-up.

Their 1967 conviction and life sentences were meted out by a white judge and an all-white jury, and based on the testimony of two white men, who later

admitted they had lied on the witness stand.

Carter was a prime target for police harassment in 1966. At the time, he was the top contender for the middle-



Rubin 'Hurricane' Carter

weight boxing championship. He had made use of his prominence in the ring to speak out against police brutality in the Black community.

So in October 1966, four months after the barroom shooting, cops coerced Arthur Bradley and Alfred Bello into swearing that they saw Carter and Artis fleeing the Lafayette Bar and Grill, guns in hand. These star witnesses sold the Black men's freedom for police promises of special leniency on burglary charges they faced.

The sordid details of this frame-up began to unravel in 1974 when Bradley and Bello recanted their earlier testimony. However, Superior Court Judge Samuel Lerner rejected defense appeals for a new trial, saying the recantations lacked "the ring of truth."

But new evidence soon documented the sinister truth behind the recantations.

The pressure of defense plans for a supreme court appeal and an intensified public defense campaign put the squeeze on the police. The prosecutor's

office released a detective's notebook and tape recording of discussions between the police and the star witnesses detailing the bribe.

The court cited this previously suppressed evidence as proof that Carter and Artis had been denied due process.

Hundreds of jubilant Carter and Artis supporters greeted Carter as he left the Paterson prison. Their elation was shared by thousands who see that the state will be bucking huge odds in its next drive for conviction.

The prosecution and its only two witnesses who had "positively" identified Carter and Artis stand totally discredited.

The defendants, on the other hand, have won the confidence and active backing of thousands across the country.

At a news conference shortly after the supreme court issued its decision, Carter said that he welcomed a new trial. To him, it's an opportunity to prove that "Rubin Carter and John Artis would not, could not, and did not commit that crime."

Decades of Zionist aggression

Behind Arab revolt in Israeli-held

By Steve Clark

An eleven-year-old boy died in a Jerusalem hospital March 22 from a gunshot wound in his head. The young Palestinian was one of three Arabs wounded by Israeli soldiers who fired into a crowd of demonstrators the previous Wednesday.

This murder marks the bloodiest chapter so far in the repressive blitzkrieg launched by Israeli authorities in recent weeks against the Arab population on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River.

The arrests, curfews, beatings, and other measures have as their aim the suppression of widespread strikes and demonstrations among the 700,000 West Bank Palestinians.

These protests are the most powerful upsurge of nationalist struggles inside Israeli-occupied territory since the establishment of the Zionist state in 1948.

A religious conflict?

Most news accounts have portrayed this outbreak of protests as simply a religious dispute between Muslims and Jews. An editorial in the March 22 *New York Times* called it "an expression of localized resentment at an obscure decision of a lone Israeli magistrate concerning the rights of religious Jews to pray on Jerusalem's Temple Mount, which is also a Moslem holy place."

Actually, demonstrations on the West Bank began in late January after the debate in the United Nations Security Council on the Israeli occupation of Palestine—well before the incident referred to by the *Times* editors.

Other important protests broke out last fall, spurred by the UN resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racism. Demonstrations also swept across



Israeli soldiers beating young Palestinian demonstrator in East Jerusalem during current protests against Zionist occupation of Arab territories.

the West Bank for two weeks in 1974 when Yasir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), spoke before the UN General Assembly.

Of course, the provocative violation of a Muslim holy place pointed to by the *Times* did fuel the current protests. Yet the participation of Christian and Muslim Arabs alike in these struggles clearly shows that national oppression, not religion, stands at the center of the dispute.

As Hassan Rahman, the PLO's

deputy UN representative, told *Intercontinental Press* in a March 20 interview, "What does this uprising mean? It means that the Palestinian people have decided to resist occupation, to reject occupation. . . ."

Zionists uproot Palestine

The Zionists' claim to "legitimacy" for the Israeli state is the UN partition of Palestine in 1947. Palestinian Arabs—who made up 1,280,000 out of a total population of 1,874,000—opposed this division imposed on them

by the imperialist powers.

Under the proposed UN partition, as many Arabs as Jews would have been left inside the boundaries of the new Jewish state, and three-quarters of the arable land would have belonged to Arabs. The smaller, landlocked area carved out for the Palestinians was far less fertile.

The Zionists had no intention of either tolerating a Palestinian state on their border or leaving large tracts of land in Arab hands. Joseph Weitz, the head of the Jewish Agency's Colonization Department in Palestine, had written as early as 1940:

"Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country. . . . The only solution is Palestine, at least Western Palestine without Arabs. . . . And there is no other way out but to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries; to transfer all of them; not one village, not one tribe should be left. . . ."

In 1948 the Zionists launched a war with this aim in mind. They seized half the territory allotted to the Palestinians under the UN partition, and worked out a secret deal with Jordan's King Abdullah giving him the remainder—the West Bank.

During the war, many Palestinians took refuge from the battle zones, while others fled from massacres and bombings carried out by Israeli terror squads. After the war, these refugees were not allowed to return to their homes, and their property was seized by the Israeli government.

In all, 750,000 Palestinians were driven from their homeland by Israeli terror, and most of the land passed into Israeli hands.

The Zionist movement from its beginnings sought to serve as imperial-

Camejo & Reid urge U.S. protests

[The Organization of Arab Students in New York has planned a picket line at the Israeli mission to the United Nations March 30 to protest the brutal repressive measures taken by the Zionist regime in recent weeks against demonstrations in the occupied West Bank. The action will coincide with a general strike of all Arabs in Israel called for that day by an emergency meeting of Palestinian leaders.]

[The Palestine Liberation Organization is supporting the action.]

[The following is a statement issued March 22 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the candidates of the Socialist Workers party for president and vice president, backing the New York picket line and calling for solidarity actions across the country.]

An emergency meeting of Palestinian leaders has called for a general strike of all Arabs in Israel. The strike is to protest the reign of terror mounted by Israeli troops against the Palestinians living in the occupied area of the West Bank. The date for the strike has been set for March 30.

It is important to organize actions in solidarity with the Palestinians on as wide a basis as possible. These should include picket lines, protest rallies, and teach-ins. For maximum effect the solidarity actions should be held wherever possible on the same day as the

projected general strike, that is, March 30.

The background of the situation is as follows:

In recent weeks, the nearly 700,000 West Bank Palestinians have carried out the biggest and most sustained mass struggle against Zionist oppression since the formation of the Israeli state.

The American public has been able to see the reaction of the Israeli government on television—Israeli soldiers beating children aged nine, eleven, and fourteen; Israeli troops firing into the air to terrorize the population; an eleven-year-old boy in critical condition with a bullet in his head. Thanks to the bravery of the Palestinians of the occupied West Bank, the world has been able to see the real nature of the Israeli regime.

The mobilizations against the Israeli occupation began at the end of January; they were answered with heavy fines, beatings, curfews, increased censorship, and travel restrictions. But the protesters refused to be intimidated. Increasingly heavy-handed repression succeeded only in pushing more Palestinians into the struggle.

The pro-Israeli capitalist press has done its best internationally to suppress details and to downplay the significance of the resistance. But even its reports have mentioned demonstrations in every major town on the West Bank, including Jerusalem, Bethle-

hem, Nablus, Jericho, Jenin, Bir Zeit, Hebron, Al Bira, Halhoul, Tulkarm, and Beit Sahur.

On March 7, Israeli troops stormed into the Kadri Touqan school in Nablus, dragging pupils from their desks and beating them. The students had committed the "crime" of shouting slogans against the Zionist occupation.

The response came at once. Nablus was paralyzed by protest strikes, and the entire town council resigned in protest.

An even more brutal attack March 10 on students at Bir Zeit College resulted in the immediate resignation of the mayors and city councils of Ramallah, Al Bira, and Bir Zeit.

As demonstrations continued, the Israeli occupation forces clamped twenty-four-hour curfews on Ramallah, Al Bira, Hebron, and Halhoul. According to *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith, in Ramallah, "Soldiers fired bursts of machine-gun fire into the air to clear the streets quickly."

In Bethlehem, students barricaded themselves in the university and ran up the Palestinian flag. In the nearby village of Beit Sahur, the mayor resigned, charging that Israeli soldiers had beaten up clerks in the municipal building.

On March 17, Israeli soldiers shot and wounded three demonstrators aged eleven, fourteen, and eighteen on the outskirts of Jerusalem.

In face of the mounting repression,

Palestinian leaders called an emergency meeting. Toufik Zayed, the mayor of Nazareth, said: "The government holds us by the throat. We will catch it by the throat. We will demonstrate, stage sit-downs and hunger strikes and shock the television screens of the whole world."

It was this assembly that elected a "Committee for the Defense of the Arab Land" and called for a general strike of Arabs in Israel on March 30.

It is the constant encroachments of the Israeli regime that have compelled the Palestinians to resist. Their resistance has been met with savage reprisals. Spearheaded by the student youth, the spirit of rebellion against oppression is mounting. The struggle resembles the ones seen in Northern Ireland, in Zimbabwe, in Czechoslovakia, and in the Black ghettos of the United States.

International solidarity actions can offer effective help to the Palestinians.

First of all, they can have a direct effect in limiting the Israeli regime's use of brutal repressive measures.

Secondly, they can help assure the Palestinians that people all over the world support their rights and are on their side in the struggle against Zionist oppression.

All out on March 30!

End the brutal repression!

Down with the Zionist occupation!

Stop the seizures of Arab land!

West Bank cities

ism's key outpost in the Mideast.

Washington in particular helped to bolster Israel's economy after the 1948-49 war, integrating it into the world capitalist market. The Pentagon aided Israel in constructing a powerful army and air force.

A strong Israel, the U.S. government reasoned, would be a bulwark against rising nationalist aspirations among the Arab masses that could threaten American oil holdings in the area, along with other vital U.S. economic and military interests.

Israel expanded its territories still further during the so-called "six-day war" in June 1967. The Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip were seized from Egypt, the Golan Heights from Syria, and the West Bank from Jordan. Half a million more Arabs were driven out of their homeland by terror bombings against Palestinian refugee camps.

Some Zionist leaders were not entirely satisfied with the results of the war, however. Writing in the September 29, 1967, issue of *Davar*, the daily paper of the ruling Israeli Labor party, Joseph Weitz wrote:

"... in [the 1948-49] war a twofold miracle happened: a territorial victory and the flight of the Arabs. In the Six Days' War, one great miracle happened: a tremendous territorial victory; but most of the inhabitants of the liberated territory remained 'stuck' in their places—which may destroy the very foundations of our state."

Israel's intentions were stated even more bluntly in January 1968 by then-Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, speaking in Tel Aviv to a group of American businessmen:

"Why do the Arabs hate the Jews? Answer: they take us to be foreigners, invaders that took an Arab country and turned it into a Jewish state. And they are right about it. From their point of view, we did it. We didn't come here to contribute, or for a contribution to the Arab countries."

Israel's 'Jim Crow' society

Contrary to Dayan, it is not Jews who are the object of Arabs' hatred, but the state of *permanent aggression* by the Zionists against Palestine since 1948. This has meant not only the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homes, but the imposition of flagrantly racist measures against Arabs who remain inside Israeli-occupied territory.

Public funds for schools, health, and social services are allocated to favor Jewish areas inside Israel. Arabs face widespread job discrimination, are barred from the armed forces, and are denied the fundamental political right to form nationalist parties or associations. Palestinian activists face constant harassment, beatings, nighttime searches, and arbitrary arrests.

Housing discrimination is officially sanctioned and fostered in Israel. Property owned by the Jewish National Fund—a substantial portion of Israeli land—cannot be leased to non-Jews, for example.

On February 29 the Israeli Cabinet approved a plan to "confiscate thousands of acres of Arab-owned land in Galilee and the Negev Desert," according to a report in the March 1 *Washington Post*.

A February 29 *New York Times* dispatch from Tel Aviv reported, "Arabs represent some 58 percent of the population of Galilee. This has caused Israeli leaders serious concern. The housing program is part of a campaign to encourage and facilitate Jewish settlement in the region."

Furthermore, Israel's Law of Return

guarantees immigration rights to Jews from any part of the world, while denying 1.5 million Palestinian refugees the right to return to their homeland.

Conditions are even worse in the areas conquered by Israel in 1967 and held under military occupation to this day. "There the people have no rights at all," Israel Shahak, chairperson of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, told *Intercontinental Press* in a February 1975 interview. "All committees, parties, organizations, trade unions, and so on are completely prohibited in the occupied territories. Any political activity, even closing the shops in protests, is prohibited."

Since 1967 more than 1,500 West Bank Arabs have been deported without trial, and hundreds more have been jailed as "administrative detainees"—also without trial or charges.

Israel's expanding borders

Following Israel's 1967 conquests, the Zionist regime moved rapidly to incorporate these new territories into its permanent boundaries. It also stepped up military assaults against Palestinian refugee camps and other targets in Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt. These aggressive acts led to the October 1973 war, during which several Arab states challenged Israel's expansionist aims.

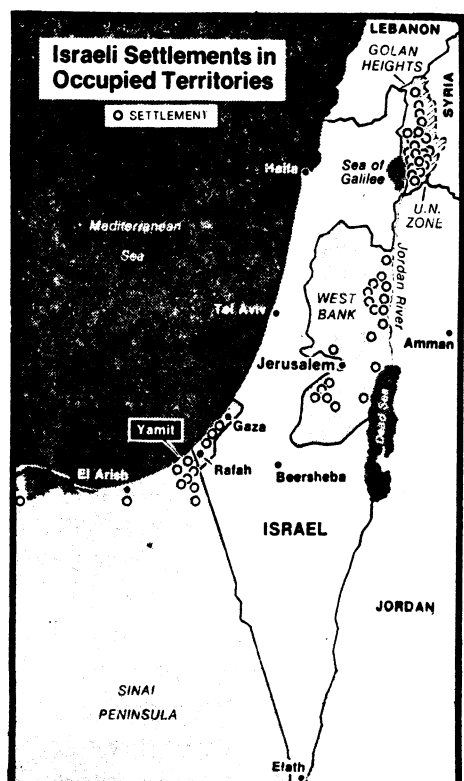
Zionism's policies in the Mideast were not turned back, however, and Israeli terror raids and colonization of occupied territories have continued unabated since 1973.

An unsigned dispatch in the December 2, 1975, *New York Times* reported that "plans were being drawn up for 20 to 30 more settlements to be established on the Golan Heights, on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza-Rafa area during the next few years." During the last nine years Israel has established 55 settlements in these areas.

The current protests on the West Bank have been spurred in part by opposition to two colonizing efforts there—one at Kadum near the city of Nablus, the other at Ofra near the city of Ramallah.

New York Times correspondent Terence Smith wrote last November 5 that such settlements, "which range from paramilitary agricultural hamlets on the Golan Heights to incipient cities, represent the reality of Israeli policy."

"They are the tangible evidence," he said, "of Israel's determination to carve out new borders of the territory taken in 1967."



New York Times/Nov. 13, 1975

'Jobs for Democrats'

Hawkins-Humphrey bill: election year flimflam

By Andy Rose

With a great tooting of horns and fluttering of press releases, a new version of the Hawkins-Humphrey bill has been introduced in Congress.

Said by its sponsors to be "strengthened and improved" from earlier models, it is entitled the "Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1976."

A more candid label would be the "Full Employment for Democratic Politicians in 1976 Balancing Act."

The new bill is chock-full of promises to curb inflation, end discrimination, clean up the environment, improve productivity, boost profits, bust trusts, end waste, conserve resources, solve crime, cure drug abuse, improve mental health, call a halt to alienation and class polarization, and—as the means to accomplish all these—it promises to *provide jobs*.

What it really provides is a vote-catching slogan for the Democratic presidential campaign. Candidates Morris Udall and Fred Harris already endorse it. Henry Jackson and Jimmy Carter are "studying" it.

Its chief architects are Hubert Humphrey, leading presidential non-candidate, in the Senate, and Augustus Hawkins and Henry Reuss in the House. It is sponsored by 10 senators and more than 110 members of the House.

The bill has the backing of George Meany and the AFL-CIO Executive Council. The National Committee for Full Employment—made up of Democratic politicians, union officials, and some Black leaders—has announced a petition drive in support of the legislation.

Like its previous incarnations, the revised bill would establish as a "declaration of policy" by Congress "the right of all adult Americans able, willing and seeking work to opportunities for useful paid employment at fair rates of compensation."

There are two major changes:

First, the target date for "full employment" has been pushed back to *four years* (that is, one presidential term) after enactment of the bill.

Second, an earlier provision that unemployed workers could go to court for relief if the government failed to provide jobs has been scrapped.

Thus the "right to a job" is left with no legal standing whatsoever. It is up to Congress and the president to interpret the election-year promise as they see fit later on.

Nor does "full employment" have the common-sense meaning of every worker having a job. It is defined as 3 percent unemployment—for adults.

For workers under twenty, who suffer the highest jobless rate, no target figure is set. So even if the bill's stated goal were reached, millions would still be jobless.

Since the bill's sponsors do not expect it to be adopted until next year—if then—even this dubious target for "full employment" is postponed until 1981 at the earliest. By that time even President Ford predicts a reduction of unemployment to 4.9 percent.

The truth is that the Hawkins-Humphrey bill will not reduce unemployment to 4.9 percent.

Or to 3 percent.

Or at all.

It does not provide for the immediate creation by the government of even *one* job.

Public works jobs are to be instituted only:

- if Congress and the president judge that the "full employment" target will not be met on time,



Militant/Harris Freeman

Recent demonstration against unemployment. Hawkins-Humphrey bill has no provisions to make the right to a job a reality.

- if it is deemed "practicable,"
- if it is "consistent with [the government's] needs and obligations and other essential national policies," and
- if it can be done "in a manner calculated to foster and promote free competitive enterprise."

And don't expect any money to be taken from the Pentagon budget for jobs under the Hawkins-Humphrey bill. It specifically lists "national defense and other needed international programs" among its "priority policies and programs."

Even though the bill is touted by Democrats and union bureaucrats as an answer to race and sex discrimination, it does not have one word to say about the discriminatory layoffs going on right now. Both jobs and equality are strictly pie in the sky.

The bill does have some concrete provisions:

It does direct the president to draw up a "Full Employment and Balanced Growth Plan" and report each year on progress toward meeting the plan.

It does provide for appointment of an "Advisory Committee on Full Employment and Balanced Growth."

It does establish a "Division of Full Employment and Balanced Growth" in the Congressional Budget Office.

It does create a "Full Employment Office" within the Department of Labor.

The total effect of all these provisions is merely to admonish future administrations to shape their economic policies so as to achieve what no capitalist government has ever accomplished: stable growth and full employment.

The reason the government hasn't provided jobs for all is not that it lacks the necessary bureaucracy—committees, plans, and offices. The problem is that the government represents the interests of the wealthy minority that owns and controls all industry in this country.

The capitalists find it *profitable*—especially in this period of sharper competition from their international rivals—to restrict economic growth and keep unemployment high, so as to pressure workers to accept lower wages and worsened working conditions.

Far from challenging the profits of the rich or the anarchy of capitalist production, Representatives Hawkins and Reuss declare:

"Just last week Premier Kosygin of the Soviet Union alleged that the United States and other Western

Continued on page 30

Maoists try to break up rally for Iran prisoners

By David Keepnews

SAN JOSE—Despite concerted efforts to disrupt it, a March 16 meeting on "Repression in Iran" was held here at San Jose State University. The event, sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), drew 400 people.

It was conducted amid attempts by about 125 members of various Maoist factions of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) to shout down speakers and provoke a physical confrontation.

Those in attendance heard Daniel Ellsberg, authors Kay Boyle and Jessica Mitford, Nemat Jazayeri of CAIFI, and others describe cases of political repression in Iran and urge people to involve themselves in CAIFI's efforts to free Iranian political prisoners.

One of the scheduled speakers, well-known Iranian poet and former political prisoner Reza Baraheni, was unable to attend the meeting. Several minutes before the event was slated to begin, San Jose police informed Baraheni that through a "reliable source" they had learned there was a plot to assassinate him at the meeting.

The police refused to disclose their source or say who was behind the plot, but informed Baraheni that they would be unable to provide for his safety.

According to the campus newspaper, the *Spartan Daily*, the Maoists said the death threat was not made by anyone from the ISA, and slanderously accused CAIFI of manufacturing the threat.

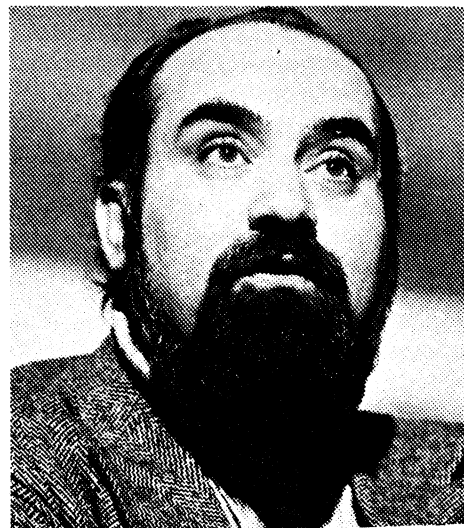
The Maoist disruption of the meeting follows a pattern established over the past year. ISA members have tried to shout down Dr. Baraheni in Berkeley, Boston, and Austin, Texas.

At least ten different leaflets, in Persian and in English, had been

distributed by the various Maoist factions of the ISA during the week leading up to the San Jose event. While all these leaflets labeled CAIFI, and Baraheni in particular, "agents of the shah" of Iran or CIA operatives, the Persian-language leaflets were the most inflammatory.

One of them called for turning the meeting into "a battleground." During that week ISA members—many of whom had come from Northern California cities solely to disrupt the meeting—made clear their intentions, making physical threats against the meeting and against CAIFI supporters.

The Maoists' chanting, whistling, stamping, and booing began immediately after the meeting's chairperson, Asher Harer of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 34, introduced himself. It continued throughout the remarks of Daniel Ellsberg, who has apparently



Baraheni, Iranian poet and former prisoner of shah, received death threat.

been added to the Iranian Maoists' list of "CIA agents" along with Gloria Steinem and Kate Millett.

The ISA members, who were joined by members of the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade and Revolutionary Communist party, extended their disapproval to all the other speakers as well.

Ray Gonzales, a leader of the Chicano community's efforts to win justice for Danny Treviño, a young Chicano murdered by San Jose cops, spoke to ask support for an upcoming March 27 community demonstration. He too faced Maoist heckling.

Although the attempt to drown out the speakers was virtually unrelenting, most of the talks could be heard over the din. Only a well-organized defense team of more than 100 people kept the meeting from being stopped.

The meeting heard Ellsberg denounce the regime of the shah of Iran, scoring U.S. ties with this dictatorial government.

Kay Boyle, a professor at San Francisco State University, discussed the cases of a few of Iran's more than 100,000 political prisoners, concentrating on the case of Tehran sociologist Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi. Tabrizi was jailed in 1972 without charges after writing a study of the living conditions of peasants in Iran, and she has been severely tortured.

Boyle charged that the United States is "responsible for Tabrizi's imprisonment."

Disapproval of the disruption was swift and widespread. A statement issued on Tuesday morning asserting the right of CAIFI to hold its meeting was signed by Representatives Norman Mineta, Ronald Dellums, Don Edwards, and Paul McCloskey; Katherine Bishop of the Santa Clara

County American Civil Liberties Union; San Jose State student body President John Rico; *People's World* editor Carl Bloice; and various student and labor leaders.

The speakers themselves scored the disrupters at the meeting. "I've never been intimidated," said Ray Gonzales. Daniel Ellsberg, answering the charge of being "a CIA agent," told the crowd, "Those who work for the shah and the CIA can be identified as those who do not want to hear criticism of the shah."

In its March 18 edition, the *Spartan Daily* condemned the disruption, stating that "the first amendment to the constitution applies to everyone and not simply to a small, noisy group of detractors."

CAIFI leaders say they will launch a national campaign to condemn the disruption and assert their right to free expression.

Baraheni at Brown

On March 22, a successful meeting featuring Reza Baraheni was held at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island.

One hundred fifty people turned out to hear a panel discussion on repression in Iran, sponsored by a broad range of campus organizations.

Other panelists included Joshua Rubinstein, Boston area director of Amnesty International; Prof. William McLaughlin of Brown's history department; and Nasrin Pakizegi, Boston Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.

Georgia trade unionists join drive to pass ERA

By Al Budka

ATLANTA—Opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment have claimed that the ERA is not in the interests of working women and Black women. Both these lies were answered by a panel of five trade unionists here March 20.

The panel, sponsored by the Trade Union Task Force of Georgians for the Equal Rights Amendment (GERA), was part of an outreach campaign to build the May 16 national march in Springfield, Illinois, to ratify the ERA.

"We as trade unionists have a special role to play in building the May 16 demonstration," said Martha Shockey, a member of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1644. "Union support can make the difference in whether or not the Equal Rights Amendment will win ratification in 1976."

Shockey, a coordinator of the GERA Trade Union Task Force, explained the committee's goals as "educating and mobilizing" the ranks of the Atlanta labor movement in support of the ERA. "We have produced a special brochure entitled 'Trade Unionists Support the ERA' to answer the myths spread by the STOP ERA forces," she told the other unionists. "And we've set up a speakers bureau to attend local union meetings throughout Atlanta."

So far, the task force has spoken to ten union meetings. Six of the locals endorsed the May 16 rally.

Virginia Ramsey, chairperson of the Grady Hospital chapter of AFSCME Local 1644, discussed the relationship of Black working women to the ERA fight.

"Women's oppression hits the poor hardest—Black and white," Ramsey

said. "But Black women especially had better get serious about the passage of the ERA."

"The law says that Blacks are free. But we aren't," she continued. "Just the fact that the laws are there doesn't mean a thing if they're not enforced." Citing the discrimination against Blacks in the work force and the racist attacks on school desegregation in Boston, Ramsey went on to explain that ERA ratification would not be the end to women's-rights struggles, but would be a new tool in their struggle for equality.

"Just like with the Civil Rights Act and school desegregation, we will have

to keep fighting and organizing ourselves for our rights as women and as Blacks."

Ramsey's AFSCME local has endorsed the May 16 rally and donated the funds to print more GERA trade-union brochures in a local union shop.

Gail Husbands, a member of the executive board of the Atlanta Association of Educators (AAE) and of the board of directors of the National Education Association (NEA), spoke on the discrimination that women face in her field.

Sixty-seven percent of all teachers in this country are women, she reported. "But the average salary of male

teachers is \$2,000 greater than that of women."

"Eighty percent of all elementary school principals and 95 percent of all high school principals are men," Husbands pointed out. The ERA would aid women teachers in their efforts to win equal pay with men and higher-paying jobs, she said.

Another AAE member, Carolyn Green, also addressed the meeting. She reported on the decision of the NEA's Fifth Annual Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education to endorse the May 16 ERA action called by the National Organization for Women.

She read the conference resolution, which pledged to "urge ALL members of NEA to attend the rally" and to "create a committee to build participation of NEA members in the rally."

Members of the Atlanta Association of Educators and the GERA Trade Union Task Force are planning to bring a motion supporting May 16 to the Georgia Association of Educators state convention.

In addition, the AAE is distributing the GERA trade-union brochure to teachers through its building representatives.

James Thompson, legislative liaison for the Georgia United Auto Workers, also spoke on the panel. He said: "I'm here today to commit the full resources of the UAW to the ERA movement in 1976. We will work shoulder-to-shoulder with you to see that next year Georgia will become one of the last four states to ratify the ERA."

The meeting also received greetings from Service Employees International Union Local 579 and Guy Baker, business manager of the Atlanta Chemical Workers Union.



From left: James Thompson, UAW; Carolyn Green, AAE; and Martha Shockey, AFSCME, speak out at panel for ERA.

'Solidarity' is keynote at N.Y. rally to protest murder attempt on Garza

By Linda Jenness

NEW YORK—"What happens to one of us happens to all of us," said Elizabeth Colón, a member of the community school board in District One. "And I think we should use that as a motto."

It was indeed the byword of the evening as 150 people turned out March 20 on New York's Lower East Side in a display of community solidarity with Catarino Garza, the target of an assassination attempt five days earlier. Garza is the Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from the Eighteenth Congressional District, which includes the predominantly Puerto Rican Lower East Side.

"What happened to Catarino," said Colón, "could happen to any of us who dare speak out, who dare say what we feel."

The meeting was an impressive show of unity in the face of a right-wing attack. The crowd enthusiastically greeted the community leaders and representatives of organizations who came to protest the murder attempt and to demand that the city authorities act to find the would-be assassin.

On the morning of March 16, a rifle bullet crashed through the window of Garza's tenth-floor apartment. The shot came moments after Vangie Eidsvik, one of Garza's campaign workers, had opened the venetian blinds and turned on a light by the window.

It was a shot meant to kill. It came within a foot of hitting Eidsvik.

"According to the police, who ought to know, this sniper was a pretty good shot," Katherine Sojourner, Garza's campaign manager, told the rally.

On most other mornings it would have been Garza standing by the window. That day, however, he had left the apartment early to go to Albany to join a demonstration against cuts in state funding for education.

Despite the seriousness of the attack, the police have steadfastly refused to carry out a serious investigation.

New evidence

On March 17, Garza's campaign committee turned over to the cops new evidence that the sniper's shot was an act of right-wing political terror.

Several days before the attempted assassination, a hate sheet called the *Baruch Eye* began circulating on the



Militant/Lou Howort
Elizabeth Colón, member of District One school board, at protest meeting.

Baruch College campus. This paper contained several overt threats on the life of Mark Friedman, editor of the *Baruch Sentry*, a student paper.

Friedman shares the apartment with Garza. He is an active supporter of the socialist congressional campaign.

The *Baruch Eye* "exposed" the fact that Friedman is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. It proclaimed: "The Baruch College Veterans Association has voted to throw [Friedman] a necktie party." And it warned Friedman to have his "life insurance paid up."

Yet the cops have refused to pursue the link between these death threats and the bullet fired into the apartment where Friedman and Garza live. The detective from the police intelligence unit that has been "investigating" the case says that the threats at Baruch are "out of our jurisdiction."

"Whether that bullet was aimed at Catarino Garza or at one of his supporters," Katherine Sojourner said, "it was an attempt to silence socialists and to silence the Garza campaign. This new evidence makes it even more imperative that there be a thorough, complete investigation."

Speaker after speaker at the rally denounced the unequal treatment faced by Puerto Ricans and other minorities, and by socialists, at the hands of the cops and the city authorities.

"It is Mr. Garza's right to run for office and to get equal protection," said

Carmen Díaz, president of the Tenth Street nucleus (branch) of the Puerto Rican Socialist party. The PSP, she said, offers its "solidarity with Mr. Garza."

"We feel that it is his right to run for office if he wants to. That is his right. We also denounce any attacks against any leftist group."

Carmelo Díaz, like Elizabeth Colón an elected member of the community school board, said, "It is a privilege to be here in support of Catarino Garza, a friend of everybody—a friend of the poor people in this community."

"When any minority person tries to rise to a position of prominence," said Carmelo Díaz, "a position held by those who have been on the top all their lives, we are putting our freedom, our reputation, our rights, and our lives on the line."

"When they fear you are going to win, and are going to taste some of the candy—the sweets—that they have enjoyed, they try to put an end to your campaign. They try to eliminate you."

"I never thought it would come to the extreme of trying to dispose of you. The attempt against Mr. Garza is a deplorable act. . . ."

"I join Mr. Garza in demanding that the government authorities take a serious look at this incident and investigate it thoroughly until they find the would-be killer. [Garza's] campaign for getting into Congress should be protected as well as it would be if the attempt was against a Republican or a Democrat."

Other speakers at the meeting included Garza (see below); Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York; Carlyle Thornhill, a student government leader at Baruch; and Laura Quintano, from the Hunter College YSA. SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, who were unable to attend the rally because they are on national speaking tours, sent a message of support.

Ethel Lobman, a leader of the SWP branch on the Lower East Side, made an appeal for funds that netted more than \$1,300 in cash and pledges for the Garza campaign.

'Ostrich approach'

Doug Jenness, a member of the SWP Political Committee, wound up the rally by explaining the importance of a

vigorous public response to right-wing attacks.

"Sometimes we are told that the best thing to do is to let things ride," he said. "That the right-wingers are just out to get some publicity when they carry out these kinds of attacks. That it's better not to get publicity because that's just what they want."

"We say no. That's the approach of the ostrich, the big bird that runs around and, when it is being chased, supposedly sticks its head in the sand."

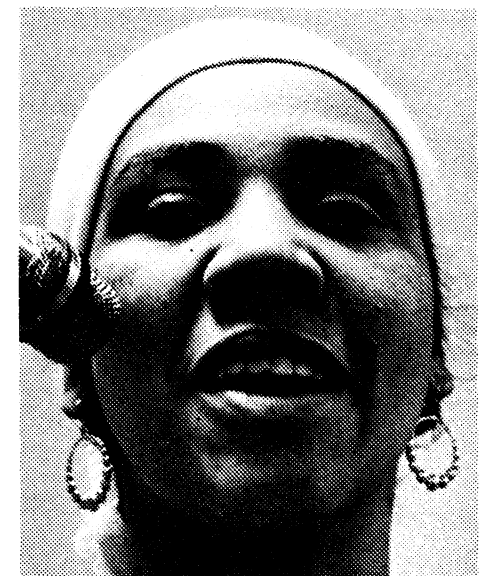
"But this leaves a great deal of its anatomy exposed. The upshot of that approach is that you can get a big bite in the hind end!"

"We want our heads out of the sand, so that we can speak out loud and clear and can see what's happening around us. We have to speak out, and speak out as a united force. That is the way to discourage and demoralize and give warning to those who carry out these right-wing attacks."

Jenness concluded by referring to the motto suggested earlier by Elizabeth Colón. "I don't know if you know it, but that's a longtime slogan in the labor movement, going back to the turn of the century—"

"An injury to one is an injury to all!" came a shout from the audience.

"Right," said Jenness. "We have to rally people of all different views, whether they are Democrats, Republicans, or socialists, who are willing to protest these attacks and to stand up for democratic rights."



Militant/Lou Howort
Carmen Díaz brought solidarity message from Puerto Rican Socialist party.

'That bullet was aimed at all of us'

[Following are excerpts from the speech by Catarino Garza to the March 20 protest rally.]

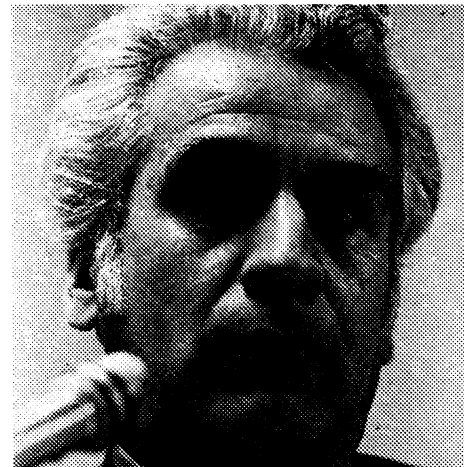
The rulers of this country try to create an atmosphere in which those of us who are socialists, those of us who advocate independence for Puerto Rico, those of us who struggle for the rights of Black people, are seen as a menace. They create an atmosphere in which right-wing terrorists feel they can organize violence against us without fear of being caught and punished.

What is it that we advocate and do that the capitalists and their government consider so dangerous?

We can be very specific. We are involved in the fight for bilingual-bicultural education. We say it is our right—*es nuestro derecho*.

Is that so dangerous? Hispanic and Chinese parents and children don't think it's a danger. But it is a danger to those who don't want to permit Puerto Ricans, Hispanics, and Asians

access to decent jobs at decent wages—a danger to those who want to keep us on the bottom of the pile. They do that by preventing our children from getting an equal education, a good education.



Militant/Lou Howort
Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for Congress in the Eighteenth Congressional District.

What's so dangerous about our support for the right of Puerto Rico to be free and independent? The only people who think this idea is dangerous and subversive are the big investors, the bankers and industrialists who have seized control of Puerto Rico, and who make immense profits each year from the cheap wages they pay Puerto Rican workers.

What's so dangerous about organizing the people of this city to save our jobs, and prevent the closing of schools, hospitals, day-care centers, and libraries?

Is it illegal, subversive, or un-American to think that everyone should have a job, doing constructive work for decent pay?

Is it so dangerous to talk about transforming this society so that the needs of working people become the first priority?

Well, it appears that some people think these ideas are dangerous. And they are determined not to permit

people to hear them, to think about them, and least of all to organize to make them come true.

That's why that shot was fired.

And that's why, although the shot was fired into my apartment, it wasn't aimed just at me or at Mark Friedman. It was aimed at all of us in this room—at anyone who is struggling for these ideas.

But how desperate they must be to think that a rifle is an effective response to the aspirations of millions!

How isolated they must be to think that a sniper can refute ideas that reflect the needs of the overwhelming majority in this country!

What fools they must be to think they can stop this movement with a bullet! What we represent is much bigger and much stronger than any sniper's bullet.

The turnout tonight and the response of the community are proof that our movement, and our campaign, will not be silenced.

Soviet dissident's appeal

Plyushch: 'Fight for socialist democracy'

[The following open letter to Communist parties of the East and West was issued February 23 by the Ukrainian antibureaucratic fighter Leonid Plyushch, who is now living in France.

[Plyushch was convicted in the Soviet Union in 1973 of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and held for two-and-one-half years in a "psychiatric hospital." The Kremlin bureaucracy objected to his steadfast defense of Ukrainian national rights.

[After a worldwide outcry against the Kremlin's persecution of Plyushch, he was released last January and allowed to emigrate.

[The translation from the original Russian is by Intercontinental Press.]

Dear Comrades,

The Twenty-Fifth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) will soon begin. Your representatives will be at this congress. It is for this reason that I appeal to you in this letter in the name of all the Communists in the Soviet Union who stand in opposition to conditions existing in the USSR.

So as to make our position clear, I will remind you of some tragic events in the history of the international Communist movement.

I realize that many of you find the testimonies of the samizdat authors unconvincing. Therefore, I will try to base myself solely on generally known facts with which you can acquaint yourselves by carefully reading the materials of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU, the historical studies of Soviet scholars during the period of the Khrushchev "thaw," and samizdat articles written by persons who remain Communists.

Accomplices of Hitler?

In the 1930s, the Comintern concentrated its forces not so much against the Nazis as against the Social Democrats, who were regarded as the accomplices of Hitler. As a result, the working class was split, and its struggle against fascism was paralyzed.

In 1939, the CPSU concluded a treaty of "peace and friendship" with fascist Germany. Molotov declared that after three months the war had undergone a dialectical transformation, and that France and England had become the aggressors. And many Western Communists followed the turn in the course of the CPSU. Theodore Dreiser, for example, made indignant protests because the United States began to help England and France.

The blindness of the Comintern went



Tatyana and Leonid Plyushch in France after his release from Soviet 'psychiatric hospital.'

Norma Andersen

to the point of dissolving the Polish Communist party at a time when all forces had to be mobilized for the struggle with fascism.

The Stalin gang wiped out foreign Communists after the war as well. I need only mention the trial of Slansky, the first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist party.

Thanks to the geographic position of their country and their firmness, the Yugoslav Communists averted KGB interference in their state affairs. You remember what a flood of lies was unleashed against Yugoslavia. Tito was supposed to be an "agent of the Gestapo," and "friend of Franco," and so on.

You might reply that all this is over with, and that since the Twentieth Congress the CPSU has set out on a Leninist course.

'Prague Spring'

Remember the fate of Czechoslovakia. No sooner did the Czechoslovak CP decide to set out on an independent course than it was invaded and occupied by Soviet troops. All of you can acquaint yourselves with the document of the "Prague Spring" and see the falseness of the accusations against the Czechoslovak Communists. I want simply to note the most important fact—Dubcek had the full support of the people and the party.

The occupation of Czechoslovakia exposed the CPSU in the eyes of all peoples; it exposed the great-power chauvinist course of the Soviet government's international policy. The events of 1968 are a grave warning for all

peoples: Too close ties with the USSR constitute a threat to their independence.

I want to remind you about the domestic policy of the CPSU. In the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congress, unfortunately, most of what was said focused on the fate of Communists. The leaders of the CPSU were afraid to talk about the tragic fate of millions of nonparty workers, peasants, and intellectuals. They did not decide to hold a public trial of the hangmen of the Soviet people.

The Stalinist Gestapo liquidated virtually all the figures in the October revolution and the civil war who had played any significant role—party leaders, officials in the Soviet apparatus, trade unionists, leaders of the Communist Youth, commanders of the Red Army. The party of the Bolsheviks was physically and morally destroyed and replaced by the party of Stalin (and even in Stalin's party, any independent thinking was systematically wiped out).

Usurper of soviets

In the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses, it was said that the secret political police—the GPU, NKVD—stood above the party. It was not said that the top-level party bureaucracy usurped the power of the soviets. In the USSR, the workers, peasants, and intellectuals have no influence over their government (remember the "palace" coup in 1964, when Khrushchev was ousted without the people knowing anything about it).

I want to remind you of one of the

most terrible crimes committed by the Stalinist party.

At the end of the Second World War, many peoples of the Caucasus, Crimea, and the Volga region were accused of "betraying the fatherland" and were exiled to Central Asia and Siberia. Now some of them have returned to their homelands. But the Crimean Tatars, the Meskhis, the Greeks, and the Volga Germans cannot return to their homelands.

The Meskhis and Crimean Tatars have been waging a struggle for many years to return to their ancestral lands. Active participants in this struggle are prosecuted and jailed in prisons and camps. The fate of these peoples is yet another lesson for other nations.

In the 1960s a movement arose in the Soviet Union for democratizing the country. The participants in this movement demanded respect for the political, economic, and national rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, rights that are also written into the Soviet constitution, which formally promises elections, freedom of speech and conscience, the right of national self-determination, and so on.

The democratic movement unites both Communists and non-Communists.

Return power to workers

We Communist oppositionists believe that with the democratization of the Soviet government, power will pass from the hands of the party and Soviet bureaucracy to the hands of the workers. We believe that a restoration of private property is impossible in the USSR (if there is a democratization of the country). Bitter historical experience has taught us that a state cannot develop normally if opposition is banned.

We appeal to you to struggle for an amnesty for political prisoners throughout the world and especially in the "socialist" countries.

You Communists in the capitalist countries say that you are fighting for a humane, democratic, communist society. But the peoples of your countries can make their own judgments about events and choose their road. The CPs of the so-called socialist countries have discredited and are discrediting the ideals of communism. Only if you resolutely and uncompromisingly support the democratization of the "socialist countries" and amnesty for political prisoners in these countries can you prove to your peoples that you will not bring them the horrors of Stalinist dictatorship.

Socialism without democracy is anti-socialism.

Respectfully,
L. Plyushch

Protest right-wing terror in Argentina

NEW YORK—Representatives of the Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People (SCAP) and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) delivered a protest to the governor consul of the Argentine Consulate here on March 13. Chants of "End right-wing terror in Argentina" and "Free all political prisoners" could be heard from the eighty picketers two floors below in the street.

Those picketing braved a driving hail-storm to register their protest at recent revelations of complicity of the Argentine government with the right-wing terror squad known as the AAA (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance). The AAA has admitted to the murder of several hundred labor, religious, student, socialist, and other leaders in the past year and a half.

In a recent news release the AAA

promised to murder "all individuals, regardless of their nationality, religion, race, or creed, who obey unpatriotic Marxist, Masonic, anti-Christian, or international reactionary Jewish interests."

Recent revelations have linked the AAA directly to the Peronist government. In testimony before a parliamentary investigating commission on February 4 of this year, retired army Lieutenant Héctor Paino testified that he had been recruited to the AAA by the director of public relations and press in the Ministry of Social Welfare, Jorge Conti, who provided him with a governmental post as a cover for his illegal activities.

He also reported that another high government minister, José López Rega, was deeply involved with the terrorist outfit. According to Paino, funds from ministry accounts were used to pur-

chase submachine guns for the murderers.

The only response of the Argentine consul, Frederico Bernini, to the delegation's charges was to characterize his reports in the *New York Times* and other papers as "lies" that "slandered the Argentine nation." He denied the existence of any political prisoners or repression of labor militants or other activists.

He claimed to have no knowledge, because of the "thousands of miles between New York and Argentina," of the recent revelations before the parliamentary commission of governmental complicity with the AAA murder squad.

In an address to the assembled pickets, Gino Lofredo of SCAP pledged that the committee would continue to protest the right-wing terror in Argentina.

In defense of Hugo Blanco's right to speak

[The following statement was issued to the press March 22 by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.]

On March 16, in a nationally syndicated column, William F. Buckley, Jr. attacked the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and one of its officers, Dr. Benjamin Spock. Buckley went so far as to call Spock "the incarnation of the dupe" for having criticized Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's denial of a visa in the case of Hugo Blanco.

Kissinger's action prevented Blanco, a Peruvian peasant leader, author, and former political prisoner, from honoring speaking commitments at more than a dozen universities, where he was to speak on the plight of political prisoners in Latin America. The speaking tour was being organized by USLA.

Editorials in leading newspapers and other protests from members of Congress, academic associations, and civil libertarians forced Kissinger to reverse his position and recommend to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) that it grant Blanco a visa. The INS refused. It is these prominent supporters of the right of the American people to hear all points of view without government censorship who are a special target for Buckley's ire in his column.

Buckley based his information on an exchange of correspondence inserted in the March 1, 1976, *Congressional Record* by Representative Edward I. Koch of New York. Involved in the exchange were the USLA and Spock, who wrote Koch asking him to intercede on Blanco's behalf, and Robert J. McCloskey, assistant secretary for congressional relations in the State Department. In a final letter to Spock, Koch indicated he was withdrawing his earlier support for a visa.

Procensorship

In his column Buckley congratulates Koch: "WFB to Koch: Nice going." Buckley quotes selectively from this exchange, excluding evidence or arguments made on behalf of Blanco. He also fails to address himself to the issue involved—of official government censorship of what the American people are allowed to hear—implicitly taking a procensorship attitude.

Why did Koch withdraw his support? He echoes the government position when he writes to Spock, "Don't you agree that if, in fact, he admitted responsibility for the murder of three policemen and advocates the use of violence that those are grounds for rejection?"

The INS refused a visa on the same

grounds that the State Department had earlier, stating that "he [Blanco] was found to be ineligible for a visa under Section 212(a) (28) of the Immigration and Nationality Act because of his previous terrorist activities and his affiliation with certain communist organizations."

From the beginning, the different government agencies have consistently maintained a veil of secrecy around the case, refusing to specify what "terrorist activities" or "communist" affiliations Blanco was supposedly guilty of. In a letter to Congressman Koch dated January 29, 1976, for example, McCloskey said that "much of the information available to the Department is classified for reasons of security and therefore cannot be divulged. . . ."

Some of this information must have been "leaked" to Representative Larry McDonald of Georgia, for, in the *Congressional Record* of December 19, 1975, he unleashed a bitter attack on the *Washington Post* and *Boston Globe* for their editorials protesting Blanco's exclusion as undemocratic.

'Secret' documents

In the article, McDonald describes Blanco's revolutionary-socialist views and his affiliation to the Fourth International, something Blanco himself has made clear in numerous interviews in the international press. However, he then goes on to quote what he calls "secret" documents that he claims prove Blanco is a terrorist in theory and practice. He offers only one instance of "proof," asserting, "In that same year [1962], Blanco led a raid on a police post in Peru to secure weapons. During the raid Blanco shot a police officer to death. He was captured in May 1963, and was eventually sentenced to 20 years imprisonment."

This example was to be used by McCloskey in the January 29 letter to Koch, attributing McDonald as his McCloskey's source, although in his account Blanco is alleged to have killed three, not one, policemen! He hedges that Blanco made a "declaration that he took full and sole responsibility for the murders of three policemen which occurred during a raid he and his followers made on a police station in Peru during 1962."

In their haste to accept the State Department and Immigration Service versions of Blanco's history, based on "secret" records, Messrs. Buckley, McDonald, and Koch would have done well to consult the public record. By not doing so they accept a one-sided version of what actually happened, replete with serious errors of fact and errors of omission.

In a letter to its national sections dated December 1966, Amnesty International announced that "we have lent on behalf of Hugo Blanco an

appeal for clemency to President Belaunde Terry of Peru." The letter then went on to give some background to the case, which is worth quoting at length:

Hugo Blanco, now 32 years old, was a student of Agronomy at Lima University when in 1961 he left his studies to organize the Indian peasants of the Alti-plano, the most backward region of Peru. His efforts succeeded in mobilizing the peasantry of the Cuzco region to demand the abolition of enforced labour for the landlord, the redistribution of land and the establishment of wages instead of payment in kind. He also started schools and opened dispensaries.

Peasants marched into abandoned lands and took possession of them without violence invoking an old law by which squatters get right to land after a certain period of time. The Latifundistas (large landowners) used their influence and in 1962 the Peruvian Government sent military forces to stop this take-over.

There are conflicting versions of what then happened. According to the prosecution at his trial his band killed three guards during an attack on a police station. According to Marcel Niedergang in *"Le Monde"* he was ambushed and only fired in self-defence, subsequently resuming meet-

that Blanco "took full and sole responsibility for the murders of three policemen."

During his trial Blanco himself said:

. . . I explained that in all senses and at all times, we had acted only in self-defense; that not only had the origin and activity of the guerrilla band been defensive acts in the face of repression, but also that in our encounters with the police we had saved our lives by firing. This was indisputable. Nor could anyone deny that we never intended to kill anyone, as we proved by our treatment of the policeman who had fired at us in Pujiura—after we had disarmed him, we set him free. Nor could our concern in helping the wounded be denied, as was shown by the fact that we forced the town doctor (after getting him out from under his bed, where he had been hiding) to treat the wounded policeman, and that we offered our own scanty medical supplies for first aid; all this was done at grave risk to our safety and lives.

As the Amnesty statement explained, under Peruvian law, land not being used was open to squatting by peasants, who could till it and claim it as their own. The landlords ignored the law and violently attacked the



Revolutionary peasant leader Hugo Blanco talks with poor in slum outside Lima, Peru. Claims that Blanco is 'terrorist' are pretext to deny Americans right to hear his views.

ings of peasants. It is almost certainly untrue that he was associated with the violent M.I.R. (Revolutionary Movement of the Left), which was only organized after his arrest and from which he publicly dissociated himself.

On December 7, 1966, *Le Monde* took up the question of violence and the Blanco-led land-reform movement:

"No violence occurred at the beginning of this movement, which caught the landowners and the government by surprise. But incidents inevitably flared up and multiplied between the hated 'gamonales' (foremen) and the landless peasants. An order was issued to arrest Hugo Blanco. On November 14, 1962, two policemen fired at the union leader. He fired back, killing a policeman and wounding another."

Self-defense

Buckley et al. neglect to point out that the government lodged what it considered was a far more serious charge against Blanco. As Marcel Niedergang, writing in *Le Monde*, January 28, 1967, reported: "Hugo Blanco was sentenced on two counts: for organizing and directing peasant unions in Valle de la Convención near Cuzco between 1959 and 1962, and for killing two members of the national guard on November 13, 1962." Niedergang also reported that Blanco's lawyer had entered a plea of self-defense in the killing of the two policemen, contradicting McCloskey's assertion

peasants, killing many in different encounters. The peasants demanded police protection only to have the latter side with the landlords in the attacks. In response the peasant unions formed first "Union Defense Brigades," and later militias, and finally a guerrilla band, as the repression escalated. Mass assemblies of thousands of peasants democratically voted to set these up and voted Blanco to head the defense effort. During the union organizing drive, Blanco himself was the object of two assassination attempts.

Also not to be found in Buckley's column or the *Congressional Record* are the facts of Blanco's trial:

- Peruvian law required arraignment and charges within six months of arrest. Blanco and his followers were not even charged for more than three years.

- Blanco and other defendants were tortured.

- Blanco was held in solitary confinement for three years prior to his trial.

- The proceedings were held in Spanish, a language four-fifths of the defendants could not speak, since they were Quechua-speaking Indians.

- The trial should have been before a civil court. The law was rewritten to place them under military jurisdiction.

- The military acted as judge, jury, and prosecutor.

- Both of Blanco's lawyers were

Continued on page 30



Buckley (left) puts on the firing line Ann Blanco right to speak.



ans who criticize Kissinger for denying

In Our Opinion

Stop the repression in Argentina!

The right-wing military coup in Argentina poses the threat of a Chile-style bloodbath against trade unionists, socialists, and all opponents of the dictatorship.

Socialists, unionists, and civil libertarians around the world must stand ready to mobilize against the military regime's repression and bring international pressure to bear to free political prisoners and restore democratic rights.

Few details about the coup are available as the *Militant* goes to press. The military junta has imposed censorship on all news reports. It has outlawed all political and trade-union activity. Union leaders and political figures are being rounded up and jailed.

The generals have declared martial law and decreed the death penalty for "terrorists" and "saboteurs."

The Argentine junta justifies its takeover as necessary to halt terrorism by leftist guerrillas. But the vast majority of bombings, kidnappings, and assassinations have been carried out by right-wing death squads such as the AAA—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance—whose killers were organized, funded, and protected by the government.

In close collaboration with the police and military, the AAA has slaughtered hundreds of union militants, socialists, religious and student leaders, and left-wing Peronists. The new junta, far from curbing these assaults, is certain to give the green light to a stepped-up campaign of official and unofficial repression.

The real target of the military coup is the Argentine working class and its powerful unions. Inflation that has soared to more than 300 percent a year has drastically cut real wages and prompted an upsurge of strikes.

At the beginning of March President Isabel Perón unveiled a new austerity plan, the second in the past year. Wage increases were to be limited to 12 percent and strikes banned for half a year.

Industrial workers responded with widespread protests and a wave of strikes that paralyzed 70 percent of the productive capacity in the cities, forcing the government to grant higher wages. Massive, militant actions such as these in defense of the workers' rights were condemned as "subversion." Union activists were branded as "factory guerrillas" by the Peronist regime.

In recent months the government had already moved to void many constitutional liberties. Five thousand political prisoners had been jailed *before* the coup. Even with these repressive acts, however, the regime proved incapable of enforcing the antilabor austerity measures deemed necessary by the Argentine capitalists and U.S. imperialism.

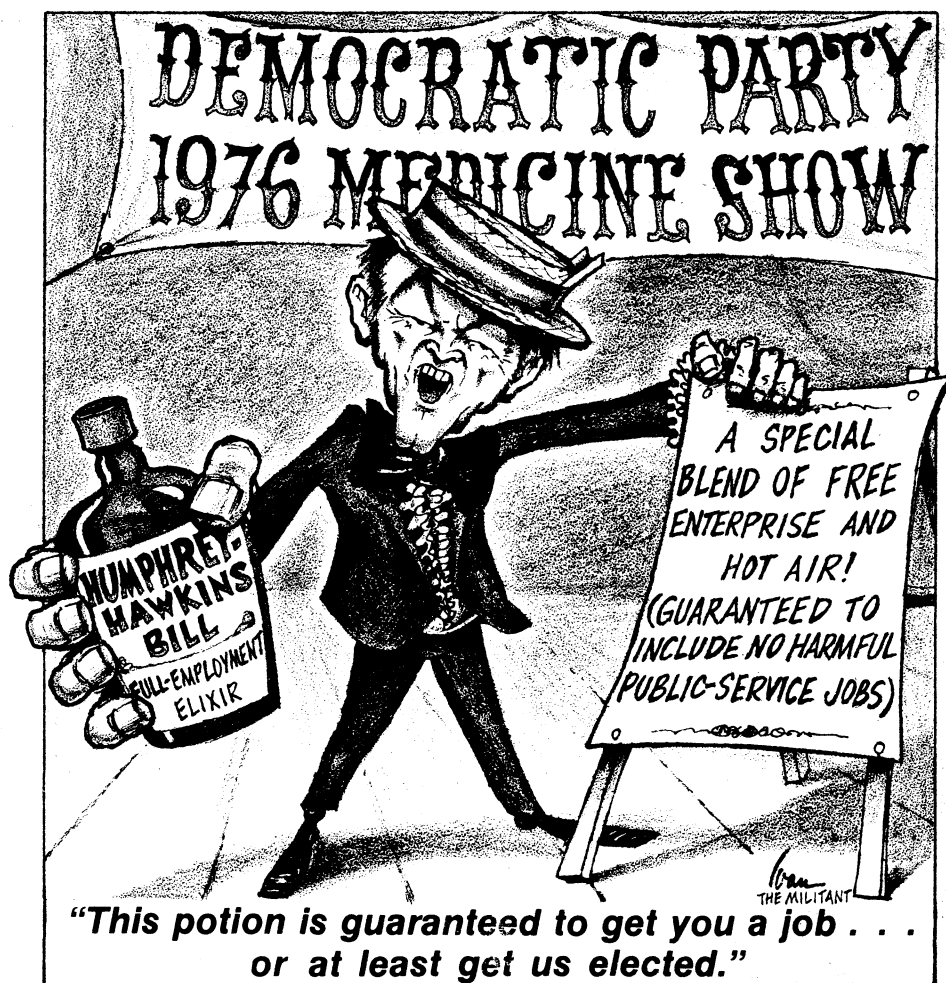
World imperialism is especially concerned because Argentina is on the brink of defaulting on international debts of more than one billion dollars that fall due in May. Much of the debt is owed to the big New York City banks. In March, international bankers turned down the Peronist government's request for substantial aid, evidently lacking confidence in Perón's ability to stabilize the economy on the backs of the workers. Restoring that confidence is certainly a top priority of the new junta.

There can be no doubt that the Argentine generals have drawn inspiration from the reign of terror in Chile since the 1973 coup there. The Chilean military has crushed the unions and driven masses of workers into poverty and hunger.

Just a few days before the coup, *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis wrote from Buenos Aires that "it is not unusual to hear angry right-wing officers talk about the need to 'shoot 10,000 scoundrels' as the solution to Argentina's problems."

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and the Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People are already engaged in a campaign against right-wing terrorism in Argentina (see news story on page 8). The day of the coup, USLA National Coordinator Mirta Vidal issued a statement calling for a "vigorous campaign to publicize the truth about the situation in Argentina and to mobilize public opinion in this country to stop a bloodbath and to free the political prisoners now filling the jails."

We urge all *Militant* readers—on the campuses, in the unions, and in the communities—to join in this international protest campaign.



Letters

Timely comments

Thank you for the *Militant*, which I have received fairly regularly for the last two years, though often belatedly, two months or more after the date of publication.

Such late delivery of the *Militant* may be due either to shipping delays or to the local authorities deliberately keeping our mail for some time before allowing delivery through the post—a dirty trick of the secret police in order to keep those who oppose them from reading timely topical comments.

Though most of the articles in the *Militant* of necessity deal with local issues in the United States, nevertheless they do help to keep us informed of the true situation in your country. And of course there are other useful articles of a general nature which help us gain a better grasp of similar or near-similar situations in Southeast Asia.

Thank you for having sent me the *Militant* in the past, and I hope you will continue sending me your informative weekly in the future.

A.R.
Singapore, Republic of Singapore

Medical neglect in prison

On March 8 Carroll Crowner (Brother Link) was killed by the criminal neglect of so-called medical personnel of the Maryland Penitentiary and University Hospital.

Brother Link, a worker in survival programs in the penitentiary, had undergone a major operation at the hands of state prison doctors in late 1972, an operation in which cancer was supposed to be removed. However, Brother Link was told that none was found.

The operation left him weighing ninety-seven pounds and in constant pain for four years. These "doctors" gave no reason for the many places they cut him.

On February 24, 1976, he was rushed, bleeding from the mouth, to the prison hospital. Link was evicted from the hospital on March 1 without treatment or medication.

Less than a half hour later he was pushed (on a cart) back to the hospital after falling into a semicoma. He was

finally rushed to University Hospital, where he died one week later.

With proper medical treatment this man might have lived. Many men die due to this criminal neglect, while many more still suffer today because of inhumane, racist, unconcerned, and unskilled medical personnel.

The removal of the head doctor at the penitentiary has been one of the main demands of prisoners for years. Riots, protests, court petitions, and articles have all fallen on deaf ears. This hospital has already been condemned by the health department, but remains operational in open contempt of the law and our survival. Now who is the outlaw?

We call on all concerned people and community groups to help us correct these conditions.

We call for an investigation by parties or agencies who are independent of the Maryland correctional system into the death of Brother Carroll "Link" Crowner. If you are concerned, please contact: Friends and Families of Prisoners, c/o Joy McLaughlin, 2500 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Maryland. Telephone: (301) 327-5600.

Maryland Penitentiary
Intercommunal Survival Collective

A future 'Attica'

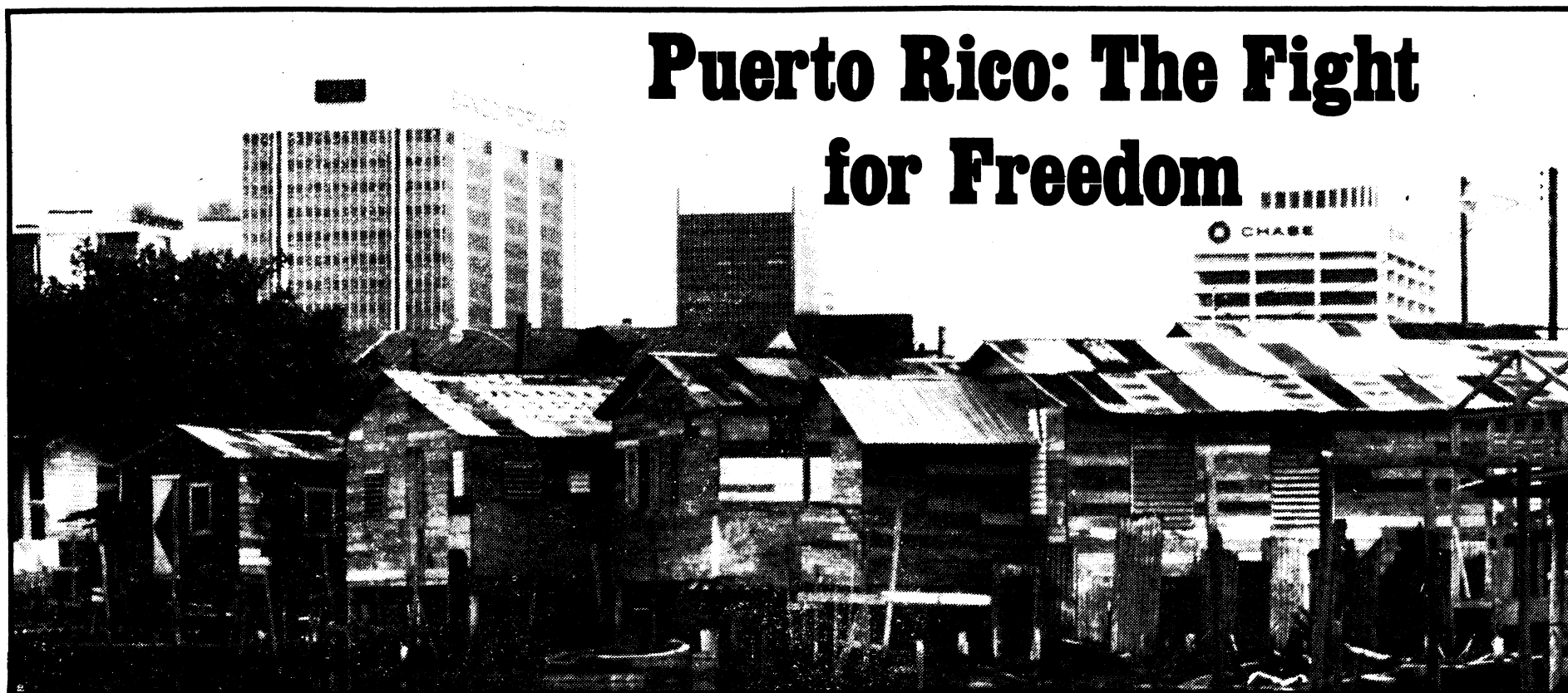
It has been mandated by law that by February 5, 1976, an inmate grievance committee be initiated and in operation in every penal institution in New York State. However, at Clinton the repressive conditions that are imposed on the inmate population by the racist administration make it almost impossible for our grievance committee representatives to carry out their duties.

Our elected representatives have been refused institutional passes that would allow them to move about the prison. The committee members are not allowed to form the observance committee portion of the committee, even though such a committee has been mandated by law.

Albany has provided the prison with three copies of a book concerning guidelines of the grievance committee,

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international socialist review



Skyscrapers and hovels of San Juan

Puerto Rico: The Fight for Freedom

By José Pérez

Nothing could be more ironic in this year marking the two hundredth anniversary of the thirteen colonies' revolt against Britain than the discussion about Puerto Rico currently under way among the rulers of the United States.

That Caribbean island's economic and social crisis was the subject of a series of three long articles in mid-October in the *New York Times*. The same month *Barron's*, the weekly newspaper of Dow Jones & Company, devoted a full-page editorial to the theme of what to do about Puerto Rico. In February of this year *Time* magazine published a three-page article.

What's bothering the big-business press? Puerto Rico, after two decades of modest economic growth and industrialization, is immersed in an economic crisis unimaginable to most North Americans. Unofficial statistics place unemployment at 40 percent, and every month brings news of more layoffs, more cutbacks, and more factory closings. The concern among U.S. rulers is, as *Barron's* put it, that "political turmoil can't be far behind."

Indeed, political turmoil is already there. The movement seeking separation of the island from the United States has grown rapidly and is now penetrating—for the first time in recent history—a broad layer of the working people. Puerto Rico's relationship to the United States has

become a yearly feature of United Nations debates, despite protestations by U.S. government spokespeople that this is interference in United States "internal affairs."

And Congress began debating in January a proposal to recodify the laws governing the island's relationship to the United States.

To understand the economic and social crisis in Puerto Rico, the debate at the United Nations, and the discussions in Congress, it is necessary to begin from one simple fact, which neither Congress nor the big-business press wants to acknowledge: Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States.

Not a colony in some new, obscure, or stretched meaning of the word, but a colony in the classical sense of the word: that is, a country ruled by another country. This article will trace the history of this colonial relationship and what it has done to Puerto Rico and its people.

Three Cultures

Puerto Rico is a Caribbean island with a population of 3 million people. Its location in the Atlantic Ocean—directly en route from Europe to many parts of Central and South America, including the Panama Canal—is strategic and has played a large part in the history of the island.

The Puerto Rican people of today originated from three cultures: the native Indian population, the Spanish colonial settlers, and the African slaves.

For four centuries, until 1898, Puerto Rico was under Spanish occupation. The rulers of the Spanish empire prized Puerto Rico as a military base and key link in the chain of ports from Spain to the new world. The Spanish ruled through an absolute military-clerical dictatorship, and brutally suppressed uprisings by slaves, Indians, and peasants.

In the early 1800s nationalism began to rise up as a force in Puerto Rico, as it did in many other countries in the Western Hemisphere at that time. A native culture had developed, distinct from that of Spain, and containing elements from the three cultures mentioned earlier. For the first time, people began to talk of Puerto Ricans, or *criollos*—the native-born population—as a distinct people. A political debate began on the island on the question of status vis-à-vis Spain. Three broad currents are involved. The assimilationists, or, as they called themselves, "unconditionalists," were for complete Spanish rule over the country.

The second current was the autonomists. They reflected the rising nationalist aspirations of the Puerto Rican people, but in a distorted way, because they supported a permanent connection with Spain together with some degree of local self-rule.

The *independentistas*, the third current, were the supporters of complete separation.

The most significant proindependence revolt was organized in 1868 by Ramón Emeterio Betances. It is known today as El Grito de Lares and is commemorated yearly by large proindependence demonstrations on the island.

Betances had organized a network of clubs throughout Puerto Rico that planned to carry out a coordinated uprising. The plan was discovered by the Spanish and when the revolt occurred it was crushed.

This movement enjoyed broad support from the Puerto Rican people, especially from the agricultural wage laborers, who made up a large part of the force of 400 men. The demands that were raised by the revolutionaries included the abolition of slavery; freedom of speech, religion, assembly, and the press; the right to keep and bear arms; freedom from unreasonable search and seizures; and the right to vote on all taxes

Continued on page ISR/3

Also in This Issue:

Brownmiller on Rape: A Betrayal of Feminism

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Revolutionary Unionism

In this month's *International Socialist Review* we reprint an article by Farrell Dobbs, longtime leader of the Socialist Workers party, describing a 1940 discussion with Leon Trotsky.

Simply as a historical document, this account is remarkable. It involved one of the two key organizers of the 1917 Russian revolution, and a central leader of one of the few, if not the only, revolutionary unions in American history. This was Minneapolis Teamsters Local 574 (later 544), a union that fought with class-struggle methods on every level for the needs of working people and their allies.

What is most important about this article is not what it tells about history, but rather that it applies so strikingly to the problems facing the labor movement today. It provides a valuable lesson for those militants and revolutionists inside the unions who are seeking ways to break the unions out of their paralysis and move them to act in defense of the rank and file.

Bolshevik policies—that is, revolutionary working-class policies—begin outside the trade unions, said Trotsky.

A strategy for turning the unions into class-struggle organizations must be derived from the broad social and political conditions that affect the lives of all working people. It must be geared toward winning allies for the unions among all the exploited and oppressed by championing their struggles.

Today we see a whole range of "nonunion" issues that are actually life-and-death questions for trade unionists and working people in general. They include military spending and the danger of nuclear holocaust; racist and sexist discrimination, used by the bosses to divide and weaken the working class; the destruction of the environment, including the problem of unhealthy and unsafe conditions on the job; and the absence of any labor challenge to the political parties of the capitalist class, which are responsible for these evils.

Until trade unionists begin to look beyond the specific problems in their plant and their industry, until they begin to *think socially* and *act politically* in the interests of the working class as a whole—Black and white, unionized and nonunionized, public and private, male and female, citizen and noncitizen—the unions cannot move forward.

Last December's "Month in Review" column, entitled "Why Labor Needs Its Own Party," was also devoted to the need for the labor movement to think socially and act politically. In the intervening months, this has been confirmed by countless new developments.

• In mid-February, printers and mailers who had been supporting the strike of the

press operators at the *Washington Post* went back to work, signaling that the *Post* strike had been broken.

The key reason for this defeat was the inability of the newspaper unions to overcome the divisions and isolation stemming from the legacies of craft unionism. This is the perspective of defense of the privileges of narrow groups of skilled workers as opposed to industry-wide labor solidarity. It also generally includes complicity with the bosses' racist and sexist hiring practices.

The *Post* owners took advantage of the latter weakness to smear the union as "racist." The strikers were crippled in their ability to win significant solidarity from Washington's overwhelmingly Black working class—despite some important attempts to do so.

• Another glaring example of how the capitalists and their government try to divide and rule through racism arose recently in Boston. City politicians there have threatened to lay off more than 600 city workers, who are predominantly white. The politicians are trying to blame the layoffs on the costs of busing for desegregation, deflecting attention from the much larger proportions of workers' tax payments that go to the federal military budget and to interest payments to the rich.

City council member John Kerrigan even proposed to leaders of the municipal workers union that they call "a general strike against forced busing." What could be better for the capitalist politicians than to have the city workers and the Black community blame each other for the layoffs and for inferior education—while the politicians get away with continuing both!

• Union officials in New York and New Jersey have applauded proposed rollbacks of clean-air standards in New Jersey, the burning of high-sulfur fuel oil by New York's Con Edison, the dumping of industrial poisons into the Hudson River, and the continued operation of unsafe nuclear plants—all in the name of "saving jobs."

The *New York Times*, a voice of the bankers and bosses, plays up this "conflict" between jobs and the environment. On March 1 the *Times* front page carried a large picture of demonstrating workers. It turned out to be members of the Utility Workers Union, demonstrating against the Citizens Committee for the Protection of the Environment. This group was demanding the closing of a nuclear power plant that has been labeled unsafe by a federal safety inspector.

Thus some unions end up fighting the capitalists' battles for them, accepting the capitalists' premise that defense of the environment must take a back seat to profits. Meanwhile, working people are the ones to suffer most. The rising cancer rate in industrial areas gives a chilling picture of the future.

• The refusal of the capitalists to protect the environment is directly related to their refusal to provide pollution control and safety devices on the job. The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) has been in the vanguard on this question, insisting on safety controls despite the cries of poverty by the coal companies. In addition, the UMWA has correctly sought allies among other working people by tying its demand for safety on the job to opposition to strip mining and other

abuses of the environment by the coal companies.

The recent deaths of twenty-six miners in the nonunionized Scotia mine in Kentucky show the deadly results of the coal barons' profit drive.

• In March, President I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers union held a joint news conference with two steel company executives to pledge a "labor-industry coalition" to fight for restrictions on imports of specialty steels. This was presented as the way to preserve the jobs of American steelworkers by undercutting the more competitive foreign steel companies. Actually, such "buy American" schemes are merely a way the bosses use the unions in their cutthroat policies against other capitalists. Unionists get no benefits from supporting their boss against foreign capitalists, any more than Ford auto workers would benefit from sacrificing for their boss against Chrysler.

These examples all point to the failure of a narrow trade-union perspective. For a long period after World War II, the bankruptcy of this perspective was hidden by the boom and prosperity. Collaboration with the bosses and with Democratic party politicians did bring limited concessions to some layers of working people in this country.

But this is a new period of worldwide capitalist recession, crises, and breakdowns. In place of the accustomed concessions, the unions are facing layoffs, speedup, and new attacks on the quality of life.

"Bread and butter" trade unionism—that is, unionism that rejects the need for independent political action by the working class—is no longer sufficient even to defend the existing level of wages and working conditions.

Even worse is the perspective that ties labor's interests to the profitability of the capitalists or to the solvency of a city government. Such a perspective condemns the unions to a dance of death with the crisis-ridden capitalist order.

Even union leaders like Ed Sadlowski of the Steelworkers, who recognizes this threat and who has tried to pose an alternative to the old "tuxedo unionism," has not yet broken from the trap of Democratic party politics. Recently Sadlowski endorsed Democratic presidential candidate Fred Harris.

Sادلowski's main slogan for the unions—"organize"—still does not come to grips with the most important weakness of the unions—their lack of independent political organization. The unions have no independent representatives who can speak and fight in the political arena for the interests of working people.

The role of revolutionists in the unions must be to explain the dead end of narrow trade unionism.

We must explain the absolute necessity of the unions' supporting the struggles of the Black community, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women.

We must explain the need for labor to form its own political party that can become a broad, popular movement championing the interests of all working people.

Every worker who agrees with this perspective ought to join the Socialist Workers party to work together with others toward these ends.

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Editor: Caroline Lund
Associate editors: Nan Bailey, George Breitman, Fred Feldman, George Novack, Dick Roberts, Tony Thomas

The *International Socialist Review* appears in the *Militant* that is published the first week of every month.

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...Puerto Rico

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and to elect representatives.

The uprising in Lares, although unsuccessful, has provided a continuing inspiration to fighters for Puerto Rican liberation to this day. It was one of the factors that helped force the Spanish government to abolish slavery in 1873.

The decline of the Spanish empire in this period and the rise of the United States as an industrial power tended to weaken Spain's hold on its few remaining colonies. As Puerto Rico increased its trade with the United States, Washington began to explore ways to take over the island. The Spanish countered with greater concessions to the Puerto Rican *criollos*.

In 1897, Spain granted Puerto Rico far-reaching autonomy. The reason for this concession was the War for Independence in Cuba, which had militarily defeated the Spanish. The Cuban Revolutionary party, which led the struggle in Cuba, had a Puerto Rican section, and the liberals who demanded autonomy from Spain threatened to join forces with the revolutionaries if greater self-rule was not granted.

However, there was no time for the new arrangement with Spain to be tested, because a few months later the Spanish-American War broke out.

The United States invaded Cuba, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico.

A few days before the July 25, 1898, U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico, Amos Fiske, an influential business writer, spelled out the thinking of the U.S. rulers in the editorial pages of the *New York Times*:

"There can be no question," wrote Fiske, "... about the wisdom of taking possession of the Island of Puerto Rico and keeping it for all time." Why could there be "no question"?

- "Our need of a foothold in the West Indies for naval purposes has long been recognized. . . ."

- "The island could be rendered of no small commercial value to us. . . ."

- "There is no reason why it should not become . . . an especially charming winter resort for denizens of the North."

Two Periods of U.S. Rule

U.S. imperialist domination has resulted in two distinct periods of the island's history, both involving tremendous social and economic hardships for the Puerto Rican people. The first extended from the beginning of the occupation to the Second World War.

The first year of U.S. rule saw great changes in the economy of the island. Previously, the Puerto Rican economy had been based on agriculture and there were many small landholders. The most important crop was coffee, which lent itself to production on a small scale since no heavy machinery or large investments were required.

It should be noted that much of the economy, including 93 percent of the agricultural holdings, was in Puerto Rican hands.

The first dislocating effect of the U.S. occupation was that the coffee industry was wiped out. Because of the U.S. tariff structure, coffee could not be profitably exported to Europe as it had been before. Puerto Rican coffee had to be shipped to the United States in North American freighters, and as a result Puerto Rican coffee was priced out of the U.S. market.

United States monopolies then moved in and gained control over the productive land, inch by inch. The people of the island became dependent on one crop, sugar cane. During the first three decades of U.S. rule sugar production increased by more than 1,200 percent, most of it controlled by four U.S. corporations. Tobacco also became more important and 80 percent of that crop was controlled by U.S. interests.

These shifts in ownership and kind of crop were paralleled by a huge concentration of landed property. By 1940, 80 percent of all farmland was owned by large corporations or landlords with 500 acres or more. Small farmers, comprising 73 percent of all owners, had plots averaging less than 7 acres.

What did this mean for the now-landless peasant, the *agregado* who was working for the sugar companies? From 1899 to 1929 unemploy-



Massacre at Ponce. In March 1937, police opened fire on a Nationalist demonstration, killing 20 and wounding 150.

ment climbed from 17 percent to 36 percent and, owing to the monoculture of sugar, one-fourth to one-third of the rest of the population were unemployed most of the year.

Prices for foodstuffs skyrocketed as domestic-grown products were replaced with U.S. imports, and by 1930 Puerto Ricans used 94 percent of their income to buy food. The decline of real purchasing power of wages was such that it took Puerto Ricans 104 days of work to buy their food needs for a year, compared with 70 days when the United States first took over.

Things got worse, much worse, as the depression deepened.

Colonial Administration

On the governmental and political level, Puerto Rico was dominated in the first two years of U.S. occupation by the military. In 1900, the U.S. Congress passed the Foraker Act, which set up a civilian administration. The governor was to be appointed by the U.S. president. In addition, there would be an Executive Council made up of eleven people, six of them North Americans and all chosen by the U.S. president.

A local legislature was set up, elected by Puerto Ricans who could read, write, and pay a poll tax. Since 83 percent of the people were illiterate and most were poor, this body was hardly designed to reflect the sentiments of the oppressed Puerto Rican masses.

Congress generously gave itself veto power over the actions of the legislature, and it retained the right to pass any additional legislation it saw fit.

Domination by the United States brought about a political shake-up. In 1904 the Puerto Rican Union party was formed, and it quickly became the dominant force in Puerto Rican politics. This party was a power bloc organized to counter the assimilationist Republican party, founded in 1899. The Union party's position on political status was ambiguous and contradictory. Formally the party favored independence, but would be happy with statehood if that were granted, and would settle for some form of local autonomy as a temporary solution. In practice, its main orientation was to work for more self-rule reforms within the colonial context.

As a result of pressures from the Union party, Congress began to debate a bill changing Puerto Rico's government, the Jones Act. Introduced in 1912, it was not passed until 1917, "as a war measure. . . . to insure the loyalty of the Porto [sic] Ricans," as a White House spokesperson put it.

Among its main provisions were extension of the right to vote and a popularly elected legislature. In most other respects, the provisions of the Foraker Act were continued.

One major aspect of the legislation was imposition on Puerto Ricans of U.S. citizenship. This was strongly opposed by the Union party

and *independentistas*, both within and outside the party.

The Jones Act generously permitted Puerto Ricans to decline U.S. citizenship. But if people chose this alternative, they lost their civil rights, such as the right to vote and hold office, and became in effect aliens in their own homeland.

Congress had decided in 1900 that the island was too poor to be worth taxing, and so exempted it from internal revenue laws. This provision was retained under the 1917 Jones Act, but instead of a tax in money, a tax in blood was instituted—the U.S. draft.

Under this colonial blood tax, countless thousands of Puerto Ricans have been killed "making the world safe for democracy" everywhere from Vietnam and Korea to Europe, while being deprived of democracy in their own homeland.

A significant factor in determining U.S. policy toward Puerto Rico was the rabid racism of the American rulers. For example, during the debate on the Foraker Act in 1900, one senator spoke against any idea that Puerto Rico could be given statehood, saying Puerto Ricans were "a heterogeneous mass of mongrels" and "savages addicted to head-hunting and cannibalism."

In 1913 Judge Peter Hamilton wrote his friend President Woodrow Wilson: "The mixture of black and white in Porto [sic] Rico threatens to create a race of mongrels of no use to anyone; a race of Spanish-American talkers. A governor from the South, or with knowledge of Southern remedies for that trouble, could, if a wise man, do much. . . ."

Part and parcel of this racism was the policy of forced cultural assimilation the United States attempted to impose on Puerto Rico. English became the official language of instruction in the schools, and its use in commercial life became widespread.

In a recent interview conducted at the federal penitentiary in Alderson, West Virginia, Puerto Rican patriot Lolita Lebrón described what it was like to go to school during this period:

"As a little girl I went to school, where the first thing I learned was, after the bell rang and the line was formed, to place my little hand upon my heart to salute and pledge allegiance to the flag. I learned afterward that the flag was the highest symbol of the nation and that the nation was not Puerto Rico, but a faraway country named the United States of America. We were not taught the meaning of the words. Our education was taught in the English language by Puerto Rican teachers who had a strange sound or accent. . . ."

"I remember those fiestas . . . how my mother would make me ribbon bows on my head, and the little children around me were so happy. Our fiestas were Lincoln's Day, Washington's Day, Columbus Day, Christmas Day, New Year's Day—our holidays."

These policies were the object of constant protests and resentment against the North American regime.

After passage of the Jones Act the Union party formally abandoned its proindependence position. This led to a split and the formation in 1922 of the Nationalist party. Unlike the Union party, the Nationalist party was unconditionally for independence.

During the late 1920s there was a rise in proindependence sentiment on the island in reaction to the increasing U.S. economic and social domination. The Union party was shaken again by the status question, leading to its breakup in 1932.

That year the proindependence Liberal party was formed. Luis Muñoz Marín, a son of the founding leader of the Union party, was the leader of the most radical wing of the Liberal party, and even considered himself a socialist for a while.

Socialist Party

The Socialist party had been founded in 1915, after the Puerto Rican labor movement had experimented with running candidates within the capitalist parties and found this approach fruitless.

At its inception, the Socialist party had various currents, including a left wing that had revolutionary positions on two crucial questions: support of independence for Puerto Rico, and political and organizational independence of the working class, rejecting coalitions with capitalist parties.

The SP moved to the right during the 1920s, becoming subservient to U.S. interests despite its working-class base. However, many radical workers remained loyal to it as a party of their class.

The Socialist party grew very rapidly, particularly with the extension of the franchise as a result of the Jones Act.

When the Union party broke up in 1932, the SP joined in a coalition with the Republican party. This bloc was the dominant electoral force on the island through the 1930s, and has gone down in Puerto Rican history as the epitome of political corruption and subservience to U.S. interests, particularly the sugar monopolies.

Nationalist Party

In 1932 the Nationalist party set out to conduct a mass campaign for independence, under the leadership of Pedro Albizu Campos, who had become president of the party in 1930.

As the depression deepened, thousands turned to the Nationalists for radical solutions, and tensions mounted. On October 24, 1935, in a clash with police outside the University of Puerto Rico, four Nationalists were killed. The cops said the Nationalists fired first. On the island, however, they call it the Río Piedras Massacre.

On February 23, 1936, the North American chief of police responsible for the Río Piedras Massacre was killed on the streets of San Juan. Two young Nationalists were arrested on the spot, taken to police headquarters, and executed.

There were more demonstrations, more clashes with police. Then in April 1936 the top leaders of the Nationalist party were indicted for conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States. Two Washington lawyers were brought in to railroad the Nationalists to prison, but it was not that simple.

When the trial was held, the seven Puerto Ricans and five Americans on the jury became deadlocked. It became necessary to have a new trial, and another jury was chosen, composed of ten North Americans and only two Puerto Ricans. With that jury, the Nationalists were convicted and sentenced to long prison terms.

The government then banned all demonstrations. Not only Nationalist party gatherings were proscribed, but any gathering asking for release of imprisoned leaders.

The one exception to this policy occurred in Ponce in March 1937, where the local authorities gave permission to the Nationalists to hold a rally. It was scheduled for March 21, Palm Sunday.

At the governor's orders, the island police arbitrarily and unilaterally revoked the permit when the march was about to begin. The national hymn of Puerto Rico was played, the crowd cheered, and the march began.

The police opened up with all the weapons at their disposal on the unarmed Nationalists, killing 20 people and wounding between 150 and 200.

Officials once again claimed the Nationalists had fired the first shot. An independent commission of inquiry, composed of prominent Puerto Ricans, including editors of three daily newspapers, and chaired by an official of the American Civil Liberties Union, concluded that the people of Puerto Rico had properly described the occurrence as the "massacre of Ponce."

The governor of Puerto Rico, who had ordered the massacre, ordered that the Nationalist survivors be charged with murder. Local officials at first refused to comply. But within a year, almost all the leading Nationalists were in prison on various charges, and the party was nearly destroyed.

In addition to using repression against the Nationalists, Washington also granted certain economic concessions to try to defuse the explosive situation. They sought the collaboration of the Puerto Rican Liberals by involving them in New Deal poverty programs.

The U.S. strategy paid off. In 1938, Luis Muñoz Marín founded the Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—Popular Democratic party) in a shift away from the struggle for independence.

The new party swept the 1940 election and, subsequently, the war-induced economic upturn in the United States alleviated the economic situation somewhat. A new North American governor was appointed—Rexford Tugwell, a

member of Roosevelt's "Brain Trust," who was more flexible than his predecessors.

Why did Puerto Rico fail to achieve independence during the 1930s? I think that the opportunity certainly existed, and even U.S. government officials admit the majority favored independence. But what was missing was a leadership that could organize the masses to carry out the task.

The Nationalist party, in addition to being hard-hit by repression, did not have a social program that could consistently mobilize masses of working and oppressed people under its banner.

The reformist Socialist party was no alternative either. By the 1930s, it was busily administering the colony on behalf of the sugar corporations.

Puerto Rican Communist Party

Puerto Rico also had a Communist party, founded in 1934. Following the Moscow-dictated line of people's front with imperialism, it allied itself with the Popular Democrats and with Governor Tugwell.

The line of the Puerto Rican Communist party during World War II, which was the period of its

The Socialist Workers party and the Fourth International, the international revolutionary socialist organization, have always been staunch supporters of the struggle for independence of Puerto Rico. The June 16, 1939, issue of Socialist Appeal, predecessor of the Militant, printed a statement by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the SWP, which read:

"The Socialist Workers Party, United States section of the Fourth International [it is no longer the section, due to reactionary legislation], and the Partido Comunista Independiente, our brother party in Puerto Rico, stand for the immediate and unconditional independence of Puerto Rico and all other countries that are under the yoke of imperialism. The working people of the United States have every reason to sympathize with the struggle of the Puerto Rican masses against the common enemy: the Wall Street-White House gang of oppressors."

greatest influence, was contained in a 1942 pamphlet *¡Contra Hitler en el mundo! ¡Contra el hambre en PR!* (Against Hitler in the world! Against hunger in PR!) A brief description of this pamphlet, which consisted of the political report to a CP convention, is given in the book *Lucha Obrera en Puerto Rico*, edited by A.G. Quintero Rivera. It says that the report:

"Proposes a policy of suspending strikes and putting to rest the struggle for independence until the end of the war against Hitler. Proposes to support Tugwell and the North American army; criticizes the Nationalist party."

Lucha Obrera en Puerto Rico does not specify what criticisms the Communist party had of the Nationalists. It should be noted, however, that the Nationalist party was intransigently opposed to the Second World War, rejecting the liberal propaganda of the imperialist "democracies," which the Stalinists worldwide peddled as good coin.

The Communist party of Puerto Rico essentially presented itself as a "loyal opposition" to the existing colonial regime. So reliable was it considered by the U.S. imperialists that a top leader of the CP was offered a high post in the Ministry of Labor in 1942.

Colonial Rule Disguised

During the 1940s, Washington made a fundamental reorientation in its methods of control and exploitation of Puerto Rico.

The island's importance as a military base increased with the approach of the Second World War, and has been viewed by Washington as of strategic importance ever since. This put a premium on obtaining social stability to facili-

tate its use as a fortress.

At the same time, the great rise of the colonial revolution during and after the Second World War, as well as the cold war with the Soviet Union, made it obvious to Washington that a more disguised form of colonial domination was desirable.

As early as 1943, Roosevelt had recommended to the U.S. Congress that Puerto Ricans be allowed to elect their own governor. This was granted shortly after the war. It was the outgrowth of the growing conviction among U.S. rulers that "Puerto Ricans can now govern themselves"—that is, that the Popular Democrats, by far the biggest party on the island, were reliable supporters of imperialist domination.

At about the same time, English was dropped as the main language of instruction in the schools, in response to the widespread resistance, and other similar reforms were instituted.

In 1948 Luis Muñoz Marín became Puerto Rico's first elected governor under U.S. rule. In 1950, Congress decided on a further change and passed Public Law 600, which delegated to Puerto Ricans the power to establish a local government administration.

Following the approval of this law, preparations began on the island to hold a yes-or-no referendum on whether Puerto Rico should have its own constitution. An important part of these preparations was sweeping repression and witch-hunt against communists and *independentistas*, who were sure to oppose the maneuver.

A major part of this repression had to be directed against the Nationalist party of Puerto Rico, which since Albizu Campos's release from prison in late 1947 had been revitalized and began to gain force.

On October 27, 1950, the crackdown on Nationalists began, with the arrest of two carloads of Nationalists. This was followed by a police raid two nights later at the home of the president of the Nationalist unit in the city of Ponce.

A few hours later, at 1:00 a.m. the morning of October 30, the Nationalists learned the police had headed out to the farm of the mother of the president of the Ponce Nationalists, and they followed them there. At that farm, shooting broke out between the Nationalists and police, and when news of this was carried on the island's radio stations, Albizu Campos's followers all over the island revolted. They were able to liberate one town, Jayuya, so the incident is frequently called the Jayuya rebellion.

Small in numbers and poorly armed, the Nationalist revolt was crushed within a few days. A sweeping witch-hunt followed the rebellion, with the arrests of communists, *independentistas* who were not Nationalists, trade-union leaders, and other activists.

The number of people imprisoned numbered in the thousands—some say as high as ten thousand—although at most 300 took part in the rebellion. Many were later indicted and convicted under a Puerto Rican anticommunist law that was based on the United States Smith Act.

Many Nationalists spent long years in prison, the last imprisoned in Puerto Rico having been granted amnesty only in 1972.

Albizu Campos was finally released when on the verge of death. He died on April 21, 1965.

Meanwhile, Nationalists in the United States also carried out armed protests, one at the Blair House (temporary residence of President Truman) during the 1950 rebellion, and a second one against the Congress in March 1954.

The five patriots imprisoned for those incidents are still in U.S. penitentiaries, and as far as is known are the longest-held political prisoners currently incarcerated in the Western Hemisphere. Their case has received worldwide attention, and the five have mass support among the Puerto Rican people.

In 1951, with the roundup of the government's opponents completed and the island under virtual martial law, the plebiscite on the drafting of a Puerto Rican constitution was held, and passed by a vote of about two to one. The proindependence groups—even the Puerto Rican Independence party, at the time a very moderate electoral group that was the second strongest party at the polls—boycotted the vote, so the exact extent of opposition to the new colonial relation with the United States is not known.

Commonwealth Proclaimed

A Constituent Assembly was called together, and a constitution drafted. On July 25, 1952—the fifty-fourth anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico—the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico (or as it is called in Spanish, the Free Associated State) was proclaimed.

Under the new relationship, Puerto Rico's government is still deprived of the powers associated with a sovereign state. The United States (through "common defense") uses parts of Puerto Rico as bombing ranges, as facilities for nuclear weapons, as air bases and military bases—13 percent of the island's territory, including much of the best arable land.

Puerto Ricans can be drafted to fight in Korea, Vietnam, Santo Domingo, the Middle East—wherever the United States wants to send them.

Travel into or out of the country, naturalization, and customs are all controlled by the United States. Without a license from the Federal Communications Commission there cannot be a broadcasting tower in Puerto Rico, a TV or radio station.

Anything having to do with nuclear energy is regulated by U.S. agencies. Labor relations are handled by the National Labor Relations Board—"national" meaning United States, not Puerto Rico. The postal system of Puerto Rico is run from the United States. The money of Puerto Rico is U.S. dollars.

The FBI, CIA, and other U.S. secret political police agencies function freely in Puerto Rico. In May 1975, the FBI revealed that one of its notorious "Cointelpro" harassment operations had been directed at Puerto Rican independence groups.

Complementing the illegalities of the FBI is the legal repression carried out through U.S. courts—in English.

The United States government is the Puerto Rican people's government, too, whether they like it or not. Puerto Ricans do not vote for president, for House of Representatives, or for the Senate. Puerto Rico has one delegate to the U.S. Congress who can speak but has no vote.

For all the hoopla about a Free Associated State, Puerto Rico remains today what it has been for centuries—a colony.

'Operation Bootstrap'

The changes in governmental structure were accompanied by changes in the economy that transformed the island in a couple of decades, leaving it more subject to the economic tyranny of Wall Street than ever before.

Beginning in the late 1940s, the Puerto Rican government came up with a development program designed to industrialize Puerto Rico. It was called—in English—Operation Bootstrap, and in Spanish "manos a la obra" (roughly: get to work).

The idea was that Puerto Rico's main natural resource is plentiful labor, forced to work at substandard wages, and that U.S. manufacturers could be induced to invest heavily in the island.

To sweeten the pot for U.S. manufacturers, the government of Puerto Rico exempted U.S. corporations from having to pay any taxes for many years if they established plants on the island. Furthermore, the government facilitated access to buildings, labor-training programs, electricity and water, and looked the other way as manufacturers tore up the countryside and polluted the environment. Through the program, Puerto Rico has been transformed into a highly industrialized country. In 1950 there were 82 factories on the island. By 1960 there were 717, and by 1970 close to 2,000.

Real per capita income in Puerto Rico, in dollars adjusted for inflation, rose between 1940 and 1973 by more than 400 percent. Unemployment declined through the late 1960s, reaching an all-time low of 10 percent officially unemployed in 1969, compared with 15 percent in 1940.

These statistics—frequently cited by government experts—are extremely one-sided. Despite the growth of national income, social inequality has increased. The top 20 percent of families in Puerto Rico receive as much of the total income as the bottom 80 percent.

Roughly half the population are in families with incomes below the official U.S. government poverty level. Some 13 percent of the island's families had incomes of less than \$500 in 1973. Wages are one-third to one-half those in the



Claridad/Miguel Rivera

On September 12, 1971, the birthday of Nationalist leader Pedro Albizu Campos, 80,000 Puerto Ricans marched for independence.

United States for the same work.

Unemployment has also remained quite high, even by official figures. But these figures actually grossly miscount the unemployed.

For June 1970, official unemployment was 11 percent, with 92,000 people looking for work. But there were also 253,000—a quarter of a million people—who were "idle"—not employed, not in school, not retired, not disabled, not housewives, not looking for work.

These are the so-called discouraged workers, and if they had been counted as unemployed, the real rate would have been 30 percent.

In addition, 35 percent of the labor force in June 1970 was listed as officially "underemployed"—they had only part-time jobs when they wanted full-time work.

Adding all the figures together, about 60 percent of able-bodied people in Puerto Rico of working age who were not otherwise occupied in 1970 were either unemployed or underemployed.

Such unemployment and miserable income breeds other social problems, one of the most serious of which is housing.

In 1972 there were 225,000 housing units in Puerto Rico that did not meet minimum standards for health and safety. More than 40 percent of the population lived in inadequate or deteriorated housing.

There are tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans in San Juan and other parts of the island who are squatters, living in shacks constructed out of tin, cardboard, and plywood, without plumbing or running water, without electricity.

The reason for this widespread poverty is that the Puerto Rican economy is totally in the hands of U.S. capitalists, and what's done and not done is determined by what's profitable for Wall Street.

The accelerated pace of the U.S. take-over is illustrated by the following figures: In 1948, 78 percent of local capital investment projects were in Puerto Rican hands; by 1966, 77 percent were in North American hands; by the early 1970s, the figure had reached 88 percent.

This imperialist domination has made Puerto Rico's economic structure totally irrational from the standpoint of human needs. Only 30 percent of the arable land is fully used, and half is totally unused for agriculture. Yet the island imports hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of food every year.

The essence of the whole economic picture is revealed in one statistic: profits extracted by foreigners from Puerto Rico in 1974 totaled more than \$1.3 billion, out of a gross national product of \$6.8 billion. One-fifth of the wealth that Puerto Rican workers created that year ended up in the coffers of the U.S. banks.

The balance sheet on Operation Bootstrap shows clearly that those who have benefited the most are the U.S. industrialists and bankers, not

the people of Puerto Rico.

But one additional consideration should be taken into account: Operation Bootstrap's results, such as they were, were made possible by the world economic situation during the twenty-five years following World War II. During that whole period, U.S. capitalism was expanding rapidly, entering markets that had previously been dominated by other imperialists, and facing relatively little competition from European or Japanese capitalists.

That period has now come to a close, as was dramatically illustrated by the simultaneous recessions in most major capitalist countries during 1974-75, the stagnation and inflation that preceded the downturns, and the sluggish economic recovery that the United States is now experiencing.

The international recession had a catastrophic impact on Puerto Rico, as it has on all of the colonial world. Production began to decline in fiscal year 1973-74 and has continued to dive ever since.

The official rate of unemployment set an all-time record on the island in January 1976, reaching the level of 21.9 percent. Real unemployment, including the "discouraged workers," is estimated to be 40 percent. Seventy-one percent of the population is now receiving food stamps.

The construction industry "is on the verge of collapse," according to industry officials.

What perspectives are offered the Puerto Rican people by the lackeys of Wall Street in San Juan?

Gov. Rafael Hernández Colón, in his annual message to the legislature delivered in January, decreed more cutbacks in public service and layoffs of government employees, and asked the legislature for a wage freeze for both public and private employees.

On the political level, the governor is pushing the "Compact of Permanent Union Between Puerto Rico and the United States," a reorganization of the federal laws that govern the island's relationship with the United States.

Apart from deleting revealing phrases from U.S. laws on Puerto Rico (like the one that calls Puerto Rico an island "belonging to the United States"), the compact would essentially maintain the present colonial relationship. The proposal is in Congress and the rhetoric about "maximum of self-government" and "free and sovereign will" of the Puerto Rican people is flying hot and heavy.

The growing concern in Washington to further disguise and consolidate its colonial domination comes in response to rising resistance by the Puerto Rican people. Beginning in the mid-1960s, the struggle for independence intensified. The *independentistas* made much headway through actions around issues such as the draft, U.S. target practice on the island of Culebra, student-faculty employee control of the Universi-

ty of Puerto Rico, imperialist exploitation of copper, and environmental pollution.

In 1959, a new group was founded, the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI—Pro-Independence Movement). After much evolution, it became the Puerto Rican Socialist party in 1971.

On September 12, 1971—the eightieth anniversary of Albizu Campos's birth—80,000 people marched through San Juan demanding independence. It was the largest such demonstration in the history of the island.

Colonial officials like to cite results of the 1972 election, in which the Puerto Rican Independence party and other independence parties achieved about 5 percent of the vote, but this is fraudulent.

Many proindependence groups—including the Puerto Rican Socialist party, which is probably the most active—boycotted the balloting for various reasons. In addition, many *independent-*

istas voted for the Popular Democratic party and against the prostatehood Partido Nuevo Progresista (PNP—New Progressive Party), which had held power the previous four years. Polls among the nearly 500,000 voters between eighteen and twenty-four, for example, showed about one-third supporting independence, yet they overwhelmingly voted for the New Progressive party.

The truth is that no one is sure how many Puerto Ricans favor independence. At least it is a large and growing minority.

In recent years, a focus of much activity by independence groups has been a series of bitterly fought strikes. Twice the governor has called out the National Guard—which had not been mobilized since 1950—to help break public employees' strikes. The cops and courts have intervened heavily against strikes in the private sector.

Many unions are now led by *independentistas* of various groups. Of the 114 unions on the

island, about 40 are affiliated with the Movimiento Obrero Unido (MOU—United Workers Movement), which is headed by a leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

The penetration of independence ideas into the island's labor movement is particularly significant since it is only that class that has the social power to take on Washington effectively. And it is occurring at a time of deepening unrest in the U.S. labor movement, which has the potential of weakening the grip of U.S. imperialism from another angle.

With the current economic crisis, and the rulers' demands for more belt tightening and sacrifices, it is certain that class polarization and polarization on the status issue will increase. The battles to come in the years ahead will have historic implications for the people of Puerto Rico.

Susan Brownmiller on Rape: A Betrayal of Feminism

What are the roots of sexual violence and how can they be eliminated? Brownmiller's book 'Against Our Will' is an obstacle, not a contribution, to the struggle of women for an end to degradation and compulsion in human relationships.

Against Our Will Men, Women and Rape

By Susan Brownmiller. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1975. 472 pp.

By Cindy Jaquith

Rape, one of the most brutal expressions of male dominance in our society, has been a subject of discussion in the feminist movement for a number of years.

Before the rise of the recent women's liberation struggles, rape was considered a taboo subject. Female rape victims often refrained from even reporting the crime, out of fear that they themselves would be blamed for "encouraging" the assault. Those who did seek justice faced harassment and humiliation, if not worse, from the police and the courts. Many rape laws are rigged against women, allowing less credence to the testimony of the victim than in other assault cases.

In 1973, FBI figures showed 51,000 reported cases of rape. Estimating that only one in five rapes is ever reported, the actual number would be 255,000.

Rape, like all other crimes of violence, is on the increase in this country, a product of the way this society portrays women as sex objects and distorts the sexuality of all human beings.

For Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, rape has also had another meaning. Rape charges have been used to frame up or lynch thousands of Blacks as a means of terrorizing and intimidating those fighting for freedom.

While exposing rape as a reflection of the degradation of women, the feminist movement has explored ways of combating sexual assaults. Questions have arisen, such as: Why do men rape? Can we end rape short of ending all forms of women's oppression? Does the solution lie in stricter rape laws, or more women police officers?

In *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*, Susan Brownmiller has attempted to analyze the roots of rape and pose answers to the problem. Brownmiller is a prominent feminist writer, nominated as one of *Time* magazine's "women of the year" in 1975. Her book has been widely circulated and discussed in the women's movement.

Unfortunately, *Against Our Will* is being treated as the authoritative position of feminists on rape. But Brownmiller's analysis and solutions have nothing to do with the interests of women. To the contrary, they lead in the direction of proposing that women should line up with some of the most reactionary institutions and sick prejudices in this society. To see how she falls into this trap, we must begin with her theory of the origins and role of rape in our society.

Role of the Rapist

"From prehistoric times to the present, I believe, rape has played a critical function," writes Brownmiller in her introduction. "It is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which *all* men keep *all* women in a state of fear."

Elaborating on her theory, Brownmiller explains that rapists are not exceptionally perverted or disturbed individuals but are basically representative of the male sex. She describes these men as "myrmidons," the name of a tribe in Greek mythology who were "a swarm of men descended from ants." The myrmidons served as warriors for Achilles.

"Police-blotter rapists in a very real sense perform a myrmidon function for all men in our society. . . . Myrmidons to the cause of male dominance, police-blotter rapists have performed their duty well, so well in fact that the true meaning of their act has largely gone unnoticed."

"Rather than society's aberrants or 'spoilers of purity,' men who commit rape have served in effect as the front-line masculine shock troops, terrorist guerrillas in the longest sustained battle the world has ever known."

Brownmiller's "myrmidon" theory of rape is based on what could be boiled down to three premises: 1) that rape is the central means by which women are kept oppressed; 2) that rape and the oppression of women are in the interest of all men, whether or not they themselves are rapists; and 3) that the basic conflict in society is the sexual conflict between all males and all females.

On the basis of these premises, she tries to reconstruct history, reinterpreting it as simply a history of rape against women.

Origins of Rape

When did men begin to rape—and why? Brownmiller concludes that it began in prehistoric times with man's "discovery" that he can rape.

"Man's structural capacity to rape and women's corresponding structural vulnerability" are the reasons for rape, she asserts. "When men discovered they could rape, they proceeded to do it."

The question is reduced to a simple biological phenomenon, stripped of social or psychological motivation. Rape is not a simple sex act, however, but a violent sexual *attack*. If the only reason men rape is that they can get erections, why don't all men rape all the time? Why is there no rape in the animal world, a fact Brownmiller notes but fails to explain?

Brownmiller does not offer a shred of documentation to back up her theory that rape has always existed among humans. Yet she gets so carried away with this theory that she says man's "discovery" of rape "must rank as one of the most important discoveries of prehistoric times, along with the use of fire and the first crude stone axe."

The logic of this biological view of rape is obvious. Men, having the ability to rape, will always rape. Women, being "structurally vulnerable," will always be so. The conclusion: biology determines our destiny as women, and nothing we do can change it.

Actually, Brownmiller's simplistic theory is merely a variation of the theory that women's oppression stems from the presumed fact that men have always been stronger than women and thus able to physically keep them subjugated. (After all, women are only "structurally vulnerable" to rape if you assume they are physically weaker.)

This old theory at least has the merit of recognizing that women are subjected to many forms of violence in this society, not only or even primarily rape. But it has the same problem as Brownmiller's special variation of it: there is no explanation of *why* men wanted to use their presumed strength to put down women.

Brownmiller not only believes men are rapists by nature, but that all other forms of women's oppression, and exploitation in general, flow from the act of rape. Again without offering any scientific evidence, she writes, "Female fear of an

Cindy Jaquith is women's liberation work director for the Socialist Workers party and a staff writer for the *Militant*. She was the *Militant's* reporter at the trial of Joanne Little, the Black woman who was acquitted of murder charges last year stemming from the death of a white jailer who tried to rape her.

open season of rape, and not a natural inclination toward monogamy, motherhood or love, was probably the single causative factor in the original subjugation of woman by man, the most important key to her historic dependence, her domestication by protective mating. . . .

"Concepts of hierarchy, slavery and private property flowed from, and could only be predicated upon, the initial subjugation of woman," she concludes.

Real Roots of Women's Oppression

Through study of the works of Frederick Engels, Robert Briffault, and Lewis Morgan, and today through the contributions of Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed, women are learning the true history of our oppression, and, most importantly, discovering that we have not always been the second sex.

Brownmiller makes only fleeting reference to the existence of a matriarchy in preclass, primitive society, in which women were the respected equals of men. They were also leaders, directing the gathering of food, domesticating animals, and discovering agriculture.

What led to the downfall of women? Evelyn Reed, in *Problems of Women's Liberation*, explains how the oppression of women arose with class society:

"The downfall of women coincided with the breakup of the matriarchal clan commune and its replacement by class-divided society with its institutions of the patriarchal family, private property and state power.

"The key factors which brought about this reversal in woman's social status came out of the transition from a hunting and food-gathering economy to a far higher mode of production based upon agriculture, stock raising and urban crafts. The primitive division of labor between the sexes was replaced by a more complex social division of labor. The greater efficiency of labor gave rise to a sizable surplus product, which led first to differentiations and then to deepgoing divisions among the various segments of society.

"By virtue of the directing roles played by men in large-scale agriculture, irrigation and construction projects, as well as stock raising, this surplus wealth was gradually appropriated by a hierarchy of men as their private property. This, in turn, required the institution of marriage and the family to fix the legal ownership and inheritance of a man's property. Through monogamous marriage the wife was brought under the complete control of her husband who was thereby assured of legitimate sons to inherit his wealth."

Thus the subjugation of women is rooted in the changeover to a social organization based on inequality in property. The family, and women's role in it, plays a major role in preserving an economic system based on private ownership of society's productive resources.

One of the functions of the family system is to enforce general sexual repression against males as well as females.

To justify the subjugation of the female sex, women are portrayed as sex objects, the natural inferiors of men. This distorted, reactionary view of women and sexuality is fostered and reinforced through the economic compulsion that the family system is based on, through the church, state, schools, and other institutions, warping all human beings in our society.

The defense and transmission of private property explains not only the oppression of women, but the development of the state, prisons, and armies, which are forms of institutionalized violence against all challengers of the status quo and privileges of the rich—male or female.

In rejecting this materialist view, Brownmiller attempts to ignore history and the existence of social classes, the family, and the state. Rather than seeing rape as a social phenomenon generated by the inequality and inherent violence of class society, she tries to stand reality on its head, and insists that all of human history evolved from the erect penis.

She gets into trouble when she tries to apply her theory to the real world.

Brownmiller's 'History' of Rape

One large section of *Against Our Will* deals with rape in wartime: during the Middle Ages, American Revolution, World War I, World War II, the Congolese revolution, Vietnam, and



More cops—male or female—and stiffer punishments will not stop rape; it only strengthens the repressive apparatus of the system responsible for maintaining the oppression of women.

Bangladesh. She recounts each war in terms of the numbers of women raped on all sides. While the descriptions paint a shocking picture of the abuse of women, they are rendered meaningless by her method of dissolving history into the single event of rape.

The driving forces of war—battles over trade markets and control of natural resources, class struggles between working people and employers, struggles between oppressed and oppressor nations—are absent and seemingly irrelevant in her history. The driving motive behind the aggressors (always male) is uniformly the same: rape. To conform to her assumption that women are the only real victims in war, Brownmiller dismisses other aspects of wartime violence—concentration camps, torture, mass murders, atom bombs.

A case in point is her history of the revolution in the Congo in the 1960s. We now know, as a result of CIA revelations, that the U.S. government, in collaboration with the Belgian regime of King Baudouin, was ready to use any means necessary to crush the Congolese liberation forces led by Patrice Lumumba. The CIA plotted the assassination of Lumumba because they feared that the struggle he led would succeed in ripping the Congo out of the grasp of Western imperialism.

Brownmiller says she sympathizes with Lumumba's side. But her reactionary analysis of the war in the Congo is more accurately revealed in the title of this section: "Mob Violence Against Whites: The Congo."

The main point of this section is to revive the slander used by the U.S. and Belgian rulers to justify the war at a time of growing sympathy for the colonial revolution. That slander was the charge that Lumumba's forces were raping white nuns. Without batting an eye, Brownmiller cites as the main "source" for this information a "white paper" on African raping commissioned by King Baudouin himself!

Outside of the Belgian royalty, however, there has never been any other evidence for the tale of mass rape by Lumumba's supporters. Afro-American reporters covering the war at the time wrote back from the Congo that there was no truth to the charge. The "rape" story was devised to whip up a racist hysteria against the national liberation fighters in the Congo, so as to facilitate the deeper involvement of U.S. forces.

But by leaping on this rape myth as fact, Brownmiller places herself on the side of Belgian and American imperialism in this war, against the struggle of the men and women who were fighting to throw off centuries of exploitation, pillage, and rape by the white colonialists.

The War In Vietnam

In contrast to other sections of her book, Brownmiller's chapter on the war in Vietnam is a well-documented and convincing description of how rape was intertwined with racism, imperialism, and sexism during U.S. intervention there.

In the beginning of the chapter, she points out that the National Liberation Front and North

Vietnamese forces committed little rape during the war. She then rips into the role of the U.S. government in not just permitting but *institutionalizing* prostitution and rape as "standard operating procedure."

"By 1966," she writes, "the 1st Cavalry Division at An Khe, in the Central Highlands, the 1st Infantry Division at Lai Khe, twenty-five miles north of Saigon, and the 4th Infantry Division at Pleiku had established official military brothels within the perimeter of their base camps.

"The Lai Khe 'recreation area' belonging to the base camp of the 3rd Brigade, 1st Infantry Division was a one-acre compound surrounded by barbed wire with American MP's standing guard at the gate. It was opened only during daylight hours for security reasons.

"Inside the compound there were shops that sold hot dogs, hamburgers and souvenirs, but the main attraction was two concrete barracks, each about one hundred feet long—the military whorehouses that serviced the four-thousand-man brigade. Each building was outfitted with two bars, a bandstand, and sixty curtained cubicles in which the Vietnamese women lived and worked."

These "recreation areas" became known among GIs as "Disneylands," "boom-boom parlors," and "sin cities."

In this atmosphere of violence, racism, and abuse of women, rape on a mass scale naturally followed as one of the conquests of battle. Brownmiller includes several horrifying accounts that show not only the brutality toward Vietnamese women, but the dehumanization of American GIs through the war.

One U.S. deserter told of this incident:

"We balled these chicks. They were forcibly willing—they'd rather do that than get shot. Then one of the girls yelled some derogatory thing at the guy who'd balled her. . . . He just reached down for his weapon and blew her away. Well, right away the other three guys, including myself, picked up our weapons and blew away the other three chicks. Just like that. . . ."

Brownmiller also quotes Scott Camil, who later became a leader of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, explaining how the day-in, day-out anticommunist, anti-Vietnamese propaganda created a climate where all kinds of violence against women were justified: "It wasn't like they were humans. . . . They were a gook or a Commie and it was okay."

By the end of the chapter, ironically, Brownmiller has convinced her readers of exactly the opposite of her thesis. She has shown how rape and other crimes against women are part and parcel of the capitalist system of plunder and exploitation, an integral part of the violence used to intimidate and terrorize those struggling for freedom. The crime committed in Vietnam was rape in every sense, rape by imperialist interests whose only concern was protecting investments.

Attacks Antiwar Movement

Brownmiller, however, rejects the very case she

Evelyn Reed: Roots of Rape Are Social, Not Biological

One of the pernicious myths circulated about women attributes their social inferiority to their child-bearing functions and other biological disabilities. Kate Millett correctly dubs this a "biological mystique." A misinterpreted and falsified anthropology is then invoked as evidence that women in prehistoric as well as modern society have been oppressed because of their inescapable physical handicaps.

This is a cover-up of the real situation. A ruthless patriarchal class society that profits from the subordination of women has imposed male supremacy and female degradation. Neither existed in the prehistoric period of the patriarchal commune, when women occupied a leading position. Their "second sex" status is a social, not a biological, condition, and one that came late in history, as I have dem-

onstrated in my book *Woman's Evolution*.

Now Susan Brownmiller, a talented writer and well-known feminist, presents us with a male corollary of this biological mystique about women. She contends that men are rapists and always have been rapists because they are biologically equipped for that purpose. Admitting that rape does not exist in the animal world, she fails to explain how or why it became a permanent feature of human relations.

Instead she calls upon dubious fragments of anthropological data to support her assertion about the eternal rapist character of men. But her 5 pages (284-288) in a book of almost 500 pages will hardly be regarded as adequate or convincing evidence, even by those who are not familiar with the hundred-year controversies in anthropology.

The debasement of men's atti-

tudes toward women was part and parcel of the great social change that overturned the communal and egalitarian matriarchy and brought patriarchal class society into existence. Sexual rape emerged as a new social phenomenon in a "rapist" society based upon private property, plundering wars, and class, sex, and race oppressions. As the decreed "superior sex," men were encouraged to take out their social and sexual rages and frustrations upon women.

In her condemnation of the growing glorification of rape in our times, Brownmiller writes: "Movie producers, who are male, give the public *their own concept* of what the world is all about, and in this function they perpetuate, shape and influence our popular attitudes." (Page 306.) She is no less critical of the sexist attitudes of men in other fields, from Freud and his followers in psycholo-

gy, through Norman Mailer, the "king of letters," to the Rolling Stones. Yet she completely suspends her critical judgment when it comes to the prevailing sexist views in the field of anthropology.

By focusing all attention upon the *biology* of men and women, Brownmiller diverts attention from the underlying social causes of the afflictions that are heaped upon both. Women are the degraded sex and some men are rapists, not because of their physical organs, but because a predatory and decadent class society has forced and manipulated both sexes into their current roles and behavior patterns. It is impossible to get at the root causes of these evils—or to eradicate them—without exposing and transforming the social structure in which they arose and still flourish.

—Evelyn Reed

herself makes. Instead, she concludes what is an otherwise truthful chapter on women in the Vietnam War with an attack on the antiwar movement for not making an end to rape and prostitution in Vietnam one of its central demands.

"I received several requests during this time to march, speak and 'bring out my sisters' to antiwar demonstrations," she writes, "'to show women's liberation solidarity with the peace movement,' and my response was that if the peace movement cared to raise the issue of rape and prostitution in Vietnam, I would certainly join in. . . . I am sorry that the peace movement did not consider the abuse of women in Vietnam an issue important and distinctive enough to stand on its own merits. . . ."

To refuse to support demonstrations for withdrawing the American aggressors from Vietnam on the flimsy excuse that rape was not made the central issue is reactionary hypocrisy. What *did* help end institutionalized rape and prostitution in Vietnam was the massive antiwar movement demanding "Out Now!" And fortunately, while Brownmiller sat on the sidelines, millions of women joined in those demonstrations. It is the women and men who marched, along with the heroic Vietnamese, who defeated the U.S. aggressors and improved the lot of women in Vietnam.

Brownmiller's abstention from the antiwar movement is one example of how her theory that men are the enemy can result in her ending up objectively on the side of the real enemy of women and all the oppressed: the blood-smeared Nixons and Johnsons and their bosses among the ruling rich. Another example of her reactionary stance arises in her treatment of the relationship between rape and Black men in the United States.

Rape Laws as Racist Tool

Rape laws in this country have historically been used against Blacks and other oppressed nationalities as a tool of intimidation. In Georgia, before the end of slavery, the rape of a white woman by a Black man was punishable by death; rape of a white woman by a white man, by two to ten years' imprisonment; rape of a Black woman by a white man, by a fine or discretionary prison term; and no penalty for Black men who raped Black women.

Since 1930, 455 men have been executed for rape; 405 of them were Black.

Rape laws are selectively enforced against Blacks, and in addition, the charge of rape is used to frame up innocent Blacks. The Scottsboro case is perhaps the most famous, but there are thousands of Black men who have been victimized in similar frame-ups.

Today, we have the case of Delbert Tibbs, the Black writer sitting in a Florida jail, framed for the rape of a white woman who was miles away from him at the time.

Racist mythology that plays on the sexual fears of the oppressors portrays the Black man

as an oversexed beast lusting after white women. His counterpart in the sick minds of white supremacists is the Black female, portrayed as being so morally loose that she "can't" be raped. This was the stereotype Joanne Little confronted and successfully exposed in her trial for killing a white rapist last year in North Carolina.

Any attempt to understand the social conditions that institutionalize rape as an aspect of male-female relations in class society must begin by separating out the facts about rape from the racist myths. Failure to do so leads into a deadly trap, which Brownmiller falls into in her chapter "A Question of Race."

Although she concedes that "heavier sentences imposed on blacks for raping white women is an incontestable historic fact," the main point of this chapter is an indictment of civil rights groups and the "male left" for defending Blacks in rape cases.

The Case of Emmett Till

One of her most shocking examples is the case of Emmett Till, the fourteen-year-old Black youth who was mutilated, beaten, and shot to death in Mississippi in 1955. Till's "crime" was an alleged "wolf whistle" at a white woman, Carolyn Bryant. Bryant's husband and brother responded by lynching Till and were later acquitted by an all-white jury.

The Till case is a landmark in the history of the civil rights movement. Furor over his murder swept throughout Black communities across the country. Hundreds of thousands of Blacks demonstrated against this heinous crime.

But seen through the skewed perspective of *Against Our Will*, Emmett Till is not the victim. "Till's action was more than a kid's brash prank," lectures Brownmiller. The alleged whistle, she says, "was a deliberate insult just short of physical assault, a last reminder to Carolyn Bryant that this black boy, Till, had in mind to possess her."

Could it be said any plainer—*Till was asking for it?*

Brownmiller paints an equally racist picture of the 1951 Willie McGee case, where a Black man was executed after three trials, two by all-white juries, in a case that produced big protests despite the fact that it occurred during the McCarthy period. To Brownmiller, the McGee defense campaign represented nothing more than the "male left" victimizing white women to get Black rapists off the hook.

In a sentence that stinks of racist contempt for the thousands of Blacks lynched or railroaded to jail under Southern "justice," she concludes, "The left fought hard for its symbols of racial injustice, making bewildered heroes out of a handful of pathetic, semiliterate fellows caught in the jaws of Southern jurisprudence who only wanted to beat the rap."

This racist statement is completely alien to feminism. It is an expression of Brownmiller's view that women have no interest in supporting the struggles of other oppressed sectors of

society. In her mind, apparently, racist oppression doesn't even exist; it is simply a figment of the imagination of the "male left." In fact, in her conclusion to this chapter, she argues that the struggle of Blacks is basically *antagonistic* to feminist goals:

"History is never 'behind' us, and we must not forget how the white man has used the rape of 'his' women as an excuse to act against black men. But today the incidence of actual rape combined with the looming spectre of the rapist in the mind's eye, and in particular the mythified spectre of the black man as rapist to which the black man in the name of his manhood now contributes, must be understood as a control mechanism against the freedom, mobility and aspirations of all women, white and black. The crossroads of racism and sexism had to be a violent meeting place. There is no use pretending it doesn't exist."

The feminist movement will never be built on the basis of capitulation to the racism fostered by the ruling class in order to divide and rule. Unless women champion the struggles of all the oppressed, we cannot succeed in challenging our special oppression as women.

Today it is clearer than ever that women, Blacks, and all working people need to unite to defend our rights. The face of the antibusing racists in Boston is the same as that of the anti-ERA and anti-abortion forces, the enemies of organized labor, and the proponents of a return to the death penalty.

All but a tiny handful of men *do* have a stake in the emancipation of women, and they will become our allies in the struggle to eliminate all forms of exploitation and oppression. That battle will be fundamentally a *class* struggle, not a struggle between the sexes.

Anti-Working-Class

As might be expected, however, Brownmiller's reactionary theory is not only racist, but also anti-working-class. This comes through in her description of the "typical rapist":

"The typical American rapist might be the boy next door. Especially if the boy next door happens to be about 19 years of age and the neighborhood you live in happens to fit the socioeconomic description of lower class or bears the appellation of 'ghetto.'"

Sneering at "liberals who want to excuse crimes of violence strictly on the basis of social inequities in the system," Brownmiller puts forward a theory of the "subculture of violence." According to this theory, "There exists a subculture formed of those from the lower classes, the poor, the disenfranchised, the black, whose values often run counter to those of the dominant culture. . . ." The subculture, she explains, "is quick to resort to violence; indeed, violence and physical aggression become a common way of life."

Working people are pitted against one another by this system, which breeds cutthroat competition in every aspect of life and forces the poor—

both male and female—to prey upon one another simply to survive.

Street crime, for example, is higher in Black communities and other less privileged working-class areas because it is there that the evils bred by capitalism—unemployment, low pay, drugs, and lack of education—strike most severely. Rape is only one of these crimes. Brownmiller doesn't take note of murder, assault, or child-beating, which women carry out as well as men.

Capitalism not only deprives working people on an economic level, but cripples and destroys them also on a social and psychological level. The schools, churches, media, and other institutions foster backward prejudices about women, sex, race, and other questions. Sexual repression distorts the lives of all human beings—women as well as men. These pressures come down with greatest ferocity on the poor.

By aiming her fire at individual street crime and the "lower classes" that are most afflicted by it, Brownmiller turns the victim into the criminal. She ignores, on the other hand, the systematic mass violence that is perpetrated by the capitalist rulers in defense of their profit system—the genocidal wars, the poverty, the racist discrimination, the drug trade, the manifold denial of women's rights.

In fact, Brownmiller is an apologist for these crimes. She goes so far as to say that "the dominant culture can operate within the laws of civility because it has little need to resort to violence to get what it wants."

Little need to resort to violence!

What about Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where capitalist "civility" led to the incineration of more than 100,000 Japanese with the flick of a switch?

What about the Nazi death camps—or does Brownmiller think that fascism is not part of the "dominant culture"?

What of the sadistic torture and slaughter in Chile directed by the CIA?

What about the FBI-inspired violence directed against leaders of the Black, antiwar, student, and women's movements to demoralize activists and discredit their struggles? What about the assassination plots against Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, and Martin Luther King?

Far from having "little need" to employ brute force, capitalism must use violence on a perpetual basis to enforce the rule of a tiny minority over the great majority.

For her solutions, Brownmiller turns to those responsible for enforcing the economic inequality that guarantees rape will continue to be a facet of



Joanne Little defense campaign demonstrated how the women's liberation and Black liberation struggles are complementary, not antagonistic, as Brownmiller argues.

male-female relations. She turns to the cops and courts of the capitalist state.

Her reactionary "program" for supposedly eliminating rape can be summed up in four points: stiffer rape laws and imprisonment of rapists; more women police; censorship of pornography; and women's self-defense.

Thus, she jumps right onto the "law and order" bandwagon, allying herself with the politicians, cops, and right-wing gangs for whom "law and order" is a code word for racist, antilabor, and sexist repression. It is no wonder that this book has been hailed in the big-business media at this time of mass layoffs of Blacks and women and of official encouragement to racist antibusing mob violence.

Even while offering her "solutions," Brownmiller is forced to concede that "the most perfect rape laws in the land, strictly enforced by the best concerned citizens, will not be enough to stop rape."

Rape will not be ended through stiffer laws, longer prison sentences, or more cops (male or female!), any more than murder can be ended by restoring the death penalty.

Censorship laws do nothing to attack the roots of violence and degradation of women and of human beings that is reflected in pornography. Rather, such laws have traditionally been turned against working people—including against

feminists—to abridge the right of free speech and suppress dissident views.

The road to stopping violence against women is not through strengthening the repressive apparatus of the very system that oppresses women, but through challenging that system of inequality at every level and uprooting it.

What should women do now to fight sexual abuse? Our job is to build a mass, independent feminist movement that can channel the outrage of women in a political direction, fighting against all the forms of institutionalized sexism that stunt the lives of masses of women. Such a movement must seek allies not among those responsible for maintaining women's oppression but among those who, like us, are fighting oppression and exploitation in all its forms.

Our allies in the struggle to end the violence and inequality on which the capitalist system is based, and to build a new, humane, socialist society, are the working class, the Black community, the oppressed and exploited world over.

Against Our Will stands in opposition to this struggle. It not only fails to answer the very problem it seeks to address, but it represents an obstacle to the fight for the emancipation of women, and a dangerous potential weapon in the hands of our enemies.

Trade Unions and a Revolutionary Perspective A Discussion with Leon Trotsky

In 1940 Washington was driving toward entry into World War II, and pressure mounted for the unions to line up behind the war drive and Roosevelt's presidential candidacy. Farrell Dobbs recounts Trotsky's advice on how the Socialist Workers party could win union militants to a class-struggle perspective on these key political questions, which meant breaking out of a narrow trade union framework.

The following selection is from the third chapter of Teamster Bureaucracy, a forthcoming book by Farrell Dobbs. The book is the last of a four-volume series, preceded by Teamster Rebellion, Teamster Power, and Teamster Politics. The*

For a commentary on how this article relates to the situation of the labor movement today, see 'The Month in Review' on page ISR/2.

first three tell the story of how the Teamsters union was built during the 1930s from a weak craft union into the largest labor organization in

the country. The final volume describes President Franklin D. Roosevelt's attack on the American labor movement in preparation for U.S. entry into a new imperialist war.

Farrell Dobbs was a leader of the militant Teamster local in Minneapolis that spearheaded the union's organizing struggle. He became general organizer on the Teamsters national staff and led the union's first over-the-road organizing drive. In 1940 he resigned his union post to become national labor secretary of the Socialist Workers party.

A stenographic record of the discussions with Trotsky recounted in this article can be found in Writings of Leon Trotsky (1939-40), second edition (Pathfinder Press: New York, 1973), p. 251.

By Farrell Dobbs

In January 1940 my wife, Marvel Scholl, and I went to Mexico for a visit with Leon Trotsky and his companion, Natalia Sedova. I had just resigned from the organizational staff of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in order to concentrate on political activity as national labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. While making the change, the party felt, it would be helpful to talk with Trotsky, and both of us welcomed the opportunity to meet the famous revolutionary.

One of the topics we discussed with him was the coming United States elections. He offered

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practical suggestions in that connection, prefacing them with an outline of objective considerations involved.

Heavy pressures were being applied, Trotsky observed, to line up the labor movement in support of the capitalist government's war preparations. A dangerous situation resulted for the workers because of capitulatory tendencies within the movement, which took the general form of backing President Roosevelt for reelection. Therefore, revolutionists should use every available means to counter that trend by pushing for independent working-class political action.

Projection of the latter course required, moreover, that a labor program be concretized around a set of transitional demands. Measures should be called for that would protect the workers' purchasing power and assure them job security. Labor should also demand the right to live at peace with other nations, to control production, to examine the capitalists' books and expropriate their holdings, etc. An election platform drafted along those lines would not only chart a course toward solution of the workers' immediate problems; it would prepare the way for them to learn through further experiences that their class interests could be defended only by taking governmental control away from the capitalists.

To assure that key programmatic issues were stressed during the elections, Trotsky urged, the SWP should run a candidate against Roosevelt. Parallel with that action a proposal should be made that the labor movement put up its own presidential ticket, and to help press the point, the Minneapolis Teamsters should suggest the nomination of Daniel J. Tobin, head of the IBT, for the presidency.

When I got to the party center in New York a special leadership session was held to hear my report on the discussions with Trotsky. On the question of electoral policy all present agreed that his proposals were good ones, but in the situation then existing other matters got in the way of carrying them out.

Demands of the kind he listed were, of course, raised in our general propaganda. That had been done consistently since the Fourth International adopted a broad transitional program in 1938. We did not concretize those demands, however, as planks in an election platform because of a number of difficulties.

The SWP was small and it had limited financial means. Besides that, we faced discriminatory election laws, rigged against radical parties. In those circumstances the fielding of a presidential ticket required an all-out effort by the organization.

There was also another complication. An intense faction fight had developed within the party, stemming from capitalist pressures on the war issue. A petty-bourgeois minority was demanding that the SWP abandon its policy of defending the Soviet Union, a workers' state, against imperialist attack. The dispute involved revolutionary principles and a majority of the membership fought to uphold them. A deepgoing split resulted in the spring of the year.

Up to that point the factional struggle had claimed the main attention of the party leadership. Then, after the split, much effort had to be concentrated on reconsolidation of the organization, which had suffered a severe loss in numerical strength. Because of those preoccupations, the national leaders gave insufficient thought to electoral activity and failed to take the initiatives that were needed. Hence, nothing was done either to develop some way of putting up an SWP presidential ticket, or to propose through Teamster action the nomination of Tobin against Roosevelt.

That is how matters stood the following June, at which time a delegation of party leaders went to consult with Trotsky about several problems. The delegation consisted of James P. Cannon, Sam Gordon, Joseph Hansen, and myself. Three party rank-and-filers—Charles Cornell and Harold Robins, who were serving in Trotsky's guard, and Antoinette Konikow, who was there for a personal visit—sat in on the talks.

Trotsky's Proposal

When we came to the agenda point on the United States elections, Trotsky summed up the existing situation as follows: There had been no campaign in the party press for labor's nomina-

tion of a presidential candidate. Nothing had appeared in the *Northwest Organizer* on the subject. The SWP had not put up its own candidate, and it was too late to do so. Consequently, the party had no answer when workers asked who they should vote for. No concrete way had been developed to insist—in trade unions where we had influence—that Roosevelt was not our candidate.

Complete abstention from the campaign, he stressed, would be highly inadvisable. Instead of taking a negative stance, we needed to apply dynamic politics. As an independent party, it was imperative that we have a line in relation to the presidential campaign.

Lacking our own slate, Trotsky continued, we had to choose between Earl Browder, who headed the Communist Party's presidential ticket, and Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party's candidate for president. Thomas was ruled out, though, because of his ties with Social Democrats standing at the left tip of the defenders of U.S. imperialism. So that reduced options to Browder or Roosevelt.

In presenting his recommendations on electoral policy the previous January, Trotsky reminded us, he had not proposed critical support of Browder. But he now thought we should take that course, since we appeared to have left ourselves with no other alternative. Such a step should not be viewed, however, as an opening move in a longer-range strategic policy. It should be seen as nothing more than a tactical line for the current presidential election.

By giving Browder critical support, he added, still another problem could be handled more effectively. With the signing of the Soviet-German pact in 1939, the CP leaders had begun to oppose U.S. entry into the war. A similarity had thus developed between their abstract slogans and ours. In addition, they had a larger organization, which enabled them to shout louder than us. As a result they had become a major obstacle to the SWP in the struggle to win leadership among trade unionists opposed to Roosevelt's foreign policy. At the same time we had been walled off from any prospect of influencing Stalinist workers on the war issue.

Therefore, we should keep in mind that it was only a matter of time until the Communist Party would again turn toward support of U.S. imperialism to meet Moscow's changing diplomatic needs. When that happened an internal explosion could be expected in the CP. The 1939 shift away from the prowar, "people's front" line had been welcomed by workers in that party's ranks, who had become radicalized through class-struggle experiences. Many would resent a new shift back to a patriotic stance, and we could introduce a wedge to start some of them moving toward us when the new reversal came. While giving critical support to their presidential

candidate on the basis of the transitory coincidence in antiwar slogans, we would warn the Stalinist workers that they would again be betrayed by their leaders. Meantime, we would go through a common experience with those workers in the struggle against war, so as to be in a better position to attract them politically later on.

After motivating his proposal as described above, Trotsky remarked that it constituted a daring undertaking. He believed, though, that the cohesion of our party was such that we could succeed in the maneuver, which would be a short one, conducted with strong criticism of the CP.

SWP Leaders Respond

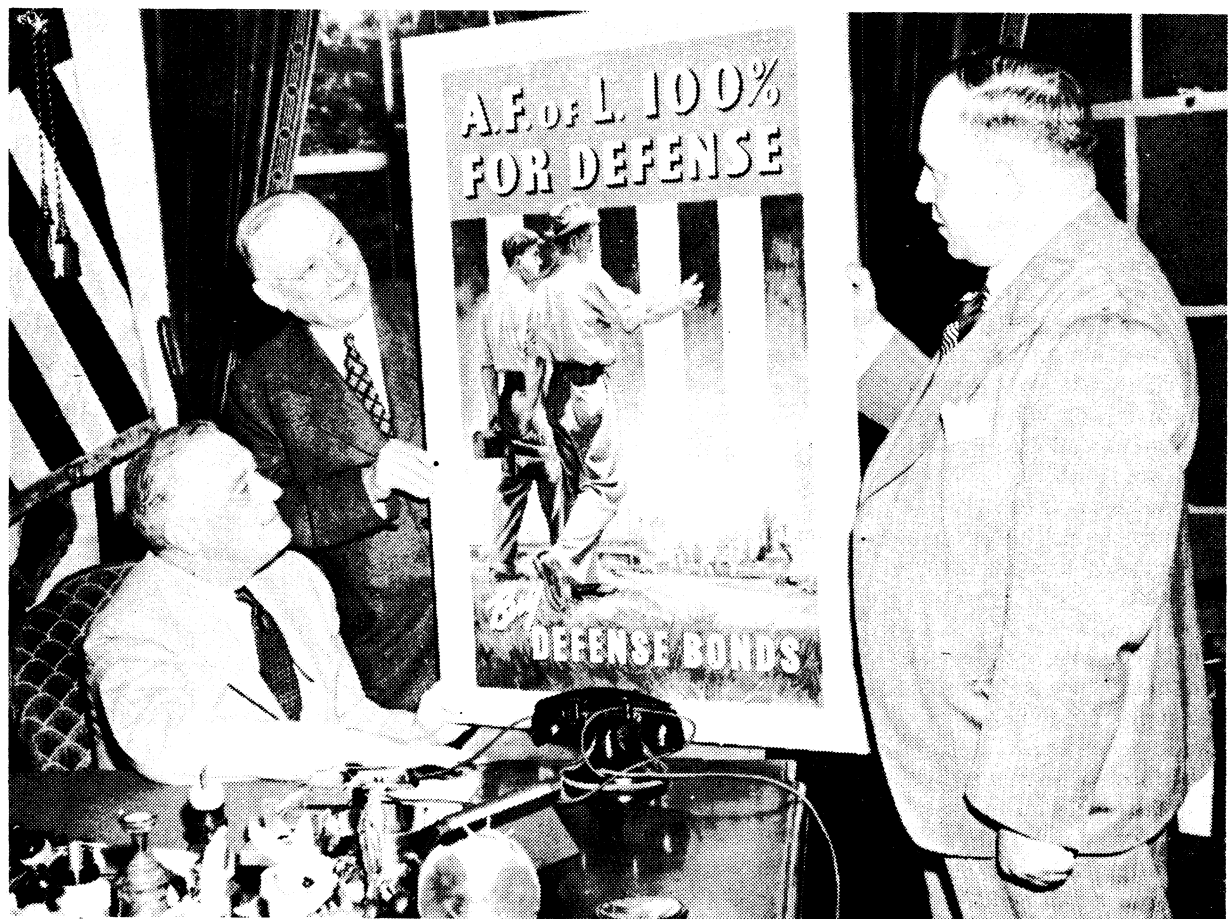
The SWP delegation did not favor the tactic of critical support to Browder. We felt that it would run into indignation among anti-Stalinist militants in the trade unions. While reactionary prejudices would be involved to a certain extent, there was also a good deal of sincere, well-grounded hatred of the Communist Party. It stemmed from major crimes the CP had committed, such as violations of trade-union democracy and betrayals of working-class struggles against the bosses.

In several industries we were building party fractions on the basis of opposition to Stalinist control. For that purpose tacit blocs had been formed with elements who could be classified as progressive trade unionists. Although weak numerically, we were strong politically; and that quality had enabled us to play a significant leadership role in blocs of that kind, through which our forces were gradually being strengthened. Hence, we believed, adoption of the proposed tactic would disrupt our trade-union work by giving anti-Stalinist militants a mistaken impression that we were moving toward collaboration with the CP.

In Minnesota, especially, the tactic would be widely misunderstood, we thought, in view of the Stalinists' criminal record. Among the counts against them were wrecking operations in the Farmer-Labor Party, disruption of the trade-union movement, and sabotage of struggles against the boss class.

Under those circumstances, the SWP delegation argued, any gains registered through the contemplated approach to worker-members of the CP would be more than offset by loss of influence among anti-Stalinist trade-union militants.

Trotsky replied that his proposal was intended as a means of combining two objectives: namely, to provide us, as an independent party, with a line in the presidential campaign; and to support the Stalinist workers against their treacherous leaders in the hope that some could be won over. The latter objective, he said, did not mean that we should turn away from the progressive trade unionists. It had been a correct maneuver for us



Roosevelt poses with AFL President William Green and Secretary-treasurer George Meany. Revolutionists had to find a way to differentiate themselves from Roosevelt's supporters in the unions and thus be a pole of attraction for militants who refused to be herded behind the capitalist politicians and war drive.

to penetrate the mass movement with their help. That phase had opened doors for us in the unions, but there were dangers involved.

As he viewed the situation, the progressives were found primarily at the top of the unions, rather than as a rank-and-file current. If we counted on success in impressing those elements politically, it could prove fatal. Officials taking a progressive stance were a reflex of the new union movement that had sprung up during the social crisis of the 1930s, but they were not a direct reflection of the rank and file. Their line was determined by pressures to serve the workers' needs and by fear of the Stalinists, who sought to build their own bureaucracy in the unions. Mainly, the officials friendly to us were seeking advice in their fight against the CP.

Playing the role of advisers to the progressive bureaucrats, Trotsky remarked, didn't promise much in the long run. Although they opposed the Stalinists, we didn't seem to be winning many of them to our party. In general they were Rooseveltians, who would turn against us when the U.S. entered the war. Our real role, he added, had to be that of a third competitor, against both the progressive bureaucrats and the Stalinists.

We agreed, of course, on the need to create our own independent forces in the contest for leadership of the working class. Exception was taken, however, to the implication that we acted mainly as attorneys for progressive union officials. Among the progressives, we answered, were rank-and-file unionists who had been organized by us. They were militants who had good cause to be against the Stalinists, and our main line had to be oriented toward those workers, seeking to win them politically. So far as relations with progressive bureaucrats were concerned, we insisted, nothing more was involved than a bloc over trade-union policy; it was not a political bloc.

A Bolshevik Policy, Not a Trade-Union Policy

What we had outlined was a trade-union policy, Trotsky responded, not a Bolshevik policy. While gains for the party had been accomplished through a certain degree of adaptation to trade-union realities, measures were needed to offset inevitable dangers. Many comrades appeared to have become more interested in trade-union work than in party activity; and to a certain extent we were adapting politically to the labor bureaucracy.

Bolshevik policies, he stressed, begin outside the trade unions. The worker is an honest unionist who can develop politically, but that is not identical with being a Bolshevik. Political backwardness in the workers' ranks necessitates a certain degree of adaptation by party members engaged in trade-union activity. That is why pressures from backward elements are reflected by them inside the party. It is also why trade-union functionaries, especially, tend to form the right wing of the party; and symptoms of that nature had become noticeable in the SWP.

There was need for more emphasis on the party, he advised us, more systematic theoretical training, sharper maneuvering. First and foremost the comrades had to be party members and only in a secondary sense trade unionists.

After hours of discussion, it became evident that we were at an impasse on the question of critical support to Browder. At that point Trotsky, who could be tough in an argument, gave a further demonstration of his remarkable ability to think objectively. There was no question of principle at stake. Our differences centered on nothing more than a matter of tactics, and even though the Browder candidacy was an important matter, disagreements of the kind were not uncommon in hammering out plans for day-to-day activity. Account had to be taken, as well, of the fact that we would have to carry out whatever decision was reached. So he decided not to press further on the question of critical support to Browder.

A tactic, to be valid for a working-class party, must conform with revolutionary principles and serve strategic needs in the struggle for socialism. Trotsky's proposal, of course, met those basic requirements. But it does not follow that the step he recommended, if carried out, was certain to prove effective. Tactical maneuvers are designed to achieve limited results in concrete situations of the moment. Therefore, the poten-



Dobbs (left) and Trotsky in Mexico during 1940 discussions. 'Trotsky did not use his great authority in a way that would undermine our ability to carry out the leadership tasks assigned to us by the SWP membership.'

tial of a given maneuver cannot be definitively ascertained unless it is applied in the specific situation for which it is intended, so that the actual results are evident. That being the case, one can only speculate today as to whether it might have been advisable for the Socialist Workers Party to give the tactic of critical support to Browder a try, as Trotsky urged.

After examining the question in retrospect, I now think we should have done so. Not because there was serious danger at the time of party comrades succumbing to the trade-union milieu. They passed that test with flying colors when the SWP came under severe attack in 1941. A tendency did exist, though, to give "practical" considerations undue weight concerning our approach to political tasks in the mass movement, and I believe the Browder tactic could have been helpful in correcting that shortcoming.

Political Opportunity

Our acceptance as trade-union leaders resulted mainly from demonstrated ability to fight the bosses and to cope with Stalinist disruption. While the winning of leadership roles on that basis put us in a favorable position to propagate our revolutionary views, a necessity remained to use all possible means of speeding the political development of worker-militants. Viewed in that light, Trotsky's proposal did more than present certain difficulties in our work; it afforded us a political opportunity. Although extensive anti-Roosevelt sentiment existed in the trade-union ranks, the top bureaucrats—most of whom favored his reelection—rejected the idea of nominating a labor candidate. Therefore, if workers opposed to the warmonger in the White House were to have a concrete alternative, it had to be Browder.

Anti-Stalinist militants would, of course, have bridled at the thought of giving critical support to a candidate of the treacherous CP, but it does not seem excluded that initial reactions of the kind could have been overcome to some extent. We could have stressed the importance of distinguishing between the Stalinist hacks and workers who had been sucked in by them. Careful explanation could have been made as to just what critical support meant, why the tactic had been developed in the course of labor history, and how it could be applied in a principled way to facilitate the current struggle against imperialist war. In presenting such explanations, moreover, party trade unionists would have needed to bone up on Marxist fundamentals, thereby deepening their own political education.

Possibilities of influencing Communist Party members also seemed to exist at the time. The CP had recruited thousands of workers, especially CIO members in basic industry, and not all of them had been fully Stalinized. With the switch in party line after the Soviet-German pact was signed, many became enthused at the prospect of conducting a struggle against imperialist war. If we had solidarized ourselves with those workers in that effort through critical support to Browder,

some would most likely have taken an open-minded attitude toward us. Besides that, they were more political than the average union militant, even though their thinking was warped by Stalinist concepts. So the prospect of having purposeful discussions with them was not excluded.

Among the subjects that might have been explored were the reasons for the Kremlin's new attitude toward the Nazis, which caused uneasiness within the CP. With a bit of adroitness the discussion could then have been steered toward a critical review of Stalinist policy as reflected in the German CP's inability to prevent Hitler from seizing power. In that way an opening could have been found—without being provocative—to predict that the CP hacks in this country would again betray the workers on the war issue, as they were to do in 1941. One cannot say with certainty that such an approach would have enabled us to win over substantial numbers of Stalinist workers. Yet it seems possible that we could have influenced them to a significant extent, and in any case the SWP trade unionists would have enhanced their own grasp of revolutionary politics in making the try.

Since the Socialist Workers Party did not have its own candidate for president, there is another reason why I now think we should have given critical support to Browder. Our failure to take that step left us with serious problems in finding a way to differentiate ourselves from Roosevelt's supporters in the trade unions. One of the stickiest difficulties of that nature cropped up in the Minneapolis Teamsters—a subject to which I shall return later.

How Trotsky Used His Authority

Concerning the outcome of the June 1940 discussion, the head of the Fourth International showed full understanding of his responsibilities toward us as leaders of a national section. Trotsky knew how costly it could be for the movement if he light-mindedly used his great authority in a way that would undermine our ability to carry out the leadership tasks assigned to us by the SWP membership. Therefore, even though confident of his correctness on the Browder issue, Trotsky was careful to avoid doing anything that would imply a break with us. Instead, he took the initiative in proposing a compromise.

An understanding was then reached, as follows: An approach would be made to the Stalinist workers through proposals for united-front activities against the imperialist preparations for war, in defense of workers' rights, etc.; and a propaganda campaign would be conducted for the nomination of a labor ticket in the presidential election.

Soon afterward the *Northwest Organizer* raised the question of an independent labor slate for president and other governmental posts. On July 18 it published an editorial, which said: "The other day the daily press reported that a certain U.S. Congressman was frantically scrib-

bling a plank for 'the defense of democracy' to be included in the platform of the Republican or Democratic parties, we forget which party. . . .

"Democratic rights are roughly divided into three broad groups.

"(1) The first group consists of those special 'rights' which defend capitalist property relations. . . .

"(2) The second group of democratic rights. . . . include many of the civil liberties: the rights of free speech, free assembly. . . .

"(3) The third group of rights that exists under capitalist democracy are not properly 'democratic' rights at all, but rather working-class rights, as have been won in the struggle of the workers against the employers. . . .

"The one group of democratic rights that the capitalists wholeheartedly defend is the first group of rights, those guarding capitalist property relationships. The second group of democratic rights are manipulated by the capitalists to their own ends. The capitalists are actively hostile to the third group of rights, and always seek to curtail them or abolish them completely in practice. . . .

"So far as the working class of people are concerned, we have no interest in defending the first group of 'democratic' rights which protect property relations only in the interests of the wealthy monopolists.

"But the working class, foremost of all groups in society, has a definite interest in protecting the second and third groups of rights that constitute democracy.

"The workers cannot defend these democratic rights by supporting either of the two old boss-dominated political parties. . . .

"The workers can only defend democracy by strengthening their own unions, by seeing to it that the unions themselves are democratically controlled, that they follow militant policies. And just as important and necessary, the workers

must have THEIR OWN POLITICAL PARTY, a national labor party, based on and directed by the unions, to challenge the Democratic and Republican parties. . . .

"As a starter, we would like to nominate Daniel Tobin, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, for President of the United States. And we would like to see the trade unions in every state nominate loyal trade unionists for every post in the elections, including the posts of United States senator and congressman, and governor."

Campaign for Labor Ticket

Issue after issue, the Teamster paper continued its propaganda along the above lines, and Trotsky expressed approval of the steps taken. In a letter of August 20, 1940, written to Henry Schultz about other matters, he added: "The *Northwest Organizer* becomes more precise—more aggressive—more political. We enjoyed it very much."

Our campaign for a national labor ticket coincided with an attack on the Democratic Party from another quarter. On January 31, 1940, John L. Lewis, president of the CIO, had publicly denounced Roosevelt for "breaking faith" with the workers. Lewis, who was sensitive to the mounting discontent among trade unionists, wanted to prevent the development of a revolt against class-collaborationist politics. He began with demands upon Roosevelt for a few concessions to the workers as the price to be paid for continued trade-union support of the Democrats.

During the following months, however, the White House turned a deaf ear to the pleas of the CIO leader. Then, about a week before election day, Lewis went on national radio to deliver an address that had been widely publicized in advance. He opened with a telling indictment of Roosevelt. Militant workers throughout the country listened eagerly, hoping against hope that a ringing call would follow for labor to build its own party in opposition to the capitalist two-party swindle. Instead, the CIO head went off the air, not with a bang but with a whimper. "I recommend," he told the bitterly disappointed worker-militants, "the election of Wendell L. Willkie [the Republican candidate] as the next President of the United States."

As matters stood, the workers had no presidential candidate of their own, and they were not about to follow Lewis's advice to support the Republicans. So they wound up voting for Roosevelt, considering him a lesser evil than Willkie. In Minneapolis the AFL Central Labor Union took the same position. While backing a straight Farmer-Labor slate in the state elections, the CLU went on record in support of the national Democratic ticket.

A problem resulted for the Trotskyists because of the formal control exercised over the *Northwest Organizer* by the Teamsters Joint Council. Apart from ourselves, the council generally supported the CLU position on the presidential election, as did many members of Local 544. Demands came from those quarters that the Teamster paper back Roosevelt. We interposed objections, asking that—in view of the differences over the question—nothing be said in the council's official organ. Our request was rejected, however, due in part to pressure from Tobin. As chairman of the Democratic National Committee's Labor Committee, the IBT head insisted that all Teamster units support the Democratic presidential slate.

After considerable argument within the Joint Council a compromise was reached. It was agreed that a factual report would be made of the position taken by the Minneapolis AFL, but there would be no editorial in favor of the Democrats. A news account of the CLU stand followed in the *Northwest Organizer* of October 31, 1940. The key paragraph in the story read: "Without concealing its differences with Roosevelt, nor its criticism of certain actions of the Farmer-Labor Party in recent years, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union feels the best interests of organized labor will be served if every union member supports the straight Farmer-Labor ticket and Roosevelt-Wallace nationally."

Since the matter had been handled in a manner that did not put us on record in support of a capitalist candidate, the compromise involved no violation of revolutionary principles. It remained advisable, though, to make doubly sure

there would be no misconceptions as to our stand. Steps toward that end were taken in the next issue of the Teamster paper. Through an editorial, and in a column written by the editor, Miles Dunne, we emphasized and reemphasized our advocacy of a national labor party.

Critical Support to Browder

If we had extended critical support to Browder, as Trotsky advised, our problem in Minneapolis would surely have been less complicated. I do not mean to imply that a Teamster majority could have been induced to accept that tactic. In my opinion, forces in the Joint Council would still have pressed for some expression in the union paper of their pro-Democratic stand in the presidential election. But a compromise of the kind that was worked out would then have left little or no confusion. Most everyone would have clearly understood that the Local 544 leaders remained flatly opposed to Roosevelt.

In addition, some political headway might have been made among Stalinist workers with whom the Trotskyists could have established contact through critical support of Browder's candidacy. There was nothing anticapitalist about his campaign. Insofar as the Communist Party opposed Roosevelt it did so by giving veiled support to Willkie; and that was especially the case after Lewis came out for the Republican hopeful. Sneakily backing the CIO head's pro-Willkie line, the *Daily Worker* urged "complete support for John L. Lewis' leadership of the CIO." An opportunity thus developed to raise questions about the CP's devious methods while conversing with workers in its ranks and to discuss principled labor politics with them. It seems likely that some could have been helped to straighten out their thinking.

Lacking a direct means of opposing Roosevelt in the elections, the Socialist Workers Party cadres in Minnesota did the best they could by running a candidate for U.S. senator. Grace Carlson was the nominee. A technicality in the election laws barred her from appearing as the candidate of the SWP. So a successful petition drive was conducted to put her on the ballot in the name of the Trotskyist Antiwar Party.

Carlson's campaign focused mainly on war-related issues. Key planks in her platform included: against imperialist war; for trade-union control of military training; trade-union hours and wages on all defense and public-works programs; for the 30-hour week; for the defense and extension of civil liberties and workers' rights; for a national labor party based upon and controlled by the trade unions; defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and Stalinism.

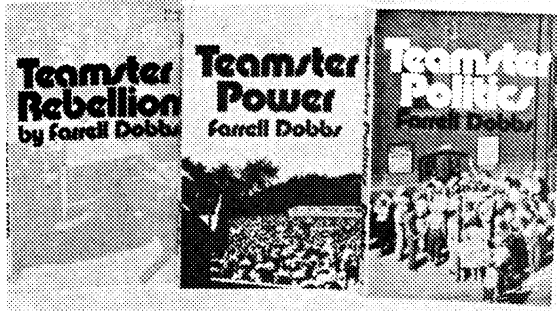
Copies of the platform were distributed by the thousands, mainly in the major cities of the state. With antiwar sentiment running high among the masses, the SWP campaign material was well received.

Carlson's opponents in the senatorial race were Elmer Benson, a Stalinist stooge who won the Farmer-Labor nomination in the primaries; Henrik Shipstead, a renegade Farmer-Laborite who had recently deserted to the Republicans; and John Regan, a Democrat. In confronting them the SWP nominee stressed that war was the central issue of the campaign; that the ability of the candidates to meet the problems posed by war was the basic measure of their fitness to defend the workers and farmers against Roosevelt's proimperialist line.

When the November election returns came in, the combined radical vote in the state was close to 17,000—more than double the 1936 total. Party by party, the key figures broke down as follows: For U.S. senator, Carlson, 8,761; and Carl Winter, the Communist Party's write-in candidate, 256. Among the presidential candidates Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party got 5,454 votes in Minnesota, and Earl Browder of the CP received 2,711. Apart from those specific figures, the overall radical vote included ballots cast for other candidates of minor parties.

Carlson not only outpolled Winter. Her vote for U.S. senator was greater than the combined tally on a state scale for Thomas and Browder in the presidential contest. As the election returns showed, the SWP had become the leading party appealing to radicalized workers in the area; and many were coming closer to the organization upon learning of its program.

Class-Struggle Unionism In Practice



This chapter gives only a taste of the rich lessons to be learned from Farrell Dobbs's history of the Teamsters union and the role of revolutionists within it. To delve more deeply:

TEAMSTER REBELLION

Vivid, firsthand account of the 1934, Minneapolis Teamsters strikes of which Dobbs was a central leader. 192 pp., paper \$2.45.

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Step-by-step story of the eleven-state Teamster organizing drive, especially the key struggles of the over-the-road drivers. 256 pp., paper \$2.95.

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How Teamster locals waged struggles in defense of the unemployed; against FBI frame-ups; against an organizing drive by the fascist Silver Shirts; and for independent political action by the unions. 256 pp., paper \$2.95.

Monad Press books. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

National Picket Line

Continued from page 10

but committee representatives have been refused even one copy of the book.

The prison administration has consistently shown the prison population that they have no intention of negotiating with us in good faith.

The committee can be utilized as an effective release for the prisoners' anger and frustration. If something is not done to make Clinton Prison a place fit for human beings, then Attica will manifest itself right here at Clinton.

The officials must be made to comply with the laws of the state and federal governments. They must be made to comply with the laws to protect the rights of the prisoner confined to these human warehouses.

Write to the commissioner of the Department of Corrections, the governor, Congress members, and civic groups urging that they do something about the situation here at Clinton.

*Prisoners of Clinton
Dannemora, New York*

Victory for the Hurricane

On March 17 Rubin Carter convicted the state of New Jersey for framing up an innocent person.

A unanimous state supreme court, under massive public pressure, was constrained to admit that the state of New Jersey had suppressed "exculpatory evidence." That is, the two "eyewitnesses" were secretly bribed to lie.

Carter is to have a new trial.

I don't think the state of New Jersey, from its highest racist official, Gov. Brendan Byrne (who, as his prosecutor, helped frame Carter ten years ago), to the lowest evidence-planting, perjury-suborning, lying detective, district attorney, or cop on the force will want to go another round with the "Hurricane."

Carter has made them admit he was framed up. But they have yet to admit why, or who was behind it.

In Carter's view he was taken from the boxing ring to a jail cell for being an effective spokesperson for Black rights. Carter suspects a branch of the American secret police played no small role.

Carter, like Malcolm X, was under constant surveillance, even in Europe. For this, the Paterson, New Jersey, police are too small-time.

And that might account for the extraordinary orchestration of the triple murder conviction—from the district attorney, who appeared an unprecedented three times before a grand jury to get an indictment; to bringing in a judge who had just been appointed to the bench to try the case.

Two "eyewitnesses" were secured, bribed, and coached. The judge was white—and so were the jury, prosecutor, sheriff, bailiff, detectives, cops, and clerk.

Almost isolated at first—placed in a maximum-security prison—Carter was able, eventually, to reach out from his cell to people who came to his support—whites and Blacks throughout the country.

Carter's victory was thus shared by many who have an inkling of the courage it took to fight a ten-year "sixteenth round."

*Michael Smith
New York, New York*

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

Frank Lovell



Harris: 'friend of labor'?

[The following guest column is by Ed Heisler, chairperson of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee and a member of the United Transportation Union.]

Fred Harris recently announced the formation of a committee of Illinois union officials who support his campaign for the Democratic party presidential nomination. Among those endorsing Harris was Ed Sadlowski, director of United Steelworkers of America District 31.

"Fred Harris is the one presidential candidate that has consistently stood up for the working people in this country," Sadlowski said.

Sادلowski's fight for union democracy against the conservative bureaucracy of the USWA is one of the big developments today toward a revitalized labor movement. But Sadlowski's support for Harris cannot advance this fight. It points away from, not toward, the use of labor's power to fight for social and economic justice.

Harris's record shows that he is anything but a "consistent" defender of working people's interests. First as an Oklahoma state senator and then as a U.S. senator (1964-1972), Harris was well known as a mouthpiece for big oil. He authored a bill to increase the oil and gas depletion allowances, and voted for tax subsidies to agribusiness.

Harris voted in 1966 to outlaw a strike by airline machinists, and in 1970 to bar a strike by railroad workers.

Harris fully backed Washington's war in Vietnam, and voted for billions of dollars in Pentagon appropriations.

Now Harris goes around saying he has "changed." Sure, when the antiwar movement got big enough, he changed from support to opposition to the war. But Harris has never repudiated his record of antilabor votes in Congress. More importantly, the fundamental basis of his positions has not changed:

Harris is for the capitalist system.

Harris is for the Democratic party.

And if he is for the party of the bosses, he can't also be for the interests of the workers. His program shows what I mean.

In his book *The New Populism*, Harris condemns "inflationary wage demands" of unions. He favors wage controls. He says he is "against bigness" in unions just as in corporations.

Harris often says he supports everyone's right to a

job. But at his labor news conference in Chicago he hedged this quite a bit, saying only that he would "try" to reduce unemployment to 3.5 percent within eighteen months—through the same old mechanisms of tax and monetary policies. Harris says public works jobs should be only a last resort.

Harris calls for maintaining a \$90-billion-a-year war budget. He calls for continuing to pay one-sixth of the New York City budget, some \$2 billion a year, to the banks and wealthy bondholders. These bond payments to the rich require the racist, antilabor cutbacks being carried out by New York's Democratic party administration.

Harris has a section headed "no compromise on race" in his "Issues Handbook," but this has nothing to say about the most burning issues of Black rights today: defense of school desegregation against the racist attacks on busing, and defense of affirmative-action job gains, which are being wiped out through discriminatory layoffs. During his last year in the Senate, Harris voted for the Mansfield-Scott amendment to bar federal pressure on local school boards to implement school desegregation.

"The New Populism promises a more stable, secure society of self-esteem—for the rich as well as for the not-so-rich," Harris says in *The New Populism*.

But it is precisely the insistence of the rich on "stability" and "security" for their private-profit system that is behind the attacks on our standard of living. The interests of the capitalists and the workers are in conflict, and any politician who promises to satisfy both is lying to somebody.

Today, millions of working people are becoming fed up with both the Democratic and Republican parties, concluding that these two parties serve only the rich. That conclusion is 100 percent correct. That is why workers need to develop our own massive, independent political party: a labor party based on the trade unions, with a program based on workers' needs rather than profits.

The socialist campaign of Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president is telling the truth about the capitalist system and the need for independent labor political action.

The Democratic party campaign of Fred Harris is telling discontented workers and radicalizing students to stay within capitalist-party politics. And no matter how radical the demagoguery, that is nothing but a dead end for working people.

Their Government

Nancy Cole



Udall: a liberal no mo?

WASHINGTON—Presidential candidate Morris Udall has decided to eliminate the word "liberal" from his vocabulary. "When a word takes on connotations you don't like, it's time to change the label," he said March 15. Udall has opted instead for the term "progressive."

"Liberal," he explained, has become "associated with abortion, drugs, busing, and big-spending wasteful government"—all things Udall wants to steer clear of. Now that he's no longer hemmed in by a label, he can set the record straight by abandoning his lukewarm support of busing. There is an "emerging consensus," he said in Milwaukee—where court-ordered busing is soon to begin—that "busing is not the best way to achieve integration."

Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter practices a different version of his adaptable language—he excises people. Carter has made a standard feature of his campaign speech a listing of American "heroes," including Martin Luther King, Jr.

But when the same speech was given before all-white audiences in the Wallace strongholds of Florida, King's name—the only Black on the list—was omitted.

The rest of the capitalist candidates aren't any better. A casual study of their literature and speeches would show that all the liberals (excuse me, "progressives") eliminated the words "busing" and "abortion" from the beginning.

As the momentum increases, will we learn that other uncomfortable issues no longer exist as far as the

Democrats and Republicans are concerned? What about unemployment, poverty, and hunger?

Socialists use the same English language as do the Democrats and Republicans. But Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, don't have to continually revise their vocabularies. That's because they have a consistent program, which they have no intention of hiding. All fancy slogans aside, the socialists stand on the side of Blacks, Chicanos, women, and all working people; the Democrats and Republicans do not.

Capitalist politicians face a dilemma. Basically, they all stand for the same thing. But they have to present themselves as different so that there will be some reason for the American people to get out and vote for them. So they pick meaningless campaign themes and run on their personalities, while avoiding any controversy that would expose how alike they all are.

Earlier in the campaign, when Sargent Shriver was asked about the similarity of all the Democratic contenders, he compared Democrats to martinis. Martinis look alike and they usually contain the same ingredients, he said. "What makes it a drink are the proportions."

That's okay when the ingredients are gin and vermouth. But when they include racism or sexism the proportions don't matter. It's poison any way you mix it.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Hardly old enough to kill—Wolfgang Wick of Austria is sole contender for president of Rotary International. Some Rotarians have objected because he was a member of the Nazi party and a storm trooper. Wick said he was a member only during the period the party was legal and scoffed at the idea that he played an important role, noting that he was but twenty-eight at the time.

A little for law 'n order—For a mere fifteen dollars or more, any "law-abiding" citizen is eligible for honorary membership in the New York State Sheriff's Association. The money is used to "provide better law enforcement, particularly in areas where tax



'You might not recognize my face—but with my credit card, you know my name and ...'

dollars are insufficient." Like the annual beer bust?

Like a pound of flesh—A California judge ruled that department stores and oil companies charging 18 percent interest for credit are not violating the state usury law, which limits interest to 10 percent. "If it is a sale," the learned judge opined, "then . . . there can be no usury, since there is no loan or forbearance of money and hence no interest."

Bookbangers—The Postal Service acknowledged problems with its new billion-dollar mail-handling system. The Chicago post office, for instance, is holding some 3.7 million items,

mostly books, that have been broken loose from their original wrappers. A spokesperson said the major publishers are being asked to use stronger wrapping material. Like cast iron, maybe.

Breathe deep, folks—Apparently to help keep up the price of fuel oil, the federal government is imposing a sharp curb on availability of natural gas for power plants in the Los Angeles area. The resultant use of oil, one expert predicted, will increase sulfur dioxide emissions to 117 tons a day, a 234 percent increase over 1970. This will bring more than 2,100 premature deaths.

Women in Revolt

Abortion struggle in Portugal

When the April 25, 1974, coup in Portugal ended the hated Salazarist dictatorship, the streets were filled with rejoicing. Among those who joined in the demonstrations were Portuguese feminists, who demanded a headquarters from the new government and raised as their main demand the legalization of abortion.

Today, two years later, Portuguese women are still fighting for the right to abortion. And Maria Antonia Palla, one of the country's most respected journalists, is fighting to stay out of jail for having broadcast a television program called "Abortion Is Not a Crime."

On March 12, Palla went to court in Lisbon to face charges of "offense to public morals" for being one of the authors of the controversial television program. The city's main maternity hospital filed the charges against her.

Palla told the *New York Times* that although there was a revolution in her country two years ago, "the only therapy for abortion is still prison."

The government now in power in Portugal spouts demagoguery about democracy and socialism, but

under that government abortion is a crime punishable by two to eight years in prison.

Palla estimates that 180,000 women have abortions in Portugal every year.

Two thousand of them die from the wretched conditions under which the abortions are performed.

The deaths of these women are of no concern to the Portuguese church or the ruling capitalist government. The Permanent Council of the Episcopal Conference branded the television show as "shameless," while the Christian Democratic and Social Democratic Center parties called it "an insult" to the Portuguese people.

Neither the Socialist nor the Communist party has said a word in Palla's defense. "We favor legalized abortion but the program was inopportune, coming just before parliamentary elections," was the lame excuse of one Socialist party member interviewed by the *Times*.

One of the few public defenders of the program was Correia da Fonseca, a female television critic

Cindy Jaquith



for the weekly *O Jornal*, who praised the show as "very courageous" because it "tore down the barricade of silence covering this collective crime."

"Abortion Is Not a Crime" has three parts. In the first part, women are interviewed telling why they need abortions; in the second, viewers watch an actual abortion being performed; in the third, a nurse explains methods of contraception.

While the "morals" of priests and politicians were offended, Palla reports that many women have called her to get more information about birth-control methods. Now that the subject has been brought out into the open, Palla hopes to start a petition campaign to demand legal abortion.

The plight of women in Portugal today shows that as long as the fate of the Portuguese people remains in the hands of the generals and colonels in power, the real needs of the working masses cannot be met. A struggle around the abortion issue, involving the most downtrodden sector of society, can bring new impetus to the fight of Portuguese workers for their rights.

By Any Means Necessary

Bucking the status quo?

It was bombs away. The heavy stuff. Nineteen years later and first-degree murder indictments come down against three Montgomery, Alabama, Ku Klux Klansmen for the death of a Black man. An Alabama rarity if there ever was one.

Twenty-five-year-old Willie Edwards, the indictments charge, was forced at gunpoint to jump from a high bridge into the Alabama River in 1957 because the men thought he had made advances to a white woman.

Edwards's body was later found several miles downriver in rural Lowndes County.

The story was recently told by Raymond Britt, a former Klansman who participated in the act.

"I wanted to tell the truth after living with this thing for nineteen years," Britt testified at a February hearing. He has been promised immunity from prosecution.

"I was a young man then. I got into the wrong situation," Britt said. He explained that the four men had abducted Edwards, slapped him around, then ordered him to "hit the water."

After Edwards leaped, the men drove away, Britt recalled, and "joked about him jumping into the river and taking a swim."

Britt and the others were indicted—but cleared—in 1957 for the bombing of Montgomery churches and homes during the bus boycott there.

Prosecuting the new indictments is state Attorney General William Baxley, who ran across the murder plot during his investigation of the 1963 Birmingham church bombing in which four Black girls died.

"We know who did it," says Baxley of the 1963 bombing. He is seeking additional evidence before bringing indictments.

Some of that evidence and other information is in the files of the FBI, according to Baxley. Since 1971 he has had a request in for the results of the FBI's investigation of the bombing at the time it occurred. But the bureau, which Director Clarence Kelley claims has always pulled out the stops in going after bombers, has kept the files from him.

Among the information, it is believed, is the result of a lie-detector test of a suspect who may have made the fatal bomb.

"There were a whole series of bombings—two others in Birmingham, plus one here [in Montgomery], previously unsolved—that we could make a

case on right now," Baxley said, "but the statute [of limitations] has run out." He continued:

"We're about a smidgen of an inch away from solving one that occurred near an occupied dwelling—and there is no limitation on that."

It is heartening to see the reopening of investigations of civil rights bombings and murders. They should all be reopened and justice brought to bear.

Newspaper profiles have applauded Baxley—"one of the most forceful architects of change in a changing Deep South"—as single-handedly bucking the status quo in moving these investigations.

Baxley, however, is a Wallace man. George Wallace appointed him as district attorney of Dothan, Alabama, before he was elected attorney general. By his investigations of these past cases—he has done little about present injustices—Baxley is trying to convince Alabama Blacks that Wallace and his Democratic machine are their allies.

Alabama Blacks need only recall that it was Wallace who was sitting in the statehouse in the 1960s, in charge of everything when most of the crimes that Baxley is investigating were going down.

Baxter Smith



SWP candidate in Ga., Tenn.

Reid backs mass actions for busing, ERA

By Vivian Sahner

ATLANTA—"If you are Black and you live in Boston, it's like living in the Jim Crow South," said Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid.

Reid was speaking here at a March 6 campaign rally at the Dunbar Community Center in Atlanta's Black community.

The socialist candidate urged the audience to participate in the upcoming April 24 march in Boston to demand implementation of that city's court-ordered busing plan and federal protection for Black students against mounting racist violence. The action has been called by leaders of the Boston Black community and has received the active backing of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

"We've got to get busy telling everybody about what's going on in Boston," Reid said. "We've got to make the movement for school desegregation so big that they get the message in Boston's city hall, in the Massachusetts statehouse, and at 1600 Pennsyl-

vania Avenue that twenty-two years is long enough."

The socialist candidate was alluding to the 1954 Supreme Court decision ordering school desegregation—a decision that both Democrats and Republicans at local, state, and national levels have done their best to stall, sabotage, or squirm out of.

Reid blasted Gerald Ford's recent statement implying that court desegregation decisions may have gone too far. She pointed out that such opinions coming from the White House provide aid and comfort to the racist hooligans who have vandalized school buses in Boston and Louisville and carried out many other acts of anti-Black violence.

Reid also spoke out against recent attacks on the Supreme Court's 1973 decision legalizing abortion. "Only the bodies that have to bear babies have the right to decide whether or not to do so—and that's women," Reid declared.

Eva Chertov, an Atlanta socialist and founding activist in Georgians for the Equal Rights Amendment (GERA), also spoke at the rally. "Even in this

bicentennial year we have been more than reminded that legal equality and freedom for all does not yet extend to women—51 percent of the people in this country," she said.

Chertov encouraged the audience to attend the May 16 pro-ERA march in Springfield, Illinois, which has been called by the National Organization for Women. "The Springfield action will come at a crucial time," she said. "It can help to inspire ERA supporters around the country."

The day before the rally, Reid and local campaign backers joined GERA in picketing the state capitol to protest the legislature's refusal once again during the latest legislative session to ratify the ERA.

At the March 6 rally the Georgia SWP announced its candidate for Congress from the Fifth District—Osborne Hart. Black Democrat Andrew Young currently holds that position.

Hart, a member of the National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, is a student at Morehouse College. He has been a coordinator of the campus NSCAR chapter and helped mobilize support for Robert F. Williams, Joanne Little, Dessie X Woods and Cheryl Todd, and other victims of racist frame-ups.

Commenting on Atlanta's national reputation as a center of Black political power, Hart said, "In today's economic crisis, this city's 'Black Mecca' image is rapidly eroding."

"Of course, in the past five years the number of Black elected officials in Atlanta has increased," Hart said.

"But these Black elected officials are in the same party as George Wallace and Jimmy Carter. Whether they like it or not, they are manipulated by the wealthy minority that runs the Democratic party to undermine and sell out the interests of the Black community."

In contrast, Hart said, SWP candidates have participated in and helped publicize struggles of Blacks and other working people in Atlanta—struggles such as the strike by workers at Rich's Department Store in 1972, the campaign against police killings in the Black community in 1974, and the ongoing fight for better wages and

against layoffs by the city workers in Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Earlier in the week, Reid made several campaign stops in her home state of Tennessee, where she had worked as a kitchen employee in a hospital, a hotel worker, and a garment worker. In 1958 Reid joined in the struggle in Memphis that ended the segregated seating on city buses.

At Knoxville College, Reid's alma mater, 600 students turned out to hear the socialist candidate.

Reid also spoke at the Knoxville campus of the University of Tennessee, the University of Georgia, Georgia State University, Atlanta Junior College, and Georgia Tech.

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() I want to attend a campaign meeting to help plan activities.

() I want to join the Socialist Workers party.

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Contact the campaign headquarters nearest you (see Socialist Directory, page 30), or clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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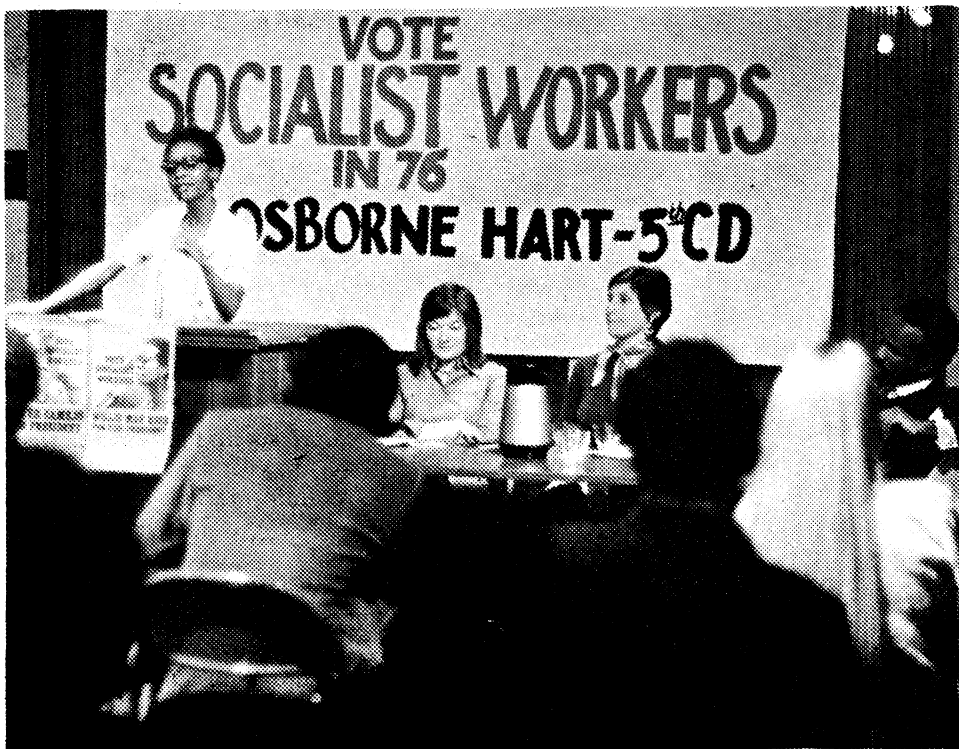
Occupation _____

Business Address _____

School/union local _____

Chairpersons: Fred Halstead, Ed Heisler, Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley—Treasurer: Andrea Morell.

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



Reid speaking at Atlanta rally. At table from left to right are Martha Shockey, who chaired the meeting, Eva Chertov, and SWP congressional candidate Osborne Hart.

Baltimore steelworkers, students meet Camejo

By Gordon Fox

BALTIMORE—Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, spent an afternoon campaigning here March 11 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant. Despite extensive layoffs, the Sparrows Point steel mill is one of the country's largest.

"We don't believe that the Democrats and Republicans speak for working people," Camejo told a Black steelworker. "They're squandering \$101 billion for war and \$41 billion in interest payments to the rich, while they tell us there's no money for jobs and education."

"You're right!" the steelworker responded. "The rich get richer and the poor get poorer."

Camejo supporters outside the Sparrows Point mill distributed hundreds of copies of the SWP's platform for the 1976 elections, the "Bill of Rights for Working People."

The opening of the party's new Baltimore headquarters was celebrated by a March 12 rally featuring Camejo. The rally, which was attended by 120 people, also launched the campaign of Ollie Bivins for U.S. Congress from Maryland's Seventh District. The seat is currently held by Black Democrat

Parren Mitchell.

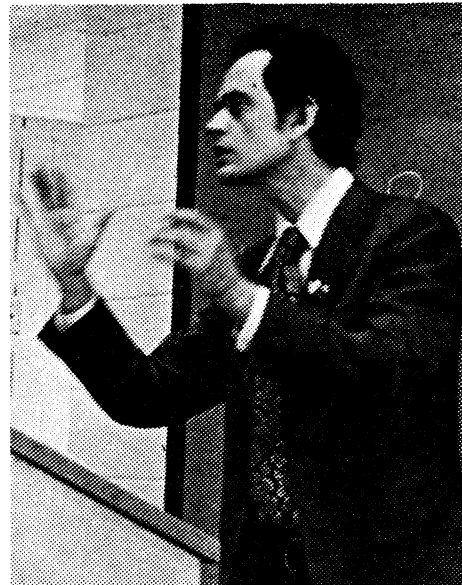
Bivins told the crowd, "Tonight's launching of my campaign signifies the arrival of the third political party in Maryland. It means that Blacks, women, and all working people will at last have a chance to vote for a party that is *their* party."

"Blacks make up 67 percent of Baltimore's total population," Bivins said. "And Black unemployment is double that of whites."

"When Blacks are lucky enough to land a job, it's in the worst, lowest-paying positions. Check out the road crews you see fixing the streets. The color of the men doing that work is rarely if ever the same as the men in clean clothes standing over and supervising them."

Camejo commented on the Democratic and Republican primaries during his remarks at the rally. "The turnout for these elections," he said, "shows that the majority of people can't get excited about politicians in either party. Working people are staying away from the polls because they don't see an alternative."

"We have to go out and create an alternative," Camejo said, "an alternative based on the working class. We have to work for the formation of a



Militant/ Joe Enger

Camejo pointed to disenchantment with capitalist parties shown by low primary turnout.

mass party that speaks for the interests of workers—a labor party."

The rally was also addressed by Richard Hill, SWP candidate for U.S. senator, and Tory Dunn, congressional candidate from the Third District. Greetings were brought from the newly

formed SWP branch in southern Maryland's Prince Georges County.

While campaigning in Baltimore, Camejo also spoke at all-Black Morgan State University, the University of Maryland-Baltimore County, and the majority-Black Community College of Baltimore (CCB).

Several days prior to the CCB meeting, a right-wing student government senator told several socialist campaigners that he planned to shoot Camejo "if he sets foot on the CCB campus."

In response to this threat, the SWP campaign asked the CCB Black Student Union and Student Government Association to help with the defense of the meeting. They agreed to do so, along with the campus newspaper, the *College Crier*. The Baltimore *Sun* reported the threat.

The CCB administration also agreed to provide physical protection for the socialist presidential candidate.

Because of these defensive measures and the wide publicity the threat received, Camejo's appearance at the campus occurred without incident.

As a result of Camejo's successful tour here, two people joined the Baltimore SWP and several students joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

S.F. union officials threaten general strike

By Nat Weinstein

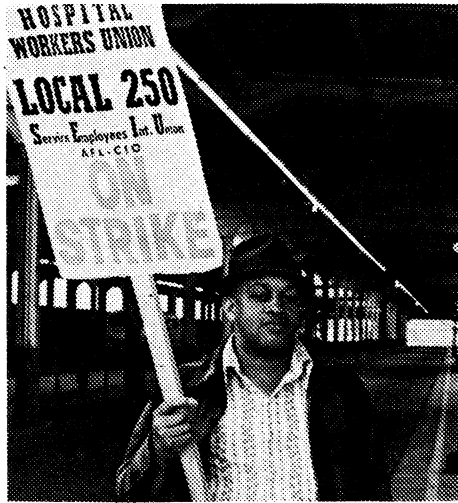
SAN FRANCISCO—At an unusual news conference here March 19, top representatives of key San Francisco unions warned of an imminent general strike.

John Crowley, San Francisco Labor Council secretary-treasurer, announced at the outset that he was speaking for a "strategy committee" that included the heads of the building-trades council, longshoremen, merchant seamen, Teamsters, service employees, public transit workers, and machinists—almost all of whom had representatives there.

The immediate cause of the crisis is an April 1 deadline for new wages and working conditions. If new wages are not agreed to by both sides by April 1, the city charter dictates that existing agreements will automatically continue for another year. This would amount to a big wage cut in these inflationary times.

Reporters contributed to the charged atmosphere through a barrage of questions probing the extent of the threatened strike showdown.

Crowley, after carefully indicating that a general strike would be a last resort when all else fails, said that such a strike could affect everything from the docks to the airport.



Militant/Howard Petrick
San Francisco was virtually shut down by city workers' strike in 1974. All unions are endangered by current drive against wages and working conditions.

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union President Harry Bridges, responding to questions concerning the extent of his union's commitment, said he saw this crisis as part of the general "onslaught against labor." He characterized the potential general work stoppage as really a "planned lockout" provoked by the city.

Tim Toomey, Service Employees International Union vice-president, pointed out that most city workers are women. Many of them, he said, earn only \$600 to \$700 per month, and many city workers are so underpaid they qualify for food stamps.

Jack Goldberger, Teamster area representative, put the stalling, strike-provoking tactics of the city government within the framework of an ongoing electoral attack on labor.

Goldberger was alluding to a proposition placed on the June ballot by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors that calls for instant firing of striking city employees. He also warned that another proposition was in the works that would require a city-wide referendum on any future contracts negotiated with city workers.

Toomey aptly described the strategy of the city government as "robbing Peter to pay Paul."

"They offered us wage increases that ranged from zero for social workers to 3 percent for nurses," Toomey said. "And when we say that's not enough for this group of workers, they say, 'Take it from that group.'"

A cornerstone of the ruling-class strategy of driving down wages is the skyrocketing property tax, which is

impoverishing many small homeowners here. A class-biased tax structure that last year led to a scandalous rise in residential taxes and a simultaneous cut in business property taxes is being used as a major weapon by antilabor forces.

Every penny going to meet social needs, either in cost-of-living wage increases or social services for working people, is loudly proclaimed as the cause of high taxes. At the same time, the real waste of public funds—the giveaways to banks, corporations, and war industry—is treated as an unchallengeable expenditure.

Thus far, the heads of the San Francisco labor movement have not openly challenged this keystone of the city government's procapitalist divide-and-rule strategy. They still hope to avert a showdown, perhaps through a last-minute intervention by labor-supported Mayor George Moscone.

But the open consideration by the labor chiefs of a general strike in response to the capitalist government's attack is an objective acknowledgment of the existence of the class struggle. And this threatened resort to one of the several political forms of the class struggle is bound to give an impetus to growing working-class consciousness, however the current episode ends.

10,000 N.Y. students march against cutbacks

By Ike Nahem

NEW YORK—"They've got the money, we're no fools; take it from the Pentagon and give it to the schools!"

That's how 10,000 students answered Gov. Hugh Carey's proposed budget in Albany on March 16. The students marched through a driving snowstorm to protest the massive cutbacks in education and social services incorporated in the budget, which is now before the state legislature.

Demonstrating in force were students from John Jay College and from Hostos Community College, the only bilingual college in the City University of New York (CUNY). Both schools are slated to be shut down as part of the next wave of cutbacks.

Students from Borough of Manhattan Community College were also visible, marching behind a large banner that read, "Education is a right; No Cuts; Desegregate the Schools; March on Boston [in support of school desegregation] April 24."

The demonstrators had traveled to Albany on buses funded by student governments—225 buses from CUNY and 40 from the State University of New York. The Student Association of the State University (SASU) and the CUNY University Student Senate (USS) sponsored the action.

Also supporting the march were the Student Coalition Against Racism; District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Community College Student Association; Civil Service Employees Association; Professional Staff Congress; Young Socialist Alliance; and others.

The mass of demonstrators was confronted with trouble as a rally got under way at the capitol steps. Ultra-left students from the Progressive Labor party; the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), a Maoist group; and Students and Workers Against the Cutbacks led 200 students up the steps and smashed several glass doors.

Press and TV reports the next day focused on this action by a small minority. The New York *Daily News*, for example, headlined its front-page story, "Students Battle Cops."

Prior to the demonstration, the RSB had circulated a leaflet making clear its plans to disrupt the action. However, the SASU and USS organizers left an open field for the disrupters by not organizing parade marshals ahead of time.

As a result, the rally quickly turned into complete chaos, leaving most students confused and angry.

Despite this disruption, the massive demonstration was important. It was the largest and broadest campus mobilization since the cuts began in late 1974.

Such demonstrations set an example for the labor movement and other victims of the cutbacks by rejecting the

"divide and rule" tactics of city hall and Albany, and by pointing to the Pentagon budget as the necessary source of funds for social services. These student protests can be a step toward drawing into action the power of the unions and communities in a united movement to stop the cutbacks.



Militant/Lou Howort
University students from throughout New York State marched on capitol March 16

Indian leader fights frame-up

OAKLAND, Calif.—Dennis Banks, a leader of the American Indian Movement, has been speaking at public meetings in the Bay Area about his fight against extradition to South Dakota on trumped-up rioting charges, and urging a large turnout for an April 3 support demonstration.

At Fremont High School here March 12 Banks addressed 250 people on his case, which stems from a February 1973 protest in Custer, South Dakota.

The demonstration, which was protesting the killing of an Indian by a white man, was attacked by cops, and Banks and other Indians were subsequently indicted.

Last summer Banks was convicted by an all-white jury. He did not appear for sentencing and was arrested January 24 in the Bay Area at the home of

Lehman Brightman, who is being charged with harboring a fugitive.

Brightman was also a speaker at the Fremont rally, along with AIM leader Clyde Bellecourt; Miguel Angle of La Raza Educators and La Raza Unida party; and Elaine Brown, chairperson of the Black Panther party. The meeting was hosted by the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Banks also spoke at San Jose State University, where he called for support to the April 3 march and rally. Five hundred people came out to hear him.

Condemning the hypocrisy of the bicentennial activities, Banks said, "On the eve of this celebration, Indian and non-Indian are tired of injustices in this country. On and off the reservation, Indian and non-Indian have taken their last death."

"You and I have suffered long

enough," he added. "In 1976 there is not much for minorities to celebrate. When conditions change we will celebrate. Until then, only the rich and exploiters will celebrate."

AIM is on a drive to collect 500,000 signatures on petitions in California demanding that Gov. Edmund Brown block Banks's extradition.

Banks has presented Brown with numerous affidavits demonstrating that his extradition would mean his death. According to Banks, the attorney general of South Dakota has said that "the only way to deal with the Indian problem in South Dakota is to put a bullet in Dennis Banks's head."

The April 3 march will step off at 11:30 a.m. from the park at the corner of Twenty-fifth Street and Harrison in San Francisco and proceed to the state building at the Civic Center for a rally.

Face collective bargaining contests

Calif. teachers vote strong busing stand

By Jeff Mackler

LOS ANGELES—The 550 delegates attending the California Federation of Teachers annual convention, held here February 27-29, unanimously adopted a resolution strongly affirming support of busing to desegregate public schools.

The delegates voted to send the resolution to the upcoming national

Jeff Mackler is organizer of the Hayward Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 1423, and was a delegate to the recent California Federation of Teachers convention.

convention of the American Federation of Teachers, to be held this summer in Miami, Florida.

The resolution was introduced jointly by the Hayward and Berkeley AFT locals. It calls on the AFT to "affirm its support for busing to achieve desegregated schools and help achieve equal educational opportunity."

Art Avila, a CFT vice-president, urged delegates to refrain from amending the resolution. He pointed out that a concerted effort is under way to secure support for the resolution from AFT locals and state federations across the country in a drive to win its passage at this summer's AFT convention.

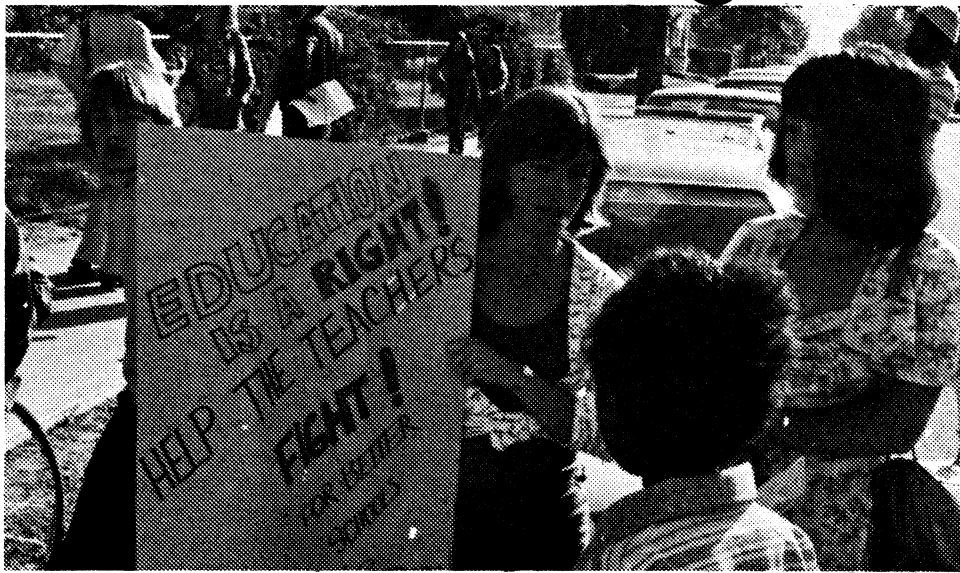
This effort is being coordinated by the AFT Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education. The committee has already secured the endorsement of more than 100 AFT local officers.

Reverses Shanker stand

The endorsement of the 30,000-member CFT will add great weight to the national effort to reestablish the AFT's link to the struggle for school desegregation.

This link was broken at last summer's national convention in Hawaii, at which the machine led by AFT President Albert Shanker defeated all resolutions favoring school busing.

Shanker argued at that time that busing might not be the "best way to desegregate Boston schools or Chicago



Militant/Dave Warren

Berkeley AFT and NEA affiliates struck together last fall. This year the rival teacher groups are pitted against each other in elections throughout the state.

schools or Cleveland or California or anywhere else." Besides, Shanker said, support to busing would have "divided our own membership," since some teachers in Boston and elsewhere oppose it.

Shanker laid equal blame on Blacks and whites for violence in Boston, and opposed AFT support to prodesegregation demonstrations on the grounds that the government was doing just fine.

The CFT convention rejected such capitulation to the antibusing racists. It called for "the full intervention of local, state, and national authorities when racist elements seek by force to prevent Black students from attending desegregated schools."

It also called on AFT local affiliates "to actively support and participate in efforts to desegregate public schools through busing."

Another resolution was submitted to the convention to support the May 16 national demonstration for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, but this did not reach the floor in the limited time available.

Bargaining election

The central focus of the CFT convention was on winning the collective bargaining elections set for this spring

and fall under California's new teacher collective bargaining law, the Rodda Act.

Under this law, the CFT's 250 locals will challenge their much larger rivals in the California Teachers Association, the state affiliate of the 1.8-million-member National Education Association.

The smaller size of this year's CFT convention was a sign that many locals are already aware that they will not win in these elections. While many delegates were also rapidly coming to this conclusion, there was a notable refusal to consider an appropriate course of action.

Instead, the CFT leadership organized the convention on the narrowest possible basis. "Win the elections" was their first and last consideration.

The role of the great majority of CFT locals that will lose was not discussed.

For those few who win, how to negotiate decent contracts in the face of the bipartisan attack on education was not discussed.

A strategy of coordinated teacher action with the NEA affiliates and the rest of organized labor was not discussed.

The CFT leadership holds out only the perspective of a yearly series of factional battles with the CTA in an

attempt to, one by one, win bargaining rights for the CFT locals.

CFT activists have generally viewed the CTA as a company union, qualitatively less militant and less progressive than the CFT, unwilling to work with the rest of the labor movement.

For united action

But the rise of teachers' struggles in California and around the country has had a big effect on the entire NEA in recent years. While significant policy differences still exist—with neither side having any monopoly on progressive stands—there can no longer be any question but that both are genuine labor organizations.

Most CFT militants will find themselves participating as activists in whichever union wins the election. CFT members in the CTA can play an important role by seeking to bring the two organizations together in defense of teachers' interests.

The key will be winning teachers and the rest of labor to a strategy of reliance on their own united strength and their own political organization.

The Impact Committee of the CFT, a group of delegates supporting the resolutions on busing, independent political action, and coordinated teacher action, held a forum during the convention.

Despite the late hour of the meeting, a valuable discussion of these questions was begun by this group of teachers, who actively participated in the convention and who will continue to fight for their ideas in the future.

Many buy 'Militant'

The March 5 issue of the *Militant*, featuring an article by Jeff Mackler on "Issues facing Calif. teachers," was well received at the CFT convention. Teachers bought 110 copies; eight teachers bought subscriptions.

In addition, \$350 of socialist books and pamphlets from Pathfinder Press were sold at the convention.

But applauds Democrat Brown

CFT weighs independent labor political action

LOS ANGELES—Many delegates to the California Federation of Teachers convention were surprised when a resolution entitled "Labor's Independent Political Action" came to the floor with a "do pass" recommendation from the convention's socio-political committee.

After considerable debate, this subcommittee had voted twelve to seven to recommend passage of the resolution, which called for "labor's political break" from the Democratic and Republican parties "through independent labor campaigns, making labor the political champion of this country's poor and working millions."

Lois Weiner, a delegate from the Hayward Federation of Teachers, which introduced the resolution, spoke in favor. She explained the need of working people to enter the political arena with our own party, rather than relying on the parties of the corporations and the rich, who are responsible for the crisis in public education and in society in general.

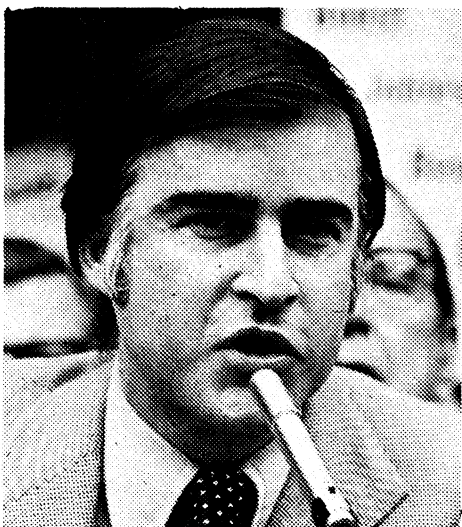
I also spoke in favor, pointing to the consistent antilabor record of both the Democratic and Republican parties in California and across the country.

Although some 30 percent of the

delegates voted for the resolution, it was clear that the great majority were not yet convinced that it was "possible" or "realistic" for labor to form its own party.

This was also evidenced the day before when California's Democratic Gov. Edmund Brown addressed the convention.

Despite Brown's recent gutting of



Militant/Howard Petrick

BROWN: Got standing ovation despite attacks on school funding.

needed school finance legislation, and despite bipartisan legislative attacks on the schools, including layoffs, frozen salaries, and elimination of programs, Brown was received with a standing ovation.

He glibly explained to the convention the financial problems of the state, and asked teachers to be patient until things got better. The \$500 million surplus in the state budget was not mentioned.

Brown, obviously anticipating criticism of his antieducation measures, moved to placate the delegates by announcing the appointment of three CFT leaders to the California Teacher Preparation and Licensing Commission.

Brown also praised the CFT leadership and said his doors were always open to CFT lobbyists.

Delegate after delegate rose to demand of Brown what steps were being taken to deal with the crisis in education. The governor offered a few clever comments, some jokes, and more praise for the CFT's continuing support, while he maintained the posture that he was only one individual with a lot of problems to deal with.

Unfortunately, most delegates were

prepared to accept this position. Brown got another standing ovation from most of the convention as he departed.

As a delegate to past CFT conventions, I can report that this was the first time a resolution has been presented to the CFT dealing with the formation of a labor party.

While many delegates were in sympathy with the idea and privately voiced hope that such a party would eventually be built, they thought it was "unrealistic" at this time. There was an obvious gap between recognizing the corruption and big-business domination of the Democratic and Republican parties, and being ready to press for the formation of a new party based on the unions.

Nevertheless, the convention discussion revealed a new and growing interest in independent labor political action.

This contradiction of disillusionment with the capitalist parties, but continued reliance on them, will only be overcome as teachers and other workers learn through experience that their struggles require political solutions, and that these solutions can only come from political action by labor itself.

—J.M.

Sales top goal in first week of spring drive

By Pat Galligan

The results are in.

9,333. That's how many *Militants* were sold during Socialist Campaign Week, March 12-20, to launch our spring circulation drive.

The goal of the drive is to sell at least 7,000 copies each of the ten weeks of the campaign. For Socialist Campaign Week, supporters in many cities across the country set special sales goals—in some cases double the regular weekly target.

Here are a few highlights:

After reading about the canvassing activities of Brooklyn campaigners in the March 19 *Militant*, Pasadena supporters of Omari Musa, Socialist Workers party candidate for Senate, decided to spread the news about his campaign to that city's Black community by going door to door.

On Sunday, March 14, they distributed campaign material and sold *Militants* in northwest Pasadena.

"We also leafleted for an upcoming desegregation meeting and other activities that people who are interested in the campaign can get involved in," adds Pasadena sales director Cheryl Goertz.

"We began to build a base of support for Musa in the community and we signed up thirty-one new *Militant* subscribers," she said.

By Saturday evening, St. Louis socialists had already sold 301 *Militants*—the lion's share of their week's total of 429 copies. Many were sold in the Black community.

During the week, sales teams also visited Scullin, Granite City, and American steel plants, selling thirty-three copies.

Eva Chertov reports from Atlanta that socialists there used the campaign week to get out the word about the April 24 march on Boston to defend school desegregation.

"We found a tremendous response to the *Militant's* message of the call for the demonstration," said Chertov. "People are angry that news about Boston is being kept from them. They're anxious to find out what's happening."

"Black women also expressed considerable interest in the *Militant's* coverage of the Equal Rights Amendment," she added.

During Socialist Campaign Week, members of the SWP in Denver were in the midst of constructing their new campaign headquarters in the Chicano community there. They put down their hammers and paint brushes long enough to sell 450 *Militants*—quite a week's work all told.

At a pro-ERA rally in Denver, the *Militant's* two-page roundup of International Women's Day activities was especially well received.

In San Antonio, 267 copies were sold through the combined efforts of SWP and Young Socialist Alliance members in the city and the visiting Texas YSA team.

The YSA team sold fifty copies of the March 12 *Militant* at St. Phillip's College at a meeting addressed by SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo. Interest was sparked by that issue's back-page feature on the victimization of Mexican workers by "illegal alien" laws.

San Diego sales teams visited local junior colleges throughout the week. "We sold 240 copies at three schools—Mesa, Southwestern, and San Diego City," explains Joe Ryan. "The students, who are primarily Blacks and Chicanos, wanted to find out what's happening in Boston and how they can help."

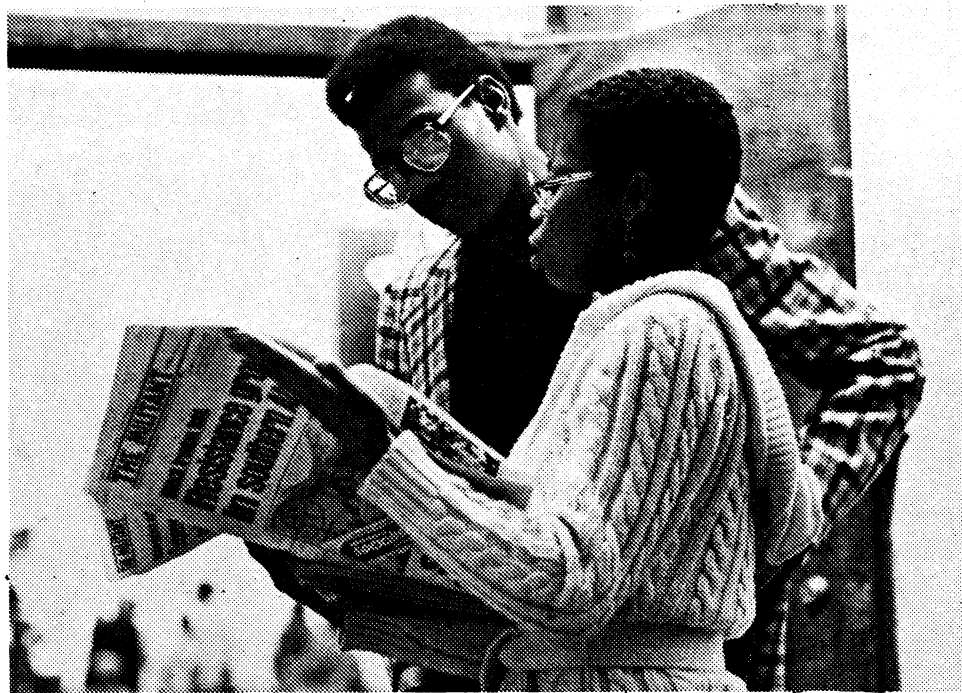
San Diego also sold forty subscriptions—thirty-five of these while selling single copies.

Supporters of George Kontanis, SWP candidate for mayor of Portland, Oregon, distributed almost 10,000 pieces of socialist campaign literature.

They can also boast the best subscription total for the week—50. This gives them a big jump on their goal of 100 subscriptions for the spring drive.

Nationally, we are shooting for 5,500 new subscribers by May 31. We have already received 1,265 subscriptions toward that goal.

Next week, we'll report on activities in other cities and print the first subscription scoreboard.



Militant/Joe Soares

Militant seller shows paper to prospective customer at Atlanta's Morehouse College.

Spring sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold last week	%			
Richmond, Va.	50	65	130	Oakland	200	150 75
New York City	1,200	1,513	126	Baltimore	125	94 75
Newark	200	240	120	San Jose	100	65 65
Philadelphia	400	469	117	Pittsburgh	250	155 62
Houston	600	689	115	Cleveland	175	81 46
Twin Cities	400	457	114	Seattle	275	125 45
St. Louis	400	429	107	Detroit	300	125 42
San Diego	400	420	105	Total	7,000	9,333 133
Chicago	550	566	103	YSA Teams		
Atlanta	400	410	103	Wisconsin	90	127 141
New Orleans	200	205	103	Upper Midwest	90	126 140
Portland, Ore.	200	204	102	Mid-Atlantic	90	125 140
Denver	450	450	100	Ohio/Kentucky	90	100 111
Dallas	75	75	100	New England	60	62 103
Chico, Calif.	10	10	100	Northern Calif.	90	92 102
Washington, D.C. Area	325	313	96	Texas	90	92 102
Berkeley	200	182	91	Illinois/Indiana	90	83 92
San Antonio	200	175	88	Michigan	90	83 92
Los Angeles	685	575	84	New York	90	68 76
Milwaukee	552	447	81	Pennsylvania	60	37 62
Boston	475	360	76	Southern Calif.	90	55 61
San Francisco	375	284	76	Rocky Mountain	60	30 50
				Total	1,080	1,080 100

Judge rules Dallas schools to stay segregated

By Becky Ellis

DALLAS—A school desegregation order was handed down here March 10 by U.S. District Judge William Taylor. It includes the busing of 20,000 students in grades four through eight, but excludes the busing of any students in other grades. The effect of the order would be to leave the schools segregated.

The order was the result of a lawsuit launched in 1971 by a group of Black and Chicano plaintiffs. In 1975 the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans ordered Judge Taylor to devise a desegregation plan that would eliminate the segregated system of education entirely.

Seven plans were submitted to the judge in the five weeks of hearings. The plan adopted by Taylor was submitted by the Education Task Force of the Dallas Alliance, a multiracial group of local businesspeople and political officials.

Leaders of some community organizations have condemned the Dallas Alliance plan. "This plan cannot integrate the whole system," was the reaction of Verna Thomas, president of United Parents for Quality Education, a local Black group. One community worker in South Dallas told the press that the Alliance plan "is a watered-down plan to sell out the Black community."

The Dallas Student Coalition Against Racism issued a statement saying, "The Dallas Alliance plan will do very little to improve the unequal

education that Black and Chicano students receive in Dallas. It certainly will not desegregate the schools."

An appeal of Taylor's ruling is likely from the plaintiffs.

An appeal is also likely from the Dallas School Board, which has a white racist majority that has obstructed desegregation of the schools for years. The school board has fought in court against the parts of the Alliance plan that would benefit the Black and Chicano communities. After Taylor's decision, three members of the racist majority even voted against the purchase of the additional school buses required to implement the order.

Leaders of racist antibusing groups in Dallas have not urged active obstruction of the Alliance plan so far. City council member Rose Renfroe, who opposes busing, noted that "Judge Taylor is no Judge Garrity [who ordered desegregation in Boston]," but is urging white parents to send their children to private "alternative" schools. Racist leader Kathy Carter has called for a rally against busing. Almost the entirety of the Alliance plan should please the racist forces. More than 100 schools in Dallas will remain segregated.

The South Oak Cliff area of Dallas, which comprises a large portion of the

Black community, is exempted from all busing; schools there will remain 98 percent Black. The majority of Black and Chicano students will be attending inferior, segregated schools for most of the years they attend Dallas schools.

A vague point in the Alliance plan calling for the "upgrading of bilingual education" has no specific guarantees or guidelines for bilingual education for Chicano students.

The Alliance plan also provides for the use of "magnet schools" to be located in the inner-city area. These are schools that will have a specialized and superior curriculum for advanced students. They will supposedly attract white students because of their high quality. These special schools will affect only a small minority of the school district's 145,000 pupils.

The main benefit to the Black and Chicano communities lies in the busing of 20,000 students in grades four through eight. Each school in these grades would have a racial composition of roughly 45 percent Black, 40 percent white, and 15 percent Chicano.

It is the busing of 20,000 students that will draw attacks from the racist Dallas School Board and from racist organizations like the Committee for Neighborhood Schools. It will be necessary for all supporters of equal rights to mobilize to defend what gains exist in the Alliance plan for the Black and Chicano communities and back attempts to win total desegregation of the schools.



U.S. District Judge William Taylor's ruling 'will do very little to improve unequal education that Blacks and Chicano students receive,' says Dallas SCAR.

Blacks challenge Boston elections

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—A new Black challenge to the all-white Boston School Committee and to the electoral setup that effectively disenfranchises the Black community has been launched here. On March 15, nine Black voters filed a class-action suit in federal court to overturn the at-large, city-wide voting system by which the school committee is elected.

The Black population of Boston is 20 percent. But there has never been a Black school committee member. Only one Black member has ever been elected to the city council, which is also elected at-large, since it was established.

The suit charges that the at-large system, operating in the "racially tainted context" of Boston, precludes Blacks from being elected to the five-member school committee. "It is close to impossible, given the current climate, for a Black to be elected" to the committee, testified State Rep. Melvin King.

The suit charges that the "overwhelming majority of successful white school committee candidates have not needed nor sought Black community support. Rather they have relied on municipal and school department employees who are disproportionately white for the financial and campaign assistance necessary to ensure their election."

The at-large system "has the effect of canceling out, diluting and minimizing the voting strength and representation of the Boston Black community."

The current challenge to the school committee is the latest move in a long fight by the Black community to break the grip of that segregationist body on the city's school system. In 1974, there was an unsuccessful attempt to pass a referendum that would have abolished the lily-white committee and replaced it with a system under the control of the mayor, with local parent-student-teacher advisory councils.

The school committee has been the agency directly responsible for enforcing segregation in the Boston public schools. It was this body that U.S. District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity found had "knowingly carried out a systematic program of segregation affecting all of the city's students, teachers, and school facilities and . . . intentionally brought about and maintained a dual school system."

While the rights of the Black community were being pursued in this court suit, they were being dealt another blow in the Massachusetts state

legislature. On March 9, the legislature overwhelmingly passed a measure endorsing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would prohibit court-ordered busing.

Melvin King, a member of the Massachusetts State Legislative Black Caucus, termed the vote an attempt to "turn back the clock not to pre-civil rights days, but to pre-Civil War days."

Its intent, he said, is to "put the niggers back in their place. It encourages a movement back to Jim Crowism, segregated schools, and segregated facilities."



Boston School Committee in session. At-large voting setup is designed to keep committee lily-white.

...new backing for march on Boston

Continued from back page

Muhammad, he said, "stands behind any freedom fight for justice and truth."

Reverend Weeks told the media, "This very day in Boston, that 'cradle of liberty,' thousands of our Black children board buses to face another day of abuse from racist teachers, police, and even students. Each day our children come home and ask us, 'Why?'"

"The law of the land is on our side," Weeks said. "But the organized and aggressive racist movement, unchallenged by President Ford, the Boston School Committee, and Boston Mayor Kevin White, is determined to obstruct the enforcement of the law."

The crisis situation, Weeks said, is underscored by the "other" April 24 demonstration, organized by Louisville bigots and their allies of ROAR, Boston's main antibusing group, for Washington, D.C. That racist action, said Weeks, "demanding the ratification of an antibusing constitutional amendment, is a clear challenge to all people of good will to stand up and be counted in Boston on April 24!"

"As we march in Boston and they rally in Washington, the entire world will be watching," he said.

"Through actions like the April 24 march on Boston in support of school desegregation," Weeks said, "we will send a powerful message to those who have not accepted us as a part of the human race. That message is, 'We will not give up the struggle! We have allies both Black and white in every nook and cranny of the United States who are determined to help us win.'"

Weeks concluded his remarks on a note of urgency. "A noncommittal silence in response to this assault on our human rights and dignity is in and of itself an act of capitulation to the racists and will only embolden them to carry out attacks on our right to live and work with equal opportunity where we want."

"Organize buses, trains, planes, and cars to make it possible for you to be with us that day," he said. "Walk if you have to, but get here!"

In a statement released at the news conference, the National Student Coalition Against Racism expressed its full support for the action. NSCAR's more than seventy local affiliates across the

country are organizing student participation in the rally.

"Today, after 200 years of fighting for freedom and equality," the NSCAR statement said, "a racist movement has developed to attempt to write Blacks out of the Constitution and to take us back to the separate-and-unequal doctrine of the Jim Crow South."

'Take a stand'

"We must take a stand on busing and desegregation, and we must win. April 24 will be our day to begin the work of building a powerful counterforce to racism and reaction in Washington, Boston, and elsewhere. We must mobilize Black-rights supporters nationwide to show that racists don't own the streets of Boston or any other city in this country."

"And we must demand that local and federal forces provide protection for Black youths who are victimized daily with racist threats and harassment."

Support for April 24 is continuing to mount, as statements backing the probusing action have been coming into Boston.

"I give my full support to the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston," Rep. Yvonne Burke (D-Calif.), the chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus, said in a statement released at the news conference.

Burke noted that "the violent and sustained resistance that has greeted attempts to implement school integration has appalled responsible and law-abiding citizens. It is indeed a tragedy that more than twenty years after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled segregation unconstitutional, some misguided Americans still seek to preserve the de facto existence of racial separation."

Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), another Congressional Black Caucus leader, sent a message saying he joined "in the call to all those who wish to struggle with us for integrated education to come to Boston for the march on April 24. During this, our bicentennial year, the work of the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston illustrates the strength of the continuing American Revolution towards equal justice for all."

Burke and Rangel have been joined by other members of the Black Caucus in endorsing the march. They are Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), Charles

Diggs (D-Mich.), Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), and Andrew Young (D-Ga.).

Rev. Ralph Abernathy, the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, pledged the energies of his organization to April 24. "SCLC stands behind this march, and supports the purpose and efforts of all those concerned who are continuing the battle to bring about school desegregation and quality education."

"This battle," stated Abernathy, "has been going on since 1954. It is a battle that cannot be lost and must not be lost if we are to live in this nation and in this society."

Actor Ossie Davis urged "the nation to march on Boston on April 24. Through April 24 in Boston we must and we can show the world that the desegregation battle has not been won by the antibusing racists. I urge artists and others both Black and white to join the historic April 24 march on Boston. We can make a difference."

Local participation

The Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston has begun regular Monday night meetings here to organize local participation in the demonstration. Initial planning meetings have averaged fifty supporters to map out April 24 building activity, and have included Black parents from the Roxbury Mothers, Inc., members of the Black Caucus of the Boston Teachers Union, local Black clergy, and staff members of community agencies.

The action has also won the endorsement of the Massachusetts Teachers Association.

Other recent endorsers of the April 24 march include Rosa Parks, whose refusal to "move to the back of the bus" in Montgomery, Alabama, more than two decades ago helped inspire the civil rights movement into action; the C. McGreenon Irish Republican Club of Boston; Youth Against War and Fascism; Atlanta Hawks basketball star Lou Hudson; Rev. Willie Barrow, national vice-president of Operation PUSH; and Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine.

For further information on the April 24 march on Boston, contact the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston, 1530A Tremont Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts 02120. New telephone number: (617) 445-0791.

Calendar

ATLANTA

ANGOLA: U.S. ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. Speaker: Tony Thomas, member of SWP National Committee. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM. A two-part class. Speaker: Tony Thomas, SWP. Sat., April 3, 10:30 a.m.: *Right of self-determination: a Marxist view.* 1:00 p.m.: *The combined character of the coming American revolution.* 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: 50¢ per class. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

KING: HIS LEGACY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DESEGREGATION TODAY. A panel discussion. Speakers: Maceo Dixon, project coordinator, Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston; others. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Boston Socialist Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

CAMBRIDGE

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN OPEN HOUSE. Meet Carol Henderson Evans, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., April 3, 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. 2 Central Square, Second Floor (above Nubian Notions). Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

DETROIT

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Ed Heisler, Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee labor spokesperson; Al Duncan, SWP candidate for Detroit Central School Board. Sat., April 3, 7 p.m., reception; 8 p.m., program; party to follow. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (313) 872-0322.

EAST LOS ANGELES

GRAND OPENING OF SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS. Kicking off campaign of Virginia Garza for Congress. Sun., March 28, 2 p.m., open house; 4 p.m., program. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 265-1347.

HOUSTON

SOCIALISM: WHAT IT IS. A weekly discussion about socialism. *The American system—falling apart?* Sat., April 3, 3 p.m. Castellon Room, University Center, U. of Houston. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

MILWAUKEE

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. A class series. *How to unite the working class: women and oppressed nationalities as allies of labor.* Sat., April 3, 2 p.m. 207 E. Michigan St., Room 25. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

NEW YORK

INDEPENDENT WORKING-CLASS POLITICS: IN THEORY AND IN 1976. Speakers: Sandy Boyer, International Socialists; Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 18th C.D.; James Haughton, Harlem Fight Back director; Myra Tanner Weiss, CLUW member. Thurs., April 1, 6 p.m. 186 W. Fourth St. (entrance on Barrow St.). Donation: \$2. Ausp: School for Marxist Education. For more information call (212) 255-0098.

NEW YORK: CHELSEA

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN CELEBRATION. Open house, food, and rally. Speakers: Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 18th C.D.; Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Sat., April 3, 7 p.m., open house; 9 p.m., rally. McBurney YMCA, 215 W. 23rd St., Room 216. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Chelsea Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

HOW TO WIN THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. A panel discussion. Speakers: Nancy Borman, copublisher of *Majority Report*; Caryl Towner, delegate of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, CLUW member. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (at 104th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PITTSBURGH

DETENTE AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. Speakers to be announced. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

STRATEGY FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. A weekly discussion of socialism. *Can Capitalism Survive?* Sat., April 3, 3 p.m. 416 Oakland Ave., Apt. 3F. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

PORTLAND

THE U.S. IN SOUTH KOREA. A slide show and speakers from the American Friends Service Committee. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m. 208 S.W. Stark St., Room 501. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

TWIN CITIES

GRAND OPENING OF NEW MINNEAPOLIS SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS. Rally to announce SWP candidates for U.S. Senate, U.S. Congress, and state legislature. Featured speaker: Andrew Pulley, 1972 SWP vice-presidential candidate. Sat., April 10, 6:30 p.m., open house; 7:30 p.m., rally; 9:30 p.m., party. 15 Fourth St. SE, Mpls. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: 1976 Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

... 'jobs bill'

Continued from page 5

countries could never escape the agonies of the capitalist business cycle. . . . The sponsors and supporters of this legislation reply 'Our mixed system of private capitalism, constitutional government and democratic planning can be made to work far more productively than in the past.'

They add, "This bill says that a reasonable amount of democratic planning will make government more efficient, labor more productive *and business more profitable.*" (Emphasis added.)

Socialist Workers party presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid believe that every worker has the right to a job. That is point number one in the "Bill of Rights for Working People," the action program of their campaign.

They do *not* believe in waiting until the capitalists find it profitable to provide more jobs. They call for:

- Eliminating the \$115 billion war budget and using those funds to launch a massive, emergency public works program to provide socially useful jobs at union wages.
- Reducing the length of the work-week, at no reduction in weekly pay, to spread the available work to all who need jobs.

Labor action around these proposals—not electioneering for double-talking capitalist politicians—is the way to get jobs.

...Blanco

Continued from page 9

arrested and harassed in other ways.

- Prosecution witnesses did not appear either, a violation of law.
- When Blanco appealed his twenty-five-year sentence, the military asked for the death penalty.

Is this Messrs. Buckley, Koch, McDonald, and McCloskey's idea of a fair trial?

Only a worldwide defense campaign supported by Amnesty International, the International League for the Rights of Man, USLA, the Chamber of Deputies of Chile, forty-three Belgian MPs, ten British MPs, Jean-Paul Sartre, and thousands of others stopped the hand of Blanco's executioner.

Is Hugo Blanco, as our government would have us believe, a common criminal? The facts speak for themselves. His "crime" was a political one, the crime of organizing landless peasants in a long overdue land-reform movement that defended itself against repression of the dictatorship of Belaunde Terry.

Later Peruvian governments recognized him as a political prisoner and released him in an amnesty for political prisoners in 1970. The regime of Juan Velasco Alvarado went so far as to offer him a governmental post, a position hardly suited for a "cop-killer."

The ridiculous claim that Blanco is a "terrorist" is merely a diversion. It is a brazen pretext used by Washington to justify its undemocratic exclusion of a former political prisoner whom organizations representing tens of thousands of Americans have demanded the right to hear.

The real issue that Messrs. Buckley, Koch, McDonald, and the government duck is whether the U.S. government should be allowed to censor the views the American people may hear or whether the Bill of Rights will be respected 200 years after the American revolution for independence.

Those agreeing that the American people have a right to hear all points of view, including Hugo Blanco's, without government censorship, are urged to write to William F. Buckley, c/o New York Post, 210 South Street, New York, New York 10002; Rep. Edward I. Koch, and Rep. Larry McDonald, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515; and Attorney General Edward Levi (who now has jurisdiction of the case), Justice Department, Washington D.C. 20530. Copies should be sent to USLA, 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, New York 10003.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: **Tempe:** YSA, c/o Jessica Sampson, Box 2235, Scottsdale, Ariz. 85252. Tel: (602) 277-9453. **Tucson:** YSA, SUPO Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 881-0712.

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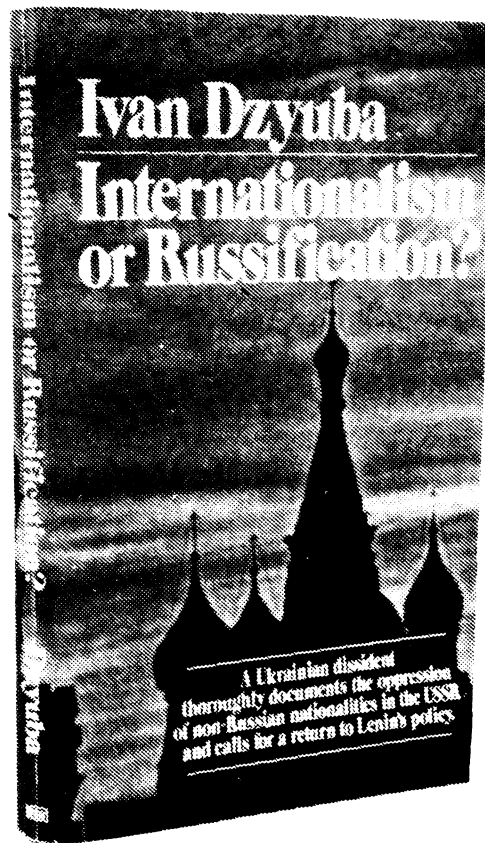
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Ausp: Michigan 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee—chairperson, Christy Wallace; treasurer, Timothy Craine.

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SATURDAY, APRIL 3. Celebrate the opening of the Socialist Workers party campaign in Chelsea! Visit our new headquarters! Open house, food, refreshments, 7 p.m., 200½ W. 24th St. (near 7th Ave.). Rally, 9 p.m., at McBurney YMCA, 215 W. 23rd St., Room 216. Rally speakers: Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 18th C.D.; Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Donation: \$2. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

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THE MILITANT

'March with us in Boston!'

Unions, Nation of Islam back April 24 protest

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—"We appeal to humanity, to students, to trade unions, to educators, to parents, and to elected officials. Just as you helped us to win in Selma in 1965, march with us on April 24 in Boston!"

That was how Rev. William Weeks urged national support for the upcoming march on Boston. Weeks, the president of the Interdenominational Alliance of Boston, was speaking at a March 23 news conference here. A call for the action has won support from more than 300 Black leaders and prominent white supporters of desegregation in Boston and across the nation.

Weeks, one of the city's most influential Black ministers, is a leader of the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston. He was joined at the news conference by Rep. Mary Goode, chairperson of the Massachusetts State Legislative Black Caucus; Douglas Butler, president of the Boston A. Philip Randolph Institute; Mary Peabody, a longtime, prominent white civil rights activist; Tom Turner, president of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO Council; Stanley Maloud of the Boston mosque of the Nation of Islam; and Maceo Dixon, project coordinator of the April 24 coalition and a coordinator for the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

Tom Turner pledged the full support of the 300,000-member Detroit labor body he represents. On March 18, the Detroit Metropolitan Labor Council endorsed the April 24 action, giving its "wholehearted support" to the demonstration.

Labor's stake

The resolution pointed to the antilabor character of the racist movement. "George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, has noted that the forces opposed to school busing are infiltrated by, if not led by, the likes of the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society,



Militant/Jon Hillson

At Boston news conference to announce support for march on Boston are (left to right): Mass. State Rep. Mary Goode; Tom Turner of Metro Detroit AFL-CIO; Rev. William Weeks; Stanley Maloud of Nation of Islam; Maceo Dixon of NSCAR; and Douglas Butler of A. Philip Randolph Institute.

the Nazi party, and other right-wing extremists, who are as antilabor as they are anti-Black," it stated.

In calling for its affiliates to "educate their membership in the importance of the fight to desegregate the schools," the resolution mandated the council to "encourage all affiliated unions to mobilize their membership to participate in this protest as a display of solidarity between the labor movement and the Black people of this country, longtime allies in the fight for human justice and social and economic equality."

Turner told the news conference, "We have a slogan in the union movement that an injury to one is an injury to all.

"And the Black students and citizens of Boston have suffered injuries."

Turner said that as a member of the NAACP national board of directors, he wants to see the April 12 meeting of that body urge the organization's hundreds of local chapters to support the action and come to Boston.

Nation of Islam

Stanley Maloud, representing Minister Abdal Hakim Osmon of the Nation of Islam's Boston mosque, conveyed the solidarity of the Nation's chief minister, Wallace Muhammad, with the April 24 action.

Continued on page 29

Socialist launches Roxbury campaign

By Earl Green

BOSTON—The Socialist Workers party has announced the candidacy of James (Mac) Warren for the House of Representatives from the Ninth Congressional District. Warren is well known in Boston as a staunch supporter of school desegregation and of busing.

As coordinator of the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism, he was a leading marshal for the historic NAACP Freedom March last May 17. He also helped organize the civil rights demonstration at Carson Beach last summer, after six Blacks had been attacked by racists at the beach.

Warren has also served on the Public School Crisis Intervention Teams organized by Black community leaders to monitor school desegregation.

The 9th C.D. is a gerrymandered district. It includes not only the Black community of Roxbury, but also some areas of Dorchester, Dedham, and the racist strongholds of East Boston and South Boston.

The incumbent Democrat, John Moakley, campaigned as a liberal. Now he is one of the leading proponents of congressional action for a constitutional amendment against busing for desegregation.

"Moakley's anti-Black record in Congress should be a lesson to all in the futility of supporting the 'lesser evil' among Democratic and Republican

politicians," Warren said in announcing his campaign.

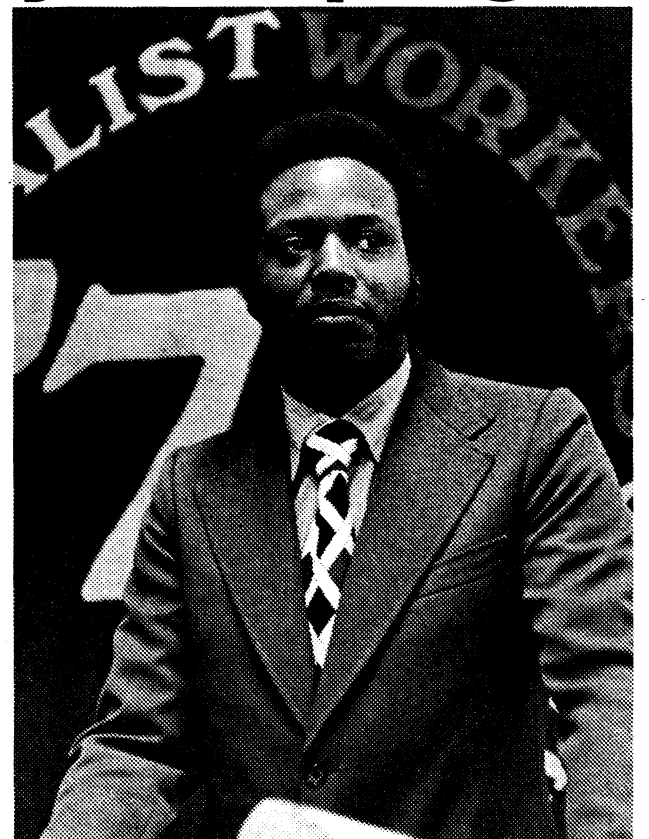
"When Moakley was elected in 1972, he ran as a supporter of desegregation," Warren pointed out. "Now he's buddy-buddy with Louise Day Hicks. Many Blacks voted for him as the lesser of two evils. That's what happens when we support 'lesser evils.' When we do that, we usually wind up with somebody more evil than the person we thought was more evil!"

Warren said that the "primary focus of my campaign will be to help organize and mobilize support for busing and an end to racist attacks in Boston. I will participate in mass demonstrations to force the government to comply with its own desegregation laws."

The Socialist Workers party candidate said he would work for a big turnout from Roxbury for the April 24 probusing march on Boston. He is also supporting the May 16 national demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Warren, who will meet the constitutional age requirement of twenty-five on January 2, 1977, is a native of Memphis, Tennessee.

His campaign will be run from the new socialist headquarters at 1865 Columbus Avenue in Roxbury. The telephone number is (617) 445-7799.



JAMES 'MAC' WARREN