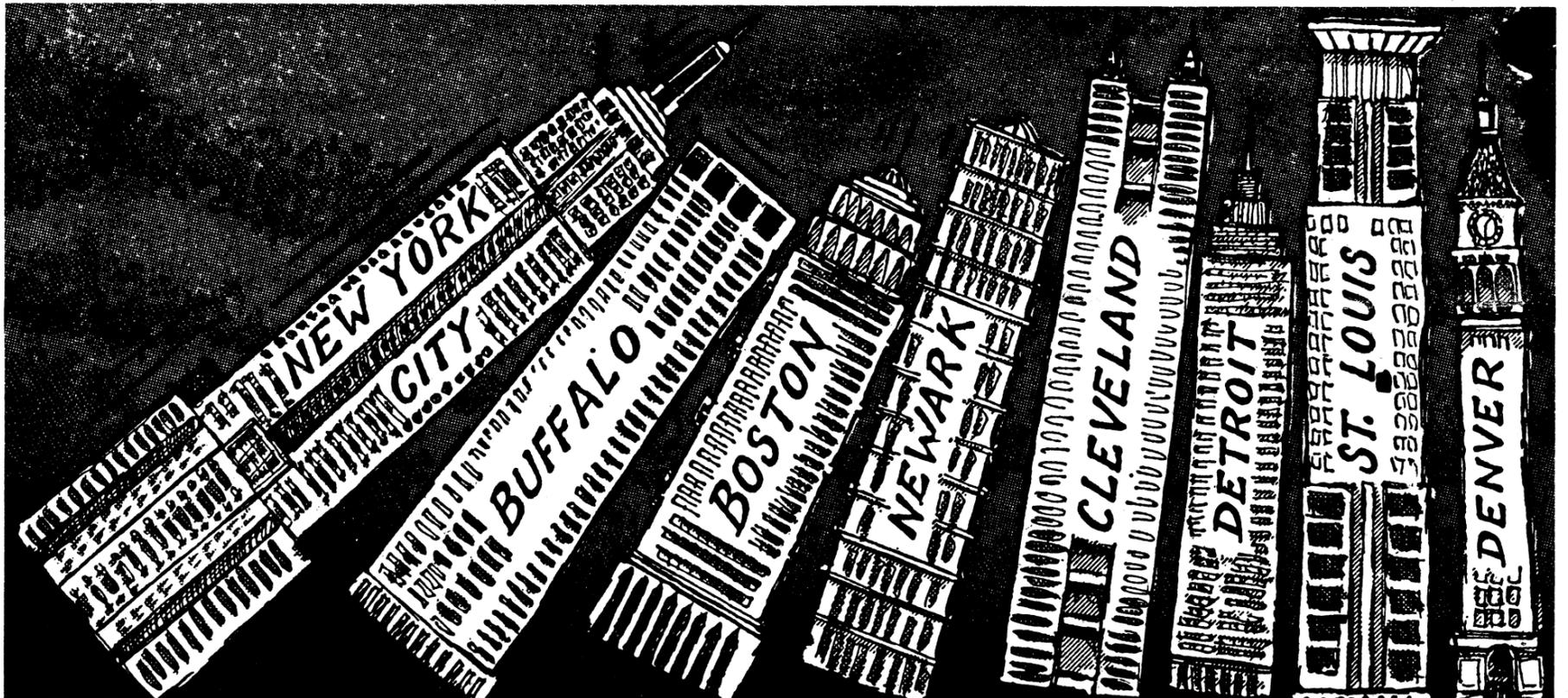


THE MILITANT

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

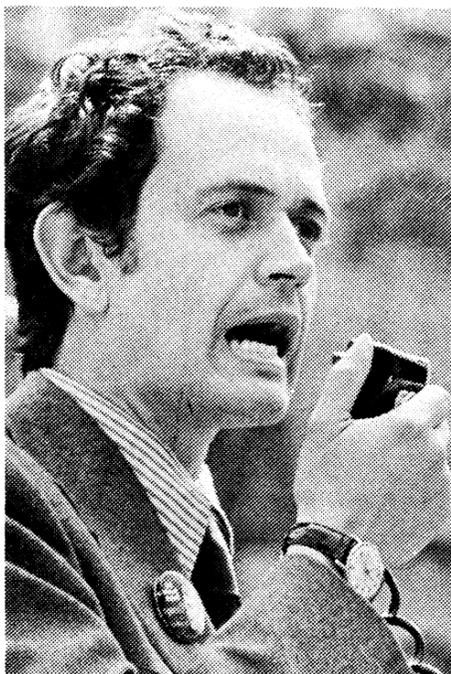
NY crisis: attack on all workers

—PAGES 3-6



Denver Post/Keefe

ERA: why it lost, what to do next



PETER CAMEJO

[The following statement was issued November 5 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president.]

Yesterday's defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment in New York and New Jersey must ignite renewed and determined efforts by supporters of the ERA all across the country. Supporters of equal rights for women are shocked and angered by the setback. That sentiment ought now to be turned into action from coast to coast.

Now is the time for action. It is time to stop the right-wingers in their tracks. Already, enemies of the ERA in New York and New Jersey have announced plans to introduce resolutions in the state legislatures to rescind ratification of the federal ERA in those states.

If they aren't stopped now by massive, visible support for the ERA, they will try to turn the setback in New York and New Jersey into a total rout for women's rights.

Millions of ERA supporters, women and men, are asking: How did the defeat in New York and New Jersey happen? What can we do now?

How *did* it happen? The reactionary opponents of the ERA have been quick to seize on the election returns as proof of their



WILLIE MAE REID

Continued on page 10

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Majority rejects Ford's attack on N.Y. workers
- 4 N.Y. socialist hits 'lesser evil' game
- 6 Camejo blasts Ford on N.Y.C. crisis
- 7 Baltimore Black students hear Reid
- 9 Kokomo plan: danger to postal workers
- 13 Herman Kirsch: SWP leader
- 14 NOW convention: growth but no strategy
- 17 Can Spain defuse time bomb?
- 18 Behind fighting in Lebanon
- 24 'What's CIA doing at UCLA?'
- 25 Interview with Dolores Huerta
- 28 Poll shows millions boycott scab grapes
- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 National Picket Line By Any Means Necessary
- 12 Great Society La Lucha Puertorriqueña Women in Revolt
- WORLD OUTLOOK
- 19 Portuguese soldiers resist effort to restore 'order'
- 22 'Sacrifice' watchword at British Labour party conference

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 39/NUMBER 42
NOVEMBER 14, 1975
CLOSING NEWS DATE—NOV. 5

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

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: 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-2798. Washington Bureau: 1345 E. St. N.W., 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: domestic, \$7.50 a year; foreign, \$11.00. By first-class mail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$32; all other countries, \$53. By airmail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$42. By air printed matter: Central America and Caribbean, \$40; Mediterranean Africa, Europe, and South America, \$52; USSR, Asia, Pacific, and Africa, \$62. Write for foreign sealed air postage rates.

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.

In Brief

JUDGE DENIES INDIAN ACTIVIST'S REQUESTS:

A federal judge in Reno, Nevada, has turned down three motions by John Trudell, American Indian Movement leader, who is accused of assault with a deadly weapon in a July 17 shooting incident on the Duck Valley Reservation in Owyhee, Nevada. Trudell argued October 24 that the federal government has no right to try him. Only the Indian people of the Duck Valley Reservation have that right, he said.

He also requested to have the trial moved from Reno to the reservation so that he could be tried by a jury of his peers. Trudell's demands are supported by the Native Americans on the reservation. The tribal council is already on record as calling for his trial to take place on Indian land.

Trudell also demanded to see the government files on him. The judge, although admitting the existence of such files, also turned down this request.

DEMONSTRATORS SUPPORT MILWAUKEE MEAT-CUTTERS:

Five hundred picketers marched in front of Milwaukee's Peck Meat Packing Company October 24 in support of striking members of Local 248 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters. The meatcutters have been on strike for ten months. Because of the protest, the company dismissed its scabs early, but the demonstration continued, in the rain, with speakers from United Auto Workers Local 72, Coalition Against Unemployment and Inflation, Milwaukee County Labor Council, and the state AFL-CIO.

Demonstrators, one-third of whom were Black, represented a substantial number of unions, including Steelworkers, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Typographers, Hospital Workers, American Federation of Teachers, United Transportation Union, United Farm Workers, and United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

Also participating were the Student Coalition Against Racism, Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, Center for United Labor Action, Coalition of Labor Union Women, and Socialist Workers party.

OFFENSIVE AGAINST GOVERNMENT PERSECUTION ESCALATES:

The American Civil Liberties Union filed suit October 28 charging the CIA and National Security Agency with a campaign of spying on antiwar activists in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The lawsuit, filed on behalf of 8,200 individuals and groups, seeks an injunction against such illegal activity and \$500 million in damages. . . . The Communist party has gone to court to force release of records on the FBI's "Operation Hoodwink," a plan that was to have set "organized crime" against the CP. After existence of the operation became public in May, the CP filed for "Hoodwink" documents under the Freedom of Information Act. No response was received from the government. . . . Attorneys for Iberia Hampton, mother of murdered Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, filed a court motion October 24 to disqualify U.S. District Court Judge Sam Perry in the \$47 million lawsuit Hampton has filed against the FBI and Illinois State cop officials. "It is my belief that Judge Perry holds a personal hostility against us as Black people with connections to the Black Panther Party, so that a trial before him would only be the final coverup for the wrong that was done to all of us on December 4, 1969," Hampton said in an affidavit.

BOSSSES CHEAT WORKERS, SAYS LABOR DEPT.:

According to the U.S. Labor Department, employers chiseled \$29 million from workers' pay during the first quarter of fiscal 1976 (July through September 1975). Officials attribute the rip-off primarily to violations of the minimum wage and overtime pay law. But the bosses also saved a few million by ignoring the Equal Pay Act, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, and prevailing wage provisions of federal government contracts. In fiscal 1975 workers were cheated out of \$108.8 million, the department reported, and the \$29 million for 1976's first quarter is a 31 percent increase over the same period last year.

APPEAL FOR STALIN'S WORKS: The *Militant* would appreciate any leads our readers may have on a full set of Stalin's *Works* (thirteen volumes). It seems the set is not an easy commodity to come by. First published in Moscow in 1952, the volumes gradually disappeared and were never reprinted after the 1956 "revelations" about Stalin. Even used sets are virtually impossible to find. If you can help our reference library, please contact Don Kennedy in the *Militant* editorial office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014 (212) 243-6392.

MAOISTS ASSAULT BOSTON 'MILITANT' SELLER: Socialist Workers party member Steve Craine was assaulted October 25 by supporters of the Revolutionary Communist party, a Maoist group known until recently as the Revolu-

tionary Union. Craine was selling the *Militant* at a supermarket in Boston's Black community near where RCP members and activists in the Committee for Decent Education were campaigning in defense of a white Hyde Park High School student. The student's arrest stemmed from an antibusing incident at his school.

The Maoists tried to prevent Craine from selling by pushing and threatening him. When he started to leave, the white student the Maoists are defending physically attacked Craine. A leader of the group told Craine that his assailant "could not be controlled," while telling the hooligan, "We will deal with them [Socialist Workers party] later."

CORRECTION ON SAN FRANCISCO CAMPAIGN:

Last week's article on the socialists' campaign against the antilabor crusade in San Francisco incorrectly stated that in Painters Local 4 a motion to endorse Socialist Workers party mayoral candidate Roland Sheppard ended in a tie vote. In fact, there was no motion on Sheppard because the local voted last spring to support George Moscone for mayor. The tie vote was for the SWP's board of supervisors candidates, and it was broken by the local president, who opposed endorsing the socialists. However, at a later meeting, the local did vote to endorse SWP candidate Juan Martínez for board of supervisors.

RIGHT-WING CUBAN EXILES ATTACK HOUSTON MEETING:

Fifteen right-wing Cuban exiles, armed with blackjacks, stormed into a Houston meeting on Cuba October 25. The meeting was sponsored by the National Lawyers Guild. Several persons were injured, film equipment was overturned, and the program was completely disrupted. According to a news release from the Houston chapter of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the attack took place in a well-known center for political meetings in the Chicano community. "We call on the City government and the police to prosecute those responsible for this attack and provide adequate protection against future attacks," the USLA statement says.

ACTION CAMPAIGN SET BY ROSENBERG GROUP:

November 21 and 22 have been set as dates for local demonstrations demanding the release of all government files in the Rosenberg-Sobell case. The National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case announced October 24 that the November actions, planned for about forty cities, will initiate a national petition drive calling on U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi to open the files. The FBI, CIA, Justice Department, and other federal agencies are under a court order to come up with the files, or excuses for withholding them, by November 15. "We have received less than 1% of the files and we will not stop until we have received every page," says the statement from Robert and Michael Meeropol, sons of the Rosenbergs.

—Nancy Cole

Special Offer For New Readers



WORLD OUTLOOK: Portugal, Spain, Lebanon. . . . For the socialist analysis of these and other international headlines, subscribe to the *Militant*, the newsweekly with a "World Outlook."

The Militant—2 Months/\$1

() \$1 for two months () New
() \$7.50 for one year () Renewal

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

Majority of country doesn't buy Ford's attack on N.Y. workers

By Dick Roberts

People across the country overwhelmingly reject President Ford's vindictive "hands off" attitude toward the New York crisis. A majority believe Washington should directly provide funds to prevent the imminent financial collapse of the city.

These were the inescapable conclusions of a national poll jointly conducted by CBS news and the *New York Times*. The poll was taken after Ford's October 29 National Press Club blast against the city. The poll asked:

If New York City is unable to pay its bills, do you think that this will have an important effect on the economy of the country? Yes, 69 percent; no, 17 percent; no opinion, 14 percent.

Do you think New York City's financial problems are special to New York or do you think that other big cities are facing similar financial problems? Other cities too, 68 percent; special to New York, 16 percent; no opinion, 16 percent.

Do you think the federal government should or should not provide funds to help New York City get out of its financial difficulties? Should provide funds, 55 percent; should not provide funds, 33 percent; no opinion, 12 percent.

These answers completely refute Ford and all the other capitalist politicians who pretend that "folks back home" want to see the poor and working people of New York suffer for their alleged high living. Workers are well aware that the problems in New York could soon hit their own communities. Cities like Boston and Detroit are already in deep trouble. Attacks on public workers and cutbacks in social services are being carried out in virtually every city and state.

On top of this, 55 percent of those polled by CBS and the *Times* advocated a solution for New York that the capitalist politicians are not even considering: genuine financial aid to the city.

All of the present proposals to "rescue" New York that are being considered either in New York or Washington call only for *federal guarantees of bank loans* to New York. The use of federal funds to rehire laid-off workers and restore services is not advocated by any Democratic or Republican politician.

Rockefeller's move

Vice-president Rockefeller's exclusion of his name from Ford's 1976 campaign ticket five days after Ford's speech, coupled with the shake-up in the Ford cabinet, led to speculation that there were high-level differences in the White House over New York policy.

And it is evident that there are different estimates within the ruling class over the potential effect of a New York default.

But these disagreements are tactical and secondary. *There is no disagreement whatsoever among the rulers of this country over the antilabor policies that New York should follow to straighten out its finances at the expense of the working people of the city.*

In New York, the city board of estimates, headed by Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame, was in the last stages of preparing new "rescue" plans as Ford delivered his Washington speech.

These plans included "furloughing 30,000 or more city employees" and cutting "city cash needs by a staggering \$4.2 billion in the seven-month period ending June 30," according to the October 30 *New York Daily News*.

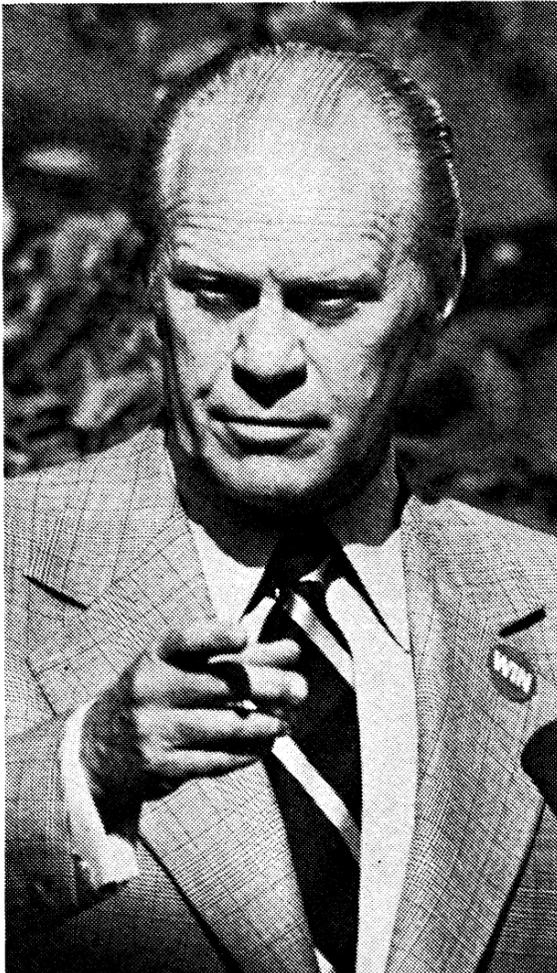
The *News* said that the Democratic city board also considered "paying vendors 50 cents on the dollar for bills presented to the city, withholding welfare and medicaid payments and tapping pension funds for any available cash."

The *New York Post* added to this list "a 20 percent cut in pay" for those city workers who were not fired.

Democratic party legislation before the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate is even more stringent and goes beyond anything that Ford himself suggested in the Washington speech.

The House and Senate bills differ on the amount and timing of the federal guarantees of New York bonds, but they agree that a federally appointed board should be given superpowers to run the city. Specifically, the "Super Mac" board could end all rent controls, lay off workers, impose new taxes, and void union contracts in order to cut wages and pensions.

The House bill provides that the board would be



FORD: Default with honor

headed by Treasury Secretary William Simon and would include Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board; Carla Hills, secretary of housing and urban development; Roderick Hills, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission; and F. David Mathews, secretary of health, education and welfare.

Rep. Wright Patman, longtime opponent of the New York banks, was not far wrong when he called this "the most reactionary group of officials that could be gathered together to consider the needs of any municipality."

Carey plan

New York Gov. Hugh Carey made it all the clearer that the Democrats agree with Ford on how to deal with the New York crisis. In his November 1 "reply" to Ford, Carey said, "I am here tonight to say that I agree with Gerald Ford; Washington should not bail out New York."

"I am here to tell New Yorkers and all Americans that the bill we seek will impose on New York City the obligation to pay its bills in full, and to put its fiscal house in order."

Carey praised the bank-dominated Emergency Financial Control Board, which he himself had set up to rule New York. And the Democratic governor pointed out that his board had already presided over the cutting of 30,000 jobs from the city payroll and that it has the aim of raising the figure to 70,000 within three years.

In his initial response to Ford, Carey had suggested he might call a mass rally in Times Square November 16 "to sound off on behalf of the

city." But the potentially adverse consequences of such a call were quickly recognized, the *New York Times* reported: "We're not talking about taking to the barricades," a spokesman for Mr. Carey emphasized later, as he nervously pondered a banner headline in an afternoon newspaper reading, "Carey: Take to the Streets."

Within a few days, the rally idea was scrapped in favor of a November 11 day of "prayers."

The capitalist politicians all agree that workers should be fired and services cut in order to guarantee payment of debt service to the banks. This is in the long run.

In the short run they all also see advantages that a default would have in stepping up the antilabor offensive. As the *Wall Street Journal* put it October 30, in the event of default, "It seemed all but certain that there would be further cutbacks in some city services [and] further reductions in city payrolls. It was also possible that default could lead to abrogation of some labor contracts, including large pension benefits to retired city employees."

Furthermore, the capitalist politicians also all agree that the federal government must come to the aid of the banks if New York cannot pay them.

Meaning of default

The differences within the ruling class center on estimations of what would happen to financial markets during the time New York is in default. Having agreed to bail out the New York banks in the long run, there is still the question of *how long the long run is!* What would happen to municipal bonds and the banking system while the New York bankruptcy is in the courts?

The case of "Big Mac" illustrates the problem. This agency was set up to issue bonds to rescue New York, and its bonds have prior claim on more than \$1 billion a year in city taxes.

But Big Mac bonds, which have a redemption value of \$1,000 and pay an annual tax-free interest rate of 9 percent or higher until the date of redemption, are now selling for as little as \$700—a 30 percent discount off face value.

The banks that hold Big Mac bonds have seen these assets reduced by a third of their value. The direct New York city and state bonds that the banks hold are faring much worse. All of this is happening before a default.

The banks in question include the major New York banks, the central pillars of finance capitalism. They are worried, but they aren't the only ones.

A.W. Clausen, president of the powerful San Francisco-based Bank of America, called Ford's statement that a New York default would have only a temporary effect "patently false." *Business Week* magazine, usually quite neutral in tone, derided Ford's economic advisers as "inept."

A number of capitalist financial experts fear that a New York default could halt the wavering economic "recovery." This same fear was undoubtedly on the minds of the people polled by CBS and the *Times*.

But the fact of the matter is that in the last analysis neither the bankers nor the politicians have the power to control all the variables, political as well as economic, that will determine whether the city defaults or not.

For working people the crucial question is how to protect their standard of living *whether or not New York defaults*. In this they will get no help from the Democrats and Republicans who govern this country.



New York transit workers' protest. 'Pray, don't march,' urges Governor Carey.

Militant/Linda Jenness

Urges independent action to fight cuts

N.Y. socialist hits 'lesser

[A banquet and rally in Brooklyn November 1 launched the campaign of Pat Wright as Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from the Fourteenth District.

[Wright, twenty-five, is a day-care worker in Brooklyn and a shop steward for Local 205 of District Council 1707, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. She is an active member of the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women.

[The following is Wright's speech to the November 1 rally.]

Three days ago, President Ford went on television to deliver an open declaration of war against the working people of New York City.

"The time has come for straight talk," Ford said. "What we need is a calm, rational decision. . . ." And then he proceeded to calmly present a program of the most brutal cuts and drastic layoffs yet put forward.

Ford said these would mean some "temporary inconveniences" for us. This is Ford's plan:

- Wages are too high; they have to be cut.
- Pensions are too generous; they have to be taken away.
- Municipal hospitals are too luxurious; they have to be closed.
- The City University is too big and free tuition is outrageous; if people want an education, make them pay.
- The people on welfare are lazy bums and they're living too good; kick them off.

And Ford has the gall to call these "inconveniences." These cuts involve our very survival.

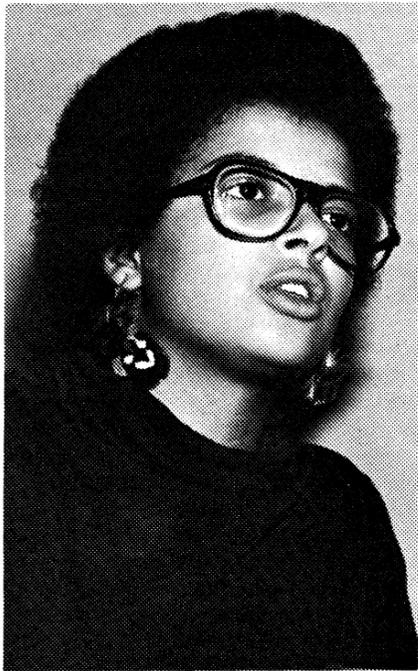
Plenty for cops

But of course there will be plenty of money, Ford promised, "to assure that police and fire and other essential services for the protection of life and property in New York are maintained."

He's not talking about *our* lives or the services *we* consider essential. And we don't own any property in the first place.

So Ford says, let the city default, and we'll have a federal judge take over, with the power to cut the budget, fire people, and cut services.

Ford's position is clear: the working people of New York are to blame for this crisis. It's our fault, we've been living too high off the hog, and now



Militant/Lou Howort

PAT WRIGHT: 'Unions must fight to protect interests of the workers, not the Democratic party.'

we're the ones who have to pay.

And by his reactionary logic, those who should pay the *most* are those who have the *least*: Blacks and Puerto Ricans, the elderly on Medicaid, the children in day care, women, the unemployed.

When it comes to education or health care or jobs, Ford is against big government and big spending. But sometimes he sings a different tune.

He wants a CIA big enough to monitor every telephone conversation in this country. He wants an FBI big enough to keep an eye on all of us. And he wants a military machine big enough to rule the world.

Is Ford against big spending? Not hardly. He wants *bigger* spending for the Pentagon—\$100 billion this year alone, more next year, and he screams bloody murder if anybody talks about cutting one dime out of it to serve human needs.

Who sacrifices?

So Ford says the people of New York must sacrifice. But he's not talking about everybody. He just means working people like you and me, and our families and neighbors.

Some people won't be inconvenienced a bit. Unemployment won't hurt

some people because they don't work for a living anyway. These people don't worry if the subway fare goes up because they don't ride the subways. They ride chauffeur-driven limousines wherever they go.

They don't send their children to day-care centers; they pay somebody to come in and raise their children. They don't send their kids to CUNY because they can afford to send them to Harvard or Yale. And they wouldn't be caught dead in a city hospital.

These are the people who run this city, who own this city. And when Ford opens his mouth, he's speaking for them. *They are the capitalist class that rules America.*

Carey's protest

So the next day Governor Carey went on television to answer Ford. He said the people of New York should pour into the streets to protest Ford. He called for a mass demonstration to show that the people of New York are united.

Now, a mass demonstration of the working people of New York against the cutbacks would be great. I'm all for that.

But you see, this is sort of a weird demonstration that Carey is talking about. Just picture it. Carey will be there with a picket sign: "New York united will never be defeated." Mayor Beame will be marching down Fifth Avenue. Even the cops will be there. Imagine them riding in on their horses with a nightstick in one hand and a picket sign in the other.

There we all are in Central Park. Then David Rockefeller, chairman of Chase Manhattan bank, gets up on the platform in his thousand-dollar hand-tailored suit, and raises his fist to lead us all in a chant of "Ford says cut back, we say fight back!"

It sort of makes you stop and wonder—what do these people have in common with us?

Carey says everybody should unite behind his plan as the only way to save the city from Ford's plan. But what is Carey's plan?

Carey says a default would be the end of the world. To avoid default, he wants to lay off thousands of workers, have payless paydays, and withhold Medicaid and welfare payments.

So they tell us we have a choice. Under Ford's plan the city will default and there will be drastic layoffs and cutbacks. To avoid that, we are told to

unite behind Carey's plan to keep the city from defaulting. How? By making drastic layoffs and cutbacks.

Does it make any difference if Beame lays you off or if a federal judge lays you off? Either way you don't get a paycheck.

If this sounds to you like a con game, that's exactly what it is. It's the oldest trick in the book: lesser-evil politics. As Malcolm X once said of the two-party system, it's a giant con game. Either side you play, you lose.

And the biggest problem is that the officials of all the unions in this city—people like Victor Gotbaum and Albert Shanker—support the so-called lesser evil.

They used union money and union votes to put Beame and Carey in office. They still consider these Democrats their allies. They sit down together every day to figure out how to sell us this trick.

They say we have to fight for Carey's plan. In other words, Democratic layoffs are better than Republican layoffs.

They say we have to elect more Democratic candidates, especially a Democratic president in 1976. In other words, elect more politicians who will carry out the orders of the ruling rich in their war against us.

The real divisions

There is another trick the Democratic and Republican politicians are trying to play on us. They are trying to trick us into believing that it's you and me and David Rockefeller and Big Mac together against the rest of the country. We're on one side and the working people of the other forty-nine states are against us.

Well, this country *is* divided. But the real divisions aren't the divisions between New York and New Jersey, or between New York and Des Moines, Iowa. It's not between the city and the state, or between the city and the federal government. No, those divisions don't mean a thing.

The real division in this country is between the working class—whether in New York, New Jersey, or Iowa—and the capitalist class, which is waging this war against us.

The artificial city and state boundaries are used to divide working people. But the ruling rich always see their own class interests in any city or state.

This crisis we are facing is not a New York crisis. That's a myth.

In San Francisco, they're trying to cut the wages of city employees. In Atlanta, they won't even give a union contract to teachers and school workers. In Newark, in Detroit, in every city it's the same story.

There's a war going on, and it's a worldwide war. Wherever you look—in Canada, where they just imposed wage controls, in Britain, in Portugal—there is the same war of *their* class against *our* class.

New policy needed

In the face of this war, the Shankers and Gotbaums tell us: "Sit tight. We're doing everything we can. Maybe we can get a deal to get somebody else laid off instead of us. We have to give up some now, but hang tight and maybe things will get better in a few years. We're going to Washington with Beame and Carey to lobby for help."

Above all, these union officials say, "Let us handle it."

Well, I say that policy is *bankrupt*. That policy has brought us defeat after defeat, and it is leading us to disaster. It's time for a new policy and a new strategy.

It's time to say, these unions belong to the workers, and they must fight to

Rally launches Brooklyn campaign

NEW YORK—"I am a strong supporter of the Socialist Workers party," Gloria Hunter told the November 1 rally launching the Brooklyn socialist campaign.

A feminist and community activist from the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, Hunter had learned of the SWP campaign only two weeks earlier. She quickly decided that the socialists were fighting for the same ideals she believed in.

"I think that all Americans need to reevaluate our present capitalist system," she said. "We need to realize that it is not working to support the needs of poor, oppressed people in this country.

"We live in a country of great wealth and resources, and yet oppressed people are starving and suffering everywhere. We need the support and unity and strength from each and every one of you to help bring about these changes."

Another new supporter of the socialist campaign was Ralph Boozer,

a Black high school student. Boozer told of attending the October conference of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, where he met Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the SWP candidates for president and vice-president.

"After the conference," he told the rally, "I was invited to a YSA meeting, which stands for Young Socialist Alliance. I saw that the YSA was the only organization active in defense of Black rights. Others, they talked, but there was no action.

"So I joined. I recommend that more people get active in the YSA," Boozer said, "for it's the only way we can change society."

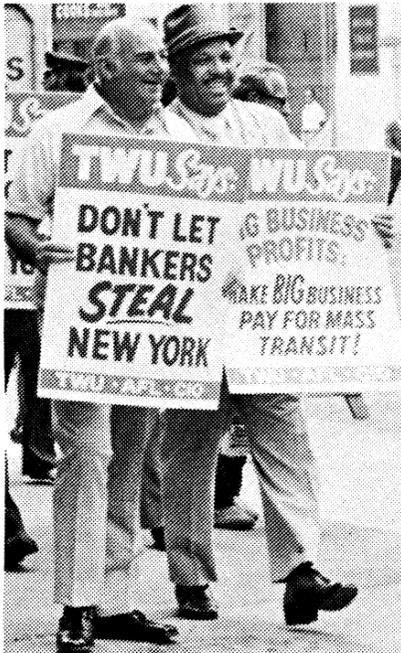
One hundred forty people attended the socialist campaign banquet and rally. In response to a fund appeal by Michael Lux, chairperson of the state campaign committee, those present contributed \$1,600 to get the campaign going.



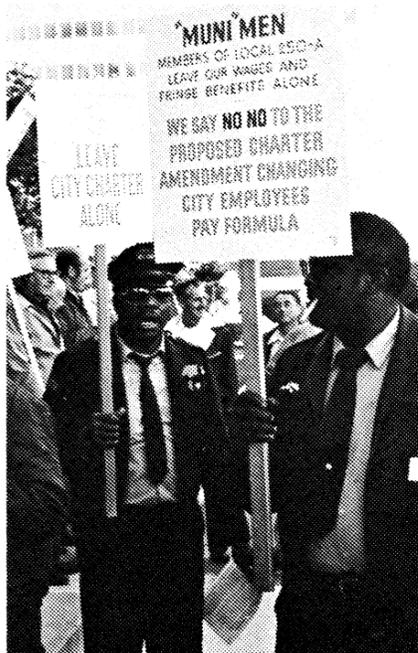
Militant/Lou Howort

GLORIA HUNTER: 'Capitalist system is not working to support needs of poor and oppressed people.'

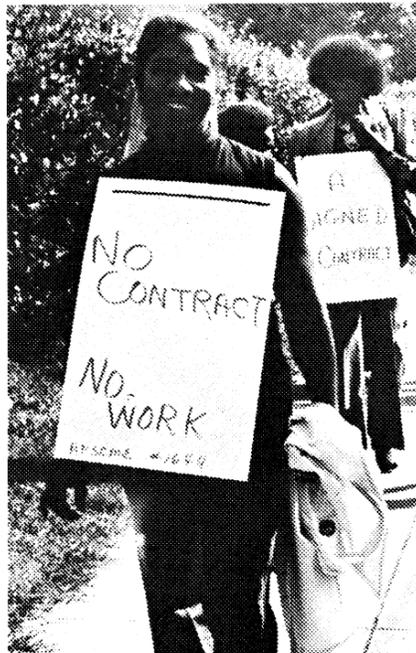
evil' con game



Militant/Linda Jenness



Militant/Howard Petrick



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

New York, San Francisco, Atlanta. 'Wherever you look, there is the same war of capitalist class against workers,' Wright said.

protect the interests of the workers, not the Democratic party. And if officials like Gotbaum and Shanker can't see that, and won't fight for our interests, it's time for them to *get out of the way!*

We need a leadership that's going to fight, not a misleadership that's going to give up without a fight.

The real strength of our unions lies in *independent actions*—strikes, rallies, mass demonstrations—that use our vast numbers and our position as the people who keep the city going.

If Carey really does set the date for a mass rally, fine. I say let's turn out the unions and the communities—not to fight for Carey's cutback plan, but to fight against *all* cuts and against *all* layoffs.

What can workers do?

What can working people do in the face of this crisis?

All the decisions are now in the hands of the ruling class—whether it's Big Mac, the Emergency Financial Control Board, or the Democrats' proposal for a Super Mac set up by the federal government. They meet behind closed doors, and they decide who's going to be laid off, how many schools will be closed, and how much wages will be cut.

It's time for working people to get together to discuss what *we* need for a change, and plan action for how to get it.

The first thing we need in order to get together is an emergency conference of unions and community groups—a representative conference that can bring together municipal employee unions and workers in private industry; the unemployed; the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese

communities; tenants; students; and parents.

We need a conference that will say, working people didn't cause this crisis and we're not going to pay for it. We need a conference that can speak for the majority and that can unite us around a program for fighting back.

What are some of the things this conference would discuss?

The big lie

First, it would demolish the big lie that there is no money. *They've got money!* They're spending it for war, and they're shoveling it out for interest payments on city bonds.

A conference of labor would map a fight to stop the military spending and use those funds for jobs and social services. It would say, not one penny to the banks while children in New York aren't getting an education, while people are hungry, while human needs are going unmet.

Second, a conference would say, we don't accept the right of boards like Big Mac to rip up our union contracts. We don't accept the right of the state to throw us in jail for exercising our democratic right to strike. We want the Taylor Law and all other antilabor laws *repealed* and we want these boards *abolished*.

Third, we reject the attempts to divide us and pit us one against the other. We're fighting to save *all* our jobs, and *all* city services. We are going to stand up for the rights of women, of Blacks and Puerto Ricans, and of everybody they try to knock down and discriminate against.

This conference of unions and community groups would say, the Democratic and Republican parties are not

our parties. We're in a political fight and we need *our own political party*.

We need to end our reliance on the capitalist parties and organize a workers party, a labor party based on the unions.

The Gotbaums and Shankers say a labor party is unrealistic. But what is really unrealistic is to keep throwing our money and our votes away electing our class enemies.

More and more working people are fed up with the Democrats and Republicans, but they're still caught in the lesser-evil trap. They see no alternative.

An independent labor party would rally the support of millions. It could open up a political fight to turn this country upside down—to reorganize society on the basis of human need, not private profit.

We're told that the perspective of independent working-class political action is not realistic. But in fact it's the only realistic road. If we don't sweep the Fords and Rockefellers and Careys and Beames and *their class* out of power, they're going to press ahead with their class war until they grind us down into the ground. The only realistic road is to start fighting back now.

What about us?

Well, what about us in this room? Some of you may be thinking, yes, that all sounds good, but what can I do about it?

I say this to you here tonight—and I'm going to be saying it between now and November 1976 to the victims of the cuts and layoffs, to the Black and Puerto Rican communities, to members of my union and every other union, to parents, students, and community activists:

Our party is your party, too. The Socialist Workers party is made up of people like you. We know that good ideas aren't enough. They have to become a reality.

And that is why our party is active today in the unions, in the communities, and on the campuses—fighting for these ideas, fighting to defend our interests, our *class* interests, against the war of big business and the banks on the working people and on the Black and Puerto Rican people of this city.

The more of you who join us in this fight, who join our party and the Young Socialist Alliance, the better we can fight together for our common interests and against our common enemy.

One person alone can't do much. But together we can fight, and we can win.

CUNY students protest cutbacks

By Jack Lieberman

NEW YORK—"The board says cut, we say no! Kibbee's plan has got to go!" was the chant of 1,500 City University students who demonstrated at a meeting of the board of higher education here October 27.

The demonstration was called by the University Student Senate, which represents the student governments at CUNY's eighteen campuses; the Professional Staff Congress, the faculty union; and the New York Student Coalition Against Racism.

Board Chancellor Robert Kibbee has submitted a plan to eliminate 20 percent of the faculty, reduce student enrollment 20 percent, significantly increase student fees, and severely restrict open admissions.

Under Kibbee's proposal, several community-college campuses would be closed down completely, and many departments on the remaining campuses would be completely phased out. Graduate programs would be particularly hard hit.

The overall purpose was made clear by Kibbee himself. "Significant changes," he stated, "must be made in the clientele the university serves, in the manner in which it delivers its



Militant/Lou Howort

City University demonstrators

services." He asserted that his program would eliminate those who are "getting a free ride" at CUNY.

Kibbee's proposal amounts to a direct attack on all New York students' right to a free higher education. It is an attempt to roll back one of the most significant gains won by the mass upsurges of the student movement in the late 1960s: the establishment of CUNY's open-admissions policy.

This attack is directed most sharply at Black and Puerto Rican students, many of whom were able to enter CUNY only after open admissions were established.

Nor is it coincidental that many community colleges, which have proportionately the largest Black and Puerto Rican enrollment, are being chosen for elimination. The "clientele" Kibbee seeks to eliminate is located in precisely these institutions.

A partial victory was scored by students during the October 27 protest when the board of higher education voted to table Kibbee's proposal. It will be on the board's agenda again, however, in November.

After the demonstration, anticutback activists from around the city met to map out future actions to stop the cuts, including a city-wide teach-in during the week of November 10-15. Students interested in building the cutback protests can contact the New York Student Coalition Against Racism at (212) 866-8830.

How you can help...

The Socialist Workers campaign committee in New York has printed tens of thousands of copies of a special statement by Pat Wright and other SWP candidates on "New York crisis: Why working people should not pay" for distribution at union meetings, work sites, demonstrations, and in the communities. To help with this and other campaign activities, or for more information, mail in the coupon below.

() I want to join the Socialist Workers party.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

Mail to: New York 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, New York 10003. Telephone (212) 982-4966.

Officers of the New York 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee—chairperson: Michael Lux; treasurer: Phyllis Kittler.

() Send more information.

() I want to actively support the New York Socialist Workers party candidates.

Camejo blasts Ford on crisis in New York

By David Salner

PORTLAND, Ore.—“Gerald Ford’s pronouncements on the New York City budget crisis have made it all the more clear that the wealthy few who run this nation are launching a full-scale assault on the living standards of millions of American working people.”

This is one presidential candidate’s response to the crude lies of the Ford administration. Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo, on tour in Oregon, has spoken out against the attacks on New York working people in his speeches on campuses, in campaigning with unemployed workers, and in media interviews.

“There have been many times in our history when the rulers of this country have put on enormous acts to make us believe what they want. But with the New York City budget crisis, they’ve really outdone themselves,” he declared to 140 University of Oregon students in Eugene on October 31.

“New York is a test case for their racist, antiunion policies,” he stated.

Ford has attacked the people of New York as addicts hooked on the heroin of “government spending.” Camejo pointed out that New York City residents are among “the poorest people in

this country, working horrible jobs in a city where prices are the highest in the nation.

“These are the people Ford says are ‘living it up.’

“How many of you have visited New York?” Camejo asked the Oregon audiences he spoke to. “If you visited New York, you probably didn’t even know they had a sanitation department. And yet they’re cutting back on sanitation and all the other social services—schools, hospitals, welfare—so that they can continue to pay interest to the rich.”

Camejo called for an end to the “giveaway program for the rich”—the interest payments to bondholders—and for scrapping the \$100 billion defense budget as ways to meet the needs of the people in New York and the rest of the country.

Supporters of Camejo’s campaign in New York, he explained, are calling for a conference of union and community groups “because only the independent action of working people can get us out of this crisis.

“The Democrats already have control of the U.S. Congress,” Camejo said. “If they were opposed to cutbacks, there wouldn’t be any cutbacks.”

A city-wide conference would be a challenge to the right of a handful of rich people to rule the lives of all New Yorkers, Camejo said. It could mobilize working people around a program to fight the antilabor assault.

“We’d tell the rich that we have eight million people unemployed in this country, one-fifth of the population living in substandard housing, and twenty-five million living below the poverty level.

“We’d tell them we can’t support the military budget and inflation anymore. We’re going to use this money to give our people a chance to live.”

Camejo’s campaign platform, “A Bill of Rights for Working People,” was featured on KOIN (CBS) TV evening news October 30:

“This morning he took his party’s platform to the state unemployment center in northeast Portland. Camejo says he and the Socialist Workers party offer the only significant alternative to Gerald Ford in the 1976 elections. . . .”

In the interview that followed, Camejo declared that it’s unjust to take a person’s job away. “You take away their job, and you destroy their life.”

A detailed article in the October 31 *Oregonian*, a Portland newspaper with a statewide circulation of 238,000, reported on Camejo’s plans to campaign in defense of democratic rights.

“One of the Socialist Workers’ major campaign issues is simply its right to run without government harassment,” the newspaper reported.

The article outlined the SWP’s lawsuit against the FBI and other federal agencies, which aims to end such illegal persecution.

The Oregon SWP has received extensive media coverage of a local court action that in some respects parallels the national suit. In mid-October the SWP had obtained a court order to force the city police department to disclose whether or not it has files on the SWP.

On October 27, the city filed an answer stating that on June 17 (the date the request for the files was made by the SWP) and since then, there were



Militant/David Salner
CAMEJO: ‘If Democrats were opposed to cutbacks, there wouldn’t be any cutbacks.’

no files on the SWP.

Party spokesperson Stacey Seigle, quoted in the *Oregon Journal*, denounced this answer as “a cover-up in the tradition of Nixon and Watergate.”

At a campaign rally November 1, SWP mayoral candidate George Kontanis vowed that the Oregon socialists would continue their fight against the city’s cover-up.

Kontanis also announced a local slate of socialist candidates to the ninety campaign supporters present at the rally.

They are James Watson, U.S. Congress, Third Congressional District; John Lemon, state attorney general; Kris Huget, secretary of state; Stacey Seigle, state treasurer; Beth Peterson and Lisa Potash, Portland City Council; and Caroline Fowlkes, school board.

Join the socialist campaign!

() I want to come to a campaign meeting to help plan activities.

() Send me a free copy of the campaign platform, “A Bill of Rights for Working People” () in English, () in Spanish.

() I want to join the Socialist Workers party.

() Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____

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.

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Occupation _____

Business address _____

School/union local _____

Socialist ‘wins’ debate on ‘76 alternatives

By James Goshen

Opening a three-way debate on “Alternatives in the ‘76 Elections,” the staff director for the Democratic party’s 1976 Platform Committee said:

“I was delighted when I came in the door to be handed the Socialist Workers party platform. I think that tomorrow I’ll go down to [Democratic National Committee] Chairman Strauss and suggest that we adopt this. It all looks perfectly reasonable. You may have saved me ten months of work.”

Robert Strauss may never hear that particular suggestion from staff director Michael Barnes, but the fact that the SWP’s campaign platform, “A Bill of Rights for Working People,” does look “perfectly reasonable” to the vast majority of people who consider it should provide apologists for the two capitalist parties with a few problems on the 1976 campaign trail.

This debate, held October 2 at the University of Maryland at College Park, was one of the first of the 1976 campaign season. Initiated by the campus Young Socialist Alliance, it was also sponsored by the College Republicans and the Young Democrats.

The Student Government Association Program Committee paid for an ad in the campus paper to publicize the event, and the campus radio station taped the discussion for a later broad-

cast. Fifty students attended and participated in a lively, and sometimes heated, discussion.

Democrat Barnes was joined on the panel by Rick Berman, a national youth coordinator for the Socialist Workers presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, and Karl Rove, chairperson of the College Republicans National Committee and executive board member of the Republican National Committee.

After Barnes’s assessment of the SWP platform—he was especially “impressed” with the emphasis on ending unemployment—he went on to describe the only “realistic” way to win more jobs. That, of course, is to “get Ford out of the White House” by working for any one of the Democratic party presidential candidates.

Berman responded: “The Democratic party has a majority in Congress. If this party is committed to providing jobs for all, it could do it tomorrow. The Democratic party leaders talk about ‘jobs for all,’ but let’s look at their real record.

“In New York City, for example, Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame and Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey are responsible for laying off thousands of municipal workers in the past few months. And they plan to lay off even more.”

Berman counterposed to this the

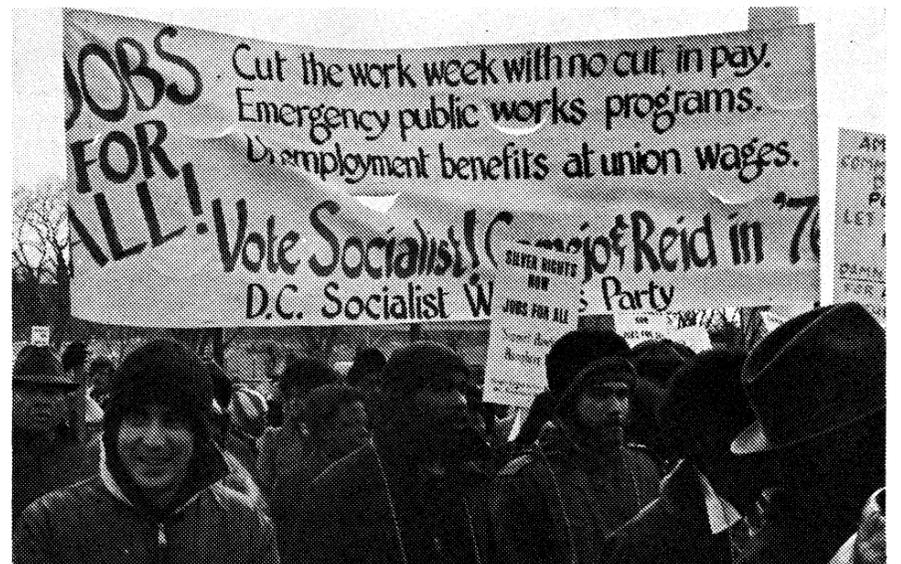
socialist program calling for the elimination of the war budget and using the money to create public works projects and expand social services, and a shortened workweek without reduction in pay to spread the work around.

Rove attacked federal spending for welfare, food stamps, and other social services.

Most of the students’ questions were

about the Bill of Rights for Working People. The panel moderator, who had been chosen by the College Republicans, decided to support the socialists in 1976, and several others signed up to work for Camejo and Reid.

Mark Strumpf, former Student Government Association president, told a member of the YSA that he thought the socialists had “won” the debate.



Militant/Dennis Scarla
Democrat Michael Barnes was ‘impressed’ with SWP’s proposals for ending unemployment. But, he insisted, ‘realistic’ way to win jobs for all is to ‘get Ford out of White House.’

'Now I have someone to vote for'

Baltimore Black students hear Reid

By Debby Woodrooffe

BALTIMORE—“Ms. Reid, 35, of Chicago will offer an alternative to the Democratic and Republican politicians, an alternative to rising unemployment, inflation and recession.”

So announced the *Baltimore Afro American*, one of the country's most widely circulated Black newspapers, in a front-page article on Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president.

“The platform of the Socialist Workers Party, contained in the ‘Bill of Rights for Working People,’” the article continued, “offers clear and direct solutions to the problems people face in this country and city.”

During the four days Reid campaigned here, October 29-November 1, the socialist candidate spoke to a total of 650 people. Half of them were Black students.

Earlier this fall, a handful of socialists moved to Baltimore to work with the existing local of the Young Socialist Alliance in building a branch of the Socialist Workers party and in winning support for the 1976 socialist candidates.

By the end of Reid's tour, more than 200 people had signed up to join the socialist campaign.

“With that type of support,” YSA organizer Richard Hill says, “it shouldn't be much longer before there is a Camejo-Reid campaign headquarters in Baltimore.”

At Baltimore Community College, 175 Black students turned out to hear Reid. According to Joan Andersen of the school's social sciences department, the sponsor of Reid's talk, it was the largest meeting to take place on that campus in four years.

Reid described the assault on New York City workers; the struggle against racist violence in Boston; the fight by women for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment; and the inability of the Democrats and Republicans to offer any solutions to the crises facing working people.

“We must build a movement,” Reid told the students, “a new determined social movement to challenge the control of the ruling rich and to ensure that our demands are met. That's what's made a difference in every change that's ever been made in the history of this country.”

When Reid stepped down from the stage, dozens of students surrounded her, eagerly relating their experiences in the struggle for Black liberation and seeking her opinions.

Samuel Jones was on the edge of the crowd. “She should go everywhere,” he



‘We must build a movement to challenge control of the ruling rich,’ socialist vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid (right) told students.

told me. “She should get on television. She's saying what everyone feels. She convinced me.”

Jones went on to say that he had never heard a socialist speaker before. “I thought it would be too radical for me. I thought there was a big difference between the Democrats and Republicans. Now I see they are just the same. Socialism is for the people.”

At Morgan State University, seventy more Black students heard Reid.

Another seventy-five students heard Reid speak at the Baltimore County campus of the University of Maryland. After the meeting, Sylvia Wilson told me she had been “appalled” by Reid's description of the racist mobs in Boston.

“I had no idea that was going on,” she said. “That is what politicians should be concerned with—letting the people know what's happening.”

Wilson went on to say, “Voting has never been a part of me. I know it's my rightful duty. But if you don't agree with any of the politicians, or are confused on where they stand, what do you do? But now I have someone to vote for,” she concluded.

Reid also addressed an assembly of 250 students at Friends High School. The principal had told Reid before the meeting that students don't listen to speakers for more than ten minutes, so she should not be upset if they grew restless. Reid spoke for thirty minutes, and there wasn't a shuffle. Afterwards,

forty students moved to a classroom to discuss socialism with local campaign supporters, and eight asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Reid also spoke at Goucher College and at a Maryland socialist educational conference.

Before arriving in Baltimore, Reid campaigned in the Boston area, where she spoke to 250 students at the University of Rhode Island, Suffolk University, and University of Massachusetts in both Boston and Amherst.

In each of her meetings, Reid urged participation in the antiracist actions called for November 22 by the National Student Coalition Against Racism. “Building these actions is one of my priorities,” she said, “and I hope you'll make it one of yours. It's the only way to guarantee that the racists will be beaten back.”

Several SCAR activists were among the 125 people who attended a campaign rally at the Boston campaign headquarters October 24. Reid was joined on the platform by Norman Oliver, who had been the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Boston. He was eliminated in the primary.

“When we lost on September 23,” Oliver stated, “the majority of Bostonians lost. But we didn't lose any hope. We know our day will come. And we can be heartened by the fact that we have national candidates like Reid, who will continue to raise the issue of busing.”

Continued on page 26

Heisler tours Pgh. factories, campuses

By Fred Stanton

PITTSBURGH—Campaigning for the socialist alternative in 1976, Ed Heisler toured Pittsburgh October 23-25. Heisler is a chairperson of the Socialist Workers national campaign committee.

Heisler and local campaign supporters leafleted and talked to workers at Westinghouse Air Brake in Wilmerding and at U.S. Steel's National Tube Works in McKeesport.

At the Community College of Allegheny County, where the Young Socialist Alliance was recognized for the first time this fall, Heisler's impending visit received front-page coverage in the *Allegheny Vue*, the campus newspaper. Socialist campaign supporters passed out thousands of leaflets to publicize his talk.

The administration reacted to increasing sales of socialist literature on the campus by announcing a ban on such sales.

Heisler protested the ban, noting that students should be able to read all points of view, including books not made available by the administration at the campus bookstore.

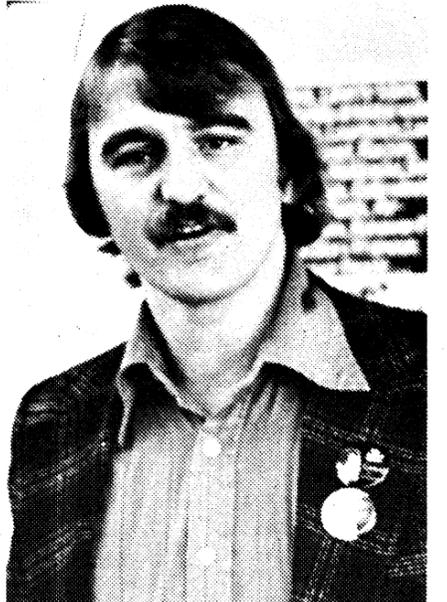
The YSA plans to organize a campaign to reverse this policy and defend the right of CCAC students to buy socialist newspapers and books on campus.

Heisler's tour included a socialist campaign party at Walsh's bar. Nearly 100 people attended. Many of them had never been to a socialist event before, but had seen publicity for the get-together and decided to find out what the socialists had to say.

Several strikers from the Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel Company attended. They have been on strike for three months, demanding higher wages, a cost-of-living escalator clause, and fully paid health insurance.

In addition to remarks by Heisler, the local candidates were introduced, and a fund appeal raised more than \$1,200 for the socialist campaign.

Heisler toured Philadelphia for several days before traveling to Pittsburgh. His activities there included campaigning at the Budd auto plant and giving talks at Temple University and the Community College of Philadelphia. He was also interviewed on WMMR radio and attended a luncheon sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund.



Ed Heisler, chairperson of the Socialist Workers national campaign committee, is touring to win support for 1976 socialist candidates.

SWP gives proposal on election act

By Lucy Sylvagi

WASHINGTON—The Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee asked the Federal Election Commission (FEC) October 24 to add an exemption provision to the federal campaign “reform” law.

Brenda Brdar, Socialist Workers party candidate for D.C. school board, represented the national campaign committee at hearings on the law. “We oppose this law as a cynical attempt to bolster the two-party system under the guise of ‘reform,’” she said.

“The Socialist Workers party favors its repeal. However, since it is presently in force, we have a particular proposal to make to you today which would alleviate some of the burden that disclosure places upon us. . . .

“The government bugs our offices, spies on our activities, contracts with terrorist thugs to beat our campaign

supporters and rob our offices, and conspires against our rights and those of our supporters. Then, by enforcing the provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act, they demand that we turn over more names. . . .”

Brdar proposed a regulation that would allow exemption from reporting the identities of contributors if it can be shown that disclosure would interfere with the rights of those contributors.

Cynthia Burke, national secretary of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, testified in favor of such an exemption provision. “Backers of minority parties often require anonymity as a prerequisite for support,” she said.

“Currently these people must choose between their right to free political association or their right to privacy. They cannot have both. And, they run

a very real risk of victimization if they choose the former,” Burke told the commission.

In a related development, two days before the FEC hearings, a three-judge federal court here issued a ruling on the D.C. SWP campaign committee's challenge to the local campaign law.

The court found that, on the basis of evidence showing government harassment of the SWP and its campaign supporters, the disclosure provisions of the act were “potentially unconstitutional” as applied to the socialists.

The D.C. Board of Elections and Ethics was instructed by the three-judge panel to provide the socialists with a “suitable forum” to present their case for exemption, and then to find the law inapplicable to them if they prove the law violates their rights.

Probusing actions planned for Nov. 17-22

By Steve Clark

In cities and on campuses from Boston to San Diego, plans are under way for a week of activities November 17-22 in support of school desegregation and against racism.

A resolution calling for nationwide protest meetings and picket lines was passed in Boston at the October conference of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. The gathering was attended by more than 1,200 people.

The main conference resolution stressed the importance of waging an energetic campaign around the question of school desegregation: "Many if not most people are confused about busing," it explained. "Our job must be to go on a national education and action campaign to win mass support to desegregation. We must win the majority of the American people to an understanding that busing is necessary to implement school desegregation."

In Boston, which has been the center of the racist drive against busing, SCAR is planning campus speak-outs during the week of November 17-22 at the University of Massachusetts, Boston; Northeastern University; Boston College; Boston University; and other area schools.

Boston SCAR has also scheduled a November 7 picket line outside a Republican party fund-raising dinner where President Ford will speak. Demonstrators will demand that Ford step up federal efforts to enforce desegregation, rather than egging on its racist opponents by publicly denouncing "forced" busing at the drop of a hat.

The evening picket line has gained broad endorsement, including that of Black community leaders such as Ellen Jackson of Freedom House and

Massachusetts state representatives Elaine Noble and Robert Fortes.

Atlanta SCAR also plans to picket Ford when he comes to their city on November 14 for a fund-raising bash at the Marriott Hotel.

SCAR chapters throughout Texas are mobilizing for a Dallas rally to demand, "Desegregate the schools—No more delays!" Last summer a federal appeals court threw out the Dallas school board's phony desegregation plan and ordered Judge William Taylor to develop a new plan by October 15. Taylor recently asked the appeals court for an eight-month delay.

The November 22 protest meeting will demand that Taylor stop his delaying tactics on desegregation of Dallas schools. The Dallas NAACP has endorsed the meeting, along with many Dallas community activists, and SCAR chapters in Houston, San Antonio, and Austin.

Busing proponents in Washington, D.C., will hold a noon picket line and rally at the U.S. Capitol Building on November 22. They will protest the growing drive by both Democrats and Republicans in Congress for an anti-busing amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The picket line is sponsored by D.C. SCAR and Government Employees United Against Racial Discrimination, among others.

Earlier in the week, University of Maryland SCAR will hold a debate between an antibusing spokesperson and representatives of SCAR and Parents Concerned from Prince Georges County, a probusing group.

Another clash of viewpoints on desegregation will occur in Chicago, where sociologist James Coleman of the University of Chicago has agreed to participate in a city-wide symposium on busing.



Recent National Student Conference Against Racism called for national campaign of education and action for busing and school desegregation. Militant/Glenn Campbell

Until recently, Coleman was widely known in both civil rights and academic circles as a supporter of busing to achieve school desegregation. Last summer, however, Coleman publicly retreated from his previous position, arguing that busing causes "white flight" from urban schools into all-white suburbs. His changeover has gained great notoriety in the national press.

At the November 22 symposium, the probusing position will be defended by Maceo Dixon, a national coordinator of NSCAR, and Sophia Hall, legal redress chairwoman of Illinois NAACP, who is arguing the NAACP's lawsuit to desegregate the Peoria, Illinois, schools.

On November 22 in Los Angeles, SCAR, along with the Southern California Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and the Philip Allen Defense Committee, will picket

the L.A. County district attorney's office. They will demand that all charges be dropped against Philip Allen, a Black youth from Pasadena framed up on a murder charge, and that the cops responsible for the murder of another Black youth, Randall Miles, be prosecuted. Miles was shot by cops last June at the Hollywood bowl.

Campus speak-outs on desegregation, education cutbacks, and other aspects of racism in the Los Angeles area are planned for surrounding campuses throughout the week of November 17-22. Other campus and community speak-outs have been planned by SCAR chapters in Denver; Newark, New Jersey; Minneapolis; San Diego; the San Francisco Bay Area; Portland, Ore.; Seattle; Cleveland; Philadelphia; New Orleans; Baltimore; Milwaukee; Detroit; and other cities.

Racist holiday: ROAR parades through Boston

[Correspondent Jon Hillson filed this story after covering an antibusing demonstration of 6,000 sponsored by Boston ROAR on October 27. The march and rally were reported on in last week's Militant.]

By Jon Hillson

*Burn, burn, burn the bus
For all the world to see;
Merrily, merrily, merrily, merrily,
Walk to school with me.*

BOSTON—The tune was "Row Your Boat," but the words were those of a cheerful, pugnacious squad of thirteen- and fourteen-year-olds who serenaded admiring listeners at South Boston's Marine Park.

The fall air was both festive and angry as the crowd swelled, bunching into contingents of parents, students, and workers who had taken the day off. Balloons and Popsicles were for sale. Banners and flags waved in the wind.

Some in the crowd listened to the bigoted young serenaders squealing their eerie rhyme. Others talked about the big blowup three days earlier at South Boston High School, when white students blocked Black students from entering, heaping verbal and physical abuse on them.

Today's antibusing protest was clearly going to be a big one—the largest since September 1974. ROAR is flexing its political muscle, which has been swelled this fall by the surge of racist opposition to desegregation in Louisville, Kentucky, and in the halls of Congress.

The marchers step off behind a flag-draped coffin, mourning their "loss of freedom." Two hundred tam-o'-shantered marshals—drawn from the

drinking clubs in surrounding bars—ring the crowd. Banners proclaim, "Southie is with Louisville," "Tom Atkins [Boston NAACP president] is a racist," and "Bus the judges." Racist students sing Southie's high school "fight song."

Most South Boston employers have closed down their shops for the duration of the march, so that everyone can attend. Bank tellers form a contingent, along with groups of hard hats, waitresses, and bartenders.

The march spirit bristles with violence. Along the route can be seen three separate effigies of Black students strung by the neck from second-

and third-story windows.

As the marchers come close to South Boston High School, state and city cops—helmeted and packed in rows—place themselves between the demonstration and the school. The Black students at Southie have been bused out early.

Blacks at the Gavin Middle School are evacuated through the rear exit, as a split-off from the march advances to within hurling distance of the school's lightly guarded front entrance.

A crowd of racist toughs surrounds a lone motorcycle cop who has made the mistake of taking up their belligerent challenge. He is dumped and his cycle

overturned. Suddenly, the air is rent by sirens, as police cars—trailed by the media—arrive on the scene. Spit and obscenities fly at the cops and reporters.

As the march moves up a hill, a group of youths begins chanting, "We don't want no boneheads." The tam-o'-shantered marshals clap in time.

A city bus is rushed by twenty young marchers. They stop it in the middle of the street, break open the door, and clamber up its side and through the windows. There are no cops around.

Luckily, there are no Blacks on the bus. They would have been as good as dead.

At the rally site, all the speakers blur into one voice—the dozen Democrats who are the Boston City Council and School Committee, and the state representatives and senators from South Boston and Charlestown. They hammer home their message over and over again: resist, fight, never submit.

Three tough-talking labor "leaders" are on the platform—two from the building trades and one from the state AFL-CIO. They roundly denounce George Meany's statement two days ago in support of desegregation.

The crowd whistles, claps, and stomps as ROAR announces its plans to fight for a constitutional amendment against busing. The antibusing rhetoric that is bouncing through the hallways in Congress and the White House has put new wind in their sails.

All in all, it has been a fine day for the racists. They have sent their message to Washington. And the high school students and middle school students who boycotted class that day will be just that much more bold when they return to school to prowl the corridors for a stray Black student.



Participants in the October 27 ROAR march and rally. 'Antibusing rhetoric bouncing through hallways in Congress and White House has put new wind in their sails.' Militant/Jon Hillson



Militant/Jon Hillson

Weigh strike against speedup

Kokomo plan: danger to all postal workers

By Tony Lozito

NEW YORK—Five hundred letter carriers from Branch 36 of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) met October 9 at Manhattan Center to decide upon common action against the Kokomo plan.

The Kokomo plan—named for Kokomo, Indiana, where it was first experimentally applied—has now gone beyond its test stage and is being implemented in Portland, Oregon. It is a brutal method of speeding up work and time standards for letter carriers with the aid of computers.

The plan is one product of the Postal

Tony Lozito is a postal worker in New Jersey and a member of the National Association of Letter Carriers.



Under Kokomo plan, computer analysis is used to dictate every step and every second of letter carrier's workday.

Reorganization Act of 1970. Approved by Congress, this act placed the post office, one of our most essential services, in the hands of a profit-seeking management backed by federal subsidies.

Gauging success on the basis of profits will surely lead to further dehumanization of the workers and a decline in the quality of service. The Kokomo plan is a step in both directions.

If not countered by strong opposition, the Kokomo plan will place every letter carrier under constant surveillance from the beginning until the end of the day. It involves severe and precise measurement of the carrier's movements in relation to his or her route: length of the block, distance from sidewalk to mailbox, and so on.

This data is then fed into a computer, which in turn determines the number of stops to be made, the amount of office time allotted, and the length of the carrier's route. It even

goes so far as to determine the lengths of the steps that a carrier, regardless of age or physical build, is to take for a specific route.

Coy Stanley, president of the California state NALC, has reported his findings from interviews with carriers of the Rose City Park station in Portland, where the plan is already under way.

He found that the work force will be reduced by 12 percent just by application of the plan. But far more startling was his discovery that at least twenty-two of the carriers have acquired health problems since the plan was introduced. One has become totally disabled and another is receiving psychiatric treatment.

"Oh yes," Stanley explained, "those generous souls at the Department—or

was it the Computer—gave them 60 minutes of *fatigue time*, 23 minutes in the office and 37 minutes on the street. . . . You can readily see your lunch time is eaten up before you even start to eat."

Stanley indicates that any deviation from the designated route time, even to tie one's shoe or stop to give directions, could result in a deduction from the carrier's total fatigue time.

The Manhattan Center meeting was originally called to take a vote on preparing a nationwide strike if the Kokomo plan was implemented beyond the test stage in Portland or anywhere else.

There was much debate over what course of action should be taken. A motion was put forth by Vincent Sombrotto, the branch president, to

prepare for a strike only if the plan was implemented in the New York metropolitan area.

Many carriers who attended felt that this was a sellout. These carriers of Branch 36 were the driving force behind the wildcat strike of 1970, in which branches all around the country took part.

Many carriers in the New York area and nationally look to Branch 36 for militant leadership. And the feeling of many was that Sombrotto's motion would weaken the leading role of this branch in the eyes of other letter carriers throughout the nation.

Others, however, felt that the branch should not stick its neck out for those who weren't willing to fight for their own interests. They said they would only go out if Portland initiated the action.

In all the confusion of this meeting a moderate resolution was just barely passed. At the meeting's end, many who voted for this resolution were surprised to find that it was only in regional terms, not national.

It stated that if the Kokomo plan was implemented anywhere within the metropolitan region, and if the post office in which it was implemented was willing to take militant action, then Branch 36 would act also.

It appears that the carriers of Branch 36 are more willing to fight than the union officials had hoped. Whether the carriers of Portland allow themselves to become human robots or whether they stand up and fight for their rights could determine the action of Branch 36.

Another possibility is that the more concerned carriers will rally behind the spirit that made Branch 36 lead the way in 1970. They could lead the NALC to victory against the bosses' most blatant attack on the humanity of postal workers, the Kokomo plan.

'Washington Post' strikers tell their own story

By Jack Baldwin

WASHINGTON—Striking press operators and photoengravers from the *Washington Post* spoke at a recent Militant Forum here to tell their side of the story, which has received short shrift from local news media.

Seventy persons braved a rainstorm to attend the lively panel discussion October 17. The meeting hall was decorated with a banner: "Support the Strike at the Washington Post."

Panelists were Jimmy O'Sullivan, a picket captain, and Bob Moltz, both members of the press operators union Local 6; Francis Neuland, a member of the photoengravers union Local 285; and Cindy Jaquith, head of the Washington Bureau of the *Militant*.

Reading a statement from James Dugan, president of Local 6, O'Sullivan said: "Since Mr. Wallace [Larry Wallace, the *Post's* vice-president in charge of labor relations for the past two years] has come to the *Post*, the policy has been not to settle even the smallest grievances. He has done everything possible to provoke, harass, and incite not only our members, but those of our sister locals."

"They really want to destroy you as a person," O'Sullivan said. "Just before we went on strike, they fired a man who was sixty-two years old for being outside the building at two o'clock in the morning. He went outside for a breath of fresh air. And that's what they fired him for."

O'Sullivan said that *Post* management "demanded elimination of rest periods, payment of double shifts worked day and night at straight time, elimination of a cost-of-living clause,

and weakening of the grievance machinery. The *Post* also demanded reduction of the pressmen's manning provisions, which have governed their operations for twenty years."

Job security is the most important issue of the strike, O'Sullivan declared. Management wants to cut the work force of press operators from 185 down to 100 or 110. "They want to pick and choose. They want the people who say, 'I'm going to do the work and I'm not going to say anything'—not anybody with backbone."

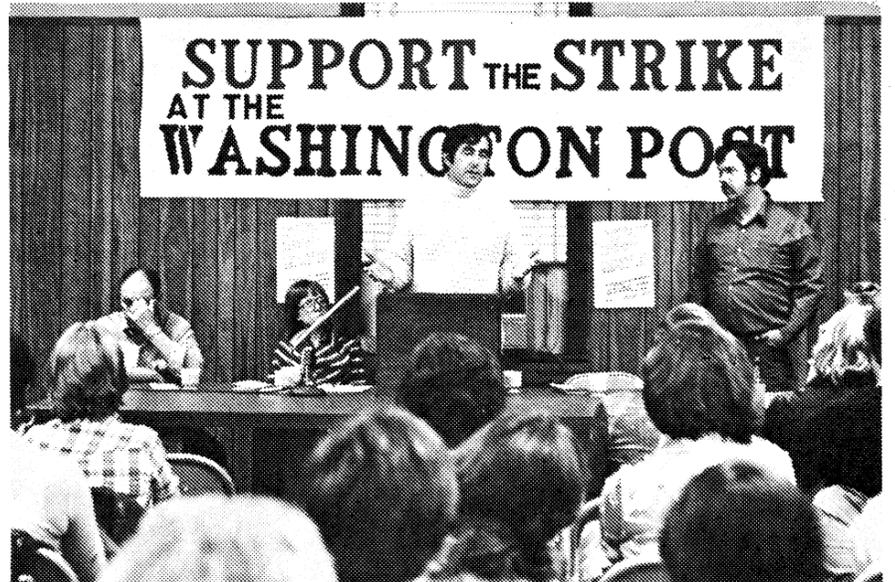
"They want to have a company union," he added, "or a union in name only."

Bob Moltz said, "After every pre-strike negotiating session, Larry Wallace would stand up and remind the people negotiating for us that he had people in there to run those presses—nonunion people, scabs, rats, whatever you want to call them. This was another way they kept provoking and trying to harass us."

Since the second day of the strike, the *Post* has published a skimpy version of the paper with the aid of employees who received special instruction in pressroom operations at a publishers' scab-training center in Oklahoma City.

Post publisher Katherine Graham "went out and trained these people two years ago to do our jobs," O'Sullivan said. "She actually wanted to put us out on the street to show us that she could get the job done without us."

The strikebreaking effort is being abetted by a majority of the *Post* unit of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild Local 35, which voted by a



Militant/Afrodita Constantinidis
Jimmy O'Sullivan, picket captain of press operators Local 6, addresses Militant Forum. Other panelists, from left: Bob Moltz, Local 6; Cindy Jaquith, 'Militant' Washington Bureau; Francis Neuland, photoengravers Local 285.

narrow margin to cross the picket line in defiance of the Local 35 leadership.

The press operators walked out October 1 when the contracts of nine craft unions at the *Post* expired. The photoengravers and mailers unions voted to strike a few days later. The six craft unions that are not on strike are honoring the picket line.

"This is the first strike the photoengravers have ever pulled in this town," said Neuland. "We were forced into this one."

During the question period, a young

Black man identified himself and several others in the audience as members of GUARD—Government Employees United Against Racial Discrimination. "We have come here to support the strike," he said, acknowledging the applause with a clenched-fist salute.

Socialist Workers party school board candidate Erich Martel stood up to relate how the socialist candidates have campaigned in support of the strike at community election forums.

Even the *Post* sent a reporter to cover the forum.

...ERA: what to do

Continued from page 1

claim that the women's liberation movement represents only a handful. They assert that most Americans oppose the ERA and the other goals that this movement has been fighting for.

Phyllis Schlafly, national leader of "Stop ERA," declared: "I would say that the people have spoken. They have repudiated this fraudulent proposal prompted by a little bunch of military [sic] radicals."

But these claims are false. Last spring, the Gallup poll found that, on a national scale, supporters of the ERA outnumbered its opponents by more than two to one. And just a few months before the elections, the New York *Daily News* found that support for the ERA in New York City and its suburbs topped 80 percent.

Moreover, a Harris poll this year found that by a decisive 59-28 percent majority, Americans favor "most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society today." Four years earlier, only a slim 42-41 percent plurality backed the women's rights movement.

The struggle for equal rights for women has won clear majority support, and this support has grown rapidly in recent years.

The ERA lost yesterday because this majority was not galvanized into action. The major pro-ERA coalitions in New York and New Jersey didn't carry out a campaign of rallies, marches, public meetings, and other actions that could have mobilized supporters of ERA and awakened people to the importance of the referendum on the ballot. In New York City, for example, where support for the ERA is strong, there was a much lower voter turnout than in more conservative upstate areas.

Democratic and Republican politicians have discouraged such independent actions, telling women to put their energies into electing "friendly" candidates from the two capitalist parties instead. The pro-ERA coalitions, dominated by this perspective, largely restricted their activities to routine electioneering, issuing press releases and distributing handbills.

The broad endorsement from trade unions, women's groups, and other organizations remained only on paper. The massive power of the millions of members of these organizations was never tapped. They were never brought into activities that would have shown their strength and numbers.

Unfortunately, the National Organization for Women, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and other groups that are on record in support of the ERA went along with this losing strategy.

In the face of this default by pro-ERA forces, the lies and distortions of the opponents of equal rights went largely unanswered. Reactionary organizations such as the Conservative party, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Daughters of the American Revolution threw money and resources into the fight to stop the ERA.

And, in a scandalous act of treachery against the women's movement, the Communist party joined with these forces to urge defeat of the ERA. This ignominious stand—taken in the name of "socialism"—adds yet another black mark on the record of the Communist party.

The setback on November 4 was a serious one. But it can be overcome. This setback itself can become the catalyst for a renewed drive to win ratification of the ERA on a national scale.

To be successful, such a national effort will have to rely on methods of struggle that can bring the majority into action and can explain to millions why the ERA is in their interest. It will have to rely on demonstrations in the streets, on rallies, teach-ins, and picket lines. Putting our hopes on lobbying the state legislatures, or electing "pro-woman" Democrats and Republicans to office, has not worked and will not work.

To be successful, this movement has to be nationwide in scope. There must be redoubled efforts to win ratification in those states where it has not passed. But those in states that have already ratified the amendment cannot sit back and watch. The opponents of the ERA are active everywhere, and their efforts are coordinated nationally. Attempts to rescind ratification in states that have already passed the ERA will increase.

To be successful, this movement has to base itself on united actions. Coalitions to carry out such actions can bring together trade unions, women's groups, Black and student organizations, and all other supporters of equal rights for women in a common struggle for our common goal.

Yesterday's defeats in New York and New Jersey should sound not only a warning but also a call to action: the time to start mobilizing the majority for ratification of the ERA is now!

Blind leading blind?

A recent *Washington Post* item caused me some consternation, to say the least. The story, on the upcoming elections, said that Brenda Brdar, Socialist Workers candidate for school board, "refused to be interviewed because members of the newspaper guild at The Post are not honoring a strike by three craft unions."

While I am generally the last one to argue with the concept of union solidarity, this seems to be a classic instance of the blind leading the blind. If Ms. Brdar would examine the situation more closely, she would (most likely to her own dismay) find that the union which originally struck the paper is one of the most racist and sexist unions in the city, and as such is unworthy of the support of progressive people.

This is not at all to address the issue of the questionable (and probably unnecessary) violence which the pressmen engaged in before even putting up their picket line.

J.R.

Washington, D.C.

And worse to come

There are now the most turbulent riots and strikes since the end of World War II. The United States and the balance of the capitalist world are bound for something worse than the 1930s. Even New York City is in its worst crisis since the 1930s.

I haven't seen in the *Militant* how capitalism is going to head for something worse than 1929. Many apologists for the bourgeoisie, whom I myself heard two decades ago, say that what happened in 1929 couldn't happen again. Those people said there is unemployment insurance, Social Security, and similar reforms.

Those reforms took a long, hard struggle on the part of organized labor to get through in the 1930s.

True, in 1929 and the early 1930s those reforms were not yet passed into legislation. It was the crisis of capitalism on a world scale that came down with such force in 1929. Those reforms had nothing in common with the 1929 crisis.

How I heard people say in the 1950s the government is secure! The government did not care for those individual people as to whether or not they had it in the store when they were buying food or when the landlord got them. The government didn't care if they were left broke or not after those people were done with them.

The teachers and civil servants are becoming very strong now. I do hope, as well as you, that organized labor will strive to be rid of capitalism to prevent World War III. There were two big capitalist world wars, which did enough damage, as well as the wars in Asia for American imperialism.

Edward Bellows

Brooklyn, New York

Beer for the discriminating

In September the federal government's Equal Employment Opportunity Commission filed suit against Adolph Coors Company, maker of Coors beer, for hiring and promotion discrimination against Blacks, Chicanos, and women.

The company has deliberately kept the top layers of its work force all white and all male, according to the EEOC, while it hires "all females as office and clerical and service workers and employs substantially all Negro and Spanish-surnamed [persons] as semiskilled and unskilled workers."

Militant readers may remember the boycott against Coors launched in late 1973 by maverick Teamsters Local 888, representing beer drivers in Northern California. The boycott drew support from Black and Chicano community groups because Local 888 demanded both an end to Coors's union-busting practices and implementation of a meaningful affirmative-action program.

This joint community-union effort had begun to show effect. Sales of Coors beer in California dropped for four straight months last spring, and were down 16.4 percent from May 1974 to May 1975.

Last July, however, George French, an official in the Western Conference of Teamsters, took over as trustee of Local 888, dismissed the local officials who had directed the boycott, and declared the boycott officially ended.

Undoubtedly the top Teamster bureaucrats were uncomfortable with the pro-affirmative-action stance of Local 888 and the local's close relations with minority groups, including the United Farm Workers.

Whatever the full story behind the bureaucrats' decision to kill the boycott, it was yet another indication of how far removed these "business unionists" are from the real needs of working people today, including their own members.

J.R.

San Francisco, California

Worthy honor

Enclosed is a check for twenty dollars for prepaid subscriptions.

On October 15 the Cincinnati local of the Young Socialist Alliance voted to buy these subs and to go on a special sub blitz at the University of Cincinnati in honor of the contributions of Herman Kirsch to the Socialist Workers party and the revolutionary socialist movement.

Charles R. Mitts

Cincinnati, Ohio

AFSCME organizing drive

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees is currently on a campaign to win collective bargaining elections for 50,000 Illinois state employees. If AFSCME is successful, these employees will for the first time be covered by a contract.

State workers are classified into three broad divisions: blue-collar, white-collar clerical, and white-collar paraprofessional and professional.

AFSCME has already won an election for 14,000 blue-collar workers, and in early November 12,000 clerks will be voting. Ninety percent of the clerks are women, and 30 percent are Black. Soon after this election, the 10,000 human-service professionals and paraprofessionals will vote.

Among the problems a contract must deal with are the elimination of patronage and discriminatory promotion policies. A cost-of-living raise is needed, as well as a grievance procedure and health insurance for employees' families.

With union recognition, AFSCME will be in a better position to fight effectively against the cutbacks in social services.

Winning this election will be a stepping stone toward organizing city of Chicago workers, who, under Mayor Daley, have been beyond the union's reach.

The state is not the only organization that hopes for a no-union vote. The Progressive Labor party,



Don't blame George

mean," he said, "we don't have a contract that says they have got to take our wheat and give it to the Russians."

None of this bluster stopped the loading of grain, and wasn't intended to. Ford took care of that by imposing the temporary embargo on future sales.

Ford and his staff met for an hour and a half with Meany and company in the White House on August 26 over the sham dispute, and Labor Secretary John Dunlop announced the next day that he and Meany would continue to talk about other issues raised by AFL-CIO maritime union officials.

These "other issues" have been played down in the publicity about grain shipments, but the AFL-CIO maritime unions want protective legislation for more American-flag vessels. They are supporting demands of U.S. shipping companies for higher freight rates.

The Ford administration announced on September 17 that the Soviet government had tentatively agreed to raise grain freight rates from \$9.50 a ton to \$16.00, but there was no mention of this in the White House announcement of the five-year agreement. It may be that the shipping rates are contingent upon the still-to-be-negotiated oil deal in which the Soviets will receive higher rates for their oil shipments to compensate for any increased cost of grain deliveries. In that case the added costs will be passed on to U.S. consumers.

Meany is so happy about it all that he announced the end of "a boycott of Russian grain shipments," keeping in step with the lifting of the government embargo.

This is all done to a different tune from his hollow argument last summer that grain sales to the Soviet Union drive up the price of bread in this country. Under the new agreement the Soviets will buy more grain, not less. As for the grain speculators, they continue to handle all sales under conditions of the so-called open market introduced by Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz.

Meany learned long ago to sing and dance to whatever tune is called by the master in the White House, whoever the momentary occupant may be. The president of the AFL-CIO pulls no strings in the making of government policy.

which has strength among caseworkers in AFSCME Local 2000 and employment counselors in Local 1006, has been distributing a leaflet to clerks urging a no-union vote because of alleged union "sellouts."

Under the guise of ultraleft "militancy," the PLPers, most of whom are professional workers, are trying to deny the more exploited clerks the benefits of a contract.

H.S.
Chicago, Illinois

One criticism

In general, from the copies of the *Militant* I have read in the past, I find it to be an excellent paper. My only major criticism of the reporting has been on the Portugal question. I find that your criticisms of the Stalinist Portuguese Communist party have led you to embrace an incorrect line with respect to other groups critical of the CP. For example, you were slow to point out the reactionary nature of the offensive directed at the Portuguese CP.

While I agree with your opposition to the CP's class-collaborationist policies, I also feel that it sometimes prevents you from being completely objective.

Charley Rehnquist
Ann Arbor, Michigan

And another

I have read the *Militant* off and on for several years and am disappointed with the treatment of environmental and energy issues. Likewise, in discussions with Young Socialist Alliance members, I have noticed little expertise and little concern for such matters.

Exploitation of the environment and the very real threat of degradation of life-support systems is to a large measure the product of a class society organized to produce for profit rather than real human need.

If the Socialist Workers party and the *Militant* purport to offer a viable alternative to the present order, how about more time analyzing environmental, transportation, and energy problems and how they could be addressed under socialism?

Tom Galazen
Eau Claire, Wisconsin

No criticism here

I have been enjoying my own subscription to the *Militant* so much that I'm taking out this trial subscription for a friend. I know he will be as enthusiastic about it as I have been for the past year.

Thank you for telling the truth.

D.W.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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.

All the ballyhoo about the evil influence of AFL-CIO President George Meany over U.S. foreign policy may have deceived some gullible people, but it did not make the puppet into a puppeteer. What was widely publicized during the summer as a power play by Meany to impose his archaic anti-Soviet views upon the Ford administration has turned out to be nothing more than a ploy by the U.S. government to begin negotiations with the Soviets for long-term grain exports.

On October 20 the White House announced a five-year agreement with the Soviet Union to ship up to eight million tons of American grain a year. The agreement becomes effective October 1, 1976. An embargo on further grain shipments to the Soviets this year, imposed last August, has been lifted.

The announcement also revealed a letter of intent, signed in Moscow by representatives of both countries, for the sale of Soviet oil to the United States in the amount of 200,000 barrels daily. U.S. negotiators had sought to tie the oil and grain deals together, but failed.

For all practical purposes, little has changed since Meany's campaign against grain shipments to the Soviets began.

At the time, the U.S. moratorium on further Soviet grain shipments appeared to be a concession to the strike of the International Longshoremen's Association, an AFL-CIO affiliate, against such shipments. But there never was the slightest chance that the strike could be in any way effective without government collusion, and if the Ford administration had not found this excuse to impose the moratorium, another equally transparent excuse would have been invented.

The so-called strike of ILA grain handlers in Gulf of Mexico ports failed to stop the loading of a single ship. All ships bound for Soviet ports were loaded by the "striking" longshoremen under federal court orders. No attempt was made by Meany or by ILA officials to defy the court injunctions.

It is true that Meany fulminated against the no-strike contract, which he strongly advocates and normally defends. "We are getting hurt, and the hell with the contracts that we are getting hurt on. I

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



'Last Grave at Dimbaza'

Apartheid South Africa is difficult for many people to imagine because there are no models to compare it with. Perhaps those over thirty can recall Jim Crow of yesteryear, but even that comparison is slight.

Apartheid is very brutal.

It is a system that dictates the only role for Blacks to be one of laborer for the white master, an object or tool to facilitate comfort and ease.

Apartheid has been superefficient in allowing the ruling rich and other whites to accumulate tremendous profit on the backs of Blacks. No other setup under modern-day capitalism, by comparison, has even gotten to the mezzanine floor.

South African whites have acquired more automobiles, more cameras, more household goods than the population of any nation in Europe, and they enjoy the highest standard of living of any ethnic grouping in the world.

Fifty percent of South African Blacks, meanwhile, die before the age of five.

"Last Grave at Dimbaza," aired October 27 on Public Broadcasting Service television stations, takes a hard look at apartheid, and the viewer comes away smarting.

Filmed illegally in South Africa in 1973-74, the motion picture had to be smuggled out to be shown. It was acclaimed the "most remarkable documentary" at the 1974 Cannes Film Festival.

The film examines the government's resettlement program, under which Blacks are moved out of the 87 percent of the land reserved for whites and into the 13 percent reserved for Blacks. There are seventeen million Blacks in the country and four million whites.

In the resettlement program, Black women and children, the elderly and the sick and unproductive are

placed on reserves called Bantustans, located hundreds of miles from the white cities. Black men and some Black women are quartered in townships near the cities where they work at subhuman wage levels.

The film also examines the Pass Laws, which control, under the threat of imprisonment, the movement of all Blacks in the white areas over the age of sixteen.

The fifty-two-minute film probes many of the inequities of apartheid in jobs and in education, and the simulated voice of Prime Minister John Vorster explains that "the Bantu is taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them."

An expectant Black mammy is feeding a white child and the narrator explains that after she gave birth to twins, they were sent to a faraway Bantustan where she might see them once a year.

"During the hour you have been watching this film," the narrator concludes, "in South Africa six Black families have been thrown out of their homes, sixty Blacks have been arrested under the Pass Laws, and sixty Black children have died of the effects of malnutrition. And during the same hour, the gold-mining companies have made a profit of 35,000 pounds [\$84,000]."

Finally, the viewer sees scenes from Dimbaza, in a Bantustan. There is a row of graves there and the viewer is told they contain sixty adults and 450 children.

Then the camera focuses on the marker for Hazel Nomakhewezi Kula, who was born May 17, 1970, and died March 5, 1971. She was never a mammy, never a laborer, never met her white masters.

Little Hazel escaped the torment of apartheid. Rest in peace, her marker says.

Harry Ring



Armageddon Meadows—A California operator is offering the ultimate in a secure retirement village. Planned for the day of economic and social collapse, prospective members can buy into the secret mountain retreat for \$12,500 plus \$300 annual dues. Facilities include space for a year's supply of water and dehydrated food for each tenant. When end day comes, the plan calls for dynamiting the approaches to keep nonmembers out.

Biting the bullet—In keeping with the austerity practices he recommends, President Ford had his golden retriever flown to Oregon for mating with a champion retriever.

The real NYC crisis—If New York defaults on its bonds, Jackie Onassis will be out \$100,000 a year income from

a multi-million-dollar trust fund set up for her by her late husband prior to their wedding. According to *Money* magazine, she insisted on sinking it into municipal bonds despite the advice of the First National City Bank, which obviously knew something.

Golly—Los Angeles residents who get injured trying to aid someone else in a fire will no longer have to pay the ambulance bill. The city council voted that such payment be waived, providing approval is given by the fire chief, based on a recommendation from one of his lieutenants on the scene.

Shop early for Xmas—Our favorite shop, Neiman-Marcus, is offering a sterling and silver-plate model "Gravy Train" with an engine and four cars. Just \$8,000, it chugs around the table



It's frightening the way some of these congressmen want to pry into our affairs'

delivering gravy, salt and pepper, and condiments. And, like in New York, for instance, it could run down unwary roaches.

A seer—Dr. Anthony Downs, a real estate specialist, predicted to a Disneyland conference of landlords that the increasing shortage of apartments would lead to higher rents. He further predicted that for many families, recession and inflation would mean a drop in living standards.

Good on mileage too—Elvis Presley is offering his Commander and Gulfstream jets for a mere \$550,000 and \$750,000. However, he's holding on to his \$850,000 Jetstar (two bedrooms, two baths, dining room) and his \$1.2 million Convair with its dining room, lounge, and library.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



Puerto Ricans and Quebecois

Puerto Ricans and Québécois—the French Canadians—have a lot in common. I'd never thought about it much until I saw an editorial the *New York Times* saw fit to print October 28.

The piece was a stern warning titled, "Divisive Languages." It railed against the "awesome power of bilingualism" to promote "friction," "deepen antagonisms," and even be "a cause of bloody massacres." It's a "political curse" and a "millstone" everywhere in the world.

The *Times* mostly spotlighted Canada, which "tragically demonstrates" the "hardship" of having people who don't speak English in your country.

What's the story? Québec, in addition to being Canada's largest province by territory, is the homeland of an oppressed nation whose people speak French. These Québécois are discriminated against on the basis of language, even in their own territory. They average only 65 percent of the income of Canadians of British origin in the province.

The English-speaking population of Québec is concentrated in the key city of Montréal, where they form a community separate from the French-speaking, with its own school system, services, and recreational facilities. The English community, including the workers, enjoys many privileges.

Although Québec is officially bilingual, what this "freedom of choice" means in practice is that the Anglo-Canadian and U.S. corporations, which dominate Québec, are free to discriminate against the French-speaking majority. English is the language of power and influence, even though four-fifths of the population speak French as their native tongue.

As a result, there is tremendous pressure on the French-speaking to assimilate into the English-language milieu to improve their economic and social standing. For example, many French-speaking parents enroll their children in the English-language schools, although French-language schools are available.

In reaction to this, there have been widespread protests by Québécois demanding that something be done to protect their language and culture. Responding to this pressure, the Québec government enacted Law 22 in July 1974. This law tries to funnel children of non-English-speaking immigrants into the French-language school system.

This law leaves the privileges of the English-speaking minority intact. It does not address the real problem—the discrimination against those who speak French. Nevertheless, racists have mobilized around opposition to the law as a way of whipping

up sentiment against the French-speaking.

And what does the *Times* editorial board have to tell us about this?

"If the Quebecois are in some degree linguistically handicapped in most of their country [by which the *Times* means Canada, not Québec], some 20 per cent of the people in that province are even more handicapped by Quebec's stringent new language regulations in its own schools. . . .

"Hostilities are fanned by requirements for French-speaking quotas in Government offices and even for whole units in which French must be spoken." Imagine that! A trifling 80 percent of the population have the gall to request that the government provide services in a language they understand!

The editors of the *Times* draw a moral: "Americans can be grateful that this country has no great region of non-English-speaking citizens."

They urge that steps be taken to keep the situation this way, advocating that the Spanish-speaking in the United States be given the same kind of discriminatory treatment dished out to the Québécois. They come out against full bilingual-bicultural education to discourage what they call "a language separatism that can only grow more harmful with the years."

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Karen Silkwood Memorial Day

An emotion-filled audience at the National Organization for Women convention watched Karen Silkwood's parents accept an honorary NOW membership on behalf of Karen.

NOW awarded Karen Silkwood membership in recognition of her heroic efforts to expose the safety and health violations of the Kerr-McGee nuclear power plant in Oklahoma. Silkwood's efforts cost her her life.

One year ago, on November 13, Silkwood's car crashed while enroute to a meeting with a *New York Times* reporter and a union official of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union. Silkwood was taking documented evidence of quality-control violations at Kerr-McGee to the meeting. The documents disappeared from her crashed car and were never recovered.

Circumstances surrounding the crash, as well as events the previous year, indicate that Silkwood was murdered in cold blood to silence her.

Silkwood began working at Kerr-McGee in late summer of 1972. Less than two years later she was

exposed to a swirl of airborne plutonium because the company had failed to provide her with a properly fitting respirator.

Infuriated by that and other incidents endangering her and her co-workers, Silkwood ran for and won one of the three seats on the steering committee of OCAW Local 5-283.

She then began investigating and documenting health and safety violations as well as falsification of quality-control procedures used by the company.

Local 5-283 was due to begin negotiations with the company on November 6, 1974. On November 5, 1974, Silkwood discovered that she had been exposed to high levels of plutonium contamination. It was also discovered that her apartment had been contaminated, particularly the food in her refrigerator. How the nuclear poisoning got into her apartment has never been answered.

A week later Silkwood's car crashed. A private accident-investigation firm found physical evidence that her car had been struck from behind by another vehicle.

The union demanded an investigation, which was carried out by the Atomic Energy Commission. Later the General Accounting Office, the FBI, and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission became involved.

Although the investigation substantiated twenty out of thirty-nine allegations of health and safety violations made by the union; although questions about the plutonium poisoning and death of Silkwood were unanswered; although there was no explanation of the disappearance of the packet of evidence Silkwood had with her at the time of her death—the entire case has been marked "CLOSED" by all agencies involved.

The NOW Labor Task Force has declared November 13 "Silkwood Memorial Day." The memorial day is being used to intensify efforts to reopen the investigation of Silkwood's death and the questions related to safety in the nuclear power industry.

Petitions and information about the case may be obtained from Supporters of Silkwood, 1424 16th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Unionist, socialist candidate

Herman Kirsch: longtime SWP leader

By Robert Bresnahan

CLEVELAND—More than 100 people attended an October 22 meeting here to pay tribute to the life of Herman Kirsch.

Kirsch, fifty-three, suffered a fatal heart attack October 13. He was a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers party and had served on its national committee for many years.

Kirsch ran for lieutenant governor of Ohio in 1974 and received 116,000 votes, the largest vote ever tallied by an SWP candidate in Ohio. He was a frequent contributor to the *Militant*, writing on the labor movement, Ohio politics, and many other topics.

Born in 1921 in New York City, Kirsch grew up in an immigrant working-class family. His father had participated in the 1905 Russian revolution and was active in the drive to unionize the garment industry after immigrating to the United States some years later. His father's tales about these experiences played a role in shaping Kirsch's early interest in working-class politics.

Kirsch joined the Socialist Workers party when he was eighteen years old and a senior in high school. He attended Ohio State and New York universities, and Middlesex veterinary college in Boston. Kirsch did not finish his veterinary training, however, returning to New York in the early 1940s to become an activist in the Harlem branch of the Socialist Workers party. World War II was raging at that time, and he got a job in the war industries in New York, where he learned the machinist trade.

In 1943 Almeda, his comrade and wife, became ill with tuberculosis, and Herman returned with her to her home in Cleveland for medical treatment.

They lived in Cleveland from that time forward.

Kirsch hired on as a machinist for the Pesco division of Borg-Warner Corporation and worked there for nearly thirty years until the plant closed down. During those years he was an active member of United Auto Workers Local 363.

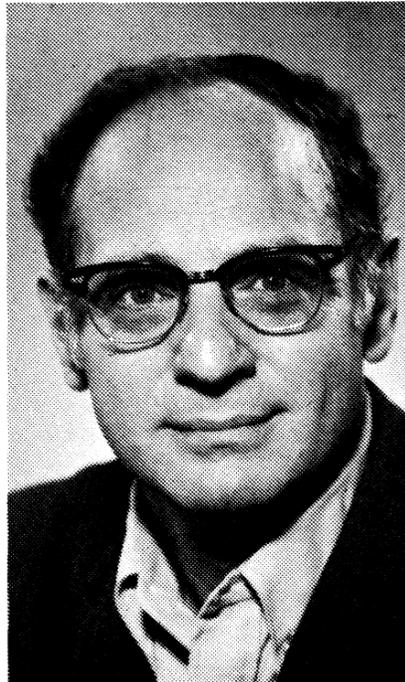
Until recently he was employed as a tool grinder at the Star Equipment division of General Electric, and was active in Local 707 of the International Union of Electrical Workers. This plant too closed down, once again throwing Kirsch out of a job. This fall he had begun working as a substitute machine-shop teacher in the Cleveland and East Cleveland school districts.

Kirsch was also a member of the American Federation of Musicians, playing for many years with the Cleveland Philharmonic Orchestra.

The October 22 memorial meeting was addressed by Mike Alewitz, a leader of the Cleveland Young Socialist Alliance; Frank Lovell for the SWP Political Committee [see accompanying article]; and Jean Tussey, Kirsch's close friend and longtime political collaborator in the Cleveland socialist movement.

In her remarks, Tussey said: "Herman lived to see the Cleveland branch of the Socialist Workers party survive the McCarthy days and grow into a significant political force. . . . His contribution toward these things made him feel that his life was a success."

A message to the meeting from longtime SWP leaders Farrell Dobbs and Marvel Scholl said, "As a proletarian fighter he was a 100 percent, intensely loyal to his party, to his union and to his class. . . . Herman never faltered, never shirked a task,



Herman Kirsch. 'He was a 100 percent, intensely loyal to his party, to his union and to his class.'

scores of other comrades in Cleveland and around the country, Herman's experience and activity was a model we grew up on personally as well as politically. No generation gap existed for Herman, who felt as comfortable and at ease with new and young comrades like myself as with older party members."

A message from Nancy Brown, a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, was also read to the meeting. In 1974 Brown ran for governor of Ohio on the SWP ticket. She wrote:

"Herman's death is a tragic loss to the revolutionary movement and to his friends. But the conviction that Herman had and the work that he did toward making the American socialist revolution inspires us to carry on and complete the job that he helped to begin."

Other messages were sent to the meeting by Kirsch's comrades and co-workers from throughout his career in the socialist movement.

Many of Kirsch's associates from the Cleveland area attended the memorial meeting, including Richard Cramer, former chairperson of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition; Bishop Alvin Ward, a leading civil rights activist and former president of Cleveland CORE; Kathy Gaige from the Farm Labor Organizing Committee in Toledo; Carol Banks, a leading Cleveland feminist; William Bell of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union; and Hester Butterfield, representing Local 707 of the International Union of Electrical Workers.

Articles reporting Kirsch's death and recounting his life appeared in both Cleveland dailies, the *Plain Dealer* and the *Press*.

never overlooked an opportunity to advance the cause and win new supporters."

Messages were also read from many of those young people whose early training in socialist politics received invaluable aid from Kirsch.

Roger Rudenstein, now a leader of the new SWP branch in San Jose, California, wrote, "I learned from Herman the art of applying good sense—as well as political principle—to our branch work." Bernie Senter, currently the SWP candidate for mayor of Milwaukee, said: "For myself and

'He was a party person first of all'

[Below are excerpts from the speech given by Frank Lovell to the October 22 meeting in tribute to Herman Kirsch. Lovell is a member of the Socialist Workers party Political Committee.]

I am here to speak of Herman as a comrade and friend in the Socialist Workers party. He was a party person first of all, and he became my friend because of that bond between us.

Herman was an industrial worker all his life—a skilled worker and an activist in the union movement. He developed the healthy instincts of a worker; and these were combined with a fundamental understanding of class society that he acquired from his study of Marxist philosophy and economics.

Herman had some innate qualities that are often considered liabilities rather than assets in the practical affairs of this acquisitive society: honesty and devotion.

To us these are the most important qualities of all, because our party—in all its activities—tries to be the organized expression of them. We seek always to deal honestly with ourselves and others, and we are devoted to the elementary principle of freedom and equality for all.

These may seem like simple virtues. But *without* these basic guides it is impossible to find a way through the political jungle in which a tiny minority of privileged individuals own all the means of production and rule over the vast millions of humankind to rob them of the products of their labor.

Herman joined the Socialist Workers



'Herman took leaves of absence from his job, and used his vacation time, to work full-time in the antiwar office.' He took this photograph of May 5, 1971, antiwar demonstration.

party in 1939. It was not an easy or popular thing to join the only political party in this country that opposed the imperialist slaughter. It took some courage.

The oppressive and vindictive period of McCarthyism—the haunted decade of the fifties—followed not long after the war, and it too was not an easy time for the labor and radical movements. The working-class parties declined in numbers and in influence.

Socialism was equated with treason by the government of this country. Radical workers and militants in the

unions, and those who proclaimed their socialist sympathies, were often hounded and fired from their jobs.

I don't know if the FBI ever visited Herman during this period, but I am sure that they made efforts to have him fired from his job. He was an active and open supporter of the Cuban revolution in the early 1960s—a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He was also a staunch partisan of the civil rights movement.

It was during this period that I first came to know Herman well. He used to compare notes with me about how best

to promote the ideals and goals of socialism on the job. How to seek out those workers who were sympathetic and friendly, and how to handle those who were hostile.

I discovered that he had an easy way of working with people, a good sense of humor, and an appreciation of the ironies and contradictions of this society—especially as they are manifested in the workshop.

The most important side of Herman's activity during that period was inside the party—as a member of the Cleveland branch executive committee, as an educator giving classes in the basic principles of socialism to new members, and as a public speaker and writer for the party.

When the antiwar movement developed in the mid- and late 1960s, Herman took leaves of absence from his job, and used his vacation time, to work full-time in the antiwar office.

Here was an opportunity to work in a broad mass movement with all the different political tendencies, to vie for leadership and direction of that movement into the most effective channels against the government and the war makers of this country.

One of our most effective tools in all this, in Herman's opinion, was our honesty and openness in dealing with everyone who came to the antiwar movement in order to get the U.S. troops out of Vietnam. Herman was an outstanding example of this in the antiwar movement here in Cleveland.

We are not yet a big party, and it redounds upon all our members to

Continued on page 26

NOW's convention registers growth, but fails to adopt strategy for action

By Cindy Jaquith

PHILADELPHIA—The National Organization for Women, the largest women's liberation organization in the country, held its annual convention here October 24-27. There were 3,000 people in attendance.

The gathering opened with 1,200 women pouring into the streets in a spirited demonstration for women's rights. Most of the chants and slogans demanded passage of the Equal Rights Amendment: "Hey, hey, what do you say—Ratify the ERA!" and "Equal rights, equal pay, ratify the ERA!"

The ERA, which would outlaw sex discrimination, must be ratified by four more states to become law.

The demonstration was reminiscent of the militant marches in previous years to win abortion rights. Many of the marchers were young, a sign of the changing composition of NOW.

While NOW began as an organization primarily of professional women, this convention showed that today women from all walks of life are joining NOW, the only women's liberation group organized on a national scale.

A growing organization

There were more students, working women, and Blacks than at previous conventions. According to NOW officials, the organization has 70,000 members nationwide.

At the opening plenary, honorary memberships in NOW were conferred on two women fighters—Karen Silkwood and Joanne Little. NOW chapters were active in defending Little during her trial.

NOW has also been involved in efforts to reopen the investigation into the suspicious death of Silkwood, a young union activist killed in 1974 while trying to expose nuclear hazards at the Oklahoma plant where she worked. A Silkwood Memorial Day has been set for November 13 by the NOW Labor Task Force.

The opening plenary was addressed by NOW President Karen DeCrow. The response to her speech showed the NOW members' enthusiasm for activi-



3,000 attended Philadelphia convention. Participants came to discuss issues, but proceedings revolved around election of officers.

ties around issues of special concern to women. DeCrow received cheers and applause when she spoke about actions to ratify the ERA, the need to defend abortion rights, and the fight against oppression of lesbians.

Issues not discussed

Unfortunately, the important discussions needed to plan actions around these issues never took place. Instead, virtually the entire convention was consumed by the election of new national officers and board members.

Convention participants were deluged with campaign literature and nominating speeches, and they stood in line for hours waiting to vote.

There was one formal caucus in the running, the "Majority Caucus," headed by outgoing president Karen DeCrow. DeCrow was narrowly reelected president, and the other major candidates on her slate also won by slim margins.

The "Majority Caucus" slate was challenged by several different groups. However, the disagreements on issues and policy among the candidates were never clarified.

The "Majority Caucus" platform, which advocated, among other things, that NOW endorse candidates for public office, was never discussed or debated. Thus, the elections took place in a factional, bitter atmosphere of confusion.

Added to the disproportionate time spent on these elections was the utter disorganization of the convention itself, which further reduced the time allotted to the action resolutions before the body. The convention schedule got so far behind, in fact, that members wound up voting for their national officers in the middle of the night, after many people had already gone to bed.

On the last day, with only 650 people voting, a resolution was narrowly passed calling for a constitutional

convention to be held next year to review and update NOW's bylaws. Some members saw this as a step in the direction of solving some of the organizational chaos.

With the plenary sessions taken up almost entirely by the election of officers, most of the discussion on the issues facing the women's movement took place in the workshops. These were well attended, an indication that the convention participants were eager to exchange experiences and discuss ideas.

There were dozens of workshops on a wide variety of topics, including: "Implications of Feminism on the American Economic System," "Lesbianism," "Women in the Arts," "ERA," "Women's Studies," "Reproduction," "Authority and Power," "Socialism and Feminism," and "Full Employment."

New ideas and questions

Despite the problems and frustrations resulting from the poor organization and politically empty but time-consuming election of officers, many women were coming to grips with new ideas and new questions facing the women's liberation movement.

This was manifested in discussions that took place in workshops and in the corridors about issues of strategy and tactics, politics and theory. One of the most significant reflections of the new thinking going on was the growing interest in the relationship between socialism and feminism.

Forty people attended a talk held during the convention at the Socialist Workers party headquarters on "Socialism and Feminism." The talk was given by Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate and columnist for the *Militant*.

A lively discussion followed on the role of women in the revolutionary party and on the prospects for breaking women from the capitalist parties.

The increased interest in socialist ideas was also shown in the popularity of the *Militant*. Four hundred single copies and twenty-five subscriptions were sold during the convention.

Reid: 'Rallies, marches needed for ERA'

[NOW invited all 1976 presidential candidates to address its convention in Philadelphia. Each candidate was asked to answer the question, "While campaigning for the U.S. presidency, what will you do to encourage passage of the Equal Rights Amendment?"]

[The only candidates to appear in person were Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.), Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp, and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate. Democrats Fred Harris, Morris Udall, and Sargent Shriver each sent representatives. Thus, Willie Mae Reid was the only woman candidate on the platform. She was warmly received by the NOW participants.]

[The following are excerpts from her speech.]

The power and growth of the women's liberation movement is shown by the fact that all of these candidates are here seeking the support and endorsement of women. Not too long ago feminist ideas were sneered at and made fun of. Not too long ago our numbers were few and our influence small. But not anymore. The ideas of

feminism have touched the hearts and minds of millions, and the women's liberation movement today is something to be reckoned with. Nobody can walk around us. Nobody can ignore us.

What we have to decide now is how to use our growing power. How should we use our power to get the ERA ratified? How should we use it to defend abortion rights, to defend affirmative-action gains, and to defend victims of racist and sexist discrimination like Joanne Little and Dr. Kenneth Edelin?

Wherever I speak I'm urging women to form coalitions with the unions, with Black organizations, with student and community groups, to fight for the ERA. Powerful coalitions can be built to hold rallies, teach-ins, go on television and radio, and to demonstrate in the streets. Action, lots of action. Big, visible actions. That's what we need to ratify the ERA.

But I also want to tell you what I'm not going to encourage women to do in order to get the ERA passed. I'm not going to tell women that we should subordinate our movement to getting Democratic and Republican party politicians elected. All experience

shows that that's not the way to win the ERA or anything else.

I think our movement is big and important. I think it's bigger and more important than these elections they hold every four years. What makes us more important is that we are standing on our own two feet, relying on ourselves, organizing a social movement. What makes us more important is that we are independent—not tied to the Democratic and Republican parties.

We can't be tied to the two parties that defend a political and economic system that works against us. A system that needs the inequalities perpetrated by racism and sexism in order to survive.

We must organize independent of this system, fight independently, and vote independently. That's what my campaign stands for. And that's why I think feminists should vote Socialist Workers in 1976.



Willie Mae Reid attracts questions from reporters at NOW convention, while Pennsylvania Governor Shapp looks on.

Women eager for socialist literature

By Karen Melville

PHILADELPHIA—"Is she here yet?" "I thought she was supposed to be here. Where is she?" "This is one of the most important books ever written about women. I want to meet Evelyn. Where is she?"

These were typical comments at the Pathfinder literature display at the National Organization for Women convention. NOW members eagerly, and insistently, wanted to talk with Evelyn Reed, feminist anthropologist and author of *Woman's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family*.

Reed is greatly admired by feminists for her efforts to uncover women's real contributions in history. During the convention, 127 copies of her book were sold.

As soon as Reed arrived, convention participants began coming up to her and asking that she autograph their copy of the book. Women who had read the book told Reed how much they had enjoyed it and learned from it. Some brought friends over to the table and encouraged them to get a copy and meet the author.

Several women asked if Reed could come to their city during her national tour. One woman taped a quick interview with Reed for her study group back home.

Interest in *Woman's Evolution* and its author was the most dramatic, but enthusiasm ran high for all the socialist and feminist literature on display. Pathfinder's table was the only one that had socialist literature on a wide range of topics.

In addition to *Woman's Evolution*, other top-selling Pathfinder titles were: *Feminism and Socialism* (twenty-seven copies), *Why Women Need the Equal Rights Amendment* (seventy-one), *The Family System* (forty-three), and *Black Women's Liberation* (thirty-five).

Other popular titles included *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*, *The Job Crisis*, *Capitalism in Crisis*, and *The Racist Offensive Against Busing*. Total sales amounted to \$830.

The growing interest in socialism among NOW members was evident from the response to the literature table. More women came up to browse, buy, ask questions, and sign up on the mailing list than at any previous NOW convention.

That this growing interest in socialism and feminism is part of a national trend was illustrated by the response to Pathfinder literature at two other women's events the same weekend.

In Cleveland, an International Women's Year event was attended by 36,000 people. Hundreds of groups set up displays, including the local NOW chapter, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Ohio Committee for the ERA, and the Socialist Workers party.

Pathfinder sales totaled \$300, including thirteen copies of *Woman's Evolution*. Most of the women who attended had no previous experience in the feminist movement. They were particularly interested in pamphlets such as *In Defense of the Women's Movement*, *Sisterhood is Powerful*, and *How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.*

Another conference, on the history of women, was held in St. Paul, Minnesota. More than 700 women attended. *Woman's Evolution* was again the best seller, with forty-five copies sold.

Equal rights now!

New Jersey women speak out

By Jim Kendrick

NEWARK, N.J., Nov. 1—Speaking at a Militant Forum here October 31, three feminists urged a "yes" vote on the November 4 New Jersey State Equal Rights Amendment referendum.

The panelists were: Janice Newman, president of the Newark chapter of the National Organization for Women and a Black feminist; Alice Conner, of the Socialist Workers party; and Maggie Constan, former vice-president of the New Jersey League of Women Voters.

Newman said Black women will have the most to gain from ERA passage and that the Black community should support it. She noted that fears that the ERA would weaken the Black family are groundless.

It is racism that weakens the Black family, she said. She challenged the argument that the question of equal rights for Black women divides the Black movement and is not a Black issue.

Constan said that New Jersey women don't want to wait until the national ERA goes into effect to have equal rights protection. She said she hoped that ERA passage would help protect affirmative-action gains and that passage of the ERA in New Jersey would be an important tool in gaining equality for women in this society.

Conner pointed to the origins of the equal rights fight almost 100 years ago at the Seneca Falls convention. She said, "It's important to build a mass movement of women to make sure that when the ERA is passed, it will be enforced."

The referendum has won substantial support throughout the state.

The Coalition for the New Jersey ERA, made up of NOW, the League of

Women Voters, and other statewide organizations, has conducted a vigorous campaign. New Jersey has been the scene of dozens of rallies, debates, town meetings, and forums on the ERA.

More than 100 people rallied in Monmouth County to hear Judith Owens, president of the New Jersey Education Association; Doris Kulman of the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women; and Edward Rogers of the American Civil Liberties Union call for a "yes" vote on the referendum.

At a Newark news conference on October 31, the state's three law-school deans endorsed the ERA. Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson, Trenton Mayor Arthur Holland, and Jersey City Mayor Paul Jordan have all released statements supporting the ERA.

Maurice Verner, president of the 150,000-member New Jersey Industrial Union Council, AFL-CIO, called for ERA passage. Verner said that "the labor movement has long supported . . . equal pay for equal work. Sex should not be used as a factor in determining the legal rights of either men or women."

According to an October poll by the Princeton, New Jersey, Opinion Research Company, 74 percent of men and 66 percent of women in New Jersey support the ERA. This support is reflected by the number and diversity of groups backing the ERA.

Other groups supporting the amendment include the seventeen-member New Jersey congressional delegation, the New Jersey Board of Rabbis, the New Jersey American Civil Liberties Union, the New Jersey State Bar

All We Want
is Equal Rights
And Equal Oppor-
tunity, Without
DISCRIMINATION



Militant/Howard Petrick

Association, the American Jewish Congress, and the Newark Archdiocesan Unit of the National Assembly of Women Religious.

Opposition to the ERA has been organized by Alliance to Stop ERA, the most vocal of a collection of right-wing forces calling for a "no" vote on November 4. Other well-known opponents of the ERA include the Ku Klux Klan, John Birch Society, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Daughters of the American Revolution.

Protests end in victory

Iran deal with Mass. school stopped

By Marcel Black

NORTH DARTMOUTH, Mass.—Students and faculty at Southeastern Massachusetts University here are crediting themselves with the cancellation of a \$30 million deal between the school and the Iranian government.

The deal was to have been a seven-year ROTC-type program to train 1,000 Iranian navy cadets. According to the October 9 *Boston Globe*, the university was "forced" to release news of the proposal because "certain faculty members, concerned about linkage to the Iranian military, called the press."

The \$30 million package—which would have financed building new facilities, adding library books, and hiring additional staff—came at a time when SMU was beginning to feel the 10 percent budget cut ordered by Gov. Michael Dukakis.

Two hundred students gathered in front of the administration building October 17 to protest the proposed deal. Speakers included two professors and Mino Shahadi, a member of the Iranian Students Association and an activist in the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

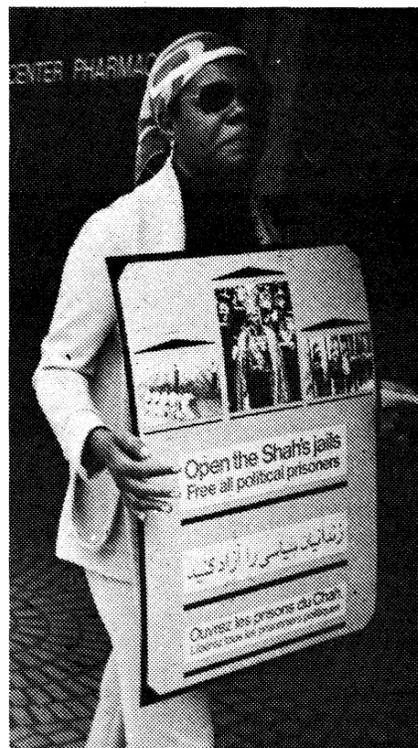
Shahadi pointed out that the prisons of Iran are bursting with more than 4,000 political prisoners. A rising wave of repression, especially against Iran's writers and poets, was followed by the shah's ban on 95 percent of the press and the institution of the "one-party system."

"Anyone not wishing to become a member of this party has two choices," she said, "leaving the country or going to jail."

Sixty percent of Iran's population

consists of national minorities (Azerbaijanis, Kurds, and Lurs), Shahadi explained, who are deprived of their elementary rights, such as speaking their own languages. She was met with loud applause when she compared their plight with that of the Black, Chicano, and Indian people of the United States.

As to what the navy cadets would engage in after their training at SMU,



Militant/David Warren

San Francisco demonstrator protests repression in Iran. More than 4,000 political prisoners are in shah's jails.

Shahadi noted the expansionist role of the shah's government.

"In 1971 the Iranian army occupied three islands in the Persian Gulf," she said. "And in 1973, over 3,000 troops were sent to Dhofar, a province of Oman, to crush Dhofar's struggle for liberation and democratic rights."

She was greeted with cheers and applause when she drew a parallel between Iranian moves and the U.S. role in Vietnam.

The demonstration preceded a scheduled news conference where retired admiral Charles Grojean, the shah's representative, was to present the university and local politicians with the proposed agreement.

Most of the students from the protest attended the news conference and persistently questioned Grojean about the agreement.

Shahadi stated that the total lack of academic freedom and the mounting repression in Iran was sufficient reason why the university should not be signatory to such an agreement.

Supporters of CAIFI distributed literature describing the cases of political prisoners.

Immediately after the news conference, 300 students rallied in the student auditorium to hear Shahadi speak on the situation in Iran. Near the end of the discussion period news of Grojean's withdrawal of the agreement was announced by the university's president.

The news was received with cheers and applause. Shahadi termed it a tremendous victory and said that to her knowledge it was the first such defeat for the Iranian government on an American campus.

Demand Kissinger grant visa

S. Calif. meetings hit gov't ban of Blanco

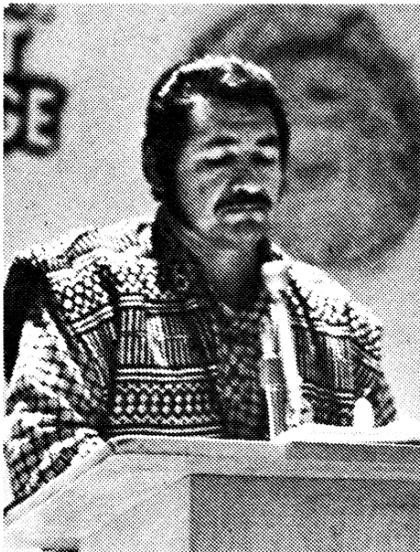
By Dave Brown
and Chet Collins

Three recent meetings in Southern California showed the breadth of support that exists in this area for the demand that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger grant a visa to Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco.

Blanco, well known for his role as a central leader of a unionization movement among Peru's Quechua Indians in the early 1960s, was to have conducted a speaking tour of the United States this fall. But the State Department refused to grant him the necessary visa.

One hundred people attended an October 29 rally at predominantly Chicano East Los Angeles College to protest this arbitrary and undemocratic action.

The rally was held despite an eleventh-hour attempt by the college



RAZA UNIDA's ANDRES TORRES: 'They admit criminals like Ky and Thieu and ban a great leader like Hugo Blanco.'

administration to use changes in bureaucratic regulations as a pretext to ban the meeting. Officials claimed the request for a room had been filed with the wrong office, but meeting organizers had followed the rules in effect at the time they filed the request.

Protest phone calls from prominent individuals and a meeting with organizers of the rally convinced the college officials that they should not try to ban the event.

The rally was cosponsored by the East Los Angeles College Associated Students, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the Los Angeles Group for Latin American Solidarity (LAGLAS), the Raza Unida party, the Latin American Civic Committee (a Nicaraguan solidarity group), Chile Democrático (a Chilean exile group), and the Cal State Los Angeles Latin American Society.

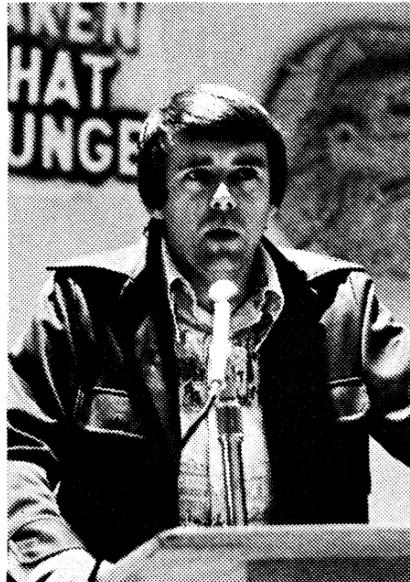
Don Bray, a professor at the University of California at Los Angeles, spoke on behalf of LAGLAS. He said that after Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Hugo Blanco ranks in the forefront of Latin American revolutionary leaders.

"For years I have, in my classes on Latin American history, written Hugo Blanco's name on the board. One would be remiss in teaching a class on Latin American history if somewhere he didn't mention the name of Hugo Blanco," Bray said.

"Now, I and my students had the chance to personally meet Blanco," he added, "and Kissinger has denied us that right."

Andrés Torres, state chairperson of the Raza Unida party, denounced the hypocrisy of Washington's visa policies: "They admit criminals like Ky and Thieu, who they call heroes, and ban a great leader like Hugo Blanco."

Manuel Valle, speaking for the Latin American Civic Committee, stated his



Mike Kelly, national coordinator of USLA, addresses East Los Angeles Community College rally to demand Americans be allowed to hear Hugo Blanco.

unconditional solidarity with Blanco's fight for a visa. "We Latin Americans are all one people," he said.

Blase Bonpane, an ex-missionary from Guatemala, and Mike Kelly, a national coordinator of USLA, also spoke.

Kelly was also a featured speaker at two meetings in San Diego. Forty people heard him at California State University at San Diego the evening of October 27. Other speakers included Mateo Camarillo, executive director of the Chicano Federation of San Diego; Brian Loveman, a political science professor at the university; and Mel Crain, of the campus faculty union and formerly an official with the CIA.

Camarillo voiced the sentiment of many other Chicanos when he said,

"We want to hear our brothers from other countries. We feel this is a basic right, on a local, national, and international level."

Loveman charged the ban on Blanco was part of a continuing cover-up of U.S. involvement in the Chile coup: "Kissinger is an accomplice to murder and torture in South America and Hugo Blanco is a witness against him. That's why he doesn't want Blanco in this country."

Crain commented on the widening publicity being generated around the Blanco case, saying that government officials, "in attempting to cover up, only expose themselves, for more people will hear about the case."

Another meeting took place October 28 at the University of California at San Diego. Speakers included representatives of the Iberian Peninsula Information Group and Students for Tom Hayden. Hayden is a candidate for the Democratic U.S. Senate nomination in California.

Kelly reported at these meetings on the increasing support being won for granting Blanco a visa, including a resolution adopted by the October 24-25 conference of the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies. PCCLAS is an affiliate of the prestigious Latin American Studies Association, an organization of professors and other experts in that field.

The resolution noted that Blanco had been scheduled to address the conference, adding: "We protest the notion that the State Department can judge who should address us, and demand the right to hear all points of view."

The three Southern California protest meetings and the PCCLAS conference, which was held in Fresno, California, all voted to send Kissinger messages demanding that Blanco be immediately granted a visa.

1,200 attend conference

Dominican unions demand release of leaders

By José Pérez

Some 1,200 people attended the "First Conference for Trade Union Freedom," held October 26 in Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic.

The daylong meeting was organized by the Central General de Trabajadores (CGT—General Workers Federation). The CGT—one of the two trade-union federations in the country—has become a target of repression by the government of President Joaquín Balaguer because of its activities in defense of workers' rights against U.S. and Canadian corporations, which dominate the economy of the Dominican Republic.

Representatives of fifty unions and union-organizing committees attended the meeting, as did representatives of all the country's left-wing political organizations.

Speakers included CGT leaders, representatives of unaffiliated unions, and international guests.

A high point of the meeting was the address by Julio de Peña Valdez, CGT education secretary, who was released from prison only a week before the conference. He and two other CGT leaders—Francisco Antonio Santos, general secretary, and Eugenio Pérez Cepeda, secretary of grievances—were arrested last June on vague and unfounded charges of meeting to plot "attempts against the security of the state."

De Peña Valdez told the crowd at the conference that it had been Dominican

and international protests that had won his release. He said more protests were needed to win the release of the two other CGT officers in prison and of Juan Francisco Vargas, general secretary of the telephone workers union. Vargas was arrested in August for possession of firearms, specifically a handful of bullets planted by police during a raid on his home.

In his closing speech to the conference CGT leader Enrique de León issued an appeal on behalf of the CGT



Dominican President Joaquín Balaguer. His government occupies union headquarters, jails labor leaders, and sets up company unions.

to all other unions, as well as student, political, and other organizations, to carry out a united campaign in defense of workers' democratic rights and standard of living.

The worldwide capitalist economic recession has had a heavy impact on the Dominican Republic. There have been widespread layoffs, a wage freeze that has been in effect since 1966, and a high rate of inflation that has increased the cost of living 35 percent this year alone.

When workers have tried to defend themselves against these attacks, the government, acting in concert with the corporations, has prevented them from organizing.

One tactic is the direct take-over of unions. For example, the government militarily occupied the headquarters of the longshoremen's union in October 1973 after a militant leadership was elected. The government replaced the elected leaders with appointees and as a result, no new contracts have been negotiated and the old ones are not enforced.

Another tactic is the creation of government-sponsored "yellow" trade unions, which are totally subservient to the interests of the bosses. For example, in the case of two transnational corporations that recently laid off hundreds of workers, these company unions published advertisements in newspapers praising the layoffs.

In his speech to the conference de León proposed united actions to demand the nationalization of U.S.,

Canadian, and other transnational corporations.

The CGT has also tried to enlist international solidarity in its fight for democratic rights. Messages of solidarity with the CGT conference were read from many parts of the world, including statements from Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco, U.S. Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo, the French General Workers Federation, and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The conference also heard greetings from the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), which, at the CGT's request, is coordinating U.S. efforts to win support for the release of imprisoned union leaders.

The report of a USLA-initiated commission of inquiry into violations of human rights in the Dominican Republic was reproduced by the CGT as a pamphlet and distributed at the conference.

A report that central leaders of the United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, and United Farm Workers have sent letters of protest to President Joaquín Balaguer received an enthusiastic response at the conference.

A representative of the Puerto Rican United Workers Movement was also scheduled to speak at the conference, but Dominican authorities turned him away at the airport, refusing to give any reason for their arbitrary and undemocratic actions.

Can Spain's prince defuse the time bomb?

By David Frankel
From Intercontinental Press

Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón took over as head of the Spanish government October 30. Described by a report in the *New York Times* as "much more expert in sports than in politics," Juan Carlos was designated chief of state for the period of Francisco Franco's illness. However, the possibility that the eighty-two-year-old dictator will recover and resume office is hardly the main threat to the new ruler's tenure.

After nearly four decades of totalitarian rule, the Spanish people are showing impatience. They want an end to repression. They want to exercise their right to put in a government of their own choice.

In view of Franco's departure all the opposition groupings are restating their objectives. Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Spanish Communist party, stated where he stands:

"A period of Spanish history is ending. Now, the forces of the opposition—left, center and right included—have to emerge publicly, offering a provisional government and a realistic program capable of accomplishing the fullest national unity."

Carrillo's perspective of participating in a capitalist government of "national unity" along with rightist forces is in accordance with the traditional Stalinist policy of popular frontism. While offering to help administer the capitalist system right now, the Stalinists promise socialism in the distant future. As one CP Central Committee member explained it, "We don't want a monopoly, we don't want to dominate. What we want is an opportunity to direct power toward socialism, slowly, in gradual stages."

Support for Monarchy?

The CP has gone so far as to hint it might support a monarchy. On November 1 the Junta Democrática, an opposition bloc dominated by the Stalinists, and the Convergencia Democrática, a grouping dominated by the Spanish Socialist party, issued a joint statement. Jim Hoagland reported in the November 2 *Washington Post*:

"The communique issued by the Junta and Convergence groups indicated that the socialists had made progress in getting the communists to modify their previously open rejection of Juan Carlos even as an interim ruler. The communists had called for a provisional government as soon as Franco disappears, but there was no mention of this in the document.

"Instead, the carefully worded declaration said the two groups rejected 'any type of monarchy or republican government' established 'without the necessary prior consultation' of the population by a free election. This appeared to leave the way open for an acceptance by the communists of a monarchy if it is approved by popular vote."



Franco and Prince Juan Carlos in healthier days. Rise in workers' struggles and demands of oppressed nationalities pose threat to new ruler.

Other forces have also made their voices heard. The pressure for democratic rights has even made itself felt in the officer corps, one of the pillars of the authoritarian regime. Two captains representing a dissident officers group called the Democratic Military Union (UMD) spoke to reporters near Madrid on October 25. They insisted, "We are all moderates in our goal. . . . we believe in peaceful change and seek no confrontations with anyone."

But, they warned, "armed confrontation between various army factions would be likely if it becomes apparent that the only alternative is 40 more years of fascism."

Since late July at least thirteen officers have been arrested by the regime for seditious activities. The UMD has perhaps 1,000 members and supporters out of a total officer corps of 28,000. Its five-point program includes demands for democratic rights, including the right of workers to form unions and strike; amnesty for political prisoners; an end to corruption in the government; "social-economic reforms leading to an equitable distribution of (national) wealth . . ."; and "the convening of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly to draft a Constitution for Spain that would allow us to become integrated again in Western Europe."

Fascist Movement Still Alive

The imperialist rulers throughout Europe have been unanimous in recommending democratic concessions in Spain to avoid a social explosion. However, the fascist movement nurtured by Franco is still alive, and it has complicated the task considerably.

The November 1 issue of the *Economist*, the British financial weekly, gave a rundown of some of the activities carried out by the fascists.

"During the past few weeks," it said, "right-wing extremists have murdered a Basque café owner (the brother of an ETA man) and a lawyer who was investigating a financial scandal in which right-wing politicians are alleged to be involved; . . . they have kidnapped and tortured a dozen or so supporters of the democratic opposition; they have beaten up journalists; and they have set off bombs in bookshops, cultural centres and even a kindergarten owned or managed by reputed democrats. . . ."

Old fascists from the days of the civil war are well represented inside the government and in key positions in the army, another factor making any genuine liberalization from within the regime unlikely.

Writing in the November 2 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Walter Schwarz reported, "Franco's recent reshuffle of generals has left ultras in key positions. The new head of the vitally important Civil Guard is General Angel Campano, a man who once volunteered to serve with Hitler's troops in Spain's 'Blue' division.

"Others among the leaders include General Alvarez Arenas, just appointed Captain General of the Madrid Region, who has been ostentatiously training his men for antiguerrilla operations. He is another veteran of the 'Blue' division."

According to *Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acoca, Juan Carlos was warned by a group of generals not to appoint a reformer as his prime minister. Acoca reported in an October 27 dispatch from Madrid that the prince's liberal advisers suggested "it was better to sacrifice his image for a period of months than to try to oppose the generals. . . ."

"The prince," they said, "must move gradually and earn the trust of the far right and the military."

Working-Class Combativity

Will Juan Carlos be able to placate the veterans of the Blue division and the increasingly combative Spanish working class at the same time? It appears excluded.

Although strikes in Spain are illegal, there were 2,196 of them in 1974, involving 700,000 workers. The candidates of the illegal workers commissions swept the elections for officials of

the fascist trade unions in June, averaging 75 percent of the votes cast.

The strength of the illegal workers movement was indicated by the comment of a shop steward interviewed by *New York Times* correspondent Flora Lewis. "If a worker is arrested and held a month for distributing illegal propaganda, he is not dismissed," the steward explained. "That's a principle of ours. The company knows there would be an immediate strike otherwise."

Now, the effects of the worldwide economic recession are hitting Spain with increasing force. According to forecasts of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Spain's growth rate may be as low as 1 percent this year, compared with 5 percent in 1974.

The government has followed a policy of cushioning the workers from the worst effects of the economic downturn for fear of what would happen otherwise. According to the October 25 issue of the *Economist*, "Unemployment (officially 2.3%, but more likely 4.5%) is being kept down by refusing to let industry sack workers and by expanding government expenditure—which will rise by more than £1 billion in the next financial year. Wage settlements, up by about 25% this year, are being kept ahead of inflation, now 17%."

But the Spanish capitalists are not strong enough to keep this policy up for very long. As the *Economist* notes, "Any post-Franco government will have a bad time pushing through an unpopular combination of budgetary and wage restraint."

National Question

Another time bomb confronting the regime is the unresolved problem of the oppressed nationalities whose rights have been trampled on by the Franco dictatorship. The most explosive situation is in the Basque Country, where the government has instituted a virtual reign of terror.

In Catalonia the separatist sentiment is not as strong as in the Basque Country, but the demand for autonomy is widespread. The Catalan language is still banned from schools, courts, official correspondence, and all publications. But the government has had to loosen some restrictions on the nearly eight million Catalonians.

Malcolm W. Browne reported some of his observations in this regard in the October 29 *New York Times*. "The Catalan flag . . . is widely flown," he said, "and many of the new cars jamming Barcelona's streets and parking lots display stickers, in Catalan, saying: 'I am a Catalan' or 'Read, Write and Speak Catalan.' Such things would not have been tolerated a few years ago."

Finally, the problem of the last of Spain's North African colonies has also come to a head with the changing of the guard in Madrid. On November 2 Juan Carlos, dressed in a general's uniform, flew to Aaiún in the Spanish Sahara and vowed to protect the "honor and prestige" of the Spanish army against any attempts by Morocco to take over the territory, which it claims.

The day before, a worried C.L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* reviewed the situation in Spain and asked: "Can these trends be harmonized and controlled from the top? Will the social revolution already in evidence assume an uncontrollable political shape?"

Under the circumstances, the bourgeois commentators are understandably afraid that Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón may not do any better than his ancestors in France two hundred years ago.



Fascist execution, 1936. Fascists from civil war days remain in key positions.

Legacy of imperialism

What's behind the fighting in Lebanon?

By Nelson Blackstock

For weeks now the news media have carried reports of vicious street fighting in Lebanon. November 4 dispatches from Beirut indicated that the fighting was beginning to let up.

At the same time, many Lebanese were reported to be resisting government appeals to return to work. After seeing eleven cease-fires break down in the past six weeks, they were doubtful that this recent slack in the fighting would last for long.

Thousands have been killed and thousands more wounded. Many among the city's impoverished masses—Beirut has a population density second only to Tokyo—have taken refuge in the countryside.

"Lebanon is fast becoming the most dangerous battleground in the region," commented the *Christian Science Monitor* on October 29. Increasingly, the press has speculated on the possibility of Israel and Syria entering the conflict and on the chances of a rapid escalation into a new full-scale Middle East war.

While Washington has publicly proclaimed an official hands-off policy, the fear of U.S. intervention is not far-fetched. In 1958 the United States landed marines in Lebanon to prop up a tottering regime.

In fact, Malcolm Toon, the U.S. ambassador to Israel, openly suggested the possibility of U.S. involvement. "At this particular moment there is no reason for foreign involvement in Lebanon," said Toon October 30. "But if the Syrians or other outside forces should move against Lebanon then the situation will be totally different."

Behind the fighting

What is the fighting all about? Most reports in the news media give few answers.

Fundamentally, the bloodshed today is another legacy of imperialism's role in the Mideast. What lies behind the fighting are divisions deliberately sown in the region by the Western imperialist powers, class divisions within Lebanon itself, and the establishment of the Zionist state of Israel in 1948.

As the *Wall Street Journal's* senior international editor put it in a report from Beirut: "Underlying everything is the unresolved Palestinian question in the Mideast."

Prior to World War I Lebanon was part of greater Syria, which was ruled by the Turkish Ottoman Empire. Under the impact of the Arab nationalist awakening during World War I, the Arabs agreed to open war against the Turks under the condition that national independence would be granted to all of Syria after the war. The British agreed to this.

However, the British turned around and made a secret agreement with France to divide up Syria when the war ended. Britain would get what became Jordan and Palestine. Today's Syria and Lebanon would go to the French.

In July 1919 a Syrian nationalist congress proclaimed the independence of a united Syria. A degree of autonomy was given to the area of Lebanon largely populated by Maronite Christians. But one year later the French marched in to establish colonial rule.

The French established Lebanon as a separate state. They enclosed within its borders as many Muslims as possible, while maintaining a Christian majority to act as guarantors of French control.

Contained in the new French-created Lebanon were several Christian groups besides the Maronites. In addition, there were two large Muslim groupings, Sunni and Shia—and the Druze sect, which adheres to aspects of



Masked right-wing Christian gunmen patrol streets of Beirut. Conflict has its roots in French imperialism's attempt to foster pro-Western Christian state in Middle East.

both Islam and Christianity.

Many of the questions in dispute today are rooted in France's attempt to maintain Christian rule and, by proxy, French domination. In 1943, as a response to mounting pressure for independence, the French arranged for elections to a parliament that would consist of thirty Christians and twenty-five Muslim and Druze members.

Leading Christian and Muslim politicians agreed to an unwritten "national pact" dividing government posts on a religious basis. This arrangement remains in force today.

When the new government voted for independence, the French dissolved it; and it wasn't until the end of World War II that Lebanon won formal independence.

In line with the "national pact," the president and the army chief of staff are traditionally Maronites, the premier is a Sunni Muslim, and the speaker of the Chamber is a Shiite Muslim.

The arrangement allocates the greatest power to the Christians. The original justification for this was a dubious French-conducted census giving the Christians the majority of the population. Today the Muslims are clearly the largest group.

The tension created by this contradiction is heightened by the fact that the majority of the country's ruling class is Christian, while the bulk of the desperately poor are Muslims.

The three main Christian parties include the National Liberals, the National Bloc, and the Phalangists. They have their own militias.

The Phalangists, with a militia of perhaps 10,000, have spearheaded a right-wing assault on the Lebanese

Muslims and the Palestinian refugees. The Phalange was founded by Pierre Gemayel in 1936. It was consciously modeled on the European fascist movements of the day. Its green-shirted troopers see their mission as defending the "Christian West" against the "Muslim hordes."

There are also Christian leftists. The "Front of Progressive Parties and National Forces" was set up by the main left-wing and Muslim forces. The front demands an end to the "national pact" system of tying government posts to religious affiliation. It also calls for electing a parliament on a representative basis and advocates a number of economic reforms.

The front includes the Communist party, the Organization of Communist Action in Lebanon, Nasserites, and Iraqi and Syrian Baathists. The dominant grouping is the Progressive Socialist party, led by Kamal Jumblatt, a feudal aristocrat and leader of the Druze community.

The leftist parties have formed militias to defend themselves.

Palestinians

Palestinian refugees flocked to Lebanon after the founding of Israel in 1948 and again in 1970, after the bloody crackdown on Palestinians living in Jordan. There are believed to be more than 300,000 of them in Lebanon. About 20,000 are under arms. Since the new rise of the Palestinian movement in 1967, there have been several clashes between Lebanese government troops and the Palestinians.

The Israeli Zionists have a policy of launching regular raids into Lebanon. Their aim is to provoke a Lebanese

government crackdown on the Palestinians.

The government refuses to send troops to respond to the Zionist raids, leaving the Palestinians to defend themselves.

This situation has backfired against both the Lebanese and Israeli rulers. The result has been the growth of solidarity between the Palestinians and much of the Lebanese population, who have also fallen victim to the Zionist raids. They rightly suspect that the Israelis want to take over part of Southern Lebanon.

The frequent attacks have forced many Palestinians north to the Beirut area. When the right-wing Christians opened up their assault on the Muslims, the victims turned to the Palestinians for aid.

The current conflict

The current conflict can be traced back through a chain of events that began with an Israeli raid last January. A particularly brutal attack decimated a Lebanese border village. This created a wave of outrage.

The Phalangists, who favor smashing the Palestinian resistance, stepped up their agitation for ousting the Palestinians from Lebanon.

In February the army attacked a demonstration of Palestinians and Lebanese fishermen in Sidon protesting a government ruling giving a fishing monopoly to wealthy Christian businessmen. Eleven of the demonstrators were killed. The Palestinians responded by calling a general strike and seizing the town.

On April 13 a group of Palestinians was traveling on a bus returning from a rally. The Phalangists ambushed them, gunning down twenty-seven of the Palestinians.

This brought the resignation of the premier, who put the blame for the massacre on the Phalangists. The president then appointed a military cabinet. This sparked a general strike, since the move was seen as a concession to Phalangist demands to use the army against the Palestinians. The regime was forced to resign after three days.

Since that time several truces have proved to be short-lived, and the government has not been able to restore order.

The regime is reluctant to use the army, since its largely Christian officer corps makes it unacceptable to the Muslim masses. Additionally, placing the predominantly Muslim troops into battle could turn out to be a bad gamble for the rulers.

The danger of Zionist intrusion is real, particularly if the Palestinians begin to come out on top.

The Syrian leadership wants very much to see the situation brought under control. It is reported to have had a role in mediating the current agreement resulting in a tentative cease-fire. According to a *New York Times* assessment, the Syrian government has given "unwavering support" to Lebanese Premier Rashid Karami.

The French government on November 4 also offered "help" to the Lebanese officials. The Beirut press reported that the "French initiative" had been previously discussed with the United States and the Soviet Union.

Since September 25, a twenty-member National Dialogue Committee, made up of representatives of the various factions, has been discussing reforms of the political system.

However, no simple reform can alter the bases for the conflict, which are the sharp class divisions between the poor Muslims and the mainly Christian bourgeoisie, and the oppression of the Palestinians.



Lebanese family stands in rubble of home destroyed by Zionist raids. Israeli attacks have increased solidarity between Lebanese masses and Palestinian refugees.

World Outlook

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

NOVEMBER 14, 1975

Eyewitness report from Oporto

Portuguese soldiers resist effort to restore 'order'

By Gerry Foley

OPORTO—The relationship of forces at the moment in Portugal seems to have been shown most clearly by the struggle of soldiers in two units in this city against the reestablishment of bourgeois military discipline.

In early October the commander of the Northern Military Region, Pires Veloso, tried to transfer a half dozen persons out of the Centro de Instrução de Condução Auto do Porto (CICAP—Oporto Driver Training Center, the local transportation unit). The soldiers called a general assembly of the unit, which voted to reject the transfers. Pires Veloso then sent in a unit of commandos to expel all personnel from the CICAP base. The soldiers' weapons were taken and the dissident unit disbanded.

However, the expelled military personnel took refuge in the barracks of another radical regiment in Oporto, the Regimento de Artilharia da Serra do Pilar (RASP—the Serra do Pilar Artillery Regiment). Radical activists came from military units all over the country to join in the occupation of the RASP base. The clandestine revolutionary organization in the armed forces, Soldados Unidos Vencerão (SUV—Soldiers United Will Win), organized demonstrations in this city in support of RASP and CICAP. A test of strength developed between the northern regional commander and the radical forces within the armed services.

In this confrontation, Pires Veloso was supported by the Socialist party leadership, which expects to wield the preponderant influence in the sixth provisional government, installed in late September. Like the Communist party, which hoped to have the predominant influence in the fifth provisional government as well as the ones that preceded it, the Socialist party has tried to prove to the military that it can assure mass support for the regime. Furthermore, the Socialist party leadership seems to believe, with some

foundation, that it can obtain a better share of the spoils only with the help of a strong government.

The SP is a loose electoralist party best adapted to getting the widest spectrum of votes of the left. As an organization, it is extremely weak, almost totally lacking in organizers and disciplined activists, and far inferior to the Communist party in its ability to mobilize its membership in consistent campaigns. This lack of cadres, for example, is one of the main reasons the SP has entered into alliances with the ultraleft Maoist sectarians of the Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado (MRPP—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party).

The Stalinists tried first to use their greater organizational and political cohesiveness to gain acceptance by the military as the mass organizers of the regime.

Now, since the defeat of the general who allied himself with the CP, Vasco Gonçalves, the shoe is on the other foot. It is the CP that is trying to combine support for the government with overtures to the groups to the left of the mass reformist parties and with "leftist" demagoguery. It is the SP that is appealing for "responsibility" by the workers movement and the left in order supposedly to strengthen the government's position against the threat from the right. Now it is the SP that says "all those who do not work are counterrevolutionaries," or "all indiscipline is counterrevolutionary."

Nonetheless, in a different political context, the competition between the two reformist workers parties remains essentially in the same terms. The CP has a narrower appeal but a more determined membership. The SP has a broader appeal but lacks political and organizational cohesiveness.

In the period immediately after the Constituent Assembly elections, the CP leaders apparently believed that the SP was so organizationally weak that it would prove virtually helpless in the test of strength they launched

on May 1 in the demonstrations in Lisbon and other cities. Alvaro Cunhal boasted at the time that the SP might be able to get millions of votes but it could not rule with them.

As the contest developed in the summer, the CP leaders' estimate of the SP's strength proved to be inaccurate. The Social Democrats, unlike any of their European sister parties in decades, were able to mobilize masses of workers and toilers in the streets. That fact probably convinced the majority of the military tops to shift their support to the SP. The violent sectarianism of the CP, reminiscent of the adventurist "third period," when Stalinists characterized the Social Democracy as fascist, undoubtedly helped the SP leaders rally their dispersed forces.

This sectarian demagoguery continues to be a factor. It seems to have gained currency in the intellectual circles around the CP and the ultraleft groups attracted by the CP's perspective of a bloc of "activist" forces. While there are indications that the CP leaders are moving slowly toward a new understanding with the SP tops, the ultraleft "third period" rhetoric in the CP-influenced and CP-dominated press has escalated.

A kind of bureaucratic symbiosis has developed between the superrevolutionary pretenses of the CP and the "democratic responsibility" of the SP. On the one hand, the SP mobilizations in support of the sixth government have been notably weaker than those against the Gonçalves government in July.

This continues the pattern established in June. The demonstrations in defense of *República* were massive and tended to go in a left direction. The rally in support of President Costa Gomes on June 23 was small and rightist. In fact, the CP may have gained a point with the military as a result. It could argue now that the SP mass mobilizations in July were largely "negative" in character and that the

SP cannot mobilize the masses as effectively in support of the government. This tendency has in fact revealed a major weakness of the SP.

However, the sectarian and bullying language of the CP and the ultralefts enables the right-wing Social Democratic leaders like Mário Soares to continue to mobilize a substantial proportion of the SP following in support of their present course. Thus, if the demonstrations in support of Pires Veloso in Oporto were considerably smaller than the July 18 rally here in support of democratic rights against the Gonçalves government, they were still massive by all accounts.

The SP rank and file are especially sensitive to the "revolutionary" rhetoric of the CP and the ultralefts in the armed forces. Their demonstrations have been attacked by military units identified with the "extreme left." This, plus the sectarian campaign by the Stalinists and ultralefts against "Social Democracy," inspires fear that the "activist" bloc in the military would turn its guns against them if it could consolidate its position.

At the same time, while reinforcing the SP leaders' control of their ranks, the superrevolutionary rhetoric of the Stalinists is designed to strengthen the CP's grip on the most militant minority. It has the function of maintaining the Stalinists' position as the top command of the militant left. From this position, they hope to be able to pressure the bourgeoisie and gain concessions.

Only in very rare situations of extreme weakness on the part of the bourgeoisie could such activity lead to the overthrow of capitalism. The bourgeoisie is politically weak in Portugal but nonetheless qualitatively stronger than in countries like Vietnam and China, where Stalinists have been able to take power.

Besides using the arguments provided by the Stalinists' sectarianism and empty, provocative rhetoric, the Social Democrats are turning increas-

Continued on next page



...Portuguese soldiers resist effort to restore order: an

Continued from preceding page

ingly to warnings that unless "stability" can be achieved, the ultraright will exploit the "chaos" in order to stage a comeback. There is some truth in this. The superrevolutionary gestures of the Stalinists and the ultralefts are more effective in frightening the backward petty-bourgeois clientele of the right than in winning mass support for the tasks of making the socialist revolution.

But the SP seems to be exaggerating the threat the right represents at the moment. In fact, the radicalization in Portugal does not seem yet to have been reversed despite the deep split in the working class and the disappointment the masses have suffered in the past year and a half.

The aspirations for a different kind of society that accumulated during the almost fifty years of the Salazarist regime seem to have given the upsurge in Portugal greater staying power than observers outside the country could expect. Despite some signs of growing hostility to politics among the masses, there are still indications of great combativity and optimism in the working class and radicalized youth. Moreover, there are some signs of a more critical attitude toward left-wing politics, such as a tendency for the most sectarian Maoist groups to decline.

Trotskyists Gain in Oporto

This tendency appeared clearly in the struggle in Oporto to defend the soldiers of RASP and CICAP. The Maoist group that previously dominated the space to the left of the mass reformist parties in this city, the Frente Eleitoral de Comunistas (Marxistas-Leninistas) (FEC[ml]—Electoral Front of Communists [Marxist-Leninist]), was completely bypassed. The group that came to the fore was the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, the Portuguese sympathizing group of the Fourth International). It was able to play the major role because of its understanding of the need to build a united front.

Although this accomplishment was largely undermined by the influence of the ultraleft and the CP, it was still a major step forward; it resulted in the mobilization of tens of thousands of persons, including thousands of soldiers, in opposition to the plans of the bourgeois government and thus had a powerful national impact.

The bypassing of the Maoists in this process is reminiscent, for example, of what happened in the United States when a united front in action was built against the war in Vietnam. The sectarian Maoist group that had been influential and growing rapidly up to that time was pushed aside and Maoism in general was dealt a stunning blow, from which it has yet to recover.

The roles of the CP and the ultraleft in the CICAP-RASP struggle were complementary. Both, in somewhat different ways, remain oriented to the generals in the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement) who use populist rhetoric. Since the CP and the ultraleft both stand in opposition to the present cabinet, they provided an important part of the forces in the struggle in Oporto. But the support for the CICAP and RASP soldiers obviously was not limited to these elements. All accounts by observers here indicate that the demonstrations called by the antirepressive coalition exceeded by far those of the



FABIAO: By defusing opposition in armed forces through negotiations and demagoguery, he has emerged as new candidate for bonaparte.

CP-ultraleft bloc.

There are some reports from reliable sources that many rank-and-file Socialists also supported the struggle of the soldiers. The government was forced to retreat. But this step opened a split in the MFA that exacerbated the conflict between the two mass workers parties while paradoxically giving the MFA more room for maneuver.

The rift in the MFA involved two different tactical approaches. Some commanders, such as Pires Veloso and Jaime Neves, demanded a rapid and decisive crackdown on "indiscipline." Others, such as General Fabião and Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho, took the tactic of defusing opposition in the armed forces through negotiations and demagoguery. Army Commander in Chief Fabião, who tipped the scales against Vasco Gonçalves in the MFA, emerged as the new candidate for bonaparte. He prepared himself for this role by making overtures to the populist ultralefts in the Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment.

When Fabião arrived in Oporto, the Stalinists called on the soldiers to go to meet him to appeal for his support. He was able to negotiate an at least temporary solution to the conflict that was hailed by the soldiers as a victory. He praised the RASP as a revolutionary unit and denied that its action in giving refuge to the CICAP soldiers and radicals from other units represented indiscipline or mutiny. He promised that the CICAP would be reopened, and that no reprisals would be taken against the soldiers of this unit or those from other units who went absent without leave to come to their support.

While Fabião did not directly impugn the decisions of Pires Veloso, he hinted that he might be removed later.

It quickly became clear, however, that Fabião's "solution" was a maneuver that threatened to bring a serious defeat rather than victory for the opposition in the military. The Lisbon papers close to the SP decried Fabião's proposal as a concession to the "masked subversives" of the SUV.

In the controversy in the MFA, the SP leadership finds itself in a bloc with those who favor immediate repression. This is a contradictory effect of their

parliamentary orientation. They want the "law" enforced, that is, they want the armed forces to serve "their government." They fear, and rightly so, the maneuvers of demagogic generals.

The fact is that Fabião has a reputation as a rightist. In addition, he has revealed his objective of reorganizing the armed services as a mercenary force. In his maneuvers he is certainly not going to be very solicitous about the interests of the Socialist party.

However, the apparent belief of the SP leadership that by showing their "responsibility" they can persuade the government and the military to subordinate themselves to law and an electoral majority, that is, to serve the interests of the Socialist party, is a delusion for which they may have to pay dearly.

An Accurate Prediction

The local SP-influenced paper, *Primeiro de Janeiro*, and the local SP leaders made a more accurate appraisal of the local relationship of forces than did the Lisbon papers close to the SP. A leader of the SP here told me that he considered the "solution" a defeat for the CICAP and RASP

soldiers, because they ended their defiance of the authorities without getting anything concrete in return. He stressed that Fabião had not said when the CICAP would be reopened or under what conditions. Furthermore, the fact that the general had said that there would be an "inquiry" into the incident left open the possibility for reprisals against the leaders of the resistance once the mobilization on the base lagged.

As for the soldiers from other units who participated in the occupation, as this SP leader put it, "while they are not to be punished, they aren't going to get any good conduct medals either."

This turned out to be an accurate prediction. On October 17, the papers announced that soldiers returning to their units from the RASP base were being given discharges. The Struggle Committee of the RASP soldiers called a meeting in the evening of October 18 in Vila Nova de Gaia, a working-class suburb across the Douro River from Oporto, to discuss how to respond.

Two Proposals Debated

Most of the participants in the meeting claimed to represent workers and tenants committees. Actually the gathering was a coalition of the CP and the groups to the left of the mass reformist parties. Very quickly the discussion came to center on two proposals.

The CP representatives, headed by two trade-union bureaucrats, called for the formation of a People's Assembly, as an "organ of people's power" that could defend the RASP and CICAP soldiers. The Maoists present supported this proposal. Representatives of the two Trotskyist groups, the LCI and the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party, a group that has declared its adherence to the Fourth International), opposed it.

The Trotskyists called for the formation of broad committees to support the soldiers. The representative of the PRT explained that a real people's assembly could only be formed when the majority of the workers in the workers committees wanted it and that it was wrong for such a gathering to try to proclaim one. That would only limit the breadth of support for the soldiers' struggle, he said.

He also pointed out that a successful broad mobilization in support of the soldiers would do far more to advance the formation of organs that could

Of Special Interest

Two Views on Portugal

In Defense of Portuguese Revolution

By Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, and Ernest Mandel

For Correct Political Course in Portugal

By Gerry Foley, Joseph Hansen, and George Novack

In the September 8 and October 13 issues of *Intercontinental Press*. Send \$1.50 for both numbers. The address is Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

eyewitness report

genuinely claim to represent the working people than the proclamation of "People's Assemblies" by a minority.

He was violently attacked by a Maoist, who said that "we will never get anywhere if we wait for a majority." There were also questions as to whether the PRT representative actually thought that an "organ of the people's will" should include "Social Democrats."

Nonetheless, the Stalinist bid was defeated. The motion that passed scheduled a meeting to form a "People's Assembly," but it separated this question from that of organizing support for the soldiers.

The CP has been on a campaign to form People's Assemblies everywhere. Its objective seems to be to try to get state recognition for informal bodies that it can dominate by the force of its activists in order to avoid being reduced to a minor influence in parliamentary bodies reflecting the numerically far greater support of the SP.

If the meetings of the opposition bloc I have attended in Oporto and Setúbal are representative, this strategy on the part of the CP is completely sectarian and demobilizing. Far from advancing forms of workers power it has exactly the opposite effect. The Oporto meeting was considerably better than the one in Setúbal because the Trotskyists managed to get it to focus more or less on the concrete tasks of building support for a specific struggle. However, there was still a great deal of talk about how to build organs of "people's power" that tended to exhaust those present and impede the actual process of organizing a concrete struggle.

The Setúbal Meeting

In Setúbal, the meeting of representatives of workers and tenants committees that I attended on October 13 was a carnival of sectarian fantasies. This resulted in a terrible waste. The group present had potential. It was not unlike some of the antiwar coalitions in the United States, or perhaps it was what they might have become if Washington had not decided to pull out of Vietnam when it did. There was a group of soldiers present. An officer from the local unit chaired the meeting. In attendance were perhaps 150 persons, nearly all from the CP and the far-left groups, as the development of the meeting was to show.

That is, this gathering clearly had potential as an action coalition. The idea that such a group could represent a city of half a million, or form an

"organ of the people's will" that could represent such a city politically, was obviously a fantasy. Such notions gravely distracted the discussion.

As at the meetings of "neighborhood antiwar committees" in the United States, a great deal of the talking, perhaps most of it, was done by persons who identified themselves as "observers." At one point, one observer objected to the slogan of "Against the sixth government," saying that the fifth government was also a bourgeois government. At that point, a solid bloc of about twenty persons in the front jumped to their feet and began shouting in unison: "Down with provocateurs."

The same twenty persons voted against considering a motion from a fishermen's committee that proposed the slogan: "Down with all the imperialisms, national independence."

The Trotskyists of the LCI voted for considering this motion on the grounds that all proposals should be dealt with democratically. However, they explained in the discussion that it was divisive, since the USSR was referred to as an imperialist power and the effect would be to exclude pro-Moscow Stalinists from the demonstration. They won the argument. The proposers of the motion withdrew it.

One of the slogans proposed for the demonstration this meeting voted to call was support of the soldiers. But the slogan was a very general one and it was buried among about two dozen others such as the demand for a "dictatorship of the proletariat." The



SOARES: His grip on the SP has been reinforced by sectarian bullying tactics of the CP.

the earliest possible opportunity" was refused time on the conference agenda. Not one resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of British troops had even been submitted to the conference.

The Standing Orders Committee also refused to allow debate on a resolution favouring repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, enacted a year ago by the Labour government to give the police wide powers of detention and deportation without charge or trial.

A public meeting sponsored by the Troops Out Movement was attended by about 100 conference delegates and observers. Maureen Colquhoun, one of only fourteen Labour members of Parliament who opposed the renewal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act for a further six months in Parliament last May, told the gathering she was "ashamed to be a Labour MP." Ireland, she said, should be the most



LCI, Portuguese sympathizing group of Fourth International, played major role in Oporto because of its understanding of need for united front.

action thus was kept within an extremely sectarian and limited framework. The main concrete effect of such a demonstration could only be to strengthen the CP's hand in negotiations with the government. It might have a certain spillover in support for the soldiers, but that obviously would be far less than could be achieved by a genuinely united demonstration.

The meeting also threw a certain light on the claims that "organs of the people's will" are spreading. It is obvious that the CP has a policy of setting up as many such formations as possible. With the support of the far-left groups, it can undoubtedly set them up in every significant center in Portugal. But this would be far from a real process of the growth of dual power. In fact, it would play the opposite role.

This sectarian policy is especially harmful now when there are real possibilities for a new mass upsurge, if unity in action can be achieved and extended. In particular, united action is needed to prevent the reestablishment of "order" in the armed forces.

As early as this spring, Fabião publicly explained that his goal was to slowly reorganize the Portuguese military on a "professional basis." With the kind of tactics he used in Oporto, he may be able to achieve this goal by letting the ultraleft-CP bloc wear itself out.

In this case, in particular, the ultraleft orientation of relying on the daring initiative of small groups created dangers of exhausting the struggle. Instead of trying to mobilize their units in support of democratic rights in their units, activists flocked to Oporto. Thus, they put themselves in a position where the military command can move much more easily to remove them.

The mobilizations in Oporto were followed by an SUV demonstration in Alentejo, the CP stronghold. In fact,

the CP's recent practice of relying on the peasant unions it totally controls as a shock force suggests that the party is in a weakened state. Alentejo is a sparsely populated area and hardly the decisive center of the struggle. But the CP tradition is most deeply rooted there. In this area, the SUV organizers did not attack the local commander but advised their followers that he was really on "their side."

Ultrarightists Stage Rally

A united struggle against a restoration of capitalist "order" is particularly important because the right is beginning to make headway, although more slowly than might have been expected. One example of this was the rally by the Centro Democrático Social (CDS—Social Democratic Center) here in Oporto yesterday, October 18.

The rally was the first successful public meeting this ultraright group has been able to hold here. It drew about 20,000 persons, half filling the Estádio das Antas. Thus, it was far smaller than the SP and pro-RASP-CICAP demonstrations. But it was a significant show of force.

The one slogan the crowd loved was "Down with Communism." They chanted the others dutifully, but when this one began they raised a wild howl.

The crowd seemed to be mostly backward petty bourgeoisie. None looked very prosperous. But there were only a few here and there that seemed to be working-class or poor people. Outside the Antas Stadium, there were crowds of youths, most of them about fifteen or sixteen, in imitation black-leather jackets.

In all, the signs point to a sharpening confrontation between the decisive classes in Portugal, but this seems still to be in a fairly early stage.

October 19, 1975

...Labour party

Continued from page 22

charges and fees in the NHS, rapid removal of private medicine, public ownership of the pharmaceutical industry, free pregnancy testing, contraception and abortion for all women on request, and establishment of democratically elected management bodies in the NHS.

The weakness of the left was most evident when the conference Standing Orders Committee refused to allow any debate on the crisis in Ireland. A weak resolution from Brentwood and Ongar CLP for the government to "make a declaration of intent that there will eventually be a united Ireland" and that "British troops are withdrawn at

important question up for discussion at the conference.

The case for immediate withdrawal, the only policy consistent with the right of the Irish people to self-determination, was put by former soldier Alistaire Renwick, and John Quirke, conference delegate from Norwood CLP. Quirke accused Foreign Secretary Callaghan of shedding "crocodile tears" when he introduced an emergency resolution condemning the executions in Spain while his government continued to brutally repress the Irish people.

Onetime "left-wingers" like Transport Workers leader Jack Jones and Employment Secretary Michael Foot, nearly all the *Tribune* group of left Social Democratic MPs, and exponents of "workers control" like Energy Minister Tony Benn lined up with unabashed right-wingers like Wilson, Healey, and Callaghan to back wage

controls and stifle discussion of Ireland.

The fight for class-struggle policies in the labour movement will have to go hand in hand with a struggle to democratize the Labour party—in particular, for the freedom of organized policy groupings within the party to fully express their viewpoint, for the removal of anticommunist bans and proscriptions, for the Labour government to abide by conference decisions, and for the removal of MPs and party officials who refuse to carry out conference decisions.

The Wilson leadership's fear that some of the most openly right-wing Labour MPs could be junked by their local parties reflected the rumblings of frustration among rank-and-file militants—a discontent that was largely obscured by the bureaucrats' great demonstration of unity behind the £6 wage limit at Blackpool.

British workers bear brunt of crisis

'Sacrifice' is watchword at Labour party conference

By Tony Hodges

LONDON—"Save our jobs!" roared the crowd. "We want to work!" A thousand workers from Plessey in Liverpool marched through the streets of Blackpool September 30 to join hundreds more from factories throughout Britain in a militant picket against unemployment. The action was held outside the Labour party conference at the Winter Gardens, Blackpool's big convention centre.

The demonstrators wanted government action to stop the drift to mass unemployment. Already more than 1.25 million are officially jobless, more than at any time since the 1930s. A conference-eve position paper published by the fast-growing "white collar" union ASTMS (Association of Technical, Managerial and Scientific Staffs) predicts unemployment climbing to 1.8 million by next July and 2.25 million by 1977.

But the Labour conference failed to chart any solution to the plight of the unemployed. The disastrous economic policies of the Labour government of Prime Minister Harold Wilson were endorsed by a massive majority.

A little over 1,000 delegates, representing the trade unions and Constituency Labour parties (CLPs), assembled in the main hall of the Winter Gardens September 29 for five days' debate of party policy. Strung over the platform was a huge banner proclaiming the party's "75 years of achievement."

Against a backdrop of soaring unemployment, 26% inflation, tumbling production, and ruinous cuts in housing, education, and health spending, one might well have asked what the Labour leaders thought they had "achieved" in the year and a half since they took office from the Tories.

Leadership Entrenched

The conference confirmed that despite the pickets and protests outside the Winter Gardens the party's class-collaborationist leadership remains firmly entrenched. The huge majority votes for the government's economic policies revealed the absence so far of any significant challenge to the leadership.

The supremacy of the right wing was accurately gauged by the *Guardian*. On the opening day of the conference an editorial noted that "the Left arrives at Blackpool this week, conscious less of its power than of its impotence. Indeed, what is really striking about the record of the last two years, giving the comprehensive lie to the picture of a Labour Government hopelessly in thrall to the extremists, is the punishment which the grass roots have had to take from Mr Wilson and his colleagues. In these same Winter Gardens two years ago, the Party proclaimed its deathless opposition to any policy of wage restraint designed to solve the problems of the economy by depressing the living standards of the workers. In no less unconditional terms, the October 1974 manifesto rejected the policy, attributed to the Tories, of using unemployment as a weapon against inflation.

"Yet today," the editors continued, "these two pledges, which were at the heart of Labour's whole approach, are shattered beyond repair. The incomes policy may be voluntary in name, but the freedom of action which it permits will last only so long as no one actually uses it; and its purpose in



So-called Labour party left-wingers, Michael Foot (left) and Anthony Benn, backed government's 'voluntary' 10 percent wage freeze to hilt. Foot told workers to display 'red flame of socialist courage.'

reducing living standards is now no longer concealed. And, whatever the platform may make this week of the new Government initiative to save jobs, the monthly statistics make it plain that unemployment on a scale no recent Conservative Government could ever have contemplated, is now accepted as an integral part of Government economic strategy."

The conference confirmed this estimate of the *Guardian* editors. The delegates voted overwhelmingly to endorse the key economic policy paper presented to the conference by the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the party. Entitled "Jobs and Prices," it welcomed "the acceptance by the Trades Union Congress, that, for the next twelve months, pay increases should be limited to a single flat-rate figure of £6 [£1=US\$2.05] per week."

By backing the £6 limit—which, in effect, means that the average industrial wage cannot increase by more than 10% this year, when prices have gone up by more than 26%—the conference meekly accepted that workers should pay the price for bailing out British capitalism from the world recession.

Not even the Labour leaders sought to hide the burden they are seeking to foist on workers. "The months immediately ahead are going to be hard," Wilson warned delegates.

"Working people are making a real sacrifice," admitted Tony Benn, the most celebrated "left-winger" in Wilson's cabinet. He went on to pay "tribute to those who have accepted the £6 limit to their wages this year."



Foreign Secretary James Callaghan, speaking in London a few days later on October 8, was equally forthright. "British families," he said, "will suffer a sharp drop in their standard of living."

They already have. The Central Statistical Office reported October 9 that real personal disposable incomes fell 3% in the second quarter of this year, even before the £6 limit became law on August 1. ASTMS predict a 6% decline in most workers' real disposable incomes before next August.

The "social wage"—public housing, education, and health care—is on the chopping block too.

Military spending, now a staggering £4,600 million a year, is set to increase of course (in real, not just money, terms), according to a recently published government review of "defence" expenditure.

The ruling class is calculating that trade-union loyalty to the Labour government will win success for this strategy of wage controls, lengthening unemployment lines, and belt tightening. Appeals for unity and cooperation between the unions and the government, dressed up sometimes in the most extravagant "socialist" rhetoric, were perhaps the conference's most dominant theme.

While replying for the NEC to the debate on "Jobs and Prices" Michael Foot, the employment secretary and onetime "darling of the left," told delegates: "It is of first importance for our country, and no less for our Labour movement, that this crisis should be

faced and surmounted by a Labour Government acting in the closest alliance and good faith with the Trade Union movement of this country."

Support Wilson's harsh measures, he implored, or the government would collapse, bringing back the Tories. "If we were ever fools enough to allow them to get the levers of power again, the whips would be changed to scorpions for our chastisement."

'Socialist Courage'

So put up with the whips! The danger is that the lashings will soon provide a fertile ground for a Tory revival and counteroffensive—if the Labour party leaders do not change course and adopt bold socialist solutions to the capitalist crisis.

Concluding his speech, this prize demagogue urged workers to suffer the hardships imposed by capitalism with selfless socialist zeal.

"I am asking this Movement," he proclaimed, "to exert itself as it has never done before, to show the qualities which we have, the Socialist imagination which exists in our movement, the readiness to reforge the alliance, stronger than ever, between the Government and the trade unions, and above all to show the supreme quality in politics, the red flame of socialist courage."

It is difficult to predict how long the government will be able to trade off union loyalty. As real wages fall, social services get axed, and more workers lose their jobs, the pressure will surely mount on the union bureaucrats to act. The North-West Council of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) has called a lobby of Parliament for November 26 to demand the right to work. This could become the first national focus in the fight for jobs.

Wide currency is being given to the view, much in evidence at Blackpool, that import controls are the answer to factory closures and rising unemployment. A resolution moved by ASTMS, criticizing the government for "slowness in imposing selective import controls," was carried. Many delegates sported lapel stickers reading "Buy British Textiles" distributed by young women workers from the Amalgamated Textile Workers Union.

Militants in the unions and the Labour party must explain that work-sharing with no loss of pay, nationalization, and a program of public works are the real solution to unemployment, and that import controls merely export unemployment to fellow workers in other countries.

Signs of anger at government policy did break through the near-unanimity at times during the conference. Resolutions opposing cutbacks in housing, education, and health spending were passed with large majorities, against the opposition of the NEC and in contradiction to the economic strategy endorsed by the conference.

Most notable was a resolution moved by the National Union of Public Employees, opposing cuts in the National Health Service (NHS). This union is the fourth biggest in the country, with a large proportion of low-paid women workers in its ranks.

The resolution called for a "very substantial immediate increase in health expenditure," a sliding scale of health expenditure, abolition of all



Earlier demonstration in Britain demands withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. Labour party officials suppressed all debate on Ireland at recent conference.

Continued on page 21

Posed as radical

Okla. city official admits spying for FBI

By Nancy Cole

A paid FBI informant, infiltrator of campus antiwar and socialist groups, decides to make the plunge into electoral politics. He runs for city council, backed by a coalition of liberals and radicals, and wins. Then, his career just beginning, he is the victim of a scurrilous red-baiting attack by his arch-foe, the city attorney. He concedes all.

Farfetched? Well, it happened, and it has caused quite a stir in Norman, Oklahoma.

Norman City Council member John Neal recently revealed that he was a paid FBI informant from June 1969 to March 1975. During part of that time he was a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and served as chairperson of the Committee to End the War in Vietnam at the University of Oklahoma in Norman.

Contrary to recent charges about the FBI's infiltration of the antiwar movement, Neal now says, "the bureau only had an interest in those who advocated illegal activities, violence, and destruction."

Michael Maggi, who was the YSA organizer for the Texas-Louisiana-Oklahoma region for part of the time that Neal was "active," recalls that Neal was indeed interested in illegal activity.

"He was, as often as he could manage it, an obstruction to peaceful activity, and on several occasions that I remember, he argued for provocative actions," Maggi told the *Militant*.

During the year that Neal was in the YSA, his campus mailbox served as the YSA's mailing address, a convenience his superiors must have appreciated.

Neal claims to have given up his status with the bureau when he decided to run for city council. "During those years, I became increasingly aware of the need for honest, independent men and women on the public side of government," he said at the end of September.

So "Honest John" claims he gave up his stipend from the FBI to go into "public" service. The Norman Citizens for Civic Responsibility, formed in 1974 to fight increased utility rates, actively backed three city council candidates in the March 1975 municipal elections. All three won, including John Neal.

Unfortunately for Neal, he soon came into conflict with city attorney Fielding Haas on several issues. Haas responded with a red-baiting attack on the NCCR and its members of the city council.

"I did not spend my time advocating the burning of the flag, or state

buildings, or destroying my government," Haas wrote in a letter published in the university's paper. "I served it. And with honor."

"I am proud to have served my country" too, Neal countered, one-upping Haas with the disclosure that his "radical" activities for the last six years were "under the direction of the FBI." He had delayed making his fink role public only "out of consideration for those FBI operations."

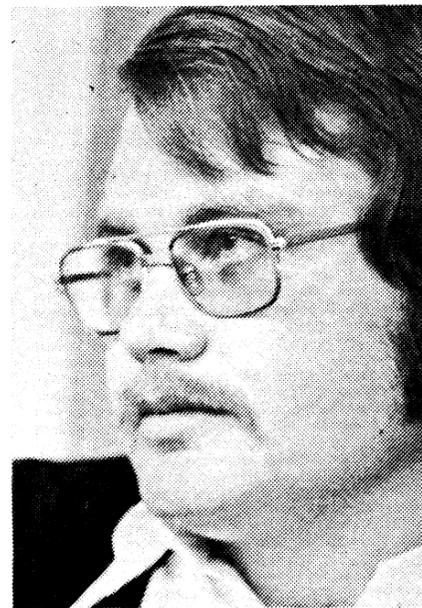
There is justifiable anger among those who worked with Neal in antiwar and other campus activities during those six years—especially among those who worked hard to get him elected. But it's all lost on Neal:

"The only persons who have been 'betrayed' by my actions are those who had participated in illegal activities," he said. "If the hat fits, and they hate me, then I welcome their hate."

Neal recently admitted that he couldn't "get anything on the YSA" during the days he posed as a socialist. That's not surprising. The FBI has been infiltrating, bugging, and harassing members of the Socialist Workers party and the YSA for more than forty years. And they haven't come up with anything yet.

"And it goes without saying that they [the FBI] keep enough of our tax dollars to dole out freely, almost

capriciously, to stoolies just like John Neal," wrote YSA member Thomas Boushier to the *Oklahoma Daily*. "But what must we do to find out who they are? Elect each and every one of them to public office?"



'Honest' John Neal, Norman, Oklahoma, city council member, countered red-baiting by admitting he was paid FBI operative in student, antiwar, and socialist movements.

'Militant' circulation drive

YSA teams take lead in subscription sales

By Pat Galligan

The Young Socialist Alliance teams are at the top of the subscription scoreboard—and with good reason. All seventeen teams went on a week-long campaign to sell subscriptions. The special effort gained 404 new readers for the *Militant* and 270 for the *Young Socialist*.

The Ohio/Kentucky team sold seventy-nine *Militant* and sixty-one *YS* subscriptions to take first place for the week and for the drive thus far. These subscriptions, along with 140 copies of the *Militant* and 165 *YS*'s, were sold at Ohio University in Athens. Ernie Mailhot explains their success: "We just asked everyone to buy subs."

Most of the thirty-five *Militant* subscriptions obtained by the Michigan/Indiana team in Kalamazoo were sold to Black students at Western

Michigan University. Marty Pettit reports considerable interest in the paper's coverage of the conference of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

There are thirty-two new subscribers to the *Militant* on the Eau Claire campus of the University of Wisconsin and seven new members of the YSA thanks to the efforts of the Wisconsin team. Jane Harris tells us that a poster display attracted students to their literature where most of the subscriptions were sold.

"Often, while I'd be talking to one person about the *Militant*, someone else would come up to the table and give me a dollar for a subscription," she said.

In all, 926 subscriptions came in this week, bringing the total as of November 4 to 3,396. Although this is behind where we should be, if subscriptions continue to come in at this pace, we will be able to make our goal of 6,000 new readers by November 30. The *Young Socialist* drive for 3,000 new subscriptions now stands at 1,450.

The Bloomington, Indiana, local of the YSA, already eleven over their goal, plans to continue selling subscriptions and set a new goal.

Michael Hert, the subscription drive director in Bloomington, reports that YSA members have been selling subscriptions in the Indiana University dormitories. "The local is now subscription conscious," he writes, "The dorm blitz has proved that the subscribers are out there, all we have to do is find them."

Two other areas made their goals this week. Ten subscriptions sold at the National Organization for Women convention by Philadelphia socialists pushed their total over the top. The East Lansing, Michigan, YSA reached the 100 percent mark with the subscriptions they sent in.

The sixty-two subscriptions received from Oakland/Berkeley put the East Bay Area socialists well ahead of schedule. Two-thirds of these subscriptions were sold door-to-door in Berkeley, East Oakland, and Union City.

Jane Strader enclosed a note with a batch of subscriptions from Houston. "Here you have seventy-one *Militant* subscriptions—the result of a one-week effort."

According to Strader, thirty-six of these subscriptions were sold in Black and Chicano neighborhoods. Another

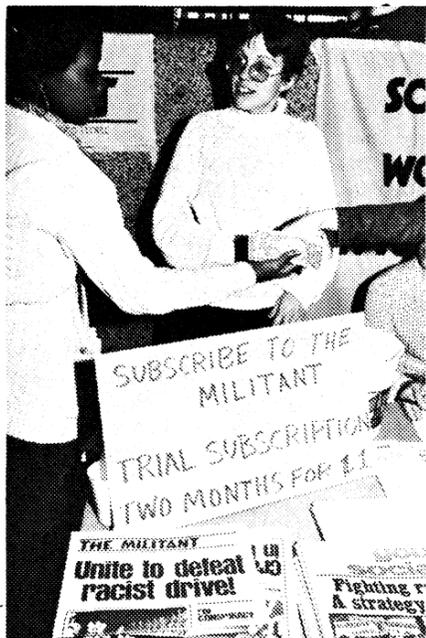
twenty-nine were sold at the campuses of Texas Southern and Prairie View A & M universities.

Last week, Houston had only reached 11 percent of its goal. This week, it hit 47 percent. Not bad for a week's work. It shows what is possible when subscription-selling activities are organized and points the way for other areas that are significantly behind.

We think Michael Hert's comment bears repeating: "The subscribers are out there, all we have to do is find them."

Subscription scoreboard

YSA teams	Sent			Washington, D.C.	200	117	59
	Goal	in	%				
Ohio/Kentucky	120	180	150	State College, Pa.	15	8	53
Wisconsin	120	151	126	West-North Chicago	100	52	52
Missouri/Kansas	80	88	110	Milwaukee	125	60	48
Illinois	80	76	95	Houston	200	93	47
Michigan/Indiana	120	102	85	Albany, N.Y.	15	7	47
Southern Calif.	120	68	57	Boston	150	69	46
Southeast	100	56	56	St. Louis	125	56	45
Texas	80	42	53	Edinboro, Pa.	40	18	45
Pacific Northwest	120	55	46	Madison, Wis.	50	22	44
Pennsylvania	120	53	44	Detroit	175	73	42
New York/New Jersey	120	49	41	Brooklyn, N.Y.	150	61	41
Northern Calif.	120	49	41	Atlanta	200	80	40
Rocky Mountain	120	46	38	Seattle	150	60	40
Mid-Atlantic	120	40	33	Twin Cities	150	49	33
Louisiana	80	23	29	Ann Arbor, Mich.	15	5	33
New England	120	31	26	Cleveland	200	61	31
Upper Midwest	120	31	26	San Jose	75	23	31
Total for teams	1,860	1,140	61	Logan, Utah	20	6	30
Area				Louisville, Ky.	10	3	30
Bloomington, Ind.	20	31	155	Upper West Side N.Y.	200	58	29
Philadelphia	150	159	106	Lower East Side N.Y.	150	40	27
East Lansing, Mich.	10	10	100	San Francisco	150	38	25
Cincinnati	10	9	90	Portland, Ore.	100	23	23
Oakland/Berkeley	175	149	85	Austin, Tex.	15	3	20
Newark, N.J.	50	37	74	Tucson, Ariz.	30	5	17
Baltimore	75	55	73	Central-East L.A.	160	24	15
San Diego	125	89	71	Santa Barbara, Calif.	15	2	13
New Orleans	50	34	68	West Side L.A.	150	16	11
Pittsburgh	150	97	65	Lexington, Ky.	15	1	7
Denver	125	80	64	General		311	
South Side Chicago	100	62	62	Total	6,000	3,396	57
				Should have		4,070	68



'Militant' subscription table at October national student antiracist conference.

Expose administration cover-up

Students ask: 'What's CIA doing at UCLA?'

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Under the guise of promoting equal employment opportunity, the Central Intelligence Agency, with the cooperation of key university officials from major campuses around the country, is moving to legitimize its recruiting of agents on campus.

The first glimpse of the CIA drive came on October 22 at the University of California at Los Angeles where the student *Daily Bruin* revealed plans for a CIA conference aimed at increasing recruitment to the spy agency of Blacks and other minorities.

The meeting took place at CIA headquarters near Washington, D.C., on October 23 and 24. It included administrators from twenty-three public universities. The CIA has blandly explained that the conference was simply organized to promote an "affirmative-action" hiring program.

The two UCLA administrators who attended the conference, Winston Doby and Charles Sundberg, spoke at a public meeting on campus at the invitation of the Black Students Alliance on October 30 to explain their participation.

Doby, who is Black, said he went to the conference because of his concern with affirmative-action programs. Doby said that he had concluded that the CIA conference was "an affirmative step toward recruiting more Blacks."

He did not say whether he thought Black people should join the CIA to help the organization with its racist counterrevolutionary activities throughout the world.

His assertion of the sincerity of the CIA's commitment to affirmative ac-

tion was sharply questioned by many of the Black and Chicano students at the meeting.

One student observed that recruiting for the CIA was, for Black people, like recruiting for the Ku Klux Klan.

Although Doby told the meeting he sided with the opposition to the CIA, he told the *Bruin* on October 29 that many of the CIA's illegal acts would have been prevented if more Blacks and Chicanos had been employed by the agency, because they would have been more sensitive to illegal orders.

Doby did not say, however, how long he thought a Black member of the CIA who refused to carry out illegal activities would remain on the agency's payroll.

Sundberg, who is dean of the placement center at UCLA, told the assembled students that the CIA, as reported to him at the conference, does not carry out any direct campus recruitment.

While it may be true that the CIA does not hold publicly announced meetings on campus for interested students, it is a cover-up to say that no recruitment goes on.

Sundberg's office routinely posts job openings announced by the CIA, and both he and Doby have stated that they would assist any student in finding work with the agency.

In defense against the angry students, the administration has claimed that it is not really cooperating with the CIA, but merely passing along job information to interested students.

Both Sundberg and Doby have stated that they consider the CIA "just another employer" and a legitimate government agency.

By claiming its recruitment efforts are limited to posting job openings in the placement office, the CIA opens the door to further campus activities. For it can claim to be legitimate once it has the same standing as "any other employer."

The CIA, of course, is not like "any other employer." It is the secret political police of the American government, and its job is to protect the interests of the handful of capitalists who own and run America. And it is permitted to carry out its mission by any means necessary—legal or illegal.

Students at UCLA, angered at the

GUESTS

University of California, Berkeley

Ms. Jane Adams
Mr. Willard Eng

University of California, Los Angeles

Mr. Winston Doby
Mr. Charles Sundberg

University of California, San Diego

Dr. Raymond Dye
Mr. Fred Henderson
Ms. Rena Reno

Howard University

Mrs. Pearl Bailey
Mr. Samuel Hall

University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

Mr. Raymond Dalton
Mr. Weyman L. Edwards
Mr. Roger L. Pulliam

University of Illinois, Medical Center

Ms. Carol A. Cottrell

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Mr. Anthony G. Dew
Ms. Sandra F. Norris
Mr. Paul E. Parker

Indiana University

Mr. Horacio Lewis
Mr. George Taliaferro

Iowa State University

Dr. Marcia Donnerstein
Ms. Augustine Wright

University of Kansas

Mr. Tony Espinosa
Ms. Helen Kimball
Dr. Richard Lee

University of Maryland

Mrs. Laura Gardner
Mr. Hugh Warner

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Dr. Harold P. Fowler

University of Michigan, Dearborn

Mr. Robert B. Vokac
Dr. Joseph M. Wright

University of Michigan, Flint

Mr. John H. McCrac
Dr. M. J. Roberson

Michigan State University

Ms. Clare Duncan
Mr. Gumecindo Salas
Mr. Carl Taylor

University of Minnesota

Ms. Jeanne Lupton
Mr. Frank B. Wilderson
Ms. Lillian Williams

City University of New York

Mr. Dean Harrison
Mr. Hans J. Hillerbrand
Ms. Norma S. Rees

University of North Carolina

Mr. Joe M. Calloway
Mr. H. B. Renwick
Mr. Carl W. Smith

Ohio State University

Dr. William J. Holloway

Pennsylvania State University

Mr. Jeff W. Garis
Mr. John Johnson

University of Washington

Mr. William L. Baker
Mr. Herman McKinney

University of Wisconsin, Madison

Mr. Merritt Norvell
Mr. L. H. Ritcherson

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Dr. Helen Batchelor
Mr. Roy Evans
Mr. Kirby Stanat
Ms. Mary Wada

'Guest List' shows those invited to CIA conference aimed at stepping up recruitment on campuses. Shouldn't these 'guests' of the CIA be asked for an explanation of their participation?

revelations of their school's complicity with the CIA, have organized a Committee to End University Complicity with the CIA.

The committee has planned an ongoing educational campaign, which

will be highlighted by a teach-in on the CIA in late November.

A picket line to protest campus involvement with the CIA and explain to students the criminal nature of the agency is also being planned.



Calif. Chicanos demand arrest of killer-cop

By Jessica Star

NATIONAL CITY, Calif.—More than 1,000 people marched here October 28 chanting, "Justice for Luis Rivera."

Rivera, a twenty-year-old Puerto Rican, was gunned down by an unidentified cop two weeks earlier. According to witnesses, the cop was investigating a purse-snatching incident. He spotted Rivera, shouted "Freeze," and three to five seconds later shot him in the back.

When two people who saw the suspect were asked to identify Rivera's body, they told police, "That's not him; he was taller and thinner."

Rivera's father has filed a \$4.5 million "wrongful death" lawsuit against the city.

Since the killing, the Chicano community has organized mass meetings, news conferences, and a petition drive demanding the identification and suspension of the cop; the firing of the police chief; and investigations by an independent citizens' commission, the grand jury, and the federal government.

The unidentified cop is on a paid leave. "The policy of the National City City Council is that if you're a cop and



Rally at St. Anthony's Church in National City, California. 'Make no mistake—if anything is going to be done, we're going to have to do it ourselves.'

you want a vacation, just go shoot a Mexican," Herman Baca, chairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, told a mass meeting prior to the march.

The spirited demonstration included friends, relatives, and neighbors of Rivera, families with young children, and older people who had never marched before.

In addition to representatives of all local Chicano community organizations, there were delegations from campus MECHAs, Black Student Unions, and the Student Coalition Against Racism. Signs demanded: "Arrest the Killer Cop," "Stop Racist Killing," "Fire the Police Chief," and "Official Murder Must End."

At the city administration building

the chants got louder—"Justicia," "Chicano power," "Viva la raza."

While the demonstrators picketed around the building, a large delegation led by Baca packed the city council chamber and presented 2,000 signatures demanding action. When Baca asked Mayor Kile Morgan and the city council members to address themselves to the issue of Rivera's murder, each responded coldly with, "No comment."

The council's lack of response did not discourage anyone; in fact, the demonstrators became more determined. The march ended with a short rally at St. Anthony's Church where Baca explained that "this situation has existed for the last 125 years and we're not going to be ignored for another 125 years."

He continued, "Make no mistake about it—if anything is going to be done, we're going to have to do it ourselves."

The meeting responded with rhythmic clapping and hundreds of dollars in pledges to pay for further actions.

As one young man told the *Militant*, "I'm a Puerto Rican just like the guy who got killed, and I'm gonna do whatever it takes to end this kind of thing."

UFW vice-president interviewed: Dolores Huerta talks about role of women in union

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES — Dolores Huerta is a founding leader of the United Farm Workers and a vice-president of the union. Next to César Chávez she is the best-known public figure in the UFW.

Recently, in an interview in Merced, California, she discussed the role of women in the UFW and her own particular role.

Huerta was born in a coal-mining town in New Mexico, but she grew up in Stockton, a central California agricultural center. Her mother operated a small business. Since they were somewhat better off, she was able to go to college and become a teacher.

In the mid-1940s Huerta became involved in the Community Services Organization. The CSO became well known for its successful voter-registration efforts among Chicanos in California.

It was through the CSO and the efforts of CSO leader Fred Ross that both Huerta and César Chávez first became involved in farm worker organizing. Ross is today the UFW's director of organization.

It was the time of the federal bracero program, under which thousands of farm workers were brought in from Mexico as a source of supercheap labor.

"There was no one to speak up for them, to fight for them," Huerta recalled. "We got deeply involved with that. Then we faced the problem of the farm workers who lived here who couldn't get work because they were displaced by the braceros. People were making sixty cents an hour. There was no workmen's compensation, no disability, nothing.

"We became involved in trying to get things for farm workers in a legislative way. But after a few years we realized we weren't really solving the economic and social problems of the vast number of Spanish-speaking people in California, because their poverty was rooted in agriculture.

"That was when César started organizing the union," she continued, "and we began working with farm workers."

Women's role

Huerta talked about the role of women in the UFW. She has managed to carry on her intense activity even though she is the mother of ten children. They range in age from twenty-five down to two.

"Perhaps I set a precedent," she



Dolores Huerta thinks women's liberation movement has helped women play greater role in union movement.

remarked, "because, in a sense, I was taking away from my family to give to the larger community." Nevertheless, she feels that her children, who "have sort of grown up in the union," have benefited from the experience.

Huerta stressed that while her own contribution might be the most publicly known, there are many women who have played a key role from the outset in building the union.

However, because people are generally anxious to avoid family frictions, Huerta observed, "you will find women are a little reluctant to assume an open leadership role. They don't want to feel like it's going counter to the culture.

"That's why," she said, "you'll find a lot of couples where the woman might be the stronger of the two, but it's the man who appears to be the leader."

When it comes to on-the-job organization within the union, Huerta believes there is no problem. Many women are elected stewards and members of ranch committees without any difficulty, she said.

"And in a strike," she added, "they take a very key role."

A problem for women in the union movement generally, Huerta said, is the hard reality that the primary

responsibility for the family falls to them.

For one thing, she noted, most unions don't have child-care facilities for mothers who are active.

The UFW, however, has established child-care centers for staff workers both at the national union headquarters, La Paz, and at a church in Delano, California.

Both centers, she said, are open from 5:00 a.m. until midnight, so women can participate in early morning organizing in the fields and in nighttime meetings.

Perhaps as a suggestion to other union women, she commented, "The nursery came as a result of women demanding it. It came as the result of the women insisting on it. That's the way things change—when people start demanding their rights."

"There are some unions," she added, "that do have a lot of women in leadership. I think mainly it's an inherent problem with women that they have to learn how to organize and to fight for their rights as women. You can't fight for the rights of other people if you can't fight for your own rights in terms of leadership."

Huerta commented on the Coalition of Labor Union Women, a relatively

new development within the trade-union movement.

"I think people are expecting a lot more of it than it's ready to do at this point," she said. "It's almost like a confederation of organizations."

"They're dependent to a large degree on the unions they belong to," she added. "I think it's going to be hard for them to be totally independent and also to get agreement among themselves about which way they should go."

"I think the idea of CLUW is spectacular," she said. "If they can get more independent, they can start throwing their weight around."

"I think it's hard for them to throw their weight around right now because a lot of them are staff. When you can get more women elected to union office, like I am, then you have your own independent base."

As an appointed staff member, "you're always susceptible to getting bounced," she added.

Feminist movement

Returning to her own experience, Huerta discussed the impact of the rise of the women's liberation movement.

"The one thing I have to say for the feminist movement—and I give them more credit than anything I've done—is that they removed a lot of guilt feelings about women taking leadership," she said.

"I think it will help an awful lot of women to step forward when they feel it's the right time and the right thing to do. It's especially true for farm worker women, because they're very practical people."

Concluding the interview, Huerta said, "I think the Farm Workers is a liberation movement for both men and women because I think as women become more active, it helps men out too. I say this because some women's organizations see the liberation of women as liberation from men, or because they see men as their oppressors.

"I don't see it that way. I think we have a cultural problem, nationally, where men have always been in the leadership positions and in the decision making. Everybody just accepted that for a great many years.

"All segments of society suffered from that," she concluded. "But I think that as people start to see who the real enemies are, then they can start working together as men and women, as Black, Brown, and white, and as young and old."

L.A. UFW supporters sue cops, store owners

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Two United Farm Workers supporters, arrested while picketing a supermarket here in August, have filed a \$1 million lawsuit charging Los Angeles County sheriffs and the management of the market with violations of their civil rights.

The suit was filed by Dan Lavery of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of Kristin Ockershauser and Carol Likins.

The two had joined a UFW picket line August 3 after services at their Unitarian Church.

Picketers at the Boys Market, where the two women went, had been subjected to continual harassment by the store management and the sheriffs. In addition, the Boys Market chain had obtained a court injunction that limited the activities of UFW boycott supporters.

Although the injunction limited the number and location of pickets, it specifically stated that picketers had the right to freely talk to shoppers who wanted to listen.

On August 3, five pickets were arrested. Police on the scene ignored their protests that they had not violated the injunction.

Ockershauser and Likins were handcuffed and shoved into a police car. Expecting to be transported directly to the sheriffs' station, they were shocked when the patrol car detoured to check out a radio report of a burglary in progress.

When the car reached the scene of the burglary, the cops jumped out with their guns drawn, apparently anticipating having to shoot it out. The two women were left in the back seat to fend for themselves.

When the women finally were brought to the police station, they were

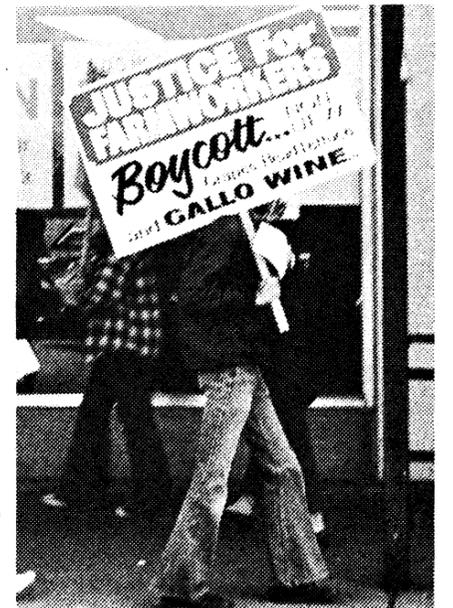
forced to submit to humiliating body searches, in which their rectal and vaginal areas were checked for narcotics and weapons.

The women were also subjected to nonstop verbal abuse, including the cops' repeated use of racist epithets about Chicanos and *mexicanos*.

Two other picketers who were roughed up by the cops when arrested the same day are preparing a suit to be filed in state court.

One of the statutes under which Ockershauser and Likins are suing is known as the "Ku Klux Klan Act," which was passed during Reconstruction. The act makes it a crime to conspire to violate anyone's civil rights.

The UFW is using the same law to sue the Teamsters union and several Coachella Valley grape ranchers for civil rights violations during the 1973 strikes there.



Militant/Glenn Campbell

Calendar

BROOKLYN

THE LATEST MIDEAST AGREEMENT: SETTLEMENT OR PRELUDE TO WAR? Speaker: Peter Buch, author of *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis*. Fri., Nov. 14, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence (near A & S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

HOUSTON

THE DESEGREGATION FIGHT IN TEXAS. A panel discussion with leaders of desegregation struggles in Dallas and Houston. Fri., Nov. 14, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Peter Camejo, 1976 SWP presidential candidate; Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Nov. 8, 7:00 p.m., reception for candidates; 8:30 p.m., rally, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11 (Washington Square Shopping Center). Donation: \$2. Ausp: West Side Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 735-9801.

MILWAUKEE

TEACHERS AND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE. Speakers: Mabel Grummer, Hortonville Education Association representative; Norbert Francis, SWP; others. Fri., Nov. 14, 8 p.m. 207 Michigan St., Room 25. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

NEW ORLEANS

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN BUFFET AND RALLY. Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, 1976 SWP vice-presidential candidate; Pedro Vásquez, 1976 SWP candidate for mayor of Houston. Sat., Nov. 15, 6:00 p.m., refreshments and buffet; 8:00 p.m., rally, Downtown Howard Johnson's, Keith Temple room. Donation: buffet and rally—\$3; rally only—\$1.50. Ausp: New Orleans Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (504) 522-6775.

NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE

WHY WORKING PEOPLE SHOULD NOT PAY FOR THE NEW YORK CRISIS. Speaker: Lynn Henderson, SWP National Committee member. Fri., Nov. 14, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 18th C.D.; Myrna Lamb, feminist playwright; Student Coalition Against Racism representative; chairperson: Katherine Sojourner. Sat., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Av. C). Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Lower East Side Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

THE DESTRUCTION OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA: WHAT NEXT? Speakers: Guatam Dasquata, U.C. Southeast Asia Students Association; Anne Chase, YSA, former SWP candidate for Berkeley city council. Fri., Nov. 14, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIALIST CONFERENCE. Fri., Nov. 14, 8:00 p.m.: **The Revolutionary Upsurge in Portugal.** Speaker: Tony Thomas, SWP National Committee member. Sat., Nov. 15, 11:00 a.m. and 1:30 p.m.: three two-part classes on **Marxism and the Black Movement; Feminism and Socialism; and Introduction to Socialism.** Sat., Nov. 15, 8:00 p.m.: **RACISM AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS.** A Socialist Workers campaign rally. Speakers: Ed Heisler, Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee chairperson; James O'Sullivan, Pressmen's Local 6; Stephanie Caoila, UFW D.C.-area boycott coordinator; Ollie Bivins, 1975 SWP candidate for Boston School Committee; Erich Martel, SWP candidate for D.C. School Board; Brenda Brdar, SWP candidate for D.C. School Board. All Souls Church (lower level), 16th and Harvard St. NW. Donation: entire weekend—\$4; conference or rally, each \$2.50. Ausp: D.C. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 347-1317.

...Reid

Continued from page 7

Rexford Weng, vice-president of the Massachusetts Labor Council, AFL-CIO, gave greetings to the rally.

The rally closed with remarks by Brenda Franklin, who has been in the Young Socialist Alliance for two months. A Black woman, she met members of the YSA while building support for the May 17 antiracist demonstration in Boston.

"The only alternative in 1976 is the socialist candidates," she said. "They don't say, 'Vote for me and I'll solve your problems.' They say, 'Vote for me, build your movements, and we'll support you.'" Franklin concluded by urging people to join the socialist movement.

...Kirsch

Continued from page 13

work in several areas of party activity. Herman worked in all of them. He not only went out to sell papers and to petition for ballot status, he also wrote for the *Militant* and ran for public office on the Socialist Workers party ticket.

I noticed in going through some of the *Militant's* files that Herman Kirsch has more than thirty-five signed articles since the 1970 Kent State killings, which he reported on. Some of the articles are speeches at union meetings during his 1974 campaign—examples of how socialist candidates speak to union workers, and to their problems.

I often had occasion to call Herman for information or to ask him to write a *Militant* article on short notice. Whether it was to gather information on the miners' strikes in Ohio and Kentucky, or to interview leaders in the Steelworkers union, or to cover the newspaper strike here in Cleveland, he never refused. If Herman undertook an assignment, it would be fulfilled—and on time.

It never occurred to Herman that he was making sacrifices for the movement. Everything he did was because he wanted to do it, because he derived satisfaction from it, and because he felt it was his duty. He was convinced that the benefits he derived from helping to build the party—in terms of his own personal development, intellectual growth and understanding, and self-esteem—far outweighed any cost in time and effort.

Herman Kirsch set a good example for those who have recently joined our ranks. His memory will be cherished because he personified the virtues upon which our party depends, and because his roots were in the industrial proletariat, which will nurture and develop the leadership and provide the troops for the coming American revolution.

...poll

Continued from back page

elections in the fields.

The new law is rigged against the UFW in many respects and it is being applied in a discriminatory way. Yet despite the dirty tricks, the law is proving—on balance—beneficial to the farm workers' cause.

It is now quite clear that the growers agreed to the law because they were hurting more than was realized. They undoubtedly saw the loaded election process as a means of swindling the workers out of having the union of their choice. At the same time, they calculated, the defeat of the UFW in rigged elections would mean an end to the boycott that has been cutting so deeply into their profits.

When Gov. Edmund Brown signed the bill into law and declared it would bring "peace to the fields," the growers must have bowed their heads and said, "Amen."

But the strength of the UFW is proving so great that it is coming out

ahead in a game where the deck is stacked against it.

As of October 30, the UFW had more than 16,000 votes as against 9,000 for the Teamsters.

The UFW has won 142 elections so far, compared with 91 for the Teamsters and 12 for "no union."

When the law was passed, various figures—including some "friends of the farm workers"—asserted that since the issue was now to be decided by a "democratic" vote, there was no more need or justification for the boycott and it should be called off.

But even if the elections were honest, all a victory gives the union is the legal right to sit down and negotiate a contract with the grower. It doesn't require the grower to actually sign a contract.

That's why UFW Director César Chávez declared so correctly at the outset of the elections that the boycott would continue until "the ink is dry on the contracts."

And the present findings on the extent of popular support for the boycott indicates that that day may not be as far off as some might think.

Building the boycott has been a hard, uphill, and sometimes seemingly lonely battle. But now we see it has been having a far more profound impact than the most optimistic might have estimated.

It should prove a source of inspiration to the embattled farm workers and their supporters. It should increase the determination to extend the boycott even further, to make its mass demonstrations even bigger and more visible—to make the message even more loud and clear.

The Harris poll results show what the heroic farm unionists mean when they declare, "¡Sí, se puede!" "Yes, we can!"

Calendar and classified rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tucson: YSA, SUPO Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 881-0712.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Long Beach: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, CSU, 6101 E. 7th St., Long Beach, Calif. 90807.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512; YSA—(213) 483-2581.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4040 W. Washington Blvd. Suite 11 (at Washington Square shopping center), Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

San Jose: SWP and YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825; YSA—(303) 893-8360.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Dave Bouffard, 754 El Rancho, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 1754 E. 55th St., Chicago, Ill. 60615. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

Chicago, West-North: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

Chicago: City-wide SWP and YSA, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0748.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, 3138 Perkins Ct. #C, Indianapolis, Ind. 46203. Tel: (317) 783-6447.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-3975 or 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

Louisville: YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, P.O. Box 51923, New Orleans, La. 70151. Tel: (504) 899-7684. YSA, P.O. Box 1330 U.N.O., New Orleans, La. 70122.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 467-5509.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Mark Cerasuolo, 13 Hollister Apts., Amherst, Mass. 01002. **Boston:** SWP and YSA, Militant Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050; YSA—(617) 482-8051; Viewpoint/New England and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Militant Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, Militant Bookstore, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) 831-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East

Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altenburg, 3511 Kenbrooke Ct., Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007. Tel: (616) 375-6370.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP and YSA, 11 Central Ave. (Central and Broad Streets), Second Floor, Newark, N.J. 07102. Tel: (201) 624-7434.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Mary Ann Kelllogg, 468 Madison Ave., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 463-5330.

Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

New York City: City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books (212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

Ossining: YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greenville: YSA, P.O. Box 1693, Greenville, N.C. 27834. Tel: (919) 752-6439.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Charles R. Mitts, 6830 Buckingham Pl., Cincinnati, Ohio 45227.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, Box 3343 Univ. Station (mailing address); 325 Ohio Union, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 422-6287.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

State College: YSA, c/o William Donovan, 260 Toftrees Ave. #320, State College, Pa. 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

Nashville: YSA, c/o Warren Duzak, 3523 Byron Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 37205. Tel: (615) 269-9455.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

Dallas: YSA, c/o Steve Charles, 3420 Hidalgo #201, Dallas, Tex. 75220. Tel: (214) 352-6031.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, 2203 W. Houston, San Antonio, Tex. 78207.

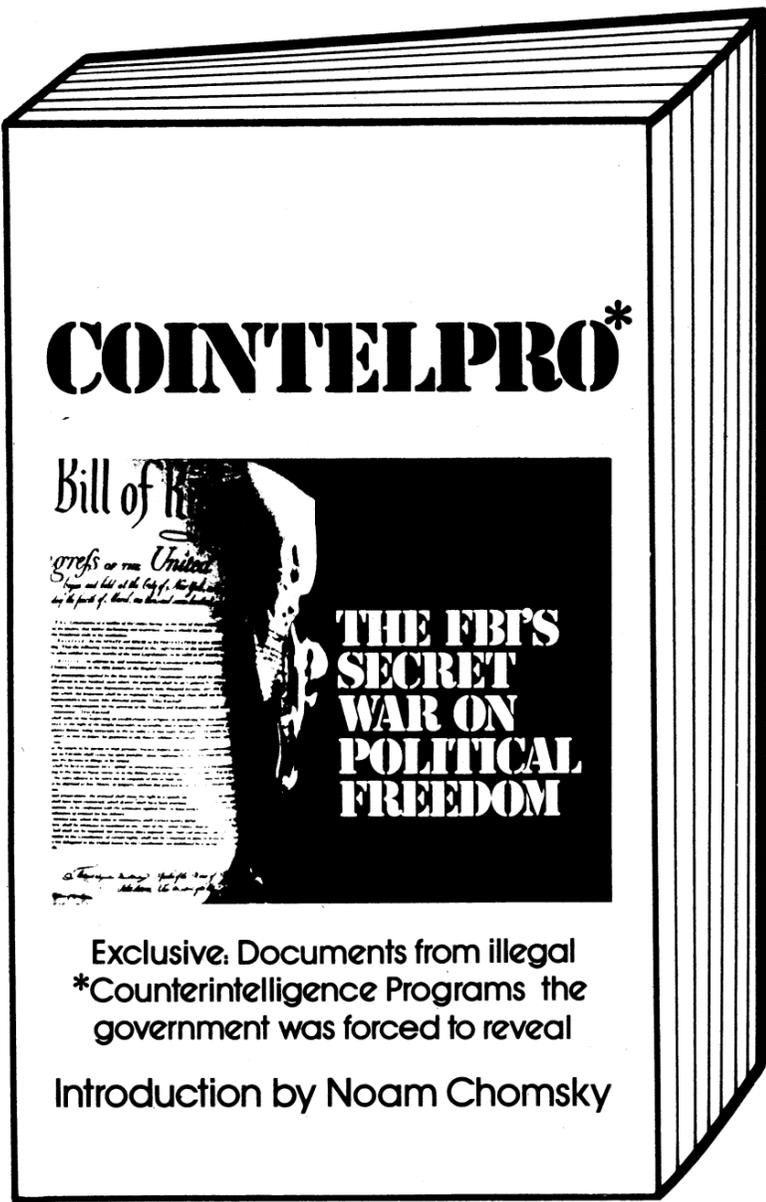
UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 238-6224.

Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.



Frank Donner, attorney, author, Director of ACLU Project on Political Surveillance:

"This collection is indispensable to an understanding of the FBI's use of dirty tricks as a weapon against political dissent. The summary descriptions in the news media are inadequate to convey the thrust and meaning of the systematic attack by a political police agency on groups and individuals who neither have committed nor threatened violence but whose sole offense is the pursuit of socialist goals through the exercise of the protected freedoms. If Americans are to return to the democratic path from which we have strayed a good place to begin is by a study of these documents."

Robert Wall, ex-FBI agent:

"The authentic FBI files revealed in *COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom* vividly expose the "dirty tricks" which the FBI uses to suppress political dissent and damage the lives of individuals who challenge the system. . . . Never before have such revealing FBI documents been brought to the public. And I can only say that it is long overdue and hopefully the beginning of the end of the FBI's unwarranted actions to safeguard its own idea of political orthodoxy. Every person who values his freedom should read *COINTELPRO*."

Robert Allen, editor of *the Black Scholar*:

"All civil libertarians and aware citizens should study the documents in this book. They prove beyond any doubt that the FBI—through Democratic and Republican administrations—has deliberately and systematically tried to destroy legitimate American organizations and individuals whose ideas the government did not like. . . . The secret FBI documents published here are more damning than Watergate since they reveal the insidious work of a political police force whose aim is to nullify the Bill of Rights."

Almost a hundred secret FBI documents reprinted with investigative reporting and analysis by *Militant* staff reporters Baxter Smith, Nelson Blackstock, and Nancy Cole. Introduction by Noam Chomsky; edited by Cathy Perkus. Published in cooperation with the Political Rights Defense Fund.

A special offer: Help get the word out about this important new book. Order five copies of this \$1.95 paperback for only \$7.00 (regularly \$9.75)

192 pages, cloth \$9.00, paper \$1.95

Coming in November from:

PATHFINDER PRESS

410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

NEW YORK CITY, LOWER EAST SIDE

Campaign rally at our new headquarters

Speakers: Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from 18th C.D.; Myrna Lamb, feminist playwright; speaker from Student Coalition Against Racism; chairperson: Katherine Sojourner. Sat., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 221 East Second Street, between Avenue B & Avenue C (near Houston). Donation: \$2.50. Meet the candidate, see our new (and unfinished) headquarters, enjoy food and refreshments. Ausp: Lower East Side Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 982-0651 or 260-0976.

Lower East Side Socialist Workers Campaign Committee: chairperson, Caryl Loeb; treasurer, James Mendieta.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Socialist Conference FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14

8:00 - The Revolutionary Upsurge in Portugal, Tony Thomas, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15 - 11:00 am & 1:30 pm - 2 part classes: Marxism and The Black Movement, Feminism & Socialism, An Introduction to Socialism. All Souls Church, 16th and Harvard, N.W. Ausp: Mid-Atlantic YSA.

\$2.50 for either Conference or Rally, \$4 for wknd.

& Campaign Rally

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15

Speakers: Ed Heisler, Chairman & Trade Union Spokesperson, Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, Ollie Bivens, 1975 candidate for Boston School Committee, Brenda Brdar & Erich Martel, 1975 candidates for D.C. School Board. Reception: 7:00 pm; rally: 8:00 pm. All Souls Church, 16th and Harvard N.W. For more information call (202) 347-1317. Ausp: D.C. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee (Chairperson, J. Gotesky, Treasurer, D. Segal).

Spread the word!



You can win new readers for the Militant. . . .

. . . by taking a regular bundle and subscription cards to sell where you work, go to school, or where you live. Join other readers in the **Militant's** sales campaign!

Send me a weekly bundle of _____

I want to take a weekly sales goal of _____
(The cost is 17 cents per copy, and we will bill you at the end of each month.)

Send me a packet of prepaid subscription cards. Enclosed is:

_____ \$5 for 5 cards _____ \$10 for 11 cards

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Writings of Hugo Blanco

LAND OR DEATH: The Peasant Struggle in Peru
178 pp., \$6.95, paper \$2.45

DISASTER IN CHILE: Allende's Strategy and Why It Failed
Edited by Les Evans, includes special contributions by Hugo Blanco. 272 pp., paper \$2.95

CHILE'S DAYS OF TERROR: Eyewitness Accounts of the Military Coup
Introduction by José Yglesias, edited by Judy White, includes firsthand description by Hugo Blanco of the coup. 128 pp., \$6.00, paper \$1.75

HUGO BLANCO ON CHILE AND PERU
\$.35

THE COUP IN CHILE: Firsthand Report and Assessment by Hugo Blanco and Other Revolutionaries Who Escaped
\$.25

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

THE MILITANT

Massive support for UFW

Poll shows millions are boycotting scab grapes

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Twelve percent of the adult population of America—seventeen million people—are boycotting scab grapes.

Eleven percent—fifteen million people—have stopped buying scab lettuce.

Eight percent—eleven million people—are boycotting Gallo wine.

These are the findings of a nationwide survey conducted by the Louis Harris poll.

The pollsters found that 45 percent of the people support the United Farm Workers as against 7 percent for the Teamsters.

In the West, closer to the scene of the struggle, the UFW won 55 percent of

Additional coverage on the United Farm Workers appears on page 25.

the public support as against 11 percent for the Teamsters.

Nationally, 14 percent said they support either both unions or neither. Thirty-five percent were not sure.

In the West it was 14 percent for both or neither and 20 percent not sure.

The *Los Angeles Times*, which is carefully neutral regarding the UFW and the Teamsters, commented October 30 that the Harris poll "indicates that millions of Americans feel so strongly about the UFW that they have joined in what is apparently the most effective union boycott of any product in the history of the nation.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Harris poll found seventeen million Americans have stopped buying non-UFW grapes. Results are tribute to courage and tenacity of United Farm Workers' struggle against agribusiness and Teamster bureaucrats.

The poll findings are as impressive as they are gratifying. Few people probably realized the full extent of the boycott. Perhaps the only ones who really knew were the growers who felt

the results in their pocketbooks.

The poll results also show how widespread is the public understanding of the dirty role of the Teamster bureaucrats who signed fake contracts

with the growers and with Gallo to help destroy the union that is the real choice of the field hands—the United Farm Workers.

The results are a tribute to the tenacity of the UFW, which has fought like David against Goliath in the battle with the powerful grower interests and the rich, corrupt Teamster bureaucracy.

It is also testimony to the steadily developing social consciousness of wide layers of the American people. The cause of justice clearly has many partisans in this country.

What underlines this impressive support is the still-spreading radicalization that began in the early 1960s, primarily as the result of opposition to the Vietnam War.

The launching of the grape boycott back in 1965 coincided with the rise of the antiwar movement and, in good measure, was propelled forward by it.

That initial boycott was so strong that in 1970 it compelled the grape growers to sign three-year contracts with the UFW.

In 1973 the growers' greed apparently got the better of their judgment, and they took the gamble that with the aid of their Teamster pawns they could smash the UFW.

The present scope of the boycott shows how wrong they were.

It also shows why the growers and Teamsters agreed to passage of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act, which provided for union

Continued on page 26

Free the Puerto Rican prisoners!

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—Almost 1,000 people rallied in front of the United Nations here November 1 to demand freedom for five Puerto Rican political prisoners being held in U.S. jails.

The five—Lolita Lebrón, Oscar Collazo, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores, and Andrés Figueroa Cordero—are members of the Nationalist party of Puerto Rico who have been in prison since the early 1950s, when they participated in armed attacks on major symbols of U.S. imperialist rule over their homeland.

Puerto Rican liberation fighters view the five as symbols of courage for daring to stand up against the mightiest power in the history of the world and as victims of that power's vindictive repression.

The November 1 demonstration was held on the twenty-fifth anniversary of Oscar Collazo's attack against the residence of then-President Harry Truman, while a proindependence rebellion flared on the island.

The protest began with a forty-block march from the Lower East Side of Manhattan to the United Nations. It



Militant/Lou Howort

New York rally demands release of five Puerto Rican nationalists held in U.S. prisons.

was a spirited, militant march of three to four hundred people, with a busload of activists coming from as far away as Philadelphia to participate.

When the march got to the United Nations, several hundred others were

already there waiting for the rally to begin.

Speaking at the rally were attorney William Kunstler; Puerto Rican Socialist party leader José "Ché" Velásquez; Carlos Feliciano, who was recently released from prison after serving time on framed-up bombing charges; Ramón Figueroa, a leader of the organization Resistencia Puertorriqueña; and Jacinto Rivera Pérez, president of the Nationalist party.

Cochairing the rally were Mirta Rodríguez, of the Committee for the Freedom of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners, which sponsored the demonstration; and José Rivera Sotomayor, first vice-president of the Nationalist party. The Grupo Jatari, from Ecuador, and La Alternativa, a Puerto Rican group from Philadelphia, provided entertainment during the rally.

Jacinto Rivera Pérez, who flew in from Puerto Rico especially for the rally, was the featured speaker. He denounced the hypocrisy of the rulers in Washington:

"The government of the United States, which has its hands drenched

in blood, pretends to be teaching lessons in freedom and democracy across the world.

"Now it is getting ready to celebrate the bicentennial, but what bicentennial are they celebrating? One of freedom, of democracy, of equality and respect between the peoples of the world?"

"No, it's a bicentennial of theft, of piracy and assassination."

Numerous messages of solidarity were read at the protest, among them statements from two of the prisoners—Lolita Lebrón and Rafael Cancel Miranda—and from the Dominican General Workers Federation, the Vietnam Committee for the Defense of World Peace, and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Demonstrations in solidarity with the United Nations protest were also held November 1 in San Francisco and Chicago. In addition, on October 30 the Puerto Rican Socialist party sponsored some fifty meetings on the island and in the United States to commemorate the 1950 rebellion against U.S. rule and to demand the release of the five prisoners.