

THE MILITANT

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

Stop the cutbacks!

Students: 'March on D.C. Nov. 19!'

CLUW AT CROSSROAD

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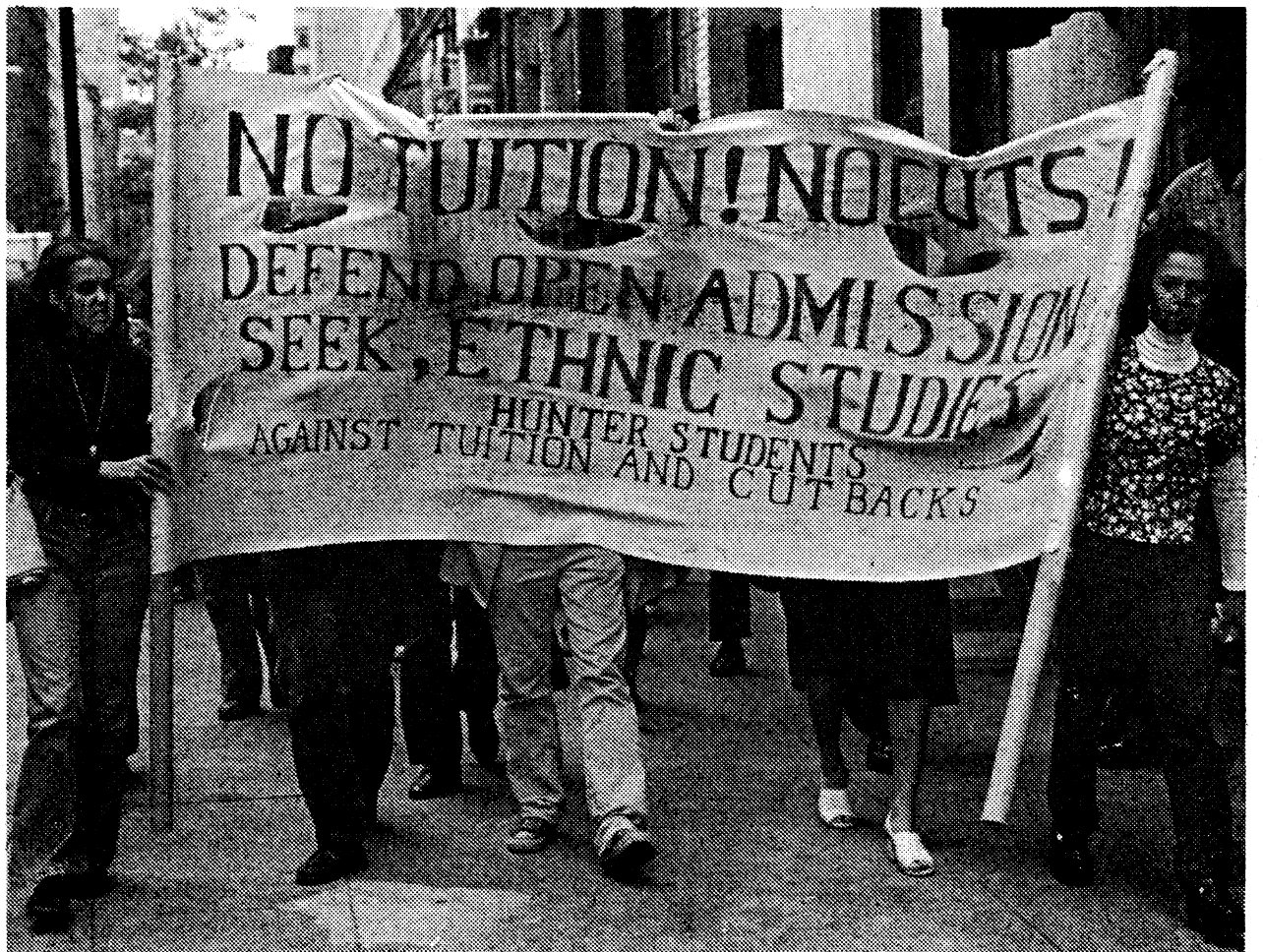
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MISSOURI MAYOR THREATENS IRANIAN STUDENTS: The mayor of Jefferson City, Missouri, has announced his intention to send the shah of Iran the names and photos of twenty-six members of the Iranian Students Association. Seventy people joined a peaceful demonstration in Jefferson City October 3 to protest repression in Iran. Two days later, police raided an ISA meeting in the Wesley Foundation Church and arrested the twenty-six, charging them with disturbing the peace. All of them had participated in the October 3 demonstration. They were kept in jail overnight and then released on bond the next day.

Mayor Robert Hyder has also said he will request funds from the shah to deport the students to Iran.

State Dep't says 'OK' but Blanco still barred

Last September's decision by Henry Kissinger to bar Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco from the United States has been reversed within the State Department. But in a government "Catch-22," Blanco is still barred from the country.

Last July, Blanco applied for a visa to conduct a speaking tour in the United States, coordinated by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). The State Department said Blanco was "ineligible" on the basis of "classified" information, but that Henry Kissinger would review the case to see if he could recommend to the Immigration and Naturalization Service that a "waiver of ineligibility" be granted.

Kissinger decided at the end of September not to make that recommendation, and soon received a flood of protests from prominent individuals blasting his decision as arbitrary and undemocratic.

Apparently in reaction to this pressure, the Kissinger decision was reversed. A recommendation that a waiver be granted was sent to the INS, but the agency refuses to accept it.

Mike Kelly, a national coordinator of USLA, called the reversal of the Kissinger decision "a big victory," but condemned the INS for refusing to give the final go-ahead. He said USLA would redouble its efforts to pressure the government into giving Blanco a visa.

BOSTON ANTIRACIST PICKETS CONFRONT

FORD: "One, two, three, four; we say no to Gerry Ford. Five, six, seven, eight; Boston must desegregate," chanted about seventy-five probing pickets as President Ford's limousine drove by. Ford was on his way to a \$500-a-plate Republican fund-raising dinner November 7 at the Boston Museum of Science. The site of the picket line, sponsored by the Student Coalition Against Racism, was not determined until the last moment. Police officials had challenged SCAR's right to demonstrate near the museum because of "questions of presidential security." The Massachusetts American Civil Liberties Union worked with SCAR in getting a permit 200 yards from the museum only hours before Ford's speech.

CALIF. BALLOT HEARING SET FOR DEC. 19: A

three-judge panel will hear a challenge to the California election law brought by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws. The December 19 hearing will be held in Northern California Federal District Court. CoDEL has waged a long campaign to strike down California's restrictive election law, which requires the collection of as many as 630,000 signatures to qualify a smaller party for ballot status.

Byron Ackerman, California CoDEL secretary, will be touring the state to win support for and publicize the lawsuit from now until the hearing. For information, contact CoDEL, Post Office Box 17314, Los Angeles, California 90017.

RIGHT-WING CONGRESSMAN THREATENS SWP:

Right-wing Congressman Larry McDonald (D-Ga.) has escalated his "war" on the Socialist Workers party with threats printed in the November 3 *Congressional Record*. His remarks are in response to a column in the November 7 *Militant* by Cindy Jaquith that characterized him as the FBI's mouthpiece in Congress. "During the next few weeks I plan to deliver a series of reports which will clearly demonstrate that the Trotskyist Communist[s] advocate terrorism and guerrilla warfare. . . .

"And contrary to the theory of Jaquith and other revolutionaries, I am not privy to the secrets of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. My information is . . . supplemented by reports obtained from a number of patriotic Americans in various parts of the country who have penetrated these violent Marxist-Leninist organizations, sometimes at the risk of their life."

ANOTHER WOUNDED KNEE TRIAL BEGINS: Trial started November 3 for Chicano activist Bernard Escamilla. Escamilla participated in the occupation of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in 1973. He is charged with assault with intent to kill two FBI agents and use of a dangerous weapon.

While in Council Bluffs, Iowa, the Upper Midwest Young Socialist Alliance traveling team talked with Escamilla. He told them the trial was moved to Council Bluffs from Rapid City, South Dakota, supposedly to ensure a fair trial. But the jury is all-white. The trial has received little publicity, in compliance with the wishes of the prosecution and the federal government. Even the defense was informed of the trial date only five days in advance.

One prosecution witness has already refused to testify against Escamilla, admitting that her previous testimony was false. She was charged with contempt of court.

TEXAS MEETING SUPPORTS UNDOCUMENTED

WORKERS: "Immigration and the person without documentation" was the theme of the fifth annual conference of the Commission for Mexican Affairs of the San Antonio archdiocese. Held November 7-8 at St. Mary's University in San Antonio, the event was also sponsored by the American Issues Forum Committee of San Antonio and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Resolutions were passed opposing the Rodino bill (a law now under consideration by Congress that would victimize undocumented workers) and supporting the Texas farm workers. The conference also voted to protest the media campaign charging two Chicano activists, Mario Cantú and Ramón Chacón, with "terrorist" connections in Mexico. Telegrams were sent to the Mexican President Luis Echeverría and the U.S. State Department demanding the release of Chacón from a Mexican jail.

N.Y. STATE POLICE SPY NETWORK REVEALED:

The New York State Police began a spy network in the 1930s, which has grown to more than one million index cards on file. "They are 'political dossiers' collected according to the whims of the times," says a memorandum from the state assembly's Office of Legislative Oversight and Analysis. "Dissent was the trigger to initiate a file."

The assembly group found police files were kept on legislators, editors, opponents of the war in Vietnam, socialists, campus radicals, labor unions, and others. "Even the nominating petitions of legitimate political parties were collected and stored."

The report also notes that "members of the academic community were 'informing' on other members of the academic community and on their students." These agents, called "discipline types" by the cops, regularly supplied police with reports on student activists and campus demonstrations.

State Assembly Speaker Stanley Steingut will create a new subcommittee to review these charges. Meanwhile, according to the report, "access to the file is more difficult and a cause for interest must be shown!"

—Nancy Cole

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Hollywood witch-hunt victims stage benefit for socialist suit against FBI

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—An "Afternoon for the Bill of Rights" sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) won gratifying support from notables in the entertainment world.

The event, held here November 2, was organized as a tribute to the distinguished civil liberties attorney Leonard Boudin. Sharing the honors with him was John Henry Faulk, the radio and television personality whose name has become synonymous with opposition to blacklisting.

Boudin is the attorney for the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance in their lawsuit against the federal government to put an end to its illegal victimization of dissidents. The gathering was a benefit to help the PRDF in its work of financing and publicizing the suit.

Nearly 200 people attended the twenty-five-dollar-a-ticket affair, which was held at a spacious Brentwood home.

Many well-known figures were among them, including such actors and actresses as Jon Voight, Lee Grant, Keir Dullea, Sarah Cunningham, Madeline Lee Gilford, and Jack Gilford.

TV producer Norman Lear was there. So was David Rintels, president of the Writers Guild and author of the recent TV production "Fear on Trial," a dramatization of the victimization of John Henry Faulk at the hands of the witch-hunters.

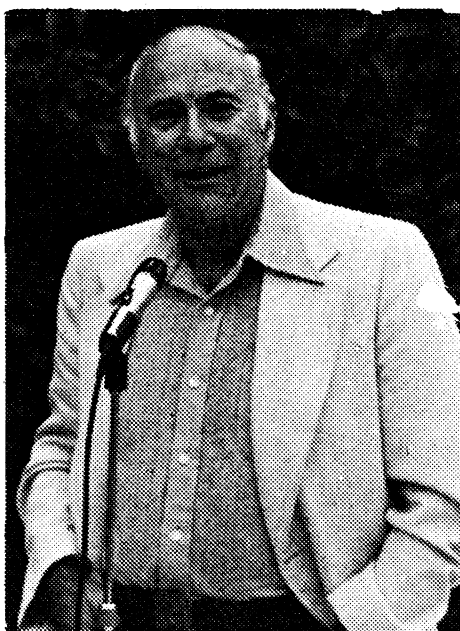
Others were Bruce Geller, producer of "Mission Impossible," and John Aylesworth, producer of "Hee Haw," on which Faulk will soon be appearing.

A number of those present had fought their own victimization in the entertainment industry during the McCarthy era. Among these were actor John Randolph and writer Albert Maltz.

There were such civil liberties figures as Aris Anagnos, president of the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California; Ramona Ripston, executive director of the same body; and attorney Leonard Weinglass, who is representing Jane Fonda in her suit against government harassment.

The event received significant attention from the news media. David Sheehan, screen and stage critic for the CBS-TV affiliate in Los Angeles, did a special news feature on it.

Brief speeches by Boudin and Faulk explained the significance of the suit. The program was chaired by Sherry Smith of the PRDF staff. Syd Stapleton, the defense fund's national secre-



Participants in 'Afternoon for the Bill of Rights' (clockwise from top left): actress Lee Grant, attorney Leonard Boudin, actor John Randolph, humorist John Henry Faulk. Event was sponsored by Political Rights Defense Fund.

tary, made introductory remarks.

George Slaff, mayor of Beverly Hills, presented Boudin with an official plaque in recognition of his contributions in behalf of constitutional rights.

Screenwriter Richard Powell made an appeal for funds that netted several thousand dollars.

Lee Grant, who introduced Boudin, recalled that he had served as her attorney when she was called before the House Un-American Activities Committee in the 1950s. She cited key points in his impressive record as an attorney, including his defense of Dr. Benjamin Spock and Daniel Ellsberg.

Boudin explained that the socialists' suit is unique in legal history. It is the

first time a political party has sued the federal government to halt illegal surveillance and disruption by the government.

Of special importance in the case, Boudin continued, are the revelations that have been made as the result of the legal right of the groups bringing the suit to demand documents and records from the government.

Boudin said that the disclosures from the secret files the government has been forced to turn over "have been quite extraordinary in that they have revealed the anatomy of the murder of due process—the anatomy of how the FBI actually functions."

These files, Boudin noted, have been

turned over to the Senate and House committees investigating the FBI and the CIA.

The revelations resulting from the suit are also important, Boudin said, because they are making others realize that similar suits can be brought. He said that the various local affiliates of the National Lawyers Guild are now considering a similar suit because of the effect of illegal government spying and harassment on the clients of lawyers associated with the guild.

The value of the Ellsberg case, Boudin noted, was that it exposed aspects of government foreign policy that led to the Vietnam War. "The Socialist Workers party case," he added, "is exposing the domestic side" of these same policies.

John Henry Faulk was introduced by actor John Randolph, himself an early victim of the witch-hunt. Randolph is the Los Angeles chairperson of the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

Randolph described an aspect of Faulk's career that helps explain why he became a target of the witch-hunters. A Texas humorist, Faulk had gained a wide following as a radio personality. But his career ended abruptly in the early 1950s when he was listed as a "Communist" by a racketeering outfit known as "Aware," which peddled dossiers on "reds" in the entertainment world.

Faulk was marked when he decided to join the fight against the witch-hunt by running for president of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists against a slate of right-wingers who supported the blacklisting.

It was the moment that Faulk was elected, Randolph recalled, that he was blacklisted.

Faulk regaled the audience with his own brand of humor, but he also spoke in a serious vein. The reason he is supporting the PRDF, he explained, is that "if there's anything basic to American society as far as I'm concerned it's the fact that justice is indivisible. As you do unto the least popular group in your society, you do unto your own society."

"If we haven't learned that from the cold war days, the McCarthy days, the Watergate days," he declared, "then we've learned jolly little."

"I can't think of a nicer birthday party for the guys that got us under way 200 years ago than a gathering like this," he added.

This case, he said, is "of vital importance. It's a chance to let the people know."

'This case puts the government on trial'

"Most of what is now known about the 15-year [Cointelpro] program has been made public as a result of the [Socialist Workers] party suit, the only such action filed thus far by a group that was a Cointelpro target."—The New York Times, October 6, 1975.

The suit by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against the government is making legal and political history. It has forced to light secret documents that have produced headlines across the country.

The government has already

been compelled to release 4,000 pages of FBI files and 1,000 pages of CIA files. And more are on their way, including documents from the CIA's "Operation Chaos."

When the case comes to trial—sometime in the coming year—the victims of the Cointelpro plot will for the first time put the secret agents and their superiors on the witness stand. For a change, it will be the government, not its targets, on trial.

A court injunction against political spying and harassment will be a historic victory for the constitutional rights of all Americans. The

winners will be the Black movement, the trade unions, women, student groups, socialists—everyone who has a stake in defending the freedom to engage in political activity without interference from the government.

Won't you join such prominent sponsors of the defense fund as Julian Bond, Anne Braden, Ronald Dellums, Daniel Ellsberg, Noam Chomsky, Gloria Steinem, and Jane Fonda in supporting this case?

Use the coupon below to lend your endorsement and/or make your contribution.

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By Linda Jenness

The upcoming national convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) will confront questions vital to the future of the organization. The gathering will be held in Cobo Hall in Detroit, December 5-7.

This constitutional convention will be the first since the founding conference in March 1974. Then, 3,200 union women came together to discuss how to fight through their unions to advance the special interests of union women.

lated in the face of this retrogressive drive. Union officials are urging women and Blacks to accept this setback, claiming that to challenge it would upset the seniority system.

- How is CLUW going to implement the stand it has adopted for fighting unemployment? A campaign in the union movement for CLUW's program of a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay is urgently needed.

- What should CLUW do to answer the reactionary offensive aimed at blocking the Equal Rights Amendment? In the wake of defeats for the state ERAs in New York and New

be responsible to them?

Or is it going to be reduced to merely an appendage of the officialdom of the AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers (UAW), becoming just a paper organization with no independent life and no meaning for the rank-and-file women in whose name it speaks?

Today's union women aren't interested in another women's auxiliary, whose only function would be to show that union leaders are "concerned" about women's rights.

The difference over these two perspectives is reflected most sharply in the debate over discriminatory layoffs.

women and Blacks at any workplace and that seniority provisions in union contracts be adjusted to accommodate this demand.

There was significant support for this position. But it was opposed by CLUW President Olga Madar and most other top CLUW officials. It was voted down by a 42-33 vote. In its place, a resolution that ducked this question was passed. By avoiding the question of the discriminatory layoffs, the resolution that the NCC passed essentially upholds the conservative position of the AFL-CIO hierarchy.

It was clear that the defenders of this weak-kneed position were responding not to the needs of CLUW members, but to the pressure being brought to bear by the top bodies of the AFL-CIO and the UAW.

Convention agenda

At the NCC meeting, it was clear that the discussion in CLUW on this important issue would continue. Because the NCC was so sharply divided, the only democratic course was to have the membership itself decide this issue at the convention.

However, in a subsequent meeting of CLUW leaders, Madar proposed an agenda for the convention that would allow no time for discussion and action on the affirmative-action issue, or any other policy question! The convention, Madar proposed, should discuss only the CLUW constitution and elect new officers.

This move surprised and angered many. If the convention can't decide if it agrees with the stand taken by the NCC, and if it can't take up other issues such as the ERA and the fight against unemployment, the democratic rights of the membership to control the organization will be denied.

Madar's proposed agenda is an attempt to prevent the convention from discussing and adopting plans of action that could put some new life into CLUW. It is an attempt to sweep the affirmative-action debate under the rug and to prevent any challenge to the position taken by the officials of the AFL-CIO and the UAW.

It would be a step toward stifling the independent life of CLUW and reducing it to just another arm of the union officialdom.

At the meeting of the NCC held over the weekend of October 31-November 1, a proposal for an alternate agenda was presented. It was agreed that this alternate agenda also would be presented to the convention, and the convention itself would be able to choose between the two.

The alternate agenda was presented by Linn McDonald, chairperson of Houston CLUW, and Debby Leonard, also from the Houston CLUW chapter and a member of CLUW's national steering committee.

Their proposal would allow time for the discussion needed on the constitution and the election of officers. But it would also set aside time for discussion and vote on CLUW's stand on affirmative action and on other major issues confronting the organization.

Supporters of this agenda pointed out that CLUW was formed to defend the interests of women on the job, in the unions, and in society as a whole. If this union women's organization cannot take a strong stand against discrimination—even if that means going against the stand of people like George Meany and Leonard Woodcock—then the very reason for CLUW's existence comes into question.

The Detroit convention will be open to all CLUW members. The decisions made there will vitally affect the future of CLUW. It is a convention that every woman who has participated in the fight to help CLUW grow ought to attend.

Coalition of union women confronts new challenges



Militant/Ann Cirkse

Participants applaud formation of Coalition of Labor Union Women at founding convention in March 1974. Second convention, to be held next month, poses test of CLUW's ability to fill need for organization that won't compromise interests of union women.

The birth of CLUW was an expression of the need felt by union women for an organization under their own control, an organization that would not subordinate their goals to some other interests.

These women wanted an organization that would wage war on the low wages, unemployment, and discrimination on the job that women workers face across the country. And they wanted a means of fighting to end the second-class treatment that women are accorded inside the unions themselves.

As CLUW's statement of purpose puts it: "The primary purpose of this new national coalition is to unify union women in a viable organization to determine, first—our common problems and concerns and, second—to develop action programs within the framework of our unions to deal effectively with our objectives."

Putting words into action

The question of how to transform these goals from words on paper into real life is being discussed by CLUW members across the country. This discussion is focusing on some questions of burning importance for all union women. Among them are:

- How should CLUW respond to the onslaught against the gains of affirmative action? Layoffs are reducing or wiping out entirely even the modest job gains won by women under preferential hiring programs. The trade-union officialdom, by and large, has capitulated

in Jersey, the need for action by CLUW, in conjunction with other union and women's groups, is greater than ever.

These questions will be on the minds of the women who arrive in Detroit for the CLUW convention. How the convention answers them will be an important test of whether CLUW is going to live up to the hopes of the thousands of union women who have worked to bring it into being.

In the year and three-quarters since its founding CLUW has made substantial progress. Thousands of women have learned of its existence and activities, and many have joined. Chapters have been organized in cities across the country. Educational and action programs have been carried out.

But no one would deny that this development has been uneven. Although many women have joined, many have not remained involved. Many drop away because the CLUW chapters have too often failed to carry out ongoing projects that could involve these new members.

In some cities, the chapters themselves have become inactive, without any perspective of beginning a meaningful program of activities.

Two perspectives

The convention will be faced with choosing between two perspectives for CLUW's future. Is CLUW going to become the kind of organization that can mobilize the ranks of union women, involve them in its activities, and

This debate has been raging within the unions, as well as in the women's and Black movements. CLUW chapters around the country have been discussing it (see accompanying article).

The union officialdom has taken the stand that the gains of affirmative-action hiring plans must be subordinated to the so-called seniority principle. This reactionary position is aimed at protecting the relative privileges enjoyed by the white male workers in the unions. It reinforces the bosses' attempts to divide workers along sexual and racial lines.

Strong-arm tactics

Naturally, many women and Blacks and other minorities have opposed this position. But this opposition has been met with strong-arm tactics by the AFL-CIO hierarchy.

At the NAACP convention this past summer, for example, AFL-CIO officials used considerable pressure—including threats to withhold funds from the NAACP—in an effort to force that organization to abandon its strong position in defense of affirmative-action gains. Fortunately, the NAACP refused to knuckle under and reaffirmed its position.

This issue came up in CLUW at the National Coordinating Committee (NCC) meeting last spring. A resolution was presented by Cleveland CLUW leader Jean Tussey demanding that current layoffs not be used by the employers to reduce the percentage of

CLUW debates affirmative action

By Nancy Cole

Chapters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) have sponsored panels and debates in several parts of the country about affirmative action and seniority.

The discussion centers on whether the gains made by women, Blacks, and other minorities in hiring and promotion should be defended in the face of the current layoffs or thrown out the window under "last hired, first fired" practices.

Women and Blacks are disproportionately filling the unemployment lines. This discrimination is being accepted by most of the labor officialdom under the guise of upholding "strict seniority." But many women and Blacks are challenging this backward position and putting forward alternatives.

"Affirmative action must be aggressive, and those who find jobs through it must not be the first fired," argued Geri Evans in a debate sponsored by the Twin Cities [Minneapolis—St. Paul] CLUW October 23. Evans is co-coordinator of the affirmative-action task force of the Twin Cities National Organization For Women (NOW).

"We're not antiseniority, but when new hiring or training methods exclude women, they must be stopped," Evans told the audience of more than sixty.

"We don't like discrimination, but we don't think we can eliminate it by practicing reverse discrimination," countered Ed Nygaard, first vice-president of Communications Workers Local 7200.

"We guard our seniority religiously. We'll go down fighting all the way," he concluded.

Other participants arguing on Nygaard's side were Joe Miller, field director of United Electrical Workers Union Local 1139, and Nellie Stone Johnson of the Women's Equity Action League.

Standing against discriminatory layoffs with Evans were Art Cunningham, president of the Minneapolis NAACP, and Susan Welsh of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1164. Twin Cities CLUW President Elaine Onasch moderated.

An October 26 panel in Cleveland included Marian Cook, a CLUW National Coordinating Committee member; Eileen Roberts, chairperson of the American Civil Liberties Union Ohio Women's Rights Projects; and Robert Saam of the Ohio Civil Rights Commission.

Following panels and discussions,

two CLUW chapters in Northern California (San Francisco and Northern Alameda County) voted to adopt a resolution that says, in part:

"RESOLVED, that wherever a seniority system is used to perpetuate the discriminatory hiring, firing and employment practices of an employer by allowing a reduction in the percentage of black, women and other minority workers gained through affirmative action struggles, CLUW stands for altering or amending that seniority system so as to protect these gains. . . ."

Militant Forums in several cities have provided a platform for CLUW representatives and others to discuss the discriminatory layoffs.

"Women, Minorities, and the Right to a Job" was the topic of an October 10 Militant Forum in Seattle. Speakers were Judith Lonnquist, national legal vice-president of NOW; Margaret Trowe, plaintiff in a class-action suit to win construction jobs for women; and Patricia Bethard, the Socialist Workers party's city council candidate in the November 4 elections.

On October 24, the Militant Forum in San Francisco, titled "Labor's Fight for Affirmative Action," heard attorney Howard Moore, CLUW representative Sylvia Weinstein, and Valerie Libby, SWP candidate for board of supervisors.

The Washington, D.C., Militant Forum sponsored a panel October 31 that included Sarah Schramm from NOW, Sargent Stevens from Government Employees United Against Racist Discrimination, and Linda Jenness from the Socialist Workers party.

"The layoffs have had a double effect," Jenness said. "On the one hand, they have cost millions of workers their livelihood. At the same time, they have been used to perpetuate racist and sexist hiring and promotion practices."

"By disproportionately laying off women and Blacks, the companies have deepened the divisions which exist between Blacks and whites and men and women."

"Because the layoffs have had a double effect, the labor movement has a double job ahead of it in fighting the layoffs. The labor movement has to fight against all the layoffs, fight for jobs for all—a job for every worker, that must be the basic aim of the labor movement."

"But at the same time the labor movement must fight the discriminatory character of the layoffs that are taking place."



Militant/Dave Paparello

'Affirmative action must be aggressive, and those who find jobs through it must not be the first fired,' argued participant in debate sponsored by Twin Cities Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Cahokia teachers end 27-day strike

By David Welters

CAHOKIA, Ill.—Striking Cahokia teachers have defeated a concerted effort by school board and county officials and a hired professional strikebreaker to break their strike and crush their union.

Teachers' solid resistance, along with broad support from the community and other unions, overpowered the board's slick maneuvering and harsh court penalties to win significant wage increases and a freeze on the student-teacher ratio in the schools.

The twenty-seven-day strike was marked by court orders, mass arrests of teachers, the jailing of four union leaders, and a stiff fine against the union. All failed to thin the strikers' ranks before the teachers and school board ratified a two-year contract on October 28.

Negotiations for the contract started in February. Union attorney Charles Kolker said, however, that effective bargaining had begun only five days before the settlement, after the departure of Roy O'Neill, a professional negotiator and notorious strikebreaker hired by the Cahokia Board of Education.

Arnold Kinsella, one of the jailed union officials, said thirty language changes in the contract proposed by O'Neill were a key issue.

He said the thirty changes, none of which are included in the ratified agreement, threatened classroom freedom and union bargaining rights.

One teacher quoted in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* summed the settlement up this way: "It's not so much what's in it—it's what we didn't have to put in."

Cahokia's 375 teachers and 5 nurses, represented by Cahokia Federation of Teachers Local 1272, had asked for wage increases of 8 percent and 9 percent in a two-year contract, improvements in pension and medical plans, and a class limit of twenty-five students per teacher.

The agreement calls for raises of 8 percent and 9 percent and provides for eighteen makeup days. Thus students get a full year's credit and teachers get a full year's pay despite the strike.

Teachers dropped some fringe benefit demands and the demand to reduce class size. Instead, the contract states that the present ratio of students to teachers "will not be increased" during the contract.

Attorneys for the school board are also instructed by the contract to try to get any legal reprisals against Local 1272 and its members dropped.

November 24 has been set as the date trials begin for 123 teachers arrested and charged with contempt of court for violating a temporary injunction ordering teachers back to work.

Associate Circuit Court Judge Richard Goldenhersh issued the injunction October 23, after an earlier restraining order failed to get striking teachers back into the schools.

Goldenhersh also had union President Ed Geppert and three other leaders arrested and held without bail for contempt, and hit the union with a \$4,000 fine, plus \$1,000 per day for each day the strike continued.

Despite the threat of mass arrests, an estimated 220 teachers staffed picket lines the next morning. Judge Goldenhersh ordered the arrest of 123 teachers that afternoon.

That evening about 500 union members and supporters from the surrounding two-county area rallied outside the St. Clair County Jail in Belleville,

Illinois, where the four union leaders were held. Support came from the East St. Louis Trades and Labor Council, the Illinois Federation of Teachers, meatcutters, steelworkers, ironworkers, and postal workers.

Local 1272 leaders, not informed of the mass arrest order, were caught unaware when two teachers were pulled from their homes that night.

More than 100 others, notified of the warrants by the union late in the night, marched to the county jail on the morning of October 25, where they surrendered en masse. Bail was set at \$1,000 each, and each teacher was released after posting bond with a crisp \$100 bill, supplied by the state federation.

On the following Monday, October 27, an estimated 150 members from



Notified of warrants for their arrests, more than 100 Cahokia teachers marched to jail October 25, where they surrendered en masse.

other unions and 100 students and parents, immune from penalties under the injunction, staffed picket lines for the besieged union.

Cahokia residents have played an important role in the strike, circulating petitions for the recall of the school board and in support of the teachers union.

Geppert and the other jailed union leaders were released October 27 to participate in negotiations, and then were finally released the next day after settlement of the strike. Kolker said that he would move for dismissal of all charges against the 123 teachers and would ask for a waiver of the total fine of \$6,000 against the union.

March on D.C. November 19!

By Steve Clark

On Wednesday, November 19, students from the City University of New York campuses and other East Coast schools will converge on Washington, D.C., to protest massive education cutbacks.

The call for the demonstration was issued by a November 8 meeting of 125 people sponsored by the University Student Senate, which represents the twenty CUNY schools.

At that meeting, fourteen campus student governments were represented, along with many Black Student Unions; campus newspapers; veterans organizations; special minority student programs such as SEEK, College Discovery, and Black and Puerto Rican studies departments; and the New York Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR).

The march was called to protest the mounting CUNY cutbacks that are part of an overall assault on the jobs, wages, and social services of the working people of New York and their

families. The leaflet issued to publicize the march says:

"We are being asked to bear the burden of the NY economic crisis by the bankers and politicians who run this city. *We say no! We demand no tuition, no cutbacks. Defend open admissions and special programs. Full state and local funding for education.*"

The march has been endorsed by the National Student Association.

CUNY students have launched a phone-calling campaign to other New York State and East Coast campuses to urge their participation in the November 19 demonstration. The march leaflet says: "We invite all students in the U.S. to join with New York students in the nation's capital to tell the Ford Administration: *Education is our right!*"

To help build momentum toward the Washington march, students are holding a November 15 city-wide teach-in. Speakers at the all-day teach-in, which is being held at the CUNY Graduate Center, include U.S. representatives

Herman Badillo and Elizabeth Holtzman, journalist Nat Hentoff, New York SCAR coordinator Sam Manuel, University Student Senate President Jay Hershenson, and others.

On Monday, November 17, CUNY students will march to New York City Hall to protest the role of Mayor Abraham Beame and Wall Street bankers in pushing through the massive city cutbacks.

Leading up to the march on Washington, teach-ins and rallies are scheduled at eight CUNY campuses. Eight student governments have already pledged funds to transport students to Washington, ranging from \$1,200 for three buses from Hunter College, to \$15,000 from John Jay College.

At Brooklyn's Kingsborough Community College, 1,500 students rallied on November 5. The student government there has allocated \$12,500 to finance buses to Washington and has already signed up more than 700 students.

Support from outside New York City is also mounting. A student meeting of 200 at Harpur College in Binghamton, New York, voted November 12 to support the demonstration. More than 1,300 Harpur students have signed up to go to Washington.

Massachusetts students, who have been waging their own fight against tuition hikes and a 10 percent slash in the state's higher education budget, have enthusiastically greeted the call for the march.

The Massachusetts Public Student Coalition, which organized several anticutback demonstrations this fall, voted November 11 to send buses to the Washington action.

Student groups and chapters of the National Student Coalition Against Racism in Newark; Philadelphia; Washington, D.C.; and other cities are also planning to send buses and cars to Washington.

NSCAR leader backs Nov. 19

Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, issued a statement November 12 pledging support to the November 19 march on Washington.

Dixon said that college and university funding cutbacks are "part of a racist assault on the right of all minority students to quality desegregated education, with full bilingual-bicultural programs for Chicanos and Puerto Ricans."

NSCAR had already been planning picket lines and teach-ins during the week of November 17-22 to protest segregation and cutbacks in education. "The November 19 march," Dixon said, "will help give national focus to this week of local actions."

The November 19 demonstration has been endorsed by Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (New York Public Library Guild). Anticutback organizers were also encouraged by a resolution in support of free tuition and open admissions passed at the recent New York State AFL-CIO convention. The resolution was introduced by the faculty union at CUNY, the Professional Staff Congress. The PSC has also endorsed the November 19 march.

Plans have already been set for ongoing protest activity after November 19. The University Student Senate, the PSC, and New York SCAR have called for a picket line outside a November 24 meeting of the New York City Board of Higher Education. The demonstration will occur at 4:00 p.m. at the BHE offices, 535 East Eightieth Street, Manhattan.



Militant/Andy Rose

New York students are conducting action campaign to combat cutbacks and defend free tuition and open admissions.

YSA hails national cuts protest

[The following statement was released November 11 by Nan Bailey for the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.]

The Young Socialist Alliance hails the call by City University of New York students for a November 19 march on Washington. We will mobilize our forces to help make November 19 an effective response to the all-out assault on education and other social services by Carey, Beame, and Ford, and by the bankers they represent.

Funding for higher education in New York City has already been slashed by \$87 million, leading to 10 percent across-the-board cutbacks in all CUNY schools. Now Chancellor Robert Kibbee proposes to lop off 20 percent more, eliminating thousands more students and faculty.

In addition, the New York City Board of Higher Education is considering proposals ranging from abolition of open admissions, to raising the present fifty-five-dollar student fee (mandatory for all students each semester in spite of CUNY's so-called free tuition), to closing down six of CUNY's twenty campuses.

If these proposals are not blocked, tens of thousands of students will be forced out of CUNY onto unemployment lines or into low-paying jobs.

The cutbacks affect Black and Puer-

to Rican students most severely, although thousands of working-class white youth also are on the chopping block. Black and Puerto Rican studies departments, and special minority student programs such as SEEK and College Discovery, are the first to feel the ax.

Similar cuts have already led to student protests in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and other states. The Washington march can become a focus for students on campuses both in New York and across the Eastern Seaboard.

To begin a successful movement to stop these cuts, students need to join with other victims of the ruling-class onslaught. The November 19 demonstration can be an important step in this direction.

Cutbacks in all social services have affected millions of New Yorkers. City workers have had their wages frozen, and thousands have been thrown out of work. Antiunion laws are severely restricting workers' right to collective bargaining.

Students and working people from Maine to California are being forced by America's wealthy rulers to pick up the tab for capitalism's economic crisis. If the bankers and capitalist politicians get away with slashing social services and chopping thousands of jobs in New York, other cities



Militant/Eric Simpson

YSA leader Nan Bailey: "November 19 can set example of national focus and unity in action indispensable in the fight."

and states can expect the same—and worse.

The November 19 demonstration, though called on short notice, can help set an example both of the national focus and *unity in action* that are indispensable in the fight.

Students should encourage trade unions, community groups, and Black and Puerto Rican organizations to support and become involved in the

march on Washington.

The rulers of this country want to keep the victims of the cutbacks and layoffs divided, having us argue among ourselves over which cuts should be made and at whose expense. To cut across this attempt to keep us divided, November 19 should be a demonstration on behalf of all the victims of the cutbacks. It ought to be seen as the beginning of a united movement to mobilize massive opposition to the cutbacks and layoffs.

Ford and the Democrats in Congress tell us that open admissions and free tuition are luxuries that New York and other cities cannot afford. They tell working people that their troubles stem from "welfare cheaters" and students who are getting a "free ride." They say the country's economic problems stem from overpaid workers, laziness on the job, and too many "handouts."

The YSA says *no* to these lies. There is more than enough money to finance education, provide decent services, and guarantee a job for everyone. It can be obtained by eliminating the \$100 billion war budget.

We say: Not one penny for the Pentagon. Full federal, state, and local funding for education, jobs, and social welfare. Defend open admissions and free tuition in New York City and extend it to all students.

Stop the cutbacks! Education is our right!

Socialist tells Congress panel: 'Funds for jobs, not for war!'

[On November 10 the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, headed by Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), held public hearings in New York City focusing on the current city crisis. Among those testifying were Gov. Hugh Carey, Mayor Abraham Beame, and many city union officials. The following testimony was presented by Ray Markey, a leader of the Socialist Workers party.]

My name is Ray Markey and I am speaking as a city employee, a unionist, and a representative of the Socialist Workers party.

I work as a librarian in the New York public library system. I am an executive board member of Local 1930, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and a delegate to AFSCME District Council 37.

The crisis in New York has become the number one political issue in the country, and with good reason. The cutbacks, layoffs, wage cuts, and destruction of union contracts in New York are the sharpest expression of the economic catastrophe threatening the working people of the entire country.

This is not just a New York crisis. That's a lie being spread to pit the workers of other parts of the country against the workers of New York. Most of all it's a thinly veiled racist attack on the Black and Puerto Rican workers of New York.

The same cutbacks and layoffs are coming down in Detroit, in Boston, in Seattle—in cities and states from coast to coast. Everywhere the politicians in office are trying to beat down working people, to convince us we have to sacrifice, to restrict our right to bargain collectively and strike.

We are told that schools must be shut down, teachers fired, welfare and medical care for the poor cut. Why? "No money." That's what Mayor Beame says; it's what Governor Carey says; it's what President Ford says.

All the bills now in Congress to supposedly "rescue" New York City have the same premise: "No money." These bills, written by the Democrats, would not provide one penny of federal



Militant/Sally Whicker

Ray Markey, back to camera, challenges Senators Hubert Humphrey and Jacob Javits to 'be honest for one day with the working people of New York City.'

aid to restore services or rehire workers in New York.

Instead, they would give an unelected federal panel dictatorial rule over the city. The openly stated aim of this federal panel would be to lay off more workers, end rent control, and rip up union contracts in order to cut wages and pensions. The only ones who would be "rescued" are the banks.

We agree 100 percent with the AFL-CIO that these bills would destroy collective bargaining and any semblance of union rights in New York. They are antilabor, union-busting bills and they should be defeated.

"No money." That is what you all say, Democrats and Republicans alike. *And you are all lying!* There is plenty of money to immediately rehire every laid-off city worker, restore all the budget cuts, and provide the social services people need.

That money can and should come out of the \$100 billion a year now appropriated by Congress for the

Pentagon. These huge expenditures for bombs, missiles, and other instruments of war are waste—worse than waste.

They are inflationary. They are the main reason for the crushing burden of taxes. They take away the resources that should be used to meet human needs.

It has become a rather well-known fact that New York-area taxpayers send some \$22 billion a year to Washington while getting back only \$3.6 billion in all forms of federal aid. But nobody stops to ask, where does all this money go? I'll tell you where it goes.

If you add up the admitted military appropriations, foreign aid, weapons research, and interest payments on the loans used to finance previous wars, nearly half the federal budget goes for wars—past, present, and future. That means New York-area taxpayers alone are subsidizing the Pentagon to the tune of \$11 billion a year.

I'd like to challenge the members of

this committee to be honest for one day with the working people of New York City and the nation.

Take one day away from your speechmaking and go into the hospital wards where people are dying for lack of adequate care. Tell them the real reason more nurses are being laid off. Tell them the \$18.6 billion you have voted for the B-1 bomber would run all the city's hospitals and health programs for *eighteen years*.

Go to Harlem or the South Bronx, or Bedford-Stuyvesant, and tell them low-cost housing can't be built because you have decided to send arms and money to South Korea and to Zionist Israel.

Go to the city university, where plans are under way to close campuses and kick out students. Tell them the cost of just *one* Trident submarine—\$1.8 billion—would be enough to restore all the cuts and run the colleges for more than two years.

No, you won't tell the truth to the people of New York, but I assure you the Socialist Workers party will.

The Democrats on this committee have the audacity to call themselves "friends of labor." If there were any true friends of labor in Congress they would introduce legislation to abolish the war budget and use that \$100 billion for a massive public works program to provide jobs and social services.

There is not a single voice in Congress proposing such a program. There is not a single voice in Congress speaking out for the interests and needs of working people. And the only way there ever will be is for the unions to break with the Democratic and Republican parties and run working people for office on an independent labor party ticket.

The workers of New York and the workers of this country will never get anywhere relying on these big-business parties. To safeguard our jobs and our standard of living, we have to rely on our own strength, mobilize independently of the capitalist parties.

That is the only way working people can stop the bipartisan attempt to make us pay for the economic crisis of capitalism. That is what the Socialist Workers party stands for.

Meany attacks union-busting 'bailout'

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12—The AFL-CIO has denounced current bills in Congress that would "save" New York City by squeezing even greater sacrifices out of working people.

"We are opposed to the legislation currently pending in the Congress which would unilaterally and unfairly penalize workers by destroying collective bargaining agreements and slashing pension rights of workers already retired and those retiring in the future," said AFL-CIO President George Meany November 7.

The proposed legislation has passed committees in both the House and Senate and will soon be on the floor for debate. Although the House and Senate versions differ slightly, the essence of both is the same: they would set up a federal board with the power to rip up New York union contracts, cut wages and pensions, and alter working conditions.

While billions of dollars would go to

guarantee city bonds from default, not a penny would go to reinstate laid-off workers or restore social services. And an additional tax would be extracted from the working people of New York to pay for the loan guarantees to the rich.

The federally appointed "Super Mac" board, according to the House bill, would be headed by Treasury Secretary William Simon and would include other cabinet-level officials. As the November 11 *New York Times* frankly admitted, the legislation "would place New York in a virtual receivership."

Peter Laarman, public relations staff member for the American Federation of Teachers, told the *Militant*: "We take the position that any provision which would allow federal officials to preside over the dismantling of contracts and cuts in pensions is a total travesty of the rights that unions enjoy by law. There is no longer a point in

having a union if everything you negotiate can be unilaterally taken away.

"The workers are being made to do all the sacrificing," Laarman said. "We haven't seen the banks come forward and say, 'take half our interest,' or Con Ed offer consumers a month's grace on their electric bills."

Citing the exorbitant military budget, a spokesperson for AFSCME here added, "Certainly there's enough resources in this society to meet the needs of New York City."

Unfortunately, neither the AFL-CIO nor any of its member unions have set plans to mobilize unionists to defeat this latest antiunion scheme. In fact, a meeting of AFL-CIO lobbyists on November 10 decided to take no action whatsoever to stop the bill. "Lobbyists for the organization scrapped plans for a full-scale campaign against the measure but maintained their opposition," reported the November 11 *New York Times*.

Some union representatives here have predicted that the bills will never pass, so no campaign against them is needed. But Democratic sponsors of the bills in both the House and Senate are pushing ahead, and they report increasing support for the measures.

Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.), head of the Senate Banking Committee, expressed confidence that his bill was antiunion enough to win the support of President Ford. "I think the president is more aware of what a really tough bill this is," the senator told the *Washington Star* November 10.

Meanwhile, other Democrats were working to bludgeon the AFL-CIO into submission. The November 8 *Times* reported that "Representative Bella S. Abzug, Manhattan Democrat, said that several members of the New York Congressional delegation were attempting to dissuade the labor organization from mounting a full-scale campaign."

Why nurses staged 'sick-outs'

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—One-day "sick-outs" by nurses at four municipal hospitals protested the way health care here is being attacked by wave after wave of cutbacks.

The action by registered nurses began November 6 at the largest of the city's eighteen municipal hospitals, Bellevue, as almost 90 percent of the nurses called in sick.

The next day, as Bellevue was returning to normal, nurses at three other hospitals staged a similar action, and there were widespread expectations that the protest would spread to all facilities. The sick-out subsided, however, after meetings between the New York State Nurses Association and the Health and Hospitals Corporation.

Bellevue nurses interviewed by the *Militant* agreed that there was one, and only one, issue: More registered nurses are desperately needed.

"Conditions have been very poor," explained one RN. "We don't have enough staff for the number of patients. Nurses have left, and we haven't gotten people to replace them."

A spokesperson for the Health and Hospitals Corporation confirmed this. Before a hiring freeze went into effect last January, there were more than 6,200 RNs in the city-wide system.

Now the number is 5,800, after dropping steadily for almost a year. That figure is almost 3,000 short of what is required by standards set by the American Hospital Association.

But that's not the whole story. "We've been having to do a lot of things we aren't supposed to," said one middle-aged RN, "because we don't have enough people in many of the jobs."

Another told the *Militant*, "Look—they say, 'We've got so many nurses.' But that's not true, because an RN is not one RN—she's two-thirds nurse and one-third housekeeping, maintenance, or dietary."

All the nurses interviewed declined to cite particular examples where patients had suffered as a result of inadequate care. Some said this was



Militant/Lou Howort

for legal reasons, or because it would tend to identify them to hospital administrators.

"But it's happened, I can assure you of that," one said, adding, "It's like

playing Russian roulette. It's a loaded pistol. And if there's less nurses, there's less empty chambers."

Dr. Lowell Bellin, the city's top health official, put it more delicately:

"Risks that were unacceptable now are acceptable."

The city hospital administration says that it "sympathizes" with the nurses' frustration. However, officials refused to state that no reprisals would be taken for the protests, saying it was up to each hospital's administration. Officials at Bellevue refused to comment on the topic.

The Committee of Interns and Residents, the union of staff doctors, says it is "in total support" of the nurses' protest. Doctors said their only regret was that they hadn't taken some kind of action first.

The acute shortage of registered nurses is only the tip of the iceberg, as far as hospital cutbacks go. Cuts of \$85 million had already been announced as of the time of the nurses' sick-out. With implementation of these cuts just beginning, one hospital has already been shut down, burn-treatment units' staffing is at 50 percent, and one hospital has closed down four of its seven operating rooms.

Coming weeks will see wholesale closings of dental, venereal disease, children's, and family planning clinics, as well as reductions in hours and services of most other clinics.

Those most affected by the cutbacks will be the poor, the elderly, the Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese—those who have no other place to go.

Nevertheless, the bankers and businessmen who run New York are still not satisfied. The City Club, an organization of New York's ruling rich, has proposed to shut down the bulk of the hospitals, leaving one per borough.

An official of the Health and Hospitals Corporation told the *Militant* November 10 that the nurses stopped the protest after being promised that no more RN positions would be eliminated. Negotiations to restore some of those cut were also promised.

It didn't take long to find out how much the promises were worth. The next morning, Mayor Abraham Beame announced another round of savage slashes in city services, totaling more than \$200 million and 8,000 jobs. Hardest hit were the hospitals, where 3,135 more employees will be sacked.

What health cuts mean for Harlem

By Baxter Smith

NEW YORK—Picture a city wracked by a scourge of tuberculosis, in the throes of diphtheria, measles, and smallpox epidemics, where a bout with venereal disease can mean death, where thousands of the mentally ill are turned away from hospitals to fend for themselves.

New York will be such a city in a matter of weeks or months, according to health experts, unless massive funding is provided to stop the cutbacks in health-care facilities and restore those services already lost.

Testifying at a November 6 public hearing in Harlem sponsored by the Black and Puerto Rican state legislative caucus, speaker after speaker outlined what the health cutbacks mean to the already handicapped Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Blasting the notion that federal assistance to the city should only mean loan guarantees to wealthy investors, Ollie Bryant of Planned Parenthood said, "There's no talk of where contraceptive and abortion patients will be able to go," if the city defaults.

Five municipal venereal disease clinics have already closed, she said,

and others will be reduced critically.

Bryant said that last year 45,000 teen-age women, largely Black and Puerto Ricans, used city birth-control services, and she noted that these services will be severely hampered in the event of default, meaning there will be more unwanted children.

A recent 21 percent cut at the federal level is already affecting Medicaid reimbursements for abortions, she said.

About fifteen Puerto Rican elderly, members of the Aguilar Senior Citizens outreach program, came to the hearing to urge a halt to the cutbacks. One woman clutched a sign reading "Stop the cutbacks in services to the elderly."

The director of the program explained that funding for it had been totally eliminated. "We came to demonstrate against this," he said.

Dr. June Christmas of the New York Department of Mental Health said that the cuts spell fewer day-care programs for retarded youngsters. A 20 percent cut in the mental-health budget that is in the wings, she said, means that after-care clinics and rehabilitation clinics for alcoholics and the mentally ill will be terminated.

"And many more of them are Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and the poor," Christmas said.

Donald Meyers, a former public school physician and a staffer at Lincoln and Morrisania hospitals, said that already 130 out of 190 school doctors have been taken off the payroll. This means, he said, a "child, if he's lucky, will be examined the first time he comes to a school and never again."

"School health programs will be completely ineffective," he said. He explained that although the law requires that all schoolchildren be immunized against infectious diseases, they aren't because of the personnel shortage fostered by the cuts.

Meyers said there are now more than 100 school dental chairs "that are unused while scores wait in lines for treatment."

"If elected officials fail us," Meyers said, "poor people will take to the streets."

His warning, however, appeared to fall on deaf ears.

Assemblyman Arthur Eve (D-Buffalo), chairperson of the caucus, said the purpose of the hearing was "to get recommendations from Black and

Puerto Rican citizens as to a course of action the caucus should take."

Eve made it clear the caucus's "course of action" will not include mobilizing Blacks and Puerto Ricans to fight the cuts. He announced that all recommendations must be submitted by December 31 to be considered as proposals for the governor's budget for next year.

Among those invited to speak was U.S. Rep. Morris Udall (D-Ariz.).

Giving a small, politician's wave to the ninety people present, and speaking from notes on a crumpled piece of paper, the Brooks Brothers-attired presidential hopeful said he was for federalizing the welfare system and for national health insurance.

When asked what he would specifically do about the New York situation, he replied:

"I don't know much about the situation here. . . . But I see there are only three of you gentlemen up there. Something like 3 percent of the Congress is composed of Blacks, but Blacks are 10 percent of the population. They need more representation. Therefore, I support postcard registration."

Teachers begin to challenge Shanker

By Lynn Henderson

NEW YORK—The delegate assembly of the United Federation of Teachers met November 5, with some 600 delegates present. The main order of business was voting on a proposed new contract, the outcome of the UFT's five-day strike in September.

The contract, which registered no gains and many setbacks for teachers, has already been voided by the state Emergency Financial Control Board and is violated every day by the board of education.

Nevertheless, UFT President Albert Shanker was determined to ram through a "yes" vote that could be interpreted as a vote of confidence in his leadership.

To this end, Shanker insisted that a "no" vote would be a vote for immediate strike action, since the union has a no contract, no work policy.

One delegate moved that if the contract were voted down, a strike could only be called by membership vote. Shanker ruled him out of order on the grounds that the no contract, no work policy had been adopted by

membership referendum and could not be changed by the delegates.

Another delegate then moved that the delegate assembly at least withdraw the policy and put it to another referendum. Shanker ruled that this motion would require a two-thirds vote to suspend the agenda. When hands were raised, about 40 percent of the teachers voted to suspend the agenda.

There followed debate on the contract itself. Delegate Peter Steinberg from Brooklyn argued against the pact. "If this contract is passed," he said, "one out of three teachers in this room will be laid off in the next two years. This contract is not only a disservice to the teachers but a disservice to the children and parents of New York."

"If the present policies of the union continue and this contract is passed," Steinberg warned, "the school system will be in danger of being destroyed."

Pro-Shanker delegates argued that the city is in a real crisis and teachers should not be "greedy." Despite the setbacks, they said, 90 percent of the teachers in the country would jump at

the chance to exchange their contract for this one. Moreover, they argued, if we reject this contract there is no guarantee we would get anything better.

The final vote showed 462 in favor and 108 opposed to the contract.

Shanker then gave the delegates his own gloomy assessment of the city crisis. "The situation is even more serious than anyone is saying," he asserted, predicting new cuts of up to 50 percent in the schools.

"We have just voted for a contract," Shanker said. "But a contract is just a piece of paper unless it is implemented. Without loan guarantees from the federal government and other relief in actual cash—without federal take-over of welfare and health programs—nothing in this city is going to work."

"We are in the middle of a huge, very destructive conflagration," Shanker said. "Whether we hold onto this contract, whether it is just a piece of paper or is implemented, is dependent on what the federal government does." And with that he turned and walked away from the platform.

A different perspective was offered in a statement distributed to the delegates from Catarino Garza, a UFT delegate and Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from Manhattan's Eighteenth Congressional District.

Garza called for a "no" vote on the contract as a way to "send a clear message to the bankers, the politicians and our defaulting union leadership that enough is enough."

He said Shanker had accepted the "big lie" that there is no money for city services. Garza said money should be taken from the federal war budget to restore the cuts and rehire workers.

"We need actions that are massive, independent, and united," Garza said. "We should insist that our union help take the lead in calling a broadly representative, city-wide, conference of unions and community groups that could be a decisive step in organizing these actions. We must unite with other city unions and community organizations around a program of no cutbacks, no layoffs, no reduction in services to the people of New York."

Chicago MDs fight for patients' needs

By Bruce Scheff

CHICAGO—Doctors at Cook County Hospital have been on strike since October 27, demanding better patient care and improved working conditions. The walkout, 90 percent effective, has become the longest strike of hospital physicians in the nation's history.

On November 6, 300 doctors marched from the hospital to the civic center, where strike leaders were to appear in court on contempt charges for refusing to return to work.

The strikers are members of the House Staff Association, which represents 450 of the 520 interns and residents at the hospital.

Cook County is Chicago's only public hospital and serves primarily the poor people of the city's Black and Latino communities. The hospital is ruled by a governing commission of political appointees.

The doctors were forced to strike after five-and-a-half months of negotiations broke down. The commission refuses to discuss issues of working conditions that directly affect patient care, insisting that these are strictly administrative matters.

The doctors think otherwise. "We're the ones who have the moral responsibility towards the patients," Dr. Mark

Bonnell told the *Militant*. "We're the ones who take the oath that we're going to try to heal people and give them the best possible care; and yet we have no significant input in terms of the conditions under which we do that."

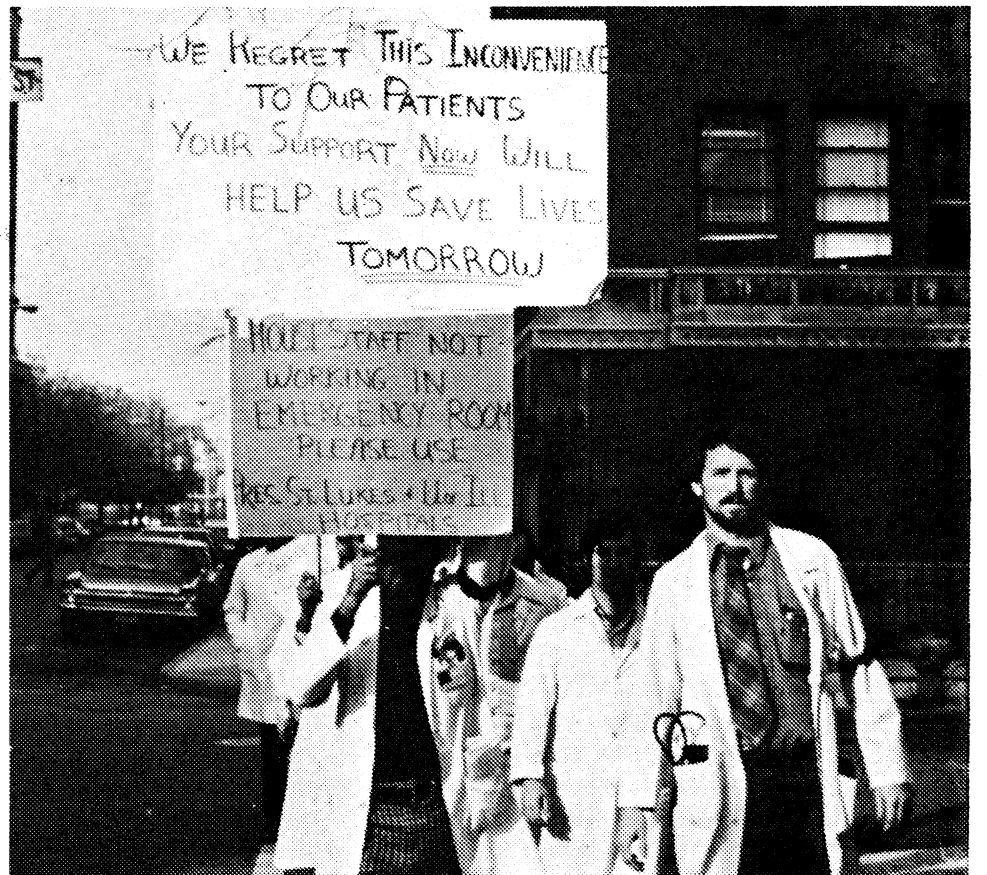
The doctors' demands include twenty-four-hour Spanish translators and more bilingual staff; elimination of long waits for emergency care; twenty-four-hour availability of X rays and lab tests; and an 80-hour workweek for house staff doctors, who now work 100 hours or more.

The deplorable conditions at Cook County Hospital result in poor medical care and even death. Last March a twenty-three-year-old Chicano died shortly after being admitted to the hospital. His condition was misdiagnosed because of the lack of Spanish translators.

The doctors are continuing to provide sufficient staff inside the hospital to provide essential patient care.

Asked about the patients' response to the strike, Bonnell explained, "There are a lot of them who support us, particularly there are a lot of men. You know, most men these days who do any kind of work have been involved

Continued on page 26



Militant/Bruce Scheff

Doctors at Cook County Hospital are on strike for more bilingual staff; elimination of long waits for emergency care, X rays, and lab tests; eighty-hour workweek.

Dist. 1199 answers attacks on strikers

By Fred Richards

NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y.—More than 700 members of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, traveled here from New York City November 8 to picket and demonstrate in support of members of their union at Woodland Nursing Home.

The 110 union members at Woodland, most of them Black women, have been on strike since September 22. Their contract expired last April 30. Woodland owners Martin Marmon and Irving Sendor have refused to grant a 1.5 percent increase in hospital and medical benefits.

The national union sees this strike as an important test of strength, especially since a recent 1199 strike at a nursing home in nearby Yonkers was crushed.

Marmon and Sendor, with the cooperation of local cops, have been run-

ning scabs into the nursing home every day. The union's pickets have been physically assaulted, with serious injury to two officers of District 1199.

Vice-president Jerry Brown is still hospitalized with serious damage to his head and hearing after a late-October assault, and Executive Vice-president Doris Turner's hand was broken.

The union charges the New Rochelle police with covering up these criminal attacks by refusing to arrest the guilty, even though they were personally identified by Turner.

On November 8, strikers and supporters marched into the front parking lot of Woodland chanting "No contract, no work!" and "Hey, hey, what do you say, 1199 is here to stay!"

After picketing for an hour they marched through New Rochelle into the central business district, attracting

the attention of hundreds of shoppers and onlookers.

Many appeared sympathetic. Some leaned out of windows to give a V sign. Others, in cars that were momentarily stranded as the wave of demonstrators streamed by, waved and responded favorably to appeals for support. Several groups of Black youth joined the march.

District 1199 has appealed for community support for the strike in New Rochelle. They have also called for an investigation of Woodland both for the violence against strikers and for corruption and illegal profiteering by its owners.

A union leaflet charges that the strike "was provoked to cover up the financial shenanigans of Dr. Marmon and Mr. Sendor," who own not only Woodland but also a number of other nursing homes.

'A form of racism'

The United Nations General Assembly vote labeling Zionism as "a form of racism and racial discrimination" has evoked a hysterical outcry from supporters of the Israeli state. On November 11 thousands of Zionists demonstrated in the streets of New York. Their signs proclaimed: "Those Who Condemn Zionism Condone Hitler."

The United States ambassador to the UN, Daniel Moynihan, declared that the United States "will never acquiesce in this infamous act." Democratic and Republican politicians, with Gerald Ford in the front ranks, denounced the vote.

What is really at stake in this emotion-charged dispute? Are the aspirations of the Arab peoples and the opponents of Zionism around the world to be equated with Hitlerism? Does the branding of Zionism as racist really signal a new rise in anti-Semitism among the masses of the colonial world?

The facts show otherwise.

The essence of Zionism is the assertion that the Jewish people all over the globe have a right to maintain an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine. The slogan of the Zionists was: "A land without people for a people without land."

But Palestine was not a land "without people." The establishment of the Zionist state required the violent expulsion of the Palestinian Arabs. From the outset, the Zionist settlers were organized to treat the Palestinians as enemies, to boycott Arab labor and Arab products.

A million-and-a-half Palestinians have been driven from their land. Those who remain—and those who have found themselves under Israel's rule as successive wars enlarged the territory occupied by the settler-state—face systematic discrimination in every sphere of life.

Racism against the Arabs is inextricably linked with the creation and maintenance of the settler-state of Israel, just as racism against Black Africans is part and parcel of apartheid rule in South Africa. How could it be otherwise?

The anti-Arab racism that Zionist rule breeds is the conqueror's hatred for its victims, a hatred that is used to justify oppression.

A Harris poll published by *Time* magazine in 1971 found that half of Israeli Jews thought "Arabs are lazier than Israelis." Three out of four believed Arabs to be "less intelligent" and "more cruel." Two out of three thought Arabs "inferior" and "more dishonest." And 80 percent believed "Arabs are not so brave as Israelis."

Is it any surprise that the majority of the oppressed people of the world, who have themselves been the victims of colonial rule, should recognize this mentality? Have they not experienced exactly the same thing under the heels of their colonial masters?

The struggle of the Palestinian masses is not based on anti-Semitism. It is a fight for justice, human dignity, and the right to self-determination. To equate opposition to Zionism with anti-Semitism is an attempt to smear and discredit the Palestinian struggle and its supporters.

It is, at the same time, a disservice to Jews, because it wrongly identifies the interests of Jews around the world with Israel and Zionism. The Israeli state can only maintain itself through allying with the United States and other imperialist powers against the Arab masses. Israel can offer Jews nothing but a perspective of continual wars and bloodbaths.

The only way out of this dead end is for the Israeli Jews to reject their role as oppressors of the Palestinians and counter-revolutionary shock troops for imperialism. They must accept the idea of giving up their special privileges won at the expense of the Palestinians, and live together with the Arabs in a democratic, secular Palestine.

The only alternative to this course is for the Jewish people to increase their dependence on the racist, imperialist government in Washington—a government capable of the genocidal war crimes against the Vietnamese, a government that displayed its own anti-Semitism by shutting its borders to the Jews fleeing Nazi terror in the era of Hitler.

The U.S. government responded with fury to last week's UN vote. But this tough talk was not motivated by any concern for the Jews. Rather, it was an attempt to turn back the growing tide of world opinion condemning U.S. intervention in the Mideast.

What the rulers in Washington are concerned about is the growing isolation of Zionist Israel that was reflected in the UN vote. They fear that this isolation will strengthen opposition inside this country to pouring billions of dollars in military aid into Israel each year.

And they fear that this opposition could grow into a movement capable of blocking any moves toward direct U.S. military intervention in the Mideast.

Better than imagined

I have read two of your most recent issues, and I admit the reading is much better than I first imagined it would be. I compliment you on honest and interesting journalism.

I enclose one dollar for your new-reader subscription.

M.G.

Chicago, Illinois

Gathering empirical evidence

After a very successful speaking engagement here, Evelyn Reed took some time off to visit the zoo. At the primate house she met two people who had attended her meeting the night before.

I guess they were checking out her anthropological theories for themselves.

L.H.

St. Louis, Missouri

'New York's only fault'

Appointee of the criminal he pardoned, capitalist front man Gerry Ford was not satisfied with knocking New York down by refusing aid to avoid default, he administered a kick in the teeth by vilifying America's greatest city. His obscene acts are representative of the evil and injustice which is monopoly capitalism in America.

A few billion dollars in guaranteed loans is not the real issue. Doctrinaire nineteenth-century Republican policy of "limited spending," the euphemism for cutting all assistance to the poor, is not either. What we are witnessing is a classic example of the bigotry and latent racism which is at the root of the capitalist foundation.

Ford supports pensions for Nixon, funds for the fascist puppets from Chile to Korea, bailouts for bankrupt corporations, and ever-increasing military spending. But help for the Blacks, white ethnics, Jews, Orientals, and Hispanics of New York is another matter, one which the ruling class refuses as part of its efforts to exploit and prey on class and racial divisions and fears. By getting 90 percent of the people to fight over 10 percent of the pie, the remaining rich can clean up.

New York's only fault was believing it could help all the people who came there from all over the nation looking for a better life. In a capitalist system there will always be tens of millions in abject poverty. It's time that fact was faced.

Thomas Hilton

Brooklyn, New York

Zionism & racism

While radical and revolutionary groups support the recent UN committee vote labeling Zionism as a form of racism, several important questions are raised by this vote.

My first point concerns people who are open-minded, but uninformed or misinformed about the Palestinian-Israeli question, to begin with, and who do not make the sophisticated distinctions between Jews and Zionists or Judaism and Zionism that the Palestinian liberation fighters do.

These people may say: "Look, more and more countries and groups are giving support to the Palestinians and condemning Israel. Let's check it out, there might be something to it."

But this resolution and the news media tell them: "You see, everybody is against the Jews," or, "They're trying to make anti-Semitism respectable."

Issues become more and more blurred.

My second point is that, while I am aware of the fact that Israel was formed through a process of colonization, expulsion, and dispossession of the Palestinians, and that the remaining Palestinians are subjected to racist treatment (as are the Sephardic Jews)—what in Zionist theory and doctrine makes it racist?

My own opinion is that the racist attitude of the European settlers in Israel toward the indigenous Palestinians is caused by feelings of white-European superiority toward people of color, similar to the Rhodesian, South African, and Algerian situations.

I would like the *Militant* to explain how Zionism contributes to this racism. This will enable us to engage in ideological struggle, on firm ground, with all the defenders of "little Israel."

John Guterman

New York, New York

Against abortion

If the death penalty is wrong, then how can it be used on the unborn person?

If the *Militant* is working for civil rights of the people out of the womb, how can the *Militant* be advocating no rights of those within the womb? The ones within the womb are like the poor. They can't fight back. They have no political power.

I read your paper and am embarrassed by your support of abortion. I'm glad to read of your defense of life and people's rights.

Gardner Weber

Evansville, Indiana

Maybe they'd feel differently

I wish your organization every success in its quest for a worker-controlled economy and not our present exploiting, capitalist one.

Our national leaders cannot seem to find it in their hearts to help our suffering poor. To sharpen the empathy of our governmental and religious leaders, they might try living for one month each year in one of our slums on a Social Security or unemployment check.

After they have done this, maybe they could make better use of their power to rectify these miserable living conditions of poverty, racism, crime, etc.

Frank Spencer

Cleveland, Ohio

More 'justice'

Here is another case of "justice" by the court system.

Robert Earl Brown, the coordinator and student adviser of the Malcolm X Center, and Craeman Gethers, a student at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, were convicted of robbing a McDonald's in Amherst.

The "evidence" that Earl Brown was convicted on was the testimony of three eyewitnesses. They identified a photo from school files as that of the man who robbed the restaurant. It had Earl's name on the back. It turned out not to be a picture of Earl but of a different Robert Brown.

One witness said the robber had no moustache. Earl has had one for years and did during that week, according to friends.

Police illegally searched Earl's room and found clothes fitting the description of the robber. Clothes



The tail wags the dog

fitting the same description were found in an abandoned stolen car that was used in the crime.

The all-white jury found this sufficient to convict Earl. Craeman Gethers happened to be with Earl the night when they supposedly committed this crime.

Earl's and Craeman's peers have found them innocent of the charges. A defense committee has been set up and will continue to operate until Earl and Craeman are free.

The judge said that he was tempering the sentences for Earl because so many of his friends had shown concern. (More than 100 people showed up at the sentencing.)

The defense committee needs funds for a lawyer for the appeal. Letters of support, inquiries for more information, and money can be sent to: Earl Brown Defense Committee, c/o Black Cultural Center, New Africa House, U. Mass. Amherst, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002.

Sally Rees

Southampton, Massachusetts

Irish rage

I was just reading through *Patriot Graves: Resistance in Ireland* by P. Michael O'Sullivan and am feeling moved to tears. I think we should all hold fast in our memories and current thoughts the struggle for freedom that has persisted so long in tiny Ireland. I want to let them know that somewhere in the USA a fifth cousin feels the Irish rage.

S.B. Moon

Monterey, California

Part of a rare breed

It has been my pleasure to view the *Militant* over the past several years. The national and international news coverage is very ongoing and good.

The interview with Sister Joanne Little recently [October 31 *Militant*] was a high point of national news coverage in that she is one of the few women who tell the truth about a real part of this society, and she has only sincerity and obvious mature growth at her command now.

She, you see, is not one of those rhetoric-spouting cross artists whose philosophy is not able to put bread on people's tables. Rather, the sister is sensitive and now able to tell a story that all too often we take for granted, as though if one or two national names speak out on prisons that's enough.

Yes, you keep telling the truth, Joanne. Because you are part of a rare woman breed—one of the most dangerous in the world, as you love your own people to the degree that you're not afraid to educate your loved ones about social contradictions and problems.

Speak to our people, sister. We love you deeply and don't care what the critics say.

A prisoner

Pennsylvania

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

The real relationship between the union movement and the Democratic party is coming to light in the New York City money crisis. In their efforts to "save New York," the union officials involved have revealed by their actions that they are the servants of the Democratic party political machine. They have sacrificed the jobs, pension funds, and working conditions of union members in the hope of retaining contracts with city and state agencies.

It is not yet assured that New York teachers and state, county, and municipal workers will have contracts after the bankers finish their shake-out. But those union contracts with the city that remain will not protect jobs or raise wages in accordance with price jumps. Nor will they protect working conditions. Albert Shanker, president of the teachers union, and Victor Gotbaum, director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, have abandoned these objectives.

The sorry prospect envisioned by Shanker was stated in his weekly *New York Times* advertisement on November 9. "Unless we can rise above the immediate questions of loan guarantees and default," he says, "New York City will soon lose all of its residents who can afford to get out—not to mention many businesses that either fail or leave. People who have a choice will not remain in the city without police and fire protection, without schools and hospitals. New York City will be left only with the poor and helpless—a citizenry totally and permanently dependent on the federal government."

It is clear that Shanker sees no possibility that working people or the poor can solve any of their problems through their unions.

To "rise above the immediate questions of loan guarantees and default," Shanker and Gotbaum counsel more support to such Democratic politicians as Mayor Abraham Beame and Gov. Hugh Carey, the very ones now in charge of dismantling city services, eliminating jobs, and cutting wages.

When the Democrats are around at election time asking for union money, they promise to support social legislation for more jobs, public health care, free education, and old-age pensions. They promise, if elected, to tax the rich for these social programs. And

union officials urge the members to shell out for them because, they say, these politicians depend on us and we control them.

The New York money crisis has demonstrated that, far from being controlled by the unions, the Democrats are in fact controlled by the bankers; and union officials who try to create the illusion that they can influence policy decisions of the Democratic party have revealed themselves as nothing more than messenger boys.

The hold that capitalist politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties have upon the union officialdom was openly exposed at the New York State AFL-CIO convention on October 31.

Raymond Corbett, president of the state AFL-CIO, had long been a creature of the Rockefeller Republican administration. With the election of Carey and a new Democratic administration in Albany, Corbett's influence in the state federation declined. Political decisions were transferred to the hands of Anthony Scotto, a New York official of the longshoremen's union, and Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers' International Union.

Scotto and Hall are "labor advisers" to Governor Carey, which means they curry favor with him in exchange for financial contributions to his campaign fund.

The state labor convention took no meaningful action on the New York financial crisis, but it did vote to raise per capita tax for political contributions.

Part of the arrangement with Carey is the hope that he will grant formal recognition and the dues checkoff to unions representing public employees. In this way the unions can stay alive and continue to function as staff organizations in which the members have little or no voice, and the Democratic party will continue to benefit from union support.

The two-million-member New York State AFL-CIO has the power and the resources to "rise above the immediate questions of loan guarantees and default," but not while it is anchored to the Democratic party. The political question for union men and women is how to regain control of their unions, free themselves from the Democrats, and launch their own independent labor party.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



A 'rally for survival'

Mighty kind of Dime Savings Bank to put on a show like that, covering for Chase Manhattan, First National City, and the other big boys.

You know, Dime Savings. The folks with the ads on the subways and buses showing a leprechaun sitting on a toadstool beside a pot o' gold at the end of a rainbow. "Let your savings mushroom at the Dime," the ad says. You remember that.

Well, there it was. High in the sky over Manhattan was a bright, pretty rainbow, and down at the end of it was the financial district—Wall Street, with its potholes o' gold.

And standing 'neath the rainbow at the "Rally for Survival" on November 11 was ole Paul O'Dwyer, the Irish ambassador to the city council, weaving a tale o' municipal woe as crooked as a shillelagh, blaming all the city's money problems on President Ford. The Republican Ford and the federal government are to blame because they haven't done a thing to help the city, he said. So blame them, not Mayor Beame, the Democrats, or the city administration.

It was some show, and actually a rally that Dime Savings and the big boys could have backed. This "Rally for Survival," you see, was really a rally for more cuts. Now, only a few of the 1,500 people who showed up knew that. You can't tell people to come and demonstrate to fire their neighbor or their cousin, or to cut expenditures for schools or hospitals—not if you expect them to turn out. But that's what it was all about anyway.

Percy Sutton, Black political kingpin and Manhattan borough president, was a chief sponsor of the rally. Just the other day he outlined his program for averting default in the *New York Amsterdam News*.

Criticizing Ford's proposals, Sutton said, "It is so painfully clear that the side effects of the medicine which Washington is prepared to administer will kill the patient faster than the disease itself."

Then he prescribed his own medicine, which is enough to give you heartburn: Cut services 10 percent across the board. Lay off 10 percent more city employees. Cut city employees' salaries 25 percent.

"New York is in a real crisis," Sutton said emceeding the "survival" rally. "And you can't blame any one group of individuals."

Boos came from every which way.

There were more boos when Sutton introduced Comptroller Harrison Goldin, the city budget squeezer, and Brooklyn councilor-at-large Robert Steingut, who was just indicted for a shakedown and dollar-siphoning operation.

But the high point of the rally, when the rainbow was brightest, was the appearance of the leprechaun. The borough president sang adulations and tossed posies in his path as the spry, clever leprechaun mounted the stage.

We Democrats and the city administration aren't to blame, Mayor Beame said. It's Ford. He was the one who told the city to drop dead. So rally behind us. Get behind our program of scrimping, scrounging, clipping coupons, and saving box tops.

The mayor, of course, ripped the stuffing out of the president. Then he departed and the rainbow disappeared.

But the clever, little leprechaun didn't leave New Yorkers a pot o' gold. Instead the afternoon paper said he had taken away 8,000 more jobs.



We must all tighten our belts—Now six weeks old, President Ford's nine golden retriever pups had a checkup from their doctor. He said they were all "doing great," but were getting a little too fat. He prescribed a reduced diet.

Not smooth—Smoking causes wrinkles, reports a Dr. Henry Daniell. His findings show that the more you smoke, the more you wrinkle. He says a heavy smoker at forty has a skin that looks sixty.

Sounds reasonable—"RICHMOND, Va. (AP)—The Virginia Commission on Speedy Trials in Criminal Cases said it would not be able to meet



'The older I get, the better the seniority system seems to work!'

its own November 1 reporting deadline. The commission said it would be two months late in issuing the report on its year-long study on ways to speed up the judicial process."

Who assists the assistant?—The Federal Energy Administration is slashing the number of titles available to "important" personnel. It allowed a final two-week period for a selection of titles, including such offerings as Associate Assistant Deputy Administrator and Associate Deputy Assistant Administrator.

Who needs anyone?—By the turn of the century, sex, alcohol, gambling,

and eating may be obsolete as forms of human gratification, advises Dr. Mike Smith, a University of Wales scientist. A small device would deliver controlled electrical impulses to the brain, triggering self-stimulation of various pleasure centers.

God rest ye merry—A festive "Law Enforcement Christmas Catalog" offers a variety of goodies, including: "KNUCKLE SAP GLOVE. Six ounces of powdered lead built into the back of the glove covering knuckles. These Sap Gloves are soft, pliable, long-wearing leather. They . . . look like dress gloves in every detail. To the casual observer these Sap Gloves resemble any other top grade black glove."

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



The terrorism of the FALN

Nine bombs were set off simultaneously in New York, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., early on the morning of October 27, only a few days before scheduled demonstrations in Puerto Rico and the United States commemorating the 1950 proindependence rebellion in Puerto Rico and demanding the release of five nationalist political prisoners being held by the United States.

A communiqué from the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN—Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation) took credit for the attacks, which caused little damage beyond a few broken windows and did not seriously injure anyone. In my opinion, the major damage done was to the cause of Puerto Rican independence.

Marxists have always opposed individual acts of terrorism, because such attacks carry an implicit political message. They tell the masses of people they need not involve themselves in struggles for social change. A small elite of armed revolutionaries will solve all their problems.

These tactics take the onus for violence away from the government and the capitalists, and instead make it seem like revolutionaries are to blame for violence. They unnecessarily give the government and the big-business-dominated media a handle to conduct slanderous propaganda cam-

paigns branding the fight against colonialism and capitalism as "terrorism" and "violence." A climate is thus created to intensify repression and harassment of radicals.

These were the results of the latest bombs: The governor of Puerto Rico made headlines with charges that the Puerto Rican Socialist party and the Cuban government were responsible for the attack. And the cops used their "investigation" to harass radicals.

There have been similar damaging results from the five earlier actions the FALN claimed responsibility for.

Of the three most powerful explosions, two have been directed toward indiscriminate assassination of random individuals. This was true in the case of the bombing of a crowded Manhattan restaurant last January, which left four dead and scores wounded, and also in the booby-trapping of a building in East Harlem, which maimed for life a rookie cop and could just as easily have murdered Puerto Rican children.

There has also been a disturbing pattern to all the attacks. They have occurred in the midst of protest campaigns by Puerto Ricans not only for independence and release of the nationalists, but also against ultraright terrorism and killer-cops.

The FALN has consciously tried to link other

groups with its actions, both by their timing and through communiqués. For example, the communiqué after the first blast a year ago falsely associated the FALN with the Madison Square Garden rally for independence and, in the statement after the latest action, the false claim is made that Fidel Castro publicly endorsed the FALN.

Moreover, nothing is known about the origins, ideology, program, or tactical reasoning of the FALN. It is clearly not an armed expression of any established group, since all Puerto Rican liberation groups on the island and in the United States have, to the best of my knowledge, condemned at least some of the attacks.

For almost a year there has been repeated and widespread speculation in newspapers ranging from the PSP's *Claridad* to the *New York Post* that the FALN could be the work of enemies of independence—right-wing Cuban exiles or the government—working to discredit the movement. This has evoked no response from the FALN.

It is clear that, whatever the motivations of the FALN, fighters for Puerto Rican independence are duty-bound to criticize it, both for its counterproductive terrorist tactics and for the way its actions and statements facilitate government repression and news media slander against groups not associated with the FALN.

The American Way of Life

'Revolt of juries' & revolting judges

For a number of years now, a phenomenon often called the "revolt of the juries" has generated growing alarm in the judges' chambers and in the offices of prosecutors and district attorneys.

Responding to mass public sentiment, juries have rebuffed government attempts to railroad to prison political activists such as Angela Davis, Daniel Ellsberg, Bobby Seale, and others.

This new mood among jurors has even led them to give a fair hearing to some victims of racist frame-ups, as the recent acquittal of Joanne Little showed. A fifty-seven-year-old Black juror remarked after that trial, "Ten, twenty years ago, I don't think she would have had a chance."

"Ten, twenty years ago." That was before the Black liberation movement laid bare the racist practices that occur every day in America's cop stations and courthouses. Before FBI and CIA revelations exposed the gross criminality of American government, ranging from burglaries to political assassinations.

All this has convinced millions of people that the accuser and the accused too often land on wrong sides of the courtroom. Many jurors carry this

attitude with them into the jury room.

Last month, after a jury in New York read its verdict acquitting thirty-year-old Charles Overton of a murder charge, a state supreme court judge exploded into nearly ten minutes of abuse and invective. He was evidently determined to stage a counter-coup against the revolt of the juries.

According to the stenographic record, Justice Burton Roberts told the jurors: "You are discharging on the street, in this court's opinion, a stickup man, an overt criminal who has been arrested 26 times, committed burglaries, robberies and has gotten pleas to lesser degrees." To Justice Roberts, it seems, Overton's past history far outweighed the fact that the evidence in this case pointed to his innocence.

Six jurors reported to the *New York Times* that Roberts, after ordering the court stenographer to consider the rest of his comments off the record, then shouted that the defendant was a "murderer" and "garbage."

The judge said he was "distressed that this jury could think that life was that cheap." Roberts, however, clearly didn't place too high a value on

Overton's life—or on his democratic right to be judged innocent *until proven otherwise beyond a reasonable doubt*.

Last spring, another New York judge, seized by a similar fervor to rid the streets of wrongdoers, ordered a man handcuffed directly outside the courthouse doors and dragged into his chambers. Who was this criminal? What was his offense?

He was the coffee vendor stationed at the traffic court building, and Judge William Perry didn't like the quality of his brew.

The public disgust at the arrogance and corruption of judges such as these has forced New York State to launch a probe into charges of judicial rudeness, bias, and conflict of interest. Currently, five judges stand to be removed from the bench if an investigating commission finds them guilty.

Although government-run investigations such as this will do little or nothing to rid New York courts of flagrant racial and class discrimination, the commission will nonetheless deserve a sharp rebuke if it discharges into the court overt criminals who. . . .

— Steve Clark

Victim of Southern 'justice'

Set Jan. 6 protests to free Delbert Tibbs

By Judy Hagans

CHICAGO—The National Defense Committee for Delbert Tibbs has set January 6 for demonstrations in Tallahassee, Florida, and in Chicago to demand an overturn of the December 14, 1974, conviction of Tibbs for a rape and murder he did not commit.

Attorney George Howard will be presenting oral arguments to the Florida State Supreme Court on that date showing how Tibbs was denied his right to justice and a fair trial.

Tibbs is serving a life sentence for rape in Florida State Prison. He faces the death penalty in the electric chair for the murder conviction.

Delbert Tibbs is a Black Chicago writer who was hitchhiking through the South while gathering material for a novel. He was arrested for allegedly raping a sixteen-year-old white woman and killing her white male companion on February 3, 1974, in Fort Myers, Florida.

The only "evidence" presented at the trial was the confused testimony of the woman, Cynthia Nadeau, the testimony of another prisoner serving a life sentence for rape, and a forged document used to discredit Tibbs and place him nearer the scene of the crime.

Violation of rights

The forty-three-page appeal brief spells out clearly that Tibbs's conviction was in violation of due process and constitutional rights.

A large portion of the brief details the discrepancies and the unconstitutional method of identifying Tibbs. Nadeau described her assailant as very dark-skinned with a pock-marked face. Tibbs is fair-complected with smooth skin.

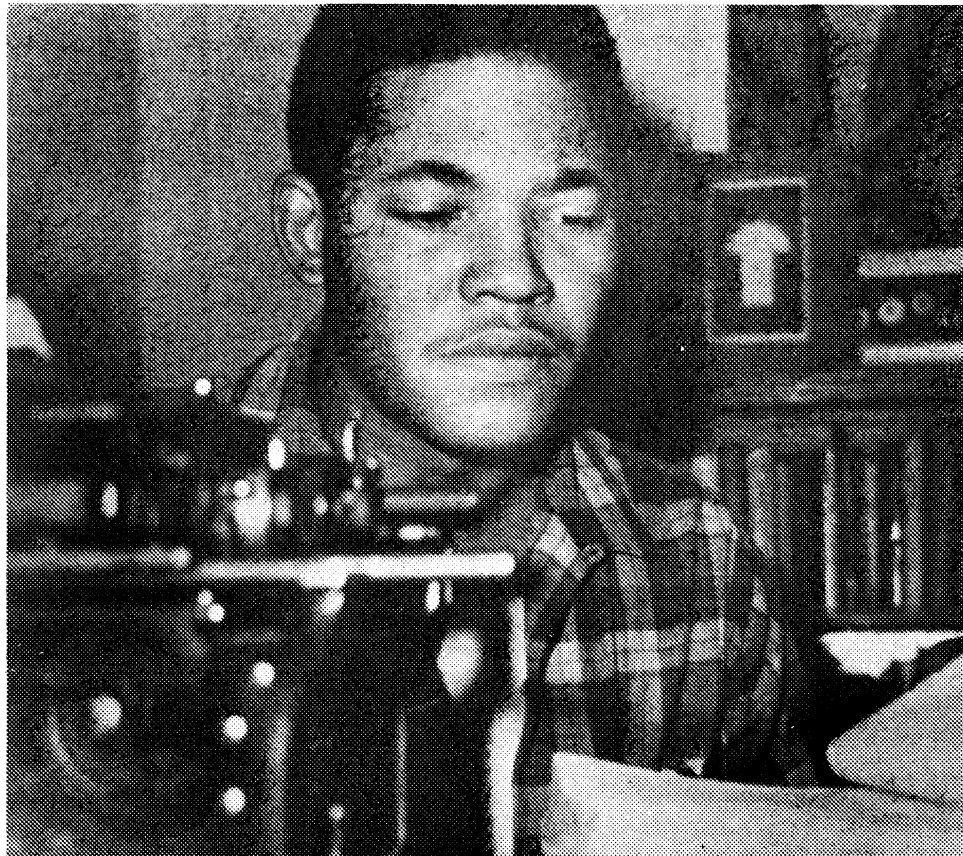
While he was hitchhiking, Tibbs was stopped on February 7 by police in Ocala, Florida, who questioned him, photographed him, and gave him a note of clearance upon his release. These photographs were sent to Fort Myers.

Ten days after the crime, Nadeau was taken to the sheriff's office and shown pictures of Tibbs. She then declared Tibbs to be the attacker.

The testimony of state witness Sylvester Gibbs, the other prisoner, is being challenged because Gibbs lied when he stated that Tibbs "confessed" his guilt to him while they shared a cell in the Lee County Jail. Gibbs testified that the alleged confession took place two or three weeks before Tibbs was actually brought to Fort Myers.

Forged document

At the end of the trial, without proper prior knowledge of the defense, the prosecution introduced a document to show that Tibbs had stayed overnight on February 4 in a Salvation Army lodge in Orlando. During post-trial motions, Circuit Court Judge Thomas Shands refused to allow testimony from handwriting experts who would have shown that the document was forged.



Delbert Tibbs. Black Chicago writer now on Florida's death row for crime he did not commit.

The brief details the "contradictory, false, vague and uncertain" testimony of the sole identifying witness. There is not one shred of evidence to support Nadeau's allegation that Tibbs raped her and murdered the man she was hitchhiking with.

No murder weapon, vehicle, or other incriminating evidence was turned up after extensive statewide searches. No other person has come forth to say they saw Tibbs in the Fort Myers area. Tibbs states he had never been to Fort Myers in his life and was 225 miles away in Daytona Beach when the crime was committed.

No motive was ever established for the crime. On the contrary, the defense offered character witnesses such as Chicago Alderwoman Anna Langford, Illinois State Rep. Robert Holloway, and Rev. James Mack, who all testified that Tibbs—a former divinity student at the Chicago Theological Seminary—

"had a good reputation for being peaceful and law abiding and a good reputation for truth and veracity."

Blacks excluded

Tibbs was caught in a racist trap that is being challenged in the brief because "Black people were systematically excluded from the array of jurors." Pretrial defense counsel objections to discrimination based on race were overruled by Shands, even though only two Blacks were among the pool of ninety potential jurors selected from a five-county area. Neither Black was chosen for Tibbs's trial.

In addition, the brief states, the jury did not obey the law when it brought in its guilty verdict. Shands took one hour to read his instructions, yet the jury took only thirty-five minutes to return a verdict. The brief charges that the jury could not have weighed the four days of testimony in so short a time and established guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

Demand Tibbs's freedom

On January 6, the National Defense Committee for Delbert Tibbs plans to present hundreds of signatures on petitions to Florida Gov. Reubin Askew demanding that Tibbs be set free.

The committee is calling on labor unions and church, women's, and community groups to adopt resolutions in support of Tibbs and send them to Askew. Buses will be chartered from Chicago to Tallahassee so that large numbers of Tibbs's supporters may rally in his behalf.

Julie Tyler, spokesperson for the defense committee, told the *Militant*, "We think it's really important that people let their voices be heard on January 6. We think that hand in hand with an aggressive legal defense, the support of the people—informed, concerned, vocal, and demonstrative—is necessary in the effort to defend Delbert Tibbs."

Petitions and information about Delbert Tibbs's case may be obtained from: National Defense Committee for Delbert Tibbs, 3245 South Calumet Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60616.

N.J. court to hear 'Hurricane' Carter appeal

By Michael Smith

NEWARK—On November 6, the New Jersey Supreme Court agreed to hear the appeal of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis for a new trial on their 1967 triple-murder conviction. The two have won widespread support in their fight to be freed from prison.

Carter and Artis appealed for a new trial in October 1974, after widely publicized recantations by the two star prosecution witnesses, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley. Bello and Bradley, themselves under indictment at the time of their testimony, admitted they lied on the stand under coercion from police and from the prosecutors in their own cases.

In spite of this, Judge Samuel Lerner denied the appeal last December.

Since then, a previously suppressed police report has been discovered corroborating Carter and Artis's alibi as to their whereabouts at the time they were allegedly committing the murders. Their lawyers, Myron Bel-dock and Lewis Steel, told the Supreme Court that the prosecution's deliberate withholding of this crucial evidence, coming on top of the recantations, made a retrial absolutely necessary.

As a result of this racist frame-up,

Carter and Artis—both Black—have for the past eight years been serving life terms. At the time of his arrest, Carter, now thirty-eight years old, was a leading contender for the world middleweight boxing title.

Even aside from the recent revelations, the original case against Carter and Artis was so weak that two grand juries refused to indict them, pointing to insufficient evidence. No murder weapon was ever found, for example, and no motive was ever established for why Carter and Artis would murder three whites they didn't know in a Paterson, New Jersey, tavern they had never visited.

During the seventeen hours that Carter was held by police on the night of the crime, he passed both a lie-detector test and a powder test proving that he had not fired a gun. The sole survivor of the shooting refused to identify Carter as his assailant when Carter was brought to his hospital bedside.

It was not until a full five months after the crime that a third grand jury was cajoled by the prosecutors into handing down an indictment, leading to Carter and Artis's arrest. At their trial, they were convicted by an all-

white jury in an atmosphere of racial hatred stirred up by the police and prosecutors. The jury accepted Bello and Bradley's testimony over that of six Black defense witnesses. Bello and Bradley are both white.

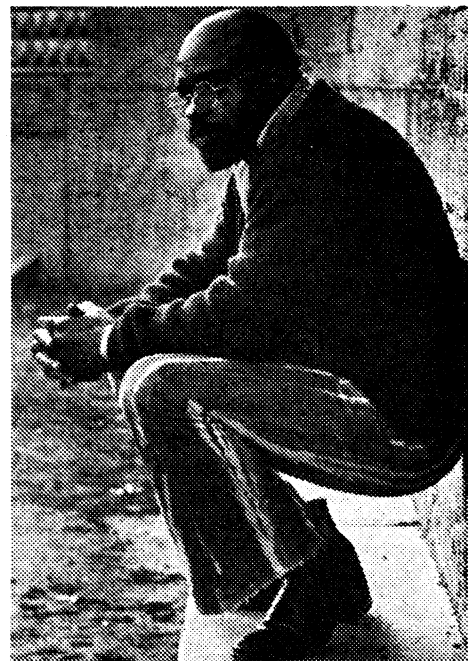
Carter's reputation as a supporter of Black rights obviously marked him as a target for a racist frame-up campaign. He had marched with Martin Luther King in the 1963 March on Washington and was a well-known admirer of Malcolm X.

In addition to their request for a retrial, Carter and Artis have asked New Jersey Gov. Brendan Byrne for clemency. Although Byrne promised a speedy review of the case and a prompt decision, he has not yet acted. In mid-October 2,000 Carter and Artis supporters demonstrated in Trenton outside the statehouse to demand an immediate pardon. World heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali addressed the rally.

Byrne himself had a hand in the frame-up of Carter and Artis. At the time of their arrest, Byrne was the prosecutor in Paterson's neighboring Essex County. He arranged a lighter sentence for Arthur Bradley on a

burglary charge in return for Bradley's testimony against Carter and Artis.

Telegrams demanding the release of Carter and Artis can be sent to: The Statehouse, Trenton, New Jersey.



Carter still sits in prison a year after key witnesses recanted testimony, admitting they were coerced by prosecution.

Half of schools untouched

Minimum busing ordered in Detroit

By Baxter Smith

Come January 26, a federal judge has ruled, there will be busing for desegregation in the city of Detroit. But in a district with 247,500 students, only 21,200 will be bused under a plan the plaintiff NAACP has denounced as inadequate.

In his November 4 ruling, Judge Robert De Mascio only ordered minimum busing, he said, to keep the city's whites from fleeing the district. Currently, 23 percent of Detroit public school students are white.

The plan aims at increasing to just over 50 percent the proportion of Blacks in Detroit schools that are heavily white, but it leaves still segregated—and virtually all-Black—about half of the city's 300 public schools.

The court's plan calls for less busing than either the school board plan or the NAACP plan. The school board's plan would have involved all of the schools that were more than 50 percent white, and the NAACP plan would have affected about two-thirds of all public schools and involved busing about 60,000 students.

De Mascio said both plans were too extensive. "The court has given full consideration to every reassignment," he said, "and has permitted the reassignment of students only where it has concluded that the desegregation results justify the burdens imposed."

Even his plan for minimum busing, however, has met opposition from two white members of the school board who have vowed to organize resistance.

The roots of the Detroit decision lie in the July 1974 Supreme Court ruling prohibiting a metropolitan, or city-suburban, desegregation plan for the 77 percent Black district.

The high court ruled that such a plan was not possible until lawyers for the NAACP could come up with conclusive evidence of state complicity in the segregation of city and suburban schools. But it did order the federal court to implement a city-wide plan as soon as possible.

At the time of the high court ruling, Justice Thurgood Marshall warned, "A Detroit-only plan simply has no hope of achieving actual desegregation."

The NAACP sought to have the Detroit school district, the nation's fifth-largest, merged with fifty-two predominantly white suburban school districts, creating the largest system under a busing plan.

Prior to the high court's ruling, the appellate court twice upheld the merger of the districts, and an appellate



Detroit demonstrators for and against desegregation



court judge termed the Supreme Court's ruling "a formula for American apartheid."

Coming up with evidence of state complicity in the segregation of suburban and Detroit schools should not be difficult.

In July the Michigan Civil Rights Commission pinpointed how state money had gone to support segregation in the Detroit and other systems. It found that the state board of education allots more dollars per pupil to the systems surrounding Detroit than to the Detroit system.

Additionally, the state gives the Detroit system less funding per pupil for transportation than other systems, and has continued to fund suburban, segregated districts in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The fact that the Detroit system is 77 percent Black, however, has tended to complicate matters.

The bulk of Blacks in the city favor a desegregated education for Black schoolchildren, but some Black leaders have opposed busing to achieve it. Chief among them is Democratic Mayor Coleman Young.

Young claims that any busing will result in further white flight from the city, now 60 percent Black.

The school board, which is now majority-Black, also opposes massive

busing for desegregation, as do prominent labor leaders in that heavily industrialized city, and the city's Democratic fathers.

The NAACP is virtually alone. While it does not favor a city-only plan, it will settle for that—although with more desegregation than the one just devised—until it can get a metropolitan ruling.

"This is never a problem when a school system is 70 percent white," NAACP attorney Louis Lucas says in reply to critics. "Everybody is willing to assign 30 percent Black students to each school. Somehow, when a system is 70 percent Black, it is somehow terrible and educationally unsound" to assign 30 percent white students to each school.

At this point it is unclear whether the appellate court will accept De Mascio's ruling leaving many Black schools still segregated.

In the Charlotte-Mecklenburg case in North Carolina in 1971, the Supreme Court said a desegregation plan that did not include every school was acceptable if the local courts determined that the racial composition of the schools left out "is not the result of present or past discriminatory action" by the local school board. This, however, is not the situation in Detroit.

Speak-out blasts L.A. cop terror

By Ann Wilcox

LOS ANGELES—"Because of this meeting tonight, an eyewitness to my son's murder has come forward," Walter Miles told an October 24 rally protesting police killings here. The 300 people gathered at Holman Methodist Church heard the father of Randall Miles explain how the police department had waited more than four hours to tell him that his son had died instantly when shot by police at the Hollywood Bowl last June.

The speak-out, initiated by the Student Coalition Against Racism, was cosponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Southern California Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, Watts NAACP, several defense committees, Black and Chicano student organizations, three student body governments, and a broad coalition representing more than fifty churches in the Black community.

The theme expressed was that harassment, shootings, and other police abuses are commonly experienced by Blacks and Chicanos in Los Angeles and that more united actions are needed to put an end to these racist practices.

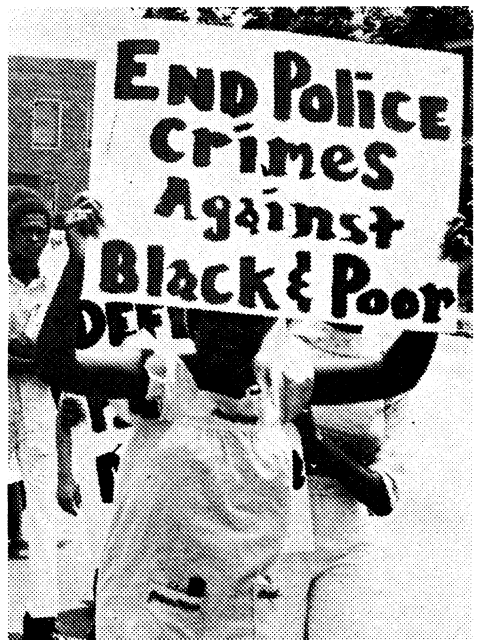
Rev. C. Garnett Henning of the SCLC told of a recent incident in Pasadena in which a Black minister was hanged by his arms from a tree by members of the American Nazi party, narrowly escaping death. Plans for a protest rally were announced.

Richard Price, co-coordinator of SCAR, told the rally, "SCAR stands shoulder to shoulder with leaders of the community in the campaign to stop police terror and abuses." Manuel Barrera of SCAR pointed out that the police have killed more than seventy-five people in Los Angeles in the past eighteen months, most of them Blacks and Chicanos. "Those responsible must be brought to trial and prosecuted for their crimes," he demanded.

Also speaking were city council member David Cunningham, the president of the Los Angeles NAACP, and representatives of several defense committees.

At a meeting of the Student Coalition Against Racism the next day, representatives of several campus Black student groups, MECHAs, and student body governments discussed plans for broadening antiracist work here.

The meeting voted to cosponsor a picket line on November 11 at the University of Southern California when William Shockley, a racist who claims that Blacks are genetically inferior, debates a Black geneticist. Also a picket against police brutality is planned for November 22.



Militant/Sarah Ryan

Phila. rally protests racist murders

By Duncan Williams

PHILADELPHIA—"¡Justicia!" (Justice) was the chant at a demonstration here October 30 protesting the recent fire bombing of a Puerto Rican family's home.

More than 200 people, mostly of high school age, participated in the march to city hall to express their outrage at the brutal murder of five in a North Philadelphia row house on October 5. Ramona Santiago, three of her children, and a family friend were killed in the fire bombing. Her husband, Radamés, and one son survived.

The day before the demonstration, a preliminary hearing was held on murder and other charges brought against Robert Wilkinson, a resident of the Santiago's neighborhood. "I lit the bomb and threw it through the Puerto

Rican's window. I heard a ba-boom and saw a little flame. Then I ran around the corner and pulled a fire-box." That's how his confession reads.

He explained how the murder was plotted with Donald Hanley, a Democratic committeeman. They planned to "get rid of the troublemakers" in the neighborhood. Hanley handed Wilkinson a Molotov cocktail and told him, "Do a good job."

At the court hearing, Radamés Santiago testified, through an interpreter, about the racist terror under which his family had been living. His car had been fire bombed ten days before the murder.

"My children were scared to fall asleep . . . there were many rumors . . . that something might happen to the house because the car was burned,"

Santiago told the court.

Bail for Wilkinson was set at \$390,000.

At a rally after the march on city hall, Wilfredo Rojas, of the Puerto Rican Socialist party and the Puerto Rican Action Committee, called on the demonstrators to "go out to the homes of the 125,000 Puerto Ricans in this city and unite them in actions like the one today." Also speaking for the PSP was José González.

Tony Austin of the Philadelphia Student Coalition Against Racism called the bombings "one of the most blatant and brutal acts of racism ever committed," and pledged his organization's solidarity with the protests. Also speaking was Rev. Muhammad Kenyatta of the Black Economic Development Conference.

Prepares for nat'l convention

YSA mapping strategy to fight cutbacks

By John Linder

In a resolution entitled "The crisis confronting youth," the Young Socialist Alliance has proposed a strategy to fight back against the cutbacks and layoffs that are affecting young people today. The YSA is an independent socialist youth organization with chapters in cities and on campuses across the country.

The resolution, issued in early November, was prepared by the YSA National Executive Committee for discussion and a vote at the group's fifteenth national convention. The convention will be held on the Milwaukee campus of the University of Wisconsin December 28-January 1.

Several years ago, the first reaction of somebody reading this document might have been, "What crisis? Sure, things could be better, but I'm getting by OK."

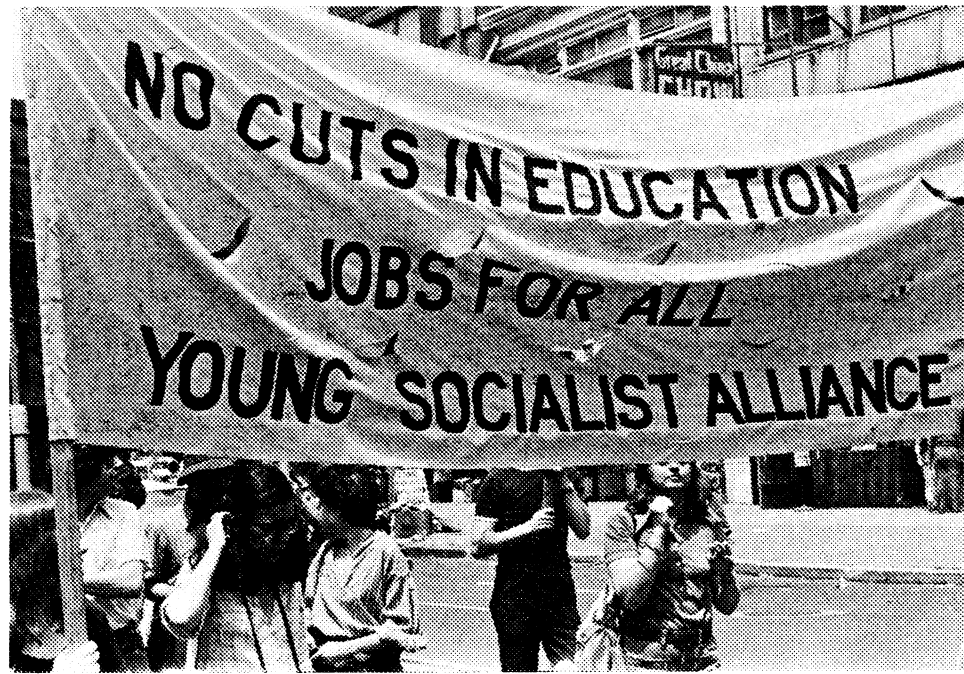
Recently, however, young people have begun to see things a bit differently. They have watched tuition skyrocket. They have more and more often had to sit in high school classrooms with forty or more students. They have seen the youth jobless rate shoot above 20 percent. Even job seekers lucky enough to have a college degree are finding themselves on history's best-educated unemployment lines.

The new resolution presents a thorough analysis of these attacks, drawing five major lessons:

1. Education faces a national assault by the ruling rich, designed to cut back opportunity at all school levels and to force students and their families to shoulder more of the burden of educational costs.

2. This attack stems from the worldwide capitalist economic crisis that has caused America's wealthy rulers, in their drive for profits, to cut back wages and social services.

3. The victims hit first and worst—in the schools and on the job—are oppressed national minorities and women.



YSAers march in New York demonstration protesting massive cutbacks and layoffs

4. Young people can and must fight back against these attacks. Recent anticutback demonstrations in New York City, New England, and elsewhere, and the fight for desegregated education now centered in Boston, are just the first round in an upswing in campus and high school political activity.

5. Current opportunities for students to link up with other social sectors are better than ever before. These potential allies include teachers and other working people, the elderly, welfare recipients, the unemployed—all those who face stiff attacks on their rights and living standards and recognize the need to join in a common fight.

Many campus and high school activists have begun to draw some of the same lessons. They have been asking: "How can the battle to save our right to an education develop into a massive nationwide campaign? How can we forge the unity that is necessary to win this struggle?"

The YSA resolution provides answers to these questions.

This fall, YSA chapters from coast to coast are organizing discussions to evaluate this proposal in light of their own experiences. They are distributing 30,000 copies of the resolution as a supplement to the monthly *Young Socialist* newspaper.

The YSA wants to solicit comments and criticisms of the resolution from a broad range of high school and campus activists and from other student and youth organizations. YSA chapters are inviting everyone who is interested in helping to map a socialist strategy for youth to attend the local discussions and to come to the Milwaukee convention.

Later in the fall, the YSA will issue a special resolution on desegregation and the fight against racism, which will also be discussed in all YSA chapters and at the convention.

In Milwaukee, in addition to the

reports and discussion on these two resolutions, major reports are scheduled on revolutionary developments in Portugal, the YSA's lawsuit against government spying and harassment, and the YSA's major tasks in the coming year. These reports will be debated and voted on by the delegates elected from the more than fifty YSA chapters around the country.

Twenty or more workshops will also be held, where all convention participants can discuss their experiences in activities ranging from building support for the United Farm Workers, to campaigning for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, to defense of political prisoners in Iran, Latin America, and elsewhere.

On the first night of the convention, there will be a special presentation to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the YSA. Tracing the YSA's participation in the Black liberation struggle, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the fight to repeal anti-abortion laws, and other struggles, the program will combine a slide show with anecdotes by many of the YSA's founding members and early leaders.

Another convention highlight will be a Socialist Workers 1976 election campaign rally, featuring Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. On New Year's Eve, the YSA will throw a party for all convention participants.

Along with these scheduled activities, one of the most rewarding aspects of a YSA convention is the opportunity to talk to and share ideas with campus, high school, and workplace activists from around the country—and many from around the world.

To receive more information on the convention or to order one or more copies of the document "The crisis confronting youth," write: YSA, Post Office Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003; or call or write the YSA chapter nearest you, listed in the Socialist Directory on page 26.

Demands orderly desegregation

Ky. NAACP hits antibusing politicians

By Mary Zins

BOWLING GREEN, Ky.—The twenty-eighth state conference of the Kentucky NAACP, held here October 24-26, blasted state and local officials for their role in disrupting school desegregation in Louisville and surrounding Jefferson County.

The resolution accused officeholders and political candidates of trying "to inflame latent racist passions for their own political purposes." It called on them to:

"Either present specific and acceptable alternative desegregation plans (which have not been provided during the 20 years since the Brown decision) or cease their continuous references to those nebulous and apparently undeveloped alternatives which in their present state are only idle and baseless promises."

The NAACP also demanded that these officials "support law and order in the enforcement of the present plan."

Eight hundred national guardsmen had to be called up as Louisville schools opened last September under a federal court-ordered desegregation plan involving busing in and out of Louisville's Jefferson County suburbs. White mobs, some led by the Ku Klux Klan, stoned school buses, attacked Black students, and fought with local cops during the first weeks of school.

The NAACP resolution commended the "Black and white children who have courageously done their part to implement the plan despite hostile opposition."

The convention was attended by 133 delegates from eighteen NAACP branches. In his opening address, state President John Johnson warned, "We are faced with a vocal segment of the community who are diehard racists and are supported and urged on by many politicians who in the past have been regarded as moderately liberal images." Johnson criticized both Democratic Gov. Julian Carroll and his Republican opponent Robert Gable for their outspoken opposition to busing.

Commenting on Carroll's recent statement that he would not welcome to Kentucky any presidential candidate who opposes a constitutional amendment to ban busing, Johnson said, "We had hoped that the governor would have displayed as great an unwelcome to the activities of the Klan in the state. . . ."

In an interview with the *Militant*, Johnson commented on the gravity of the Louisville situation. "I was out at Fairdale High School the second Friday after school opened. I've never been called a nigger so much in one day as in those few minutes. . . ." He said that Black students arriving at Fairdale on school buses were met by a

crowd of white students and their parents carrying signs reading, "Niggers go home."

Johnson told the *Militant* that the NAACP may file additional lawsuits to facilitate the desegregation plan. "One of our concerns obviously is the safety of the children," he said. "I think [U.S. District Court Judge James] Gordon has been pretty lax. . . ."

He said that he supports whatever force "it takes to insure the safety of the children."

Johnson also told the *Militant* that a meeting was held recently between antibusing leaders and Jefferson County police officers. The cops were given 500 bumper stickers reading, "We're against it too. Cops against busing." Johnson demanded the firing of cops who refuse to enforce the federal desegregation order.

Throughout Saturday morning and afternoon, delegates attended workshops on education, youth, housing, labor, and other topics. A noon luncheon honoring several prominent civil rights lawyers was addressed by well-known attorney William Kunstler.

On Saturday night, NAACP national board head Margaret Bush Wilson spoke to the convention banquet. She warned that the gains Blacks have made in education, employment,

and civil rights legislation are now being threatened.

The new code words for the racists are "forced busing" and "reverse discrimination," Wilson said.

On Sunday the conference passed resolutions demanding a commission to investigate police brutality in Kentucky and that affirmative-action hiring programs be established on all state-financed construction projects. It authorized the resolutions committee to draft a motion on job discrimination against Black women in Kentucky.



Bus in Louisville, Kentucky, after racist riots in September. NAACP charges officials incited resistance to desegregation.

Unions default

Antilabor vote in S.F. a warning signal

By Larry Seigle

The November 4 election returns from San Francisco ought to finish off any lingering notion that the offensive against public employees is just a New York question. The antilabor drive has gone furthest in New York, but the rulers in other cities are traveling on exactly the same track.

In the face of a barrage of antiunion propaganda and a totally ineffective response from the union leadership, a set of antilabor propositions was approved by San Francisco voters. Proposition B, which would lower wages of thousands of San Francisco city workers, passed by a 2-to-1 majority.

This vote, in a city with a strong union tradition, should serve as an alarm signal across the country: The policy of the present union leadership of shackling the unions to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties is leaving the working class disarmed and defenseless against the new wave of attacks on wages and union rights.

The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, the Downtown Association, the news media, and the politicians of both capitalist parties joined in a demagogic chorus to blame city workers for high taxes and other problems facing working people in San Francisco.

The ruling class played on resentment at last summer's gigantic boost in homeowners' taxes, making public workers the scapegoat. The strike by fire fighters and cops last August also evoked ringing denunciations of all city workers.

Just like their counterparts in New York, the San Francisco politicians and editorial writers never tired of working themselves into a lather condemning city workers as lazy and overpaid.

Unions default

The workers organizations failed to mount any effective campaign to answer the big-business political offensive.

The union movement was trapped because the Democratic party politicians—those whom the union officials had campaigned for as "friends of labor" in previous elections—were leading the union-busting drive. Nine of the eleven members of the board of supervisors (city council) had won office with union backing.

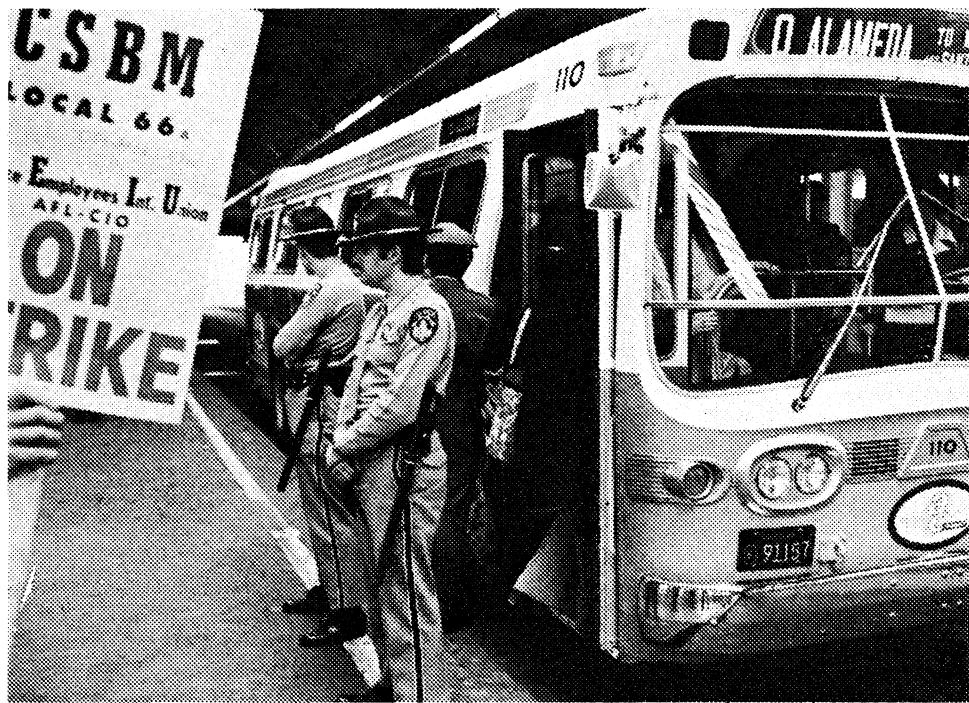
The unions did form a coalition to urge defeat of Proposition B. But instead of challenging the assault on city workers, this outfit capitulated to it. The union bureaucrats gave the workers no credit for having even an ounce of labor solidarity. They voluntarily shifted the debate onto how best to avoid the evils of city strikes, rather than explaining the stake of all workers in defending the public employees.

The coalition called itself "Citizens Opposed to Unnecessary City Strikes." Their main argument was that Proposition B would "subject the city to the threat of a strike" by public workers. These tactical geniuses thus lent further credence to the bosses' antiunion campaign, cheerfully helping to dig their own grave.

Attack on all workers

The opponents of Proposition B and the other antiunion measures could have won mass support if they had explained that reducing the wages of public workers will lead to attempts to reduce wages of workers in private industry. They could have explained that attacks on the right to strike will inevitably be extended to all unions.

But such a stand would have led them into conflict with the capitalist



Militant/Howard Petrick

State police protect scab driver during 1974 San Francisco city employees' strike. Ruling class is trying to make public workers scapegoat for high taxes and other problems facing working people.

politicians they look to for their ideas, and through whom they hope to exercise their "influence."

The irony is that the fragmentation and apparent impotence of the "labor vote" fostered by this bankrupt policy will only help convince the Democrats they can ignore the would-be power brokers in the union officialdom.

Although the union officials gave their backing to Democratic mayoral candidate George Moscone, the Democrats' antilabor stand was so brazen that the San Francisco Labor Council did feel compelled to register a protest by refusing to endorse any of the incumbents on the board of supervisors. This fact itself stands as a damning indictment of their policy of supporting Democrats—they have to disavow the very people they put into office!

Mississippi race

Even the beginning of a working-class break from the Democrats and Republicans can have considerable impact, as was shown in Mississippi.

Henry Kirksey, a Black candidate, ran for governor as an independent against the two white nominees of the Democratic and Republican parties.

With limited resources, Kirksey got about 2.7 percent of the vote—a modest figure, but almost enough to deny either of the other candidates a majority. Had that happened, the election would have been thrown into the state house of representatives.

But the Kirksey campaign was an exception.

In San Francisco and around the country, the absence of any major expression of independent labor or Black political action in the November 4 elections left working people with little to choose from among the candidates. In many elections, the turnout was low. In most, there was only mild interest, if that.

Thus, at a time of economic crisis, with growing dissatisfaction with government policies and increasing concern about what the future has in store, it appeared on the surface that working people had little interest in

politics. This "apathy," however, was a creation of the capitalist parties. They guaranteed that no choices would be offered, and no alternatives even discussed.

No class alternative

The absence of a major working-class alternative left the electoral arena to the capitalist politicians and allowed them to establish the framework for the way political issues were seen. Naturally, this shifted the political discussions to the right. The default of the labor movement paved the way for conservative forces to win victories in some important referendums.

In New York and New Jersey, opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment succeeded in defeating proposed equal rights amendments to the state constitutions, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the population in those states and nationally supports the ERA.

In Washington State, a referendum on a proposal to tax corporations to pay for education was defeated by a 2-to-1 margin. A measure that would restore the death penalty in the state was approved by a similar majority.

The Washington tax measure had earlier won significant support from working people who saw it as a way to shift the tax burden onto the corporations. However, from the capitalists' standpoint, anything that advances the idea that profits should be taxed directly for essential social needs is anathema.

They pulled out all the stops in a massive publicity drive to defeat the measure, arguing that the tax would drive business out of the state and that the tax would just be passed on to the consumer anyway.

Busing issue

The question of school busing was an important issue in the Kentucky governor's race and in the Boston city elections. Neither election, however, was a clear referendum on the issue because the capitalist candidates had virtually identical antibusing positions. Thus, the proponents of desegregation

Continued on page 26

Vote tallies for socialist candidates

Socialist Workers party candidates in a number of cities ran serious and spirited campaigns in this fall's municipal elections. These campaigns were greeted enthusiastically by many working people.

But the fact remains that the two capitalist parties have a monopoly on the electoral process. They are the ones featured in the news media. They have the financial resources to buy advertising. They are automatically granted ballot status. And, they count the votes.

Despite the obstacles thrown in the way of independent campaigns, socialist candidates ended up with some significant vote tallies.

In Seattle, city council candidate Patricia Bethard, who qualified for the November ballot in the September primary, received 38,771 votes. That was 26 percent of the vote in the officially nonpartisan race.

In Cleveland, school board candidate Christine Gauvreau received 10,351 votes, more than 4 percent of the total.

Socialist candidates in Houston got the following votes: Pedro Vásquez for mayor, 1,493 (0.6 percent); Betsy Farley for controller, 10,811 (5.3 percent); and Dan Fein for school board, 217 (1.3 percent).

With the lowest voter turnout in Minneapolis history, SWP mayoral candidate Mary Hillery received 1,621

votes (1.7 percent). City council candidate votes were: Gary Prevost, 220 (6.4 percent); Ralph Schwartz, 230 (3.8 percent); and Joanne Murphy, 111 (1.9 percent).

In Philadelphia, a challenge by the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees knocked mayoral candidate Terry Ann Hardy off the ballot, but not before the ballots were printed. The city then locked the voting-machine lever by her name, but official returns listed 1,482 votes for Hardy.

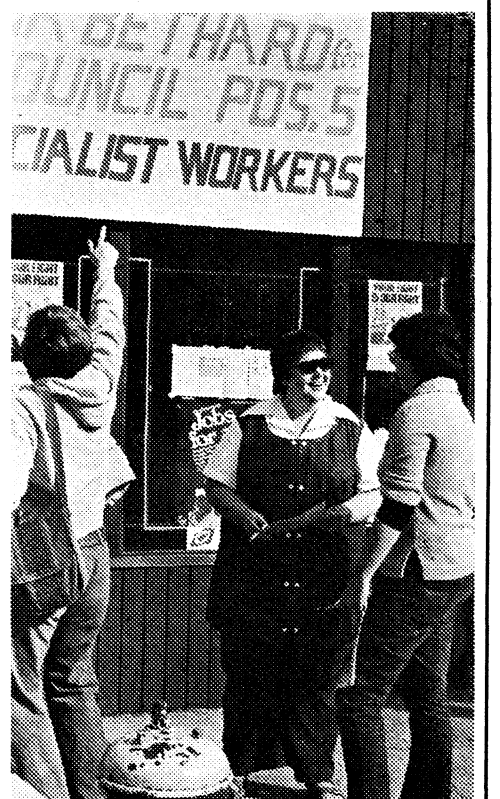
Philadelphia city council candidate returns were: Duncan Williams, 2,603 (.47 percent); Josephine Otero, 2,079 (.38 percent); Dick Osborne, 1,783 (.32 percent); and Derrick Morrison (write-in), 146 (.03 percent).

Pittsburgh returns were: Christina Adachi for county controller, 3,814; county commissioner candidates Stephanie Brooks, 2,029, and Neil Berns, 1,184; and city council candidates Susan Beck, 1,964; Virginia Burke, 1,752; Paul LeBlanc, 1,264; Howard Beck, 1,171; and Thomas Twiss, 964.

San Francisco mayoral candidate Roland Sheppard placed seventh in a field of eleven candidates with 1,085 votes, (0.5 percent). Board of supervisors candidate returns were: Juan Martínez, 8,472; Valerie Libby, 7,280; and Jonathan Olmsted, 5,221.

In Washington, D.C., Brenda Brdar,

school board candidate in ward one, received 48 votes (1.98 percent). Erich Martel, school board at-large candidate, got 808 votes (3 percent).



Militant/Toby Emmerich

Patricia Bethard outside her campaign headquarters. Seattle socialist finished with 26 percent of vote.

Confronts border patrol

Camejo hits racist deportation campaign

By David Salner

SAN DIEGO—The border patrol facility in Chula Vista, California, is a cluster of low buildings on a dusty hill near the Mexican border.

Inside, uniformed border patrol agents file reports and take readings on sensor equipment.

The reports are about Mexican workers being deported as "illegal aliens." The sensors are designed to detect anyone in the immediate vicinity of the border. The same kind of equipment was used in Vietnam.

The idea being drummed up by the U.S. government and the national news media is that "illegal aliens" sneak across the border and steal American jobs.

"Illegal alien drive being opened here by U.S." screamed the front-page headline in the November 6 *San Diego Union*, the major daily paper.

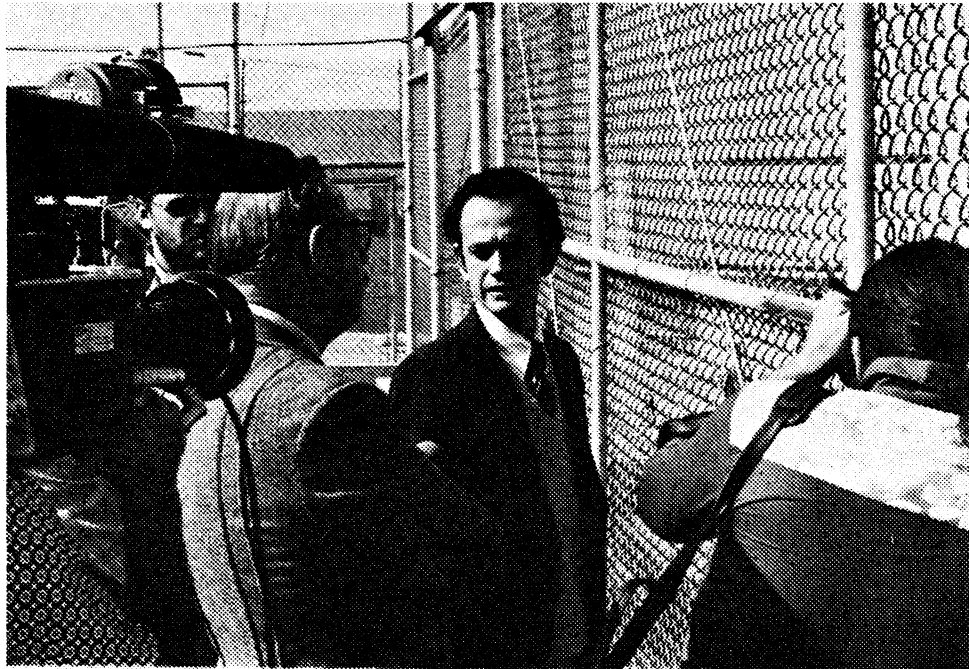
In the barracks in back of the facility, separated from the administrative offices by a chain fence rimmed with barbed wire, the Mexican workers targeted by the scare campaign await deportation.

On the morning of November 7, camera crews and reporters filled the Chula Vista Border Patrol center. Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president, had scheduled a news conference to protest the growing campaign against Mexican workers and to speak to those imprisoned in the barbed-wire compound.

"It's an attempt to put the blame on Mexicans for unemployment," he stated during part of the protest shown later on KG-TV (NBC) evening news.

Referring to the undocumented workers, Camejo continued, "No Mexican ever fired anyone. . . . Mexicans aren't causing unemployment.

"These are the victims of a system



Militant/David Salner

Socialist presidential candidate Peter Camejo (right) confronts Chula Vista border patrol chief on inhuman treatment of undocumented Mexican workers.

that puts profits before human needs, and they should be treated as human beings, not as cattle."

Border Patrol Chief Richard Batchelor refused to permit Camejo to interview the workers and threatened to end the presidential candidate's tour of the public area of the facility.

"Your tour is over. You have no genuine interest in our operation. You're simply using it as a political platform," Batchelor told Camejo and his campaign supporters as the media looked on.

By Batchelor's own admission, 30,000 undocumented workers pass through this facility every month. Eager to whitewash the reality of imprisonment and forced deportation,

Batchelor described the barbed-wire compound as a "staging area."

As camera crews and tape recorders focused on the confrontation between Camejo and Batchelor, a van with several Mexicans inside headed for the compound.

"The United States took Mexico by conquest, and now you try to say Mexicans are living here illegally," Camejo told the border patrol chief. "The ancestors of these brothers and sisters were here long before the Europeans made these laws.

"They're being locked up for the 'crime' of trying to feed their families, while criminals like Nixon and Agnew go free.

"This country is rich enough to

provide a job for everyone, no matter which side of the border they come from," Camejo declared.

He also blasted the Rodino bill and called for its defeat in the U.S. Congress. This bill would facilitate employer victimization of undocumented workers under the pretext of making it illegal to "knowingly hire illegal aliens."

At a campus meeting the day before, several Chicano students asked Camejo to raise this issue at his news conference. He had spoken to forty Chicanos, members of the University of California at San Diego MECHA.

Camejo, born in New York, is the first U.S. presidential candidate of Latin American descent. And his talks have won a warm response from students, especially Chicanos, in San Jose and San Diego, the first two stops in Camejo's swing through California.

For the Socialist Workers campaign committee in San Jose, this was the first national campaign tour. Socialists there are building a new branch of the SWP and have just opened a headquarters and bookstore across from the California State University, San Jose, campus. Camejo will be returning to San Jose for a dinner and public rally November 21.

The potential for socialist campaigning in San Jose was shown by the enthusiastic response of audiences of 250 at an outdoor rally at San Jose City College and 160 at San Jose State. "I agreed with everything," said a Chicana United Farm Workers support organizer after the meeting at San Jose State. "What more can I say?"

Thirty-eight people signed up to work on the socialist campaign, and forty dollars was collected at the meeting at San Jose State.

Reid takes proposals to Cleve. working people

By Debby Woodroffe

CLEVELAND—Two Black women, loaded down with shopping bags, stood waiting for a bus at Euclid Avenue and East 105th Street—a major transportation center in the Black community here.

One turned to the other and said, "You know, they say that woman over there is Willie Mae Reid, but I don't believe them." The other woman nodded agreement.

A camera crew from Channel Five pulled up and began filming socialist vice-presidential candidate Reid shaking hands with passersby, giving them her campaign platform, and urging them to vote Socialist Workers in 1976. At this point the women conceded to each other, "Well, maybe it is her."

Every few minutes, another bus would pull up and discharge dozens of

passengers. They were greeted by campaigners with clipboards and were asked to sign a petition to place the Socialist Workers presidential ticket on the ballot in Ohio in 1976.

"That's our vice-presidential candidate, Willie Mae Reid, over there," petitioners would say. "Would you like to meet her?"

In the hour she campaigned, Reid spoke with more than 100 people. Many of them had seen her on the news the night before and were eager to express their agreement with what they had heard her say.

One man told Reid she had his vote because of her position on creating jobs for all. "They kept saying the jobless rate was going down," he said, "but just this morning I heard it's up again. They've had a war on inflation, unemployment, crime, drugs, and they

ain't won none of them yet.

"As a matter of fact, I haven't seen anything they've won yet. Sure I'll vote for you. It's about time we had a new leadership."

A woman stopped to say that she agreed with Reid's insistence that human needs must take priority over profit. "I like the idea of socialism," she explained, "because then money wouldn't be everything. The way it is now, if you don't have any money, your kids don't get educated.

"If you're a criminal, but you got money, you are mister so-and-so. Under socialism, human things like love and concern—basic things needed to make better people—will take their true position."

This warm response from working people extended throughout Reid's four-day tour of the Cleveland area. Twelve strikers and their families came to hear Reid speak at the November 8 socialist campaign rally that concluded her tour. They were from the Olmsted Manor Nursing Home and are in Local 47 of the Service, Hospital, Nursing Home, and Public Employees Union. They have been on strike eight weeks, protesting the inhumane conditions at the nursing home that force each aide to care for as many as fifty patients.

The strikers brought a card for the Socialist Workers party to the campaign rally. It was signed by the picket line staff and it said, "A note of thanks to express, in part, our appreciation for your support."

Speaking at the rally as a representative of the picket line staff was Tom Soddors. Soddors detailed the conditions in the nursing home that led to the strike. He explained to the audi-



Militant/Glenn Campbell

SWP vice-president candidate Willie Mae Reid campaigns in downtown Cleveland.

ence that he had approached the SWP for help, and SWPers had thrown themselves into picket line duty and organizing reach-out to unions and students.

The high point of the strike, according to Soddors, was the strike support rally addressed by labor and community representatives. "The SWP built that rally," Soddors added.

In her remarks Reid expressed her support for the strikers. "You represent the type of leadership that is desperately needed in the union movement, and what you are doing is an example for

Continued on page 26

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 _____

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4,000 women march in L.A. for equality

By Jo Della-Giustina

LOS ANGELES—Nearly 4,000 women marched here October 29 for equal rights and against women's oppression. It was Alice Doesn't Day, a day of action initiated by the National Organization for Women.

Marchers chanted, "Sisters unite, stand up and fight, ERA [Equal Rights Amendment] is a woman's right" and,

"Out of the offices and into the streets."

Some women left offices and stores and joined the march. Others cheered and waved or raised their fists in solidarity. As the march reached the rally site at the University of California at Los Angeles, it was greeted with cheers from nearly 1,000 women who had already gathered.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Los Angeles, October 29. Marchers chanted, 'Sisters unite, stand up and fight; ERA is a woman's right.'

"Alice is all women," said Debi Fidler, a coordinator of the L.A. Alice Doesn't Coalition. "If you lack equal rights under the Constitution, then you are Alice. If you are the only one caring for your children, then you are Alice."

Lisa Specht, law student and activist in the American Civil Liberties Union, discussed the importance of fighting for the ERA. "Women won't be equal under the laws of this country," she declared, "until the Equal Rights Amendment is ratified."

The crowd began chanting, "All the way with the ERA."

Other speakers included Toni Caraballo, former president of NOW; Gloria Molina, national president of Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional (National Mexican Women's Commission); and Barbara Cassidy, Alice Doesn't coordinator at UCLA, and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Alice Doesn't was sponsored by nearly forty Los Angeles organizations. These included NOW, National Women's Political Caucus, Sisters United at California State University in Los Angeles, La Casa de la Mujer Latina, the YSA, UCLA Women's Center, Socialist Workers party, National Black Feminist Organization, and ACLU Women's Rights Project.

The news media publicized the rally widely. Women all over the city who couldn't attend the march wore buttons and armbands in solidarity.

In an interview with a group of women garment workers, the *Los Angeles Times* pointed out that the reason why more women didn't participate was because they were afraid of losing their jobs or being docked in pay.

Myrtle Nowden, a Black garment worker, told the *Times* reporter, "Darned right I think we should all be out there marching with those women today. And I . . . think this company should have given us all the day off."

"After all," she continued, "these women are trying to help all women, and who needs it more than us."

After the rally, workshops were held on various topics, such as women and the fight against racism, sexism in education, Latin American feminism, Chicanas, and abortion.

More than 100 women attended a workshop on feminism and socialism sponsored by the YSA. Fifty signed up to receive more information on the YSA and SWP.

The Alice Doesn't Coalition will continue to meet and plan ongoing activities for the women's liberation movement in Los Angeles.

Supreme Court hears case on GI rights

By Nancy Cole

The U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments November 5 on whether the military brass can ban dissident political views from its bases. At the request of the government, the court is reviewing a 1972 decision that allowed campaigning by Socialist Workers party and People's party candidates at the Fort Dix, New Jersey, army base.

In September 1972, People's party presidential candidate Benjamin Spock and SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley were refused entrance to Fort Dix, where they had planned to hold a campaign rally.

Represented by David Kairys of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the candidates went to court—and lost. But the third circuit court of appeals overturned the lower court decision. The appeals court ruled that the army could not deny distribution of leaflets, face-to-face campaigning, and holding of meetings simply because it disapproved of the views expressed.

The Supreme Court at that time rejected an eleventh-hour appeal by the government for a stay of the ruling. And the first socialist campaign rally

in history to take place on an army base went on as scheduled.

Two hundred people, half of them active-duty GIs, gathered November 4, 1972, to hear Spock, Pulley, and SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness.

Pulley, an ex-GI activist, told those at the rally how he had been thrown into the stockade for organizing a group called GIs United Against the War while stationed at Fort Jackson, South Carolina. His defense, and that of seven other GIs—the Fort Jackson Eight—was taken up by the civilian antiwar movement.

"When you become a serviceman," Pulley said, "you don't lose your citizenship. In fact, one of the things they told me when I was inducted was that the first priority, the first order, was to defend the U.S. Constitution against all aggressors, foreign and domestic. . . ."

"The only people I could see who were actually violating the Constitution, attacking the GIs' rights, was the military apparatus itself, and the U.S. government. And we were legally correct in defending our rights!"

The idea that such rallies might become a frequent occurrence on the sacred grounds of army bases led the

defendants in the case—at that time Fort Dix commander Gen. Bert David and Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger—to petition the U.S. Supreme Court for a reversal.

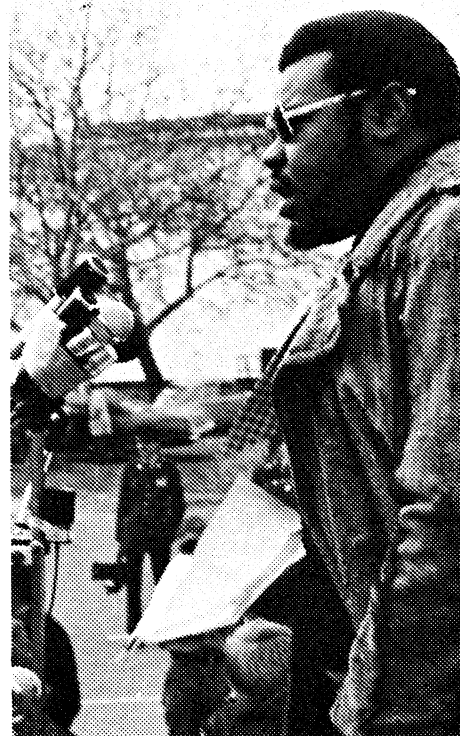
The court agreed in April of this year to review the decision.

The government's main argument is that there is a long-standing military policy of "political neutrality." To allow political candidates to campaign on base might imply endorsement of those candidates.

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee answers that the wide circulation of newspapers and magazines, and the availability of radio and TV on military bases, exposes GIs to those political candidates with enough money and prominence to have attracted media coverage.

"In our society, soldiers have a right to vote and a right to hear all the candidates and make up their own minds," states the NECLC's court brief. "Petitioners have no legitimate military interest in determining which campaigns and candidates will be heard by soldiers."

A decision is expected in three to four months.



Militant/Peggy Brundy

Andrew Pulley, SWP 1972 vice-presidential candidate, addresses rally at Fort Dix during his campaign. Government wants to overturn court ruling that permitted GIs to hear him.

Musa debates Hayden in Calif. Senate race

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—Out of some seventy people who came to hear Tom Hayden at a Women's Political Caucus meeting in Santa Monica October 22, seven decided that Omari Musa, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, was the candidate they had been looking for all along.

Hayden, the former antiwar activist, is running for the senatorial nomination in the Democratic primary election.

Hayden and Musa both presented their programs relating to women's liberation. Hayden's solution to the problems facing women, he explained, is to work in the Democratic party in order to elect more radicals to office, who would then introduce bills into Congress pertaining to women's rights.

Musa, on the other hand, stressed the dangers of relying on politicians' "good intentions" or on capitalist political parties.

A woman in the audience asked Musa to elaborate on the differences between the two candidates.

Musa explained, "The main difference is in who we rely on to win the things that we need. Do you depend on the Democrats, or on your own collective power? Many of you in this room have demonstrated against the government for various things—child care, the right to a legal abortion, better jobs, and so on."

"How will we get these things? How do we broaden affirmative-action quotas, stop discriminatory layoffs, assure the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment? I want to tell you tonight that the answer is not to vote for the

parties of big business that you have been demonstrating against.

"The answer is to build a movement independent of these parties and to vote for a candidate who will fight alongside you—and that's where the Socialist Workers campaign is going to be: next to you, fighting the same fight."

Discussion continued even after the meeting officially ended.

"I've considered myself a socialist for a long time," said a woman who distributed farm worker leaflets to the meeting. "I just never knew there was a group like the Socialist Workers party."

She was one of the seven who signed up to find out more about the socialist campaign.

The next day, at the University of California at Santa Barbara, Students for Hayden held a rally featuring

Richard Flacks, a regional coordinator of the Hayden campaign. Like Hayden, Flacks was a founder of Students for a Democratic Society. At the rally, he urged student activists to support Tom Hayden's campaign and to work through the Democratic party.

A member of the audience met with an unexpected response when she questioned Flacks's advice to work with the Democratic party.

He told her that Hayden's campaign is an experiment, and he said that if Hayden loses the primary, students might well want to consider supporting Omari Musa. Hayden himself, however, has stated that if he loses the primary he will put his support behind Sen. John Tunney.

After the rally, many people interested in Musa's campaign gathered at the Socialist Workers campaign table.

World Outlook

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

NOVEMBER 21, 1975

Portuguese CP demonstration fizzles

Stalinists mix reformism, ultraleft tactics

By Gerry Foley

LISBON—The advance publicity for the "great united demonstration," which had been called by "hundreds of workers and tenants committees" for October 23, was quite impressive.

Most of the national daily papers and the national networks did their best to help build the demonstration. With few exceptions, the commentators reported excitedly that a vast groundswell of support was developing.

The reports appeared plausible, particularly in view of the accounts of a "people's power" demonstration the day before, according to which 100,000 persons turned out to demand reopening of Rádio Renascença; that is, leaving the station in the hands of leftists.

A newscaster on Rádio Clube Português, one of the two national networks, spoke enthusiastically of "great masses" of demonstrators in "one of the biggest actions" he had ever covered.

Here is an example of the advance publicity translated from the October 22 issue of *Diário de Lisboa*:

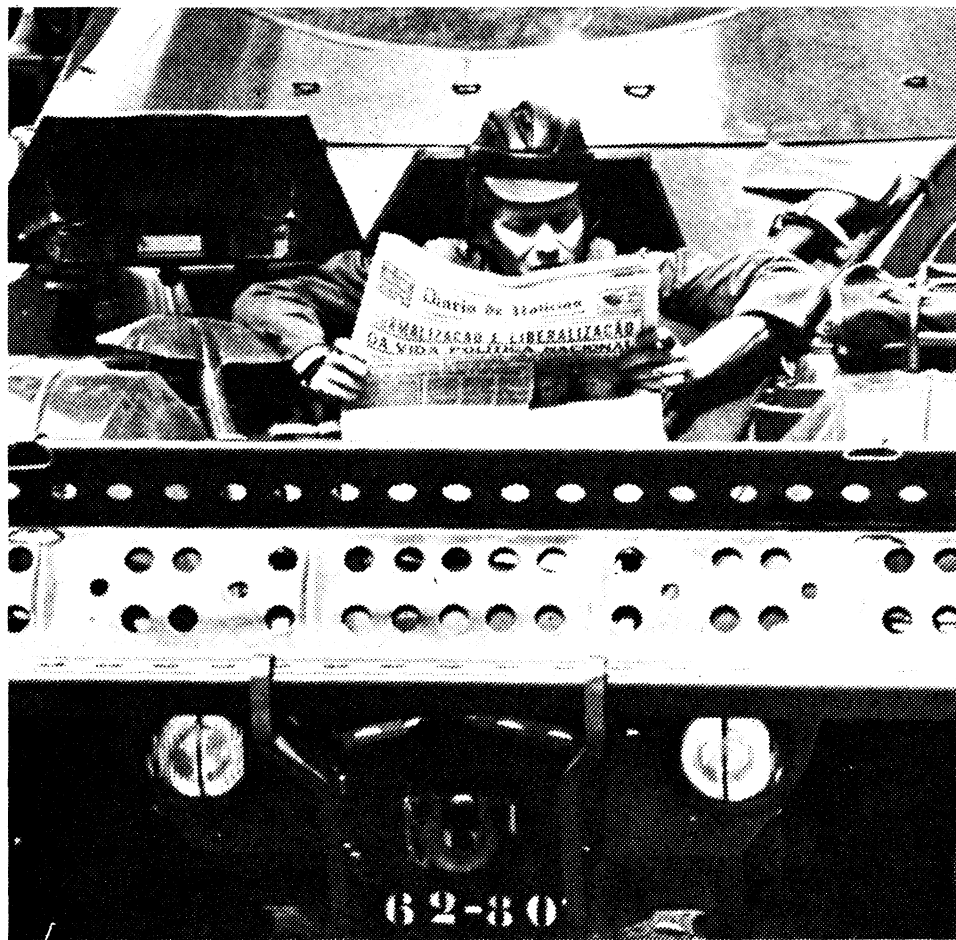
The answer to the counterrevolution will be given tomorrow by the great united demonstration, which the workers and tenants committees of the Lisbon industrial belt are calling, at 7:30 in Rossio Square and which has already received the support of numerous other committees and rank-and-file people's organizations.

Intersindical [the Communist party-controlled trade-union federation], after taking account of the nonpartisanship and objectives of this action of people's struggle, gave its support to the demonstration and calls on all the workers and toiling masses in Lisbon and the surrounding areas to participate actively in it.

Innumerable motions have been received in our office expressing adherence to, and support for, the great united demonstration tomorrow, thereby indicating that it will be a grandiose action of struggle in defense of the gains of April 25.

One of the slogans of this demonstration refers especially to the situation of some news media in struggle against attempts to silence them by the Sixth Provisional Government: "Progressive News Reporting, Yes; Economic Blackmail, No" is the slogan that will echo in the streets of Lisbon, showing clearly the determination of the masses to repudiate the threats by the government to stop financing the news media dependent on the state.

That these paragraphs appear to reflect the line of the Portuguese Communist party is hardly surprising. Like *Diário de Notícias*, *Diário Popular*, *A Capital*, and *O Século*, the *Diária de Lisboa* is owned by the state. These newspapers became public property when the banks that owned most of their capital were nationalized. All of them support the Communist party line on decisive questions, although



Portuguese soldier reads 'Diário de Notícias.' Despite buildup in such CP-influenced dailies, October 22 demonstration drew relatively small crowd.

the degree of Stalinist control varies.

A *Luta*, the paper that reflects the views of the Socialist party leadership, helped in its own way to stir up interest in the "great united demonstration." According to the October 23 issue, the mobilization was part of a plot to overthrow the sixth provisional government:

Prepared with even more drumbeating than usual, this demonstration has more than dubious objectives.

The seriousness of the aims behind this action obliges us to divulge what we know and to call the attention of our readers to these facts.

Reliable sources say that there is a possibility the demonstration will be used as a cover for an adventurist action directed at several power centers. The removal of mayors unrepresentative of the population, which is considered to be a "purge of the left," may serve as a pretext for an occupation by the demonstrators of the Ministry of Internal Administration and the Civil Government of Lisbon. The need for imposing a government of the left could be the argument for occupying the Palácio de São Bento [the meeting hall of the Constituent Assembly and the official residence of the prime minister].

The backing of certain military units for a project of this type is said to worry military and civilian circles that support the Sixth Provisional Government. Other units are following with the greatest apprehension the development of these events, which in their opinion are a clear reflection

of the designs of certain political forces that are on a suicidal course.

An October 22 Associated Press dispatch was even more alarmist:

According to some senior military and government officials, there is a danger the Cabinet may not have another meeting. The officials fear a leftist demonstration, scheduled for tomorrow night, could be the springboard for a coup attempt.

An official said he doubted the government had the force or the leadership to defend itself at once.

At the Show in Rossio Square

In expectation of seeing some dramatic events, I went to Rossio Square early. Perhaps it would be packed already. But at seven o'clock only a scattered crowd had assembled, really not much more than normally gathers in the evening around the statue and the flower market in front of the water fountain.

However, a truck with a loudspeaker was already circling the square. Young activists were pitching out handfuls of leaflets. Most of the leaflets stayed where they fell, perhaps to be read by the pigeons in the morning.

By eight o'clock a few thousand persons had gathered. The monitors kept them busy shouting slogans and moving their fists up and down. Once the march got started, the small crowd made a certain impression, tightly

packed as it was in the relatively narrow streets. It moved very slowly down the Rua do Ouro, the usual route of marches out of Rossio Square.

I expected it to go to the Palácio de São Bento, where such marches generally stage their rally. But a policeman told me that it was headed for the Terreiro do Paço, the big square overlooking the river bank.

That was the first indication that the organizers wanted to avoid trouble. Although there are government buildings in the square, it is not the center of political authority. Furthermore, a crowd could be safely contained and isolated in the huge square, which is empty at night.

Only one spot was really crowded, the opening into the square. I tried to avoid the jam by ducking through the portico of an adjoining building. But I was blocked by a team of monitors. They had ringed the building to prevent marchers from getting too close to any government offices.

The high point of the march occurred midway along the Rua do Ouro. I saw a bank of red flags advancing toward the head of the crowd. The slogan "Soldiers always at the side of the people" was chanted furiously. Behind the flags marched a group of men in uniform. They were led by a heavily built man in civilian clothes, who waved his fist in the air with such energy as to virtually personify "militancy."

It was a dramatic scene. However, this impression faded when it became apparent that there were only about fifty uniformed personnel behind the red flags. What the effect was on the Communist party marchers was difficult to determine.

A large crowd watched from the sidewalks, but almost none seemed to be joining the march. Occasionally a few middle-aged men, probably old CP supporters, gave the clenched-fist salute.

Thinking of the many theatrical Maoist demonstrations I have seen in Portugal, it occurred to me that I was now witnessing a performance by the original producers of such "revolutionary theater."

The Portuguese CP is the mother church of all the Maoist and ultraleft cults that have carried the ritual of "revolutionary toughness" to bizarre extremes. However, when necessary the mother church itself can put on a performance that even the newer sects find enviable.

This ultraleft strand of Stalinism was most clearly expressed in the "third period" between 1928 and 1934. Among other things, Stalin at that time refused to seek a united front with the Social Democratic leaders against

Continued on next page

...Portuguese Communist party mixes ultraleft tactics

Continued from preceding page

the ominous advance of Nazism. He contended that the Social Democracy was only a form of fascism, and constituted the main danger in Germany, not Hitler and his brown shirts.

The demonstration showed this as well as the relation between the extremist posturing of the Stalinists and their underlying opportunism.

The leaders started up the chant, "Down with Social Democracy." This alternated with "Against a government of the right; revolutionaries for the Revolutionary Council."

Other Communist party slogans included expelling the bourgeois party, the Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—Democratic People's party), from the government. The proposed replacements were "revolutionary officers," that is, bourgeois bonapartist figures. It was clear that what the CP leadership wanted was more representation for the military officers it regards as its allies in the bourgeois government. Many of the marchers carried pictures of Vasco Gonçalves.

The main theme of the demonstration was a call for "people's power"; that is, the incorporation of "activist" bodies into the state apparatus.

At the Terreiro do Paço, the crowd filled only a small part of the square. I estimated the number of persons at 20,000. Certainly there were no more than 25,000, a small fraction of what the CP was able to attract at its final election rally only six months ago.

Routine CP Speeches

In view of the preceding buildup in the mass media, the turnout represented a considerable defeat for the Communist party. The speeches were routine, and the crowd soon began to wander away.

Although the demonstrators were probably pretty much hardcore CP supporters, they were not unfriendly to the many distributors of Trotskyist literature belonging to the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party, a group that has declared its adherence to the Fourth International).

The October 23 demonstration thus did not advance the counteroffensive the CP launched after the fall of Vasco Gonçalves. It brought great discredit to the CP-controlled press. The blatancy of its big-lie technique is hard to believe unless you see it firsthand.

For example, some of the leaders of the PRT told me that they had carefully estimated the number of participants in the October 22 Rádio Renascença demonstration and could say with certainty that no more than 5,000 to 7,000 were present. Yet Rádio Clube Português reported a turnout of 100,000.

I had assumed that while the reports in the Stalinist press were biased, they probably had some relation to the truth.

Do the Portuguese masses accept such crude propaganda? Most persons I have asked say that they simply disregard the claims. They are thoroughly familiar with the unreliability of a controlled press.

The Social Democrats say that the press is worse than under Salazar. But that is not true. The effects of the democratic fervor released by the fall of the old regime are still evident. The communiqués of most groups on the left are reported, although bias is shown in the emphasis given to them.

In most of the left parties, sectarian attitudes are hardening. Consequently this "pluralism" in the press is dimin-



CP leader Cunhal hailed capitalist government of Costa Gomes and Gonçalves . . .

ishing. The unofficial Socialist party newspaper *A Luta* is far from innocent in this regard, although it is by no means as crude as the Stalinist-dominated papers.

Two Stars on a Tightwire

The Social Democrats are less uniform in their approach than the Stalinists. White *A Luta* was whipping up the ranks with tales of an impending Stalinist take-over, and SP leader Sotomayor Cardia was accusing the CP in the Constituent Assembly of reverting to the "revolutionary adventurism" of the Bolsheviks, the main party leader and most openly right-wing figure, Mário Soares, offered a cooler appraisal of the CP's tactics in his column in the official SP paper, *Portugal Socialista*:

Does the CP really want to bring down the Sixth Government, despite the appearances that would lead a hasty observer to this conclusion? Personally, I have my doubts.

Soares did not say what he thought the CP's real objectives were. It would be awkward after all to say that the "totalitarians" were interested only in a larger share of the spoils. That would raise the question of what the SP was interested in.

I have asked some SP leaders what kind of concessions they think would satisfy the CP. The response has been distinct embarrassment.

Le Monde's correspondent José Rebelo was probably fairly accurate in an article in the October 24 issue of the Paris daily in which he assessed the CP's objectives:

After a period of silence following the fall of the government of General Vasco Gonçalves, the Communist party again took the initiative. It now appears as the main "promoter" of the grass-roots committees that have multiplied in the country and it is trying to take advantage of the soldiers' challenge to authority, although the Soldiers United Will Win movement developed out of the initiative taken by certain "ultra-left" groups.

Alvaro Cunhal's party has thus regained the position of being the fundamental element for "political and military stabilization." But is the price demanded by the party too high? The Communist party needs a smashing victory to wipe out its previous failures. This could come with the expulsion of the Partido Popular Democrático from the government bodies.

Certainly a part of the ranks of the SP would not accept too close a rapprochement with the CP, but on the other hand, an exclusive alliance with the friends of Sá Carneiro [a right-wing PPD leader] would provoke discontent, the results of which could not be foreseen. Thus Soares finds himself obliged to conduct a policy of balancing between two radically opposed formations.

On the last point, Rebelo exaggerated the difficulties faced by Soares, at least for the time being. It is true that the political differences between the SP and the PPD have been sharpening.



. . . while SP leader Soares prefers current capitalist regime of Costa Gomes and Azevedo.

On most of the key questions in the Constituent Assembly, for example, the SP and CP have been compelled to join forces.

This has led the PPD to publicly voice its irritation. An article in the October 25 issue of the weekly *Expresso*, which reflects the views of the PPD, described the CP delegates ironically as "talented" in exploiting differences between the PPD and the SP.

Actually the differences are not the product of the "talented" tacticians of the Communist party. The differences arise from the conflicting bases of support of the two parties. In fact, it is precisely the policies of the Stalinist leadership that have saved Soares from the consequences of the dilemma created by these objective contradictions.

To stake out a special claim as defenders of the revolution, entitling them to more representation in the state apparatus, union leaderships, and press than could be justified by their popular support, the Stalinists have had to campaign against the SP under the fraudulent claim that it is a rightist, if not fascist, party. In conjunction with this campaign, the CP has aligned itself with antidemocratic military figures.

'Down with the SP'

The result is that the ranks of the SP have come to believe that if the CP ever gained any real power it would eliminate them. Thus Soares can get away with defending his alliance with the PPD as a necessary measure of self-defense against the CP.

The chant of "Down with Social Democracy" at the October 23 rally in Lisbon, for example, was hardly the sort of thing that could separate the SP from the PPD. Quite the contrary. This line reinforces the arguments used by the SP leaders to justify alliances with bourgeois forces of various kinds.

Thus, while Rebelo touched on a contradiction that could give Soares problems, he overlooked the contradiction in the CP's policy.

Nonetheless, *Le Monde's* correspondent did raise a pertinent question in asking whether the price demanded by the CP was too high. In fact, the October 23 rally indicates that the CP overplayed its hand.

Soares was quick to pillory the Stalinist leaders for the contrast between their frenetic buildup for the demonstration and the less than brilliant results. "The mountain gave birth to a mouse," he said.

He scored a point, for it was a dramatic indication of the decline in CP strength when the party could bring out no more people in the Lisbon area than the rightist Centro Democrático Social (CDS—Social Democratic Center) brought out at its first successful public rally in Oporto on October 19.

It is now becoming clear to all the political forces on the scene what the Communist party's line of "people's power" amounts to and what its objectives are. This has further undermined the CP's standing.

For example, the ultraleft neoanarchist coalition, the Frente de Unidade Revolucionária (FUR—Front for Revolutionary Unity), did not support the October 23 demonstration as it has previous demonstrations of a similar character.

The Soldiers United Will Win movement was sharply divided over the question of whether to participate, and apparently only a small section did. Because of the clandestine nature of

with reformist program

this movement, however, it is difficult to determine how representative any of those are who speak in its name.

Of all the organizations standing to the left of the Communist party, only the União Democrática do Povo (UDP—People's Democratic Union) seems to have mobilized its supporters to participate in the demonstration. This organization is Maoist in origin but increasingly anarcho-centrist in practice. It tends to function as a more workerist and aggressive fringe of the CP, and is becoming virtually indistinguishable from it, despite its repeated denunciations of "revisionism," which are directed against the CP.

The Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, the Portuguese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) unfortunately gave formal, if critical, support to the demonstration. The LCI was motivated by a desire to support democratic organization of the masses and to oppose the repressive moves of the government.

The Frente Socialista Popular (FSP—Socialist People's Front) has not yet indicated why it did not participate, as it has in previous demonstrations of this kind.

The Movimento de Esquerda Socialista (MES—Movement of the Socialist Left), another member of the FUR, apparently did not participate either. This might have been one of the results of a split in this anarcho-centrist organization.

About forty members in Coimbra left, charging that the organization had become in effect a satellite of the CP. The dailies close to the SP claimed that in the split the MES lost nearly all the activists it had in the Coimbra region.

The Stalinist-controlled *Diário de Notícias* published an interview in its October 24 issue with Augusto Mateus, the leader of the MES who has presided over the pro-CP course of the organization. He claimed that the

dissidents were afraid of the revolution.

It is doubtful that such statements, spread by such means, will reassure MES members who are beginning to fear that because of illusions in "MFA—People's Power," the party was tricked into serving as a tool of Stalinism.

An Instructive Example

That the Stalinists have turned toward the use of ultraleft tactics in a general way is indicated by the following example.

On October 24 I went to an assembly at the Liceu Nacional de Amadora. The high schools have not yet opened, and the beginning of the new term is being delayed by the Ministry of Education, ostensibly for financial and other material reasons such as registrations far beyond the number of places available.

The Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores hoped to get a mass mobilization of high-school students started to force the opening of classes and increase the pressure for higher appropriations for education.

However, the Communist party has moved in with force to regain control of the Amadora school, which is located right in the middle of its main stronghold on the north side of the Tejo River. Over the summer, CP activists worked on parents to get their children to vote against the Trotskyists, who hold a majority in the student associations, and who led all the mass struggles at the school last year.

The Stalinists have not attacked the PRT as "ultraleft." Instead, they say that the Trotskyists are not hard enough against the sixth provisional government and that they are soft on Social Democracy.

These attacks are echoed by the ultraleft groups. The MES says that the PRT members are "social fascists" and constitute the "main danger" in the high-school movement. The UDP holds a similar position.

The CP says that while the PRT may

Whatever radical phrases are used to pretty it up, this is a chauvinist approach, based on nationalist conceptions, not on Marxist internationalism.

Whatever the Socialist League's intentions, it has followed its nationalist methodology to a logical chauvinist conclusion—that foreign workers pose a threat to Canadian workers. We can only hope that the SL will see where it is going and pull back.

The government always blames immigrant workers for unemployment and other social ills. If we accept that it is necessary to erect barriers to immigration, then we have no answer to these attacks. We are reduced to discussing which immigrants should be excluded, and how many. That is why the Marxist movement has always insisted, purely and simply, on open immigration.

What alternative does the SL offer? Doctorow favors admitting political refugees. He opposes temporary-permit labor. He favors decent working conditions and wages in all jobs. These are all good points—indeed the CLC raises them all in its brief.

But, having polemicized against open immigration, Doctorow offers in its place . . . nothing!

What does the Socialist League counterpose to open immigration? Perhaps a future article will explain. But it is to be hoped that instead the SL will return to the Marxist policy



PRT banner in 1975 May Day demonstration in Lisbon reads: 'For the political independence of the working class.'

not be fascist it is a right-wing organization that could serve the ends of fascism.

All this abuse is the result of the PRT's defense of the principle of working-class unity in which a united front would have to include the majority of the working class and toiling masses who support the Socialist party.

In the debate at the meeting, the PRT representatives stated forcefully that they were just as opposed to the sixth provisional government as they were to the preceding five, and that they want to mobilize a mass movement to oppose the reactionary policies of this government as in the previous instances.

The Stalinists accused them of wanting to "beg favors from the ministry." They proposed "direct action" like "occupying" the school buildings.

Actually this would have the effect of dispersing the movement and keeping it within bounds set by "progressive" teachers. But the budding Stalinist demagogues presented this line

with the most extravagant super-red rhetoric. They were supported by all the ultralefts and all the teachers, including some notorious right-wingers.

The Stalinists sought to drive independents away from the meeting by repeated disruption from the floor. The ultralefts gave them a hand in this, welcoming a chance to "express themselves."

The tactic succeeded this time. The bloc of Stalinists and ultralefts dragged out and disrupted the meeting until most of the noncommitted persons left.

The PRT lost the vote by a small margin. However, these high-school Trotskyists were sure that if the schools were reopened and the student movement started up again, they could defeat the Stalinists and their ultraleft, or more precisely, neo-Stalinist, allies.

The future of the Portuguese revolution depends on the few honest and alert forces like the PRT who know how to recognize and fight Stalinist betrayal in its "left" as well as its rightist form.

enunciated by Labor Challenge in 1947:

"The solidarity of the workers created by free immigration, breaks down nationalistic barriers. Thus it strikes a heavy blow at imperialism, which depends upon the strategy of 'divide and rule,' of keeping the workers

distrustful of each other, to make them more readily accept its war propaganda. That is why the capitalist class stubbornly refuses to open the doors of Canada. And that is exactly why the workers have the most to gain by insisting that all doors be thrown open."

...immigration

Continued from page 22

former members of the League for Socialist Action who had decided that although "Canada is in the ranks of the advanced capitalist nation states," nevertheless Canadian nationalism is "anti-imperialist" and "essentially progressive in its thrust."

This view is directly contrary to the Leninist view that nationalism in imperialist countries like Canada is fundamentally reactionary, that it leads to chauvinism and racism, and diverts the working class from its real tasks and problems.

The views the SL now advances on immigration show that the Leninist view is completely correct.

The SL's argument, like the CLC policy it echoes, is nationalist. It approaches immigration with a view to "protecting" the Canadian working class from competition by immigrants. It counterposes Canadian workers to workers elsewhere, and it seeks to defend Canadian living standards at the expense of workers elsewhere.

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.

Debate on immigration policy

Canadian Trotskyists demand: 'Open up the doors!'

[The following article—"Socialist League' rejects Marxist program: An immigration policy for labor?"—is reprinted from the August 4, 1975, issue of the Canadian Trotskyist newspaper Labor Challenge. Labor Challenge reflects the viewpoint of the League for Socialist Action, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

[The article refers to the Canadian government's "attempts to add new restrictions to its immigration policies." These attempts received a boost on November 6 when a joint committee of the Canadian House of Commons and Senate proposed that annual ceilings be set on immigration. The proposal was supported by both government and opposition parties in Parliament.

[Reflecting the growing racist sentiment in Canada against non-whites, the parliamentary report noted, "Canadians must accept the fact that the country's capacity to attract European immigrants has diminished. . . ."]

By Ian Angus

What immigration laws should labor advocate? For more than a century the Marxist wing of the labor movement has called for the abolition of all barriers to immigration, and for full citizenship rights to all. That is, a policy of "open immigration."

Within the framework of that general policy socialists can determine which slogans and tactics best suit the needs of specific campaigns. The June 30 Labor Challenge, for example, carried a statement by the League for Socialist Action on the current campaign against Canada's racist immigration policies. While supporting the goal of open immigration, the LSA argues that the task now is to respond to Ottawa's attempts to add new restrictions to its immigration policies, and to take up specific cases, such as that of Black leader Rosie Douglas who has been ordered deported.

But one group which calls itself Marxist has taken a different tack. It has declared that open immigration "serves the interests of profits" and should be opposed.

The argument is advanced in "An immigration policy for labor," an article in the June 1975 issue of Forward, a monthly which reflects the views of a Toronto-based group called the Socialist League. The article is signed by the SL's executive secretary, Gord Doctorow.

SL Position

Doctorow begins by noting that "many radicals" advocate open immigration "as being in harmony with the world-wide working class."

But, he warns, the Toronto Star, "a powerful voice of big business," also advocates such a policy, which he calls "liberal."

The claim that the Star is for open immigration is a dubious one—does the Star, for example, defend full citizenship rights for Rosie Douglas, or for the Haitians who face deportation? Of course it doesn't.

But whatever position the Star might take it is clear that Canada's ruling class as a whole does not favor open immigration. Its policy towards



Picket line in Toronto last February demands immigration authorities drop deportation order against Caribbean Black activist Rosie Douglas.

Labor Challenge/Darrel Furlotte

Chilean refugees—refusing over ninety percent of the applicants—is eloquent testimony to that fact.

And in any event, whether or not the capitalists at any given time favor open immigration can have no bearing on whether Marxists keep to their principled policy of opposing all immigration barriers. Our policies are decided according to the needs of the working class and all the oppressed.

Doctorow states—correctly—that "the immigration policy of Canadian governments has always served the interests of the class that has ruled this country." But the examples he cites show that what he means is that open immigration has always served the ruling class. And they imply that Canadian labor should oppose immigration.

He cites the Scottish settlers in the Red River Valley, brought in to defuse an explosive situation in Scotland and

For related reading, order 'Should Socialists Support Canadian Nationalism? Articles from a Debate in the Canadian Trotskyist Movement.' Send \$1.10 to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

to expand Canada as a British market. He cites the Chinese brought to build the railroads—"as cheap labor, and sometimes, to scab and strikebreak."

And he cites the more recent case of the importation of Colombian workers by Associated Textiles, Ltd., in Quebec.

"In this era of high unemployment the company was able to lawfully bring the Colombians in on temporary work permits to fill jobs Canadian workers refused because of the low wages and poor working conditions. Thus a 'liberal' immigration policy became a vehicle for getting cheap labor and maintaining poor working conditions."

Here, as elsewhere in the article, Doctorow's argument is colored by his view that the government wants, and to some degree is following, an open door policy. Equating the policy advocated by Marxists (open immigration with full citizenship rights for all) with a policy which allows the importation of workers on temporary work permits indicates a high degree of confusion.

In fact, Doctorow appears to be completely ignorant of the real character of Ottawa's present immigration policies. Prospective immigrants to this country face a network of highly restrictive and racist restrictions. Instead of aiming the fire of his article against these restrictions, Doctorow implies that it is the influx of too many immigrants into Canada that generates unemployment, keeps wages down, and perpetuates poor working conditions.

Blaming the Victim

This position has nothing in common with Marxism. Like many such arguments, it blames the problems of capitalism on those who are its worst victims. It promotes the crude anti-foreigner prejudices fostered by the ruling class itself.

Unemployment, low wages and poor working conditions were present at Associated Textiles long before the Colombians came. They weren't caused by immigrants—they were caused by a system that puts profits before human needs. That can only be defeated by a fighting, militant labor movement ready to defend the interests of all workers everywhere.

The problem at Associated Textiles was that the labor movement didn't organize to defend the Colombians, didn't fight for full union pay for them, didn't fight against layoffs and victimization.

Keeping the Colombians out would have helped no one. It would have harmed the immigrants themselves, who only wished to escape the poverty and misery of their homeland. And it would have harmed the labor movement, by directing its fire against the wrong enemy.

Doctorow tries to smooth over the fact that what he says implies excluding immigrants by claiming that only "relatively privileged" workers immigrate to Canada, and that immigration to Canada drains needed skills from the Third World.

One need only look at the millions of first-generation Canadians to see how absurd this claim is. They were workers in their homelands, they are workers here—often in the worst-paid,

most dehumanizing jobs. Many families save every cent to send a father or son here—and he works and saves to bring the family after him; the process often takes many years. To call people who go through this heartbreaking process "relatively privileged" is clearly and appallingly wrong.

In any event, how can workers in Canada, with OUR "relatively privileged" wages and working conditions, ever justify keeping anyone from another country out on such grounds?

Doctorow's argument on immigration can scarcely be distinguished from the policies of the Canadian Labor Congress which, in its brief to the government Committee on Immigration Policy, defends a policy under which "admissions should be intelligently geared to the business cycle."

In other words, instead of adopting a fighting policy against unemployment, the CLC asks the government to limit the problem by keeping immigrants out.

We can expect no better from the conservative and shortsighted leaders of the CLC. But what of the Socialist League? How could a supposedly revolutionary socialist organization adopt such a policy? They aren't newcomers to the left, making mistakes in the process of working out a program. They are people with some experience behind them.

For example, the SL's principal theoretician is Ross Dowson, who was for many years the editor of the Trotskyist newspaper Workers Vanguard. The February 1957 issue of that paper declared: "For our part we are for a wide open door policy on immigration. We believe in the freedom of motion of all peoples everywhere."

In fact, as recently as six months ago the SL was calling for actions "to force the Canadian government to adopt a non-discriminatory, open immigration policy." (Forward, December 1974-January 1975). The editors of the newspaper offer no explanation for their abrupt change of line.

Why has the Socialist League reversed itself? Why has it abandoned this key point in the Marxist program?

The answer is to be found elsewhere in the SL's program. The organization was formed in 1974 by a group of

Continued on page 21

Top goal for week

Coverage of N.Y. crisis spurs sales drive

By Pat Galligan

Sales of the October 31 *Militant* surpassed the national goal, totaling 7,919 in local areas—the best week of the fall sales campaign thus far. Featured in this issue was the New York Socialist Workers campaign platform, “Why working people should not pay,” which struck a responsive chord among the city’s residents.

Street sales and door-to-door canvassing introduced hundreds of New Yorkers to the socialist alternative to “Big Mac,” “Super Mac,” and other attacks on working people.

Brooklyn and Upper West Side New York made their goals for the first time this fall with sales of 439 and 396, respectively.

The socialist solution for the New York crisis was of interest to working people throughout the country facing attacks on their standard of living. For example, Pennsylvania socialists led the country with sales of this issue, with Pittsburgh and Philadelphia ranking first and second on the scoreboard.

The 604 *Militants* sold in Pittsburgh is more than 200 percent of their regular goal. Neil Berns, one of eight Socialist Workers party candidates fielded for local elections there, explains that supporters of the socialist campaign organized a week of extensive literature distribution and *Militant* sales.

“The *Militant* and our campaign received a good response throughout the city, especially on the campuses,” notes Berns.

“By the end of the week, wherever we went, we found that people knew about our campaign and were familiar with the *Militant*.”

Robbie Scherr of Philadelphia sold fifty-four *Militants* at the recent convention of the National Organization for Women. Philadelphia socialists sold 229 of the total of 400 copies sold at the feminist gathering. This boosted their sales for the week to 488 *Militants*, significantly above their goal of 275.

Many convention participants knew the *Militant* as a paper with a history of support for feminist issues, especial-

ly the movement to repeal anti-abortion laws. NOW members were also interested in reading the interview with Joanne Little featured in the October 31 *Militant*.

The *Militant*'s interview with Little was well received at Alice Doesn't Day activities in several areas. In Los Angeles, 117 copies were sold at the march and rally. West Side Los Angeles SWP organizer Matilde Zimmermann sold sixty-five of these.

The fifty-one *Militants* sold at San Francisco's Alice Doesn't Day activities helped the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance there to make their sales goal for the seventh straight week. San Francisco is one of four areas to have made its goal every week. Albion, Michigan; Baltimore; and Norman, Oklahoma, also have perfect records.

We received 470 subscriptions this week, bringing the total as of November 11 to 3,878. This is 65 percent of our goal to obtain 6,000 new subscribers by November 30. At this point in the drive, we should have 4,370.

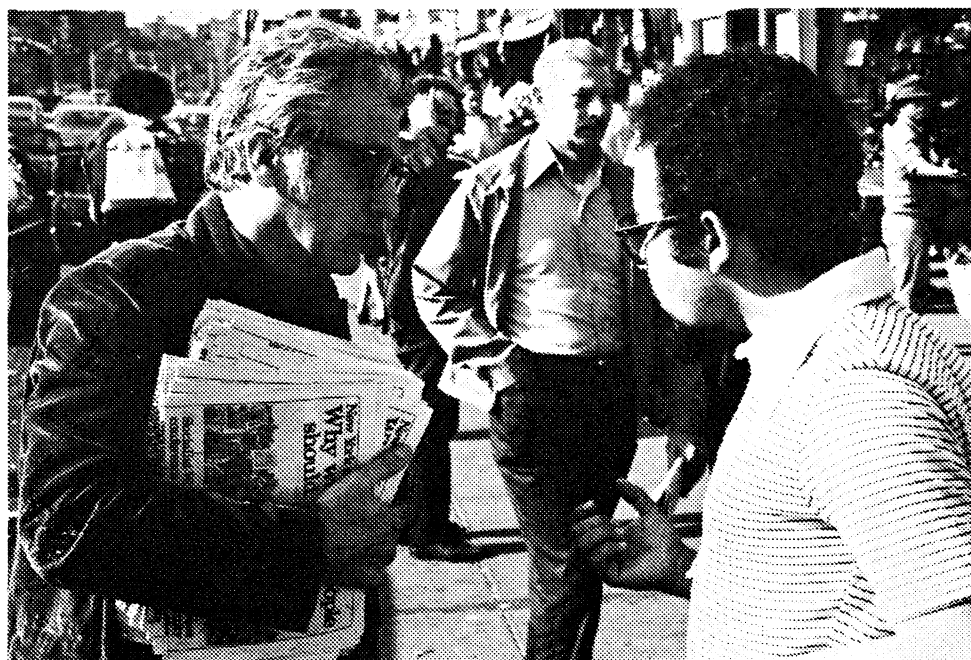
The Cincinnati local of the YSA has already sent in eleven of the twenty prepaid subscription cards they ordered a few weeks ago. Their total is now fourteen, topping their goal of ten.

San Jose more than doubled their total sold with the twenty-nine subscriptions they sent in this week. These subscriptions were obtained by teams that went door-to-door in the city and to the nearby University of Santa Clara.

We need 2,122 more subscriptions to successfully complete the drive. You can help by selling subscriptions at work, at school, or in your neighborhood, or by buying gift subscriptions for friends.

One subscription received this week was obtained in a rather novel way. Michael Pennock of Doswell, Virginia, writes: “I picked up a hitch hiker on the way to D.C. We started talking labor unions and broadened the conversation from there.”

“I told him about the *Militant*,” the letter continues. “He said he would appreciate a trial sub. So chalk up one more on the subscription drive.”



Militant/Brian Shannon

Catarino Garza, left, SWP candidate for Congress, campaigns with reprints from October 31 'Militant.'

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold last week	%	Ithaca, N.Y.	15	13	87
Pittsburgh	275	604	220	Ann Arbor, Mich.	20	17	85
Philadelphia	275	488	177	Milwaukee	200	157	79
Brooklyn, N.Y.	300	439	146	San Diego	200	150	75
Upper West Side N.Y.	325	396	122	Detroit	375	274	73
Washington, D.C.	325	383	118	Denver	275	198	72
Newark	100	117	117	Atlanta	375	268	71
Baltimore	150	168	112	Seattle	275	191	69
Central-East L.A.	350	385	110	Twin Cities	300	203	68
New Orleans	150	164	109	Cleveland	200	83	42
Oakland/Berkeley	350	360	103	Total	7,500	7,919	106
San Francisco	325	330	102	YSA teams			
St. Louis	300	307	102	Upper Midwest	90	119	132
Boston	300	306	102	Pennsylvania	90	100	111
West-North Chicago	250	254	102	Illinois	60	63	105
West Side L.A.	300	300	100	Southeast	90	94	104
South Side Chicago	250	250	100	Wisconsin	90	94	104
San Jose	150	150	100	Ohio/Kentucky	90	92	102
Cincinnati	35	35	100	Missouri/Kansas	60	61	102
Logan, Utah	25	25	100	New England	90	89	99
Lawrence, Kans.	20	20	100	Mid-Atlantic	90	82	91
Albion, Mich.	15	15	100	Rocky Mountain	90	70	78
Norman, Okla.	11	11	100	Michigan/Indiana	90	65	72
Bloomington, Ind.	150	140	93	Pacific Northwest	90	60	67
Houston	350	320	91	Northern Calif.	90	55	61
Lower East Side N.Y.	250	223	89	New York/New Jersey	90	41	46
Portland, Ore.	200	175	88	Southern Calif.	90	9	10
				Total	1,290	1,094	85

Evelyn Reed on tour

Feminist author: 'History cheated women'

By Michael Maggi

NEW YORK—“History Short-changed Women, Feminist Says,” headlined a St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* interview with Evelyn Reed on October 22. Reed spent a week in St. Louis speaking at Washington University, the University of Missouri, and the St. Louis *Militant* Forum as well as making appearances on the NBC and ABC affiliate TV stations and a radio call-in show.

More than 300 people attended her meeting at Washington University. About 80 attended the meeting at the University of Missouri and more than 75 at the Friday-night *Militant* Forum.

This was the first leg of a tour that will take Reed to eleven major U.S. cities, to Dublin (Ireland), and across Canada and Québec, speaking on “Woman's Evolution and Human Nature” and “Is Biology Woman's Destiny?”

On November 3 Reed spoke to 200 people at Indiana University in Bloomington.

On November 4 she spoke at Central Michigan University in Mount Pleasant to more than 150 people. Reed's November 6 lecture to almost 200

people at Wayne State University in Detroit was taped by a radio station and a TV station for rebroadcast.

Pathfinder Press, the publishers of Reed's *Woman's Evolution*, will soon



REED: 'Women were first farmers, scientists, doctors, teachers, and historians.'

be ordering a fourth printing of the book, bringing the number of paperback copies in print to almost 20,000.

Anthropology is often defined as “the science of man.” Evelyn Reed has another view.

“Women were the creators of our society. They were the first farmers, industrialists, scientists, doctors, teachers, historians. They built an egalitarian society in which there was full equality for everyone,” Reed told the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. “Women's work created nothing less than the human species.

“Anthropologists around 1910 or so began to say there was not enough evidence to support the thesis of a matriarchal society,” Reed said. “But now, after I worked alone for 25 years, we are finding out more about that matriarchy. It was a collective-type system in which nobody was richer or poorer than the other because there was equality economically, socially and in every other way, unlike society today.”

Feminists and their supporters have greeted this rediscovery of the matriarchy and the early history of women

with cheers. Hundreds have given Reed standing ovations at her meetings throughout the country.

Jeremy Campbell, Washington, D.C., bureau chief for the London *Evening Standard* wrote, “Evelyn Reed is one of the big feminist success stories of the year. Male anthropologists are shocked at the heresy she utters. . . .”

Reed told the *Militant* that a new mood is growing among young people, especially young women. “The discussion and questions on my tour show that a lot of enthusiasm and seriousness about women's history has grown up over the last few years. A decade ago the matriarchy was almost a dead issue. Now it is on the agenda again for discussion, reexamination, and debate.”

Reed's tour will take her to Minneapolis and St. Paul (November 8-15), Philadelphia (November 20-24), and Dublin (November 27-December 3).

She will also travel to New Orleans (January 21-24, Cleveland (January 26-31), Houston (February 1-7), Denver (February 26-March 5), Canada (March 10-April 1), and New York (April 12-24).

Series nears completion

Trotsky 'Writings': a unique tool

[When Pathfinder Press, publisher of the Writings of Leon Trotsky series, announced that copies of its latest volume would be available in November, the Militant sent a reporter to obtain the following interview with George Breitman, an editor of the series.]

[In twelve volumes, the series covers the writings of Trotsky's last exile—from the time Stalin deported him from the Soviet Union to Turkey in 1929, to the time of his assassination in Mexico in 1940—except for the books and pamphlets of those years that are permanently in print.]

Militant: Ever since the Trotsky Writings series began, Pathfinder Press has given the Militant's readers a progress report every two years or so on how the series is developing and what to expect in the way of further volumes. The last report was printed in our paper in September 1973. Is the publication of the latest volume—for the year 1929—a good occasion to bring us up to date?

Breitman: Yes, the publication of the 1929 volume is an excellent occasion for a new report. It marks the beginning of the last stage of the project. And it happens to be the first, chronologically, of the whole series.

Why Backwards?

Militant: Perhaps you could explain that a little? You started publishing the volumes about six years ago and you're only now publishing the opening volume, chronologically. Why is that, why did you do it backwards?

Breitman: The main reason, I think, was that we were impatient to get started. We already had translations of the most complete material for the years of Trotsky's Mexican exile (1937-40), and we didn't want to wait until we had collected and translated the earlier material, which would take years. So we began with Trotsky's last year, 1939-40, and worked our way backwards a year at a time.

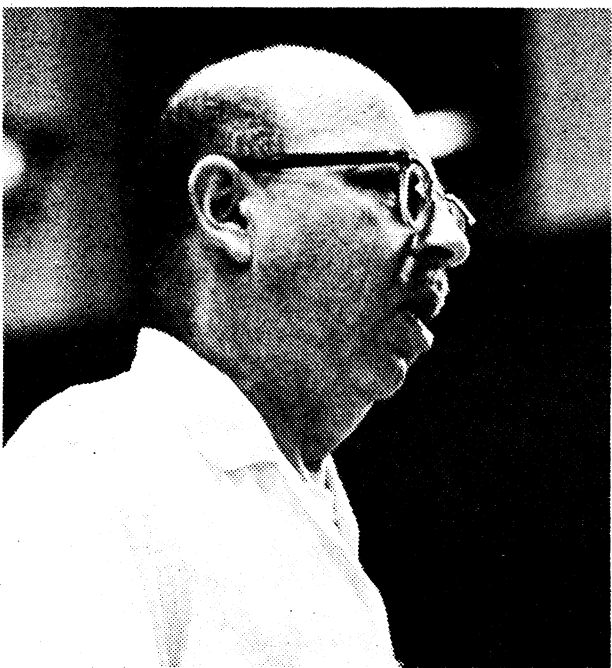
We thought this was acceptable because each of the volumes is independent of the others in the sense that it can be read and understood by itself, with the help of the prefaces and explanatory notes.

But I must admit that we have got some criticism for the sequence in which we published the volumes. A number of people have told us that while they are glad we put them out, they are not going to start reading them, and in some cases buying them, until the initial volume of the series is available.

Well, for their benefit I want to stress the fact that the initial volume, covering the first eleven months of Trotsky's last exile, is now out. So they can start reading the series without further delay.

Militant: Then the series is now complete?

Breitman: No, not entirely, or rather, not in its final form. Of the twelve volumes, the first seven,



Militant/Walter Lippmann

GEORGE BREITMAN: 'Of great Marxist teachers, Trotsky is most accessible to young readers.'



Trotsky in Mexico at 1937 Dewey commission of inquiry into Stalin's frame-up trials. 'Writings of Trotsky's last exile are richest, most mature expression of his political thought.'

for 1929 to mid-1935, covering Trotsky's stay in Turkey and France, are finished and will not be revised. Also in their final form are the last two years of Trotsky's stay in Mexico, 1938-40. That makes nine.

But we are revising and expanding the volumes covering Trotsky's stay in Norway (1935-36) and the first half of his stay in Mexico (1937-38). Since we put out the first edition of those volumes in 1970, we have acquired a great deal of "new" material, including some that had never been published before.

So we have been reediting them. They are so much bigger than the first editions that they will take three volumes, instead of the original two. One of these has already been sent to the printer.

Completion date

Militant: In the Pathfinder report two years ago, it was said the project would be completed in 1975. What would you give now as the final date?

Breitman: Publishers and editors tend to suffer from overoptimism, even the ones trying to be accurate. So all I'd better say is that the project could be finished in 1976, and we hope it will.

At the risk of sounding too defensive, I'd like to add that we haven't done badly with the schedule we set. When we began in 1969, we said we would try to publish two volumes a year. Six-and-a-half years later we have nine volumes all finished, not counting the two we did over completely and the ones that are partly ready.

The record looks even better when you recall that we decided to take some of the material that could have been used in the Writings and publish it as specialized "companion" volumes. Three of these have already been published—*The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*, *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)*, and *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany*—and a fourth is on the way, *Leon Trotsky On France*, an expansion of the old *Whither France?*

If you count them, and important companion pamphlets like *On the Trade Unions*, then you can say we have even surpassed our schedule. Which is pretty good, considering the fact that Pathfinder's financial resources are quite limited.

Militant: In round numbers, how much has been added to the published body of Trotsky's work in English by the Writings, or by the Writings and companion volumes combined?

Breitman: I think I can answer that question if it is limited to the eleven-and-a-half-year period between 1929 and 1940. The Writings, when completed, will be around 5,000 book pages and the companion volumes around 1,000.

Besides this there exist another 4,000 book

pages—the body of work prepared outside of the project we began in 1969, which includes such books as *The History of the Russian Revolution*, *My Life*, *In Defense of Marxism*, etc.

So altogether there will be around 10,000 book pages in English from Trotsky's last exile, of which our project will have collected and published or republished 6,000 in book form. This includes everything by Trotsky from those years published in any language, and much that has never been published before.

New Material

Militant: How much of the Writings has never been published before, or what proportion of the whole is it?

Breitman: I can't say for the series as a whole, but I can for the new volume covering 1929.

Around 10 percent of the book has never been published before anywhere. Another 33 percent has never appeared in English before. So for people who read only English, over 40 percent of the book can be called "new."

In addition, another 15 percent of the book was retranslated for this volume, because the original translations done almost half a century ago were so poor or incomplete.

As for the remainder of the book, which was published a long time ago in various periodicals that are now difficult to locate, I doubt that there are fifty people alive who ever read it all.

In a certain sense, therefore, in a real sense, and for all practical purposes, it is a new book for today's readers.

Public response

Militant: What has been the public response to the Writings so far? How are they selling?

Breitman: Better than we anticipated. We were afraid that only a few hundred people would be interested enough to buy them, but each of the early volumes has been selling out its first printing of 3,000 to 4,000 copies in the first two to three years, and four already have had to be reprinted. All the companion volumes have also been reprinted.

Militant: So the Writings volumes are a commercial success?

Breitman: No, no, no. I didn't say that and I didn't mean to imply that.

No commercial publisher in his right mind would sink so much money into such a large project unless he had reason to expect sales two or three times as big as ours. When you publish books with a small press run, as we do, the cost per volume is quite high.

for Marxist education

If the books continue to sell, the best we can hope for in the long run is that we'll break even or almost even. And that will be possible only because a number of friends have made substantial financial contributions toward their publication and because most of the editorial and translation work was donated, that is, unpaid.

We are hoping that sales will go up now that the beginning of the series has been published. And we are counting heavily on continued financial donations from friends, especially now when the inflation of printing, paper, mailing, and distribution costs is curtailing the number of books Pathfinder can publish.

Militant: Are there any other points you want to make before we stop?

Breitman: You mean that after all these technical questions you aren't going to ask me why I think it important to read the *Writings*?

Militant: All right, consider yourself asked.

Breitman: There are obviously many different ways of learning and absorbing the ideas of revolutionary Marxism, and reading is only part of the process. But it is an important part—experience in mass movements and struggles is not sufficient by itself.

The greatest teachers were Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. It doesn't matter which one you begin with; once you connect and break through to one of them, you can easily continue to the others.

But the one who is most accessible to young readers or other beginners, the one it's easiest to begin with today, is Trotsky, I think.

Trotsky's vantage

That isn't because Trotsky was a greater revolutionary or a deeper thinker than the other three—not at all. It's because he was closer to us in time, because he lived in a later period, and therefore concerned himself with problems that the other three did not come up against, problems that we are still coping with.

For example: Marx and Engels did not live to see the degeneration of the first workers state, and Lenin lived to see only the very beginning of it. Trotsky not only lived through seventeen years of it, but was able to work out the Marxist explanation and answer to the degeneration.

Similarly, Trotsky, unlike his predecessors, lived through the experiences with fascism in the 1930s, and was able to illuminate that subject like no one before or since.

In addition, Trotsky was a remarkably talented writer and one of the greatest orators of the century, both of which strengthened his capacities as a propagandist and popularizer of Marxism and Leninism.

Trotsky's last exile coincided with the stormy decade of the thirties, when the capitalist world was

stricken by the Great Depression, the growth of fascism, imperialist invasions of China and Ethiopia, civil war in Spain, and finally World War II, and when the Soviet Union was convulsed by forced collectivization, totalitarian purges, and the decimation of the generation that led the revolution in 1917.

He wrote at length and in detail about all these and the other events of the period that posed the basic questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics, always from the standpoint of the interests of the workers and their need for a revolutionary party at home and internationally.

Building Fourth International

Among these basic questions were the ones dealing with the internal life and struggles of the Fourth International. Looking back a few years before his death, Trotsky said that his work in building the Fourth International was the most important of his life. I think that future historians will support that estimate.

Anyhow, the *Writings* series is the only place where this material can be found, outside of the parts that were printed in *The Spanish Revolution* and *In Defense of Marxism*. Many letters and articles are devoted to his advice and suggestions to the national sections of the Fourth International and its predecessors and to the members of the International Secretariat, and many more record his criticisms when he felt they were making mistakes. Also included are the transcripts of several instructive discussions he held with visitors on problems of both the International and various national sections.

I do not mean to belittle the excellent writing Trotsky did before 1929, but I think his writings in his last exile represent the richest, most mature expression of his political thought, presented in the most lucid and effective fashion.

That is why I think his writings of this period provide a unique kind of educational tool for people who are willing to do a little work to learn what Marxism really is.

The heart of Marxism is its method, its method of analysis. I can't think of a better way of grasping it than by following Trotsky, a master of this method, as he applied it concretely and creatively to a great variety of political and theoretical problems as they arose at a given moment and then as they underwent change throughout the decade.

Readers won't find any cheap, ready-made formulas fitting all situations from such a study, but they will learn how an intelligent Marxist thinks, and some will undoubtedly be helped to learn how to think like Marxists themselves.

I am not advocating that everybody give up other activity and hole up in a reading room. But people who want to equip themselves for an extended period of revolutionary activity should learn everything they can about the Marxist method. I really can't think of a better or more satisfying way of starting to do this than by reading and studying the writings of Trotsky's last exile.

Chi. Blacks fight racist attacks

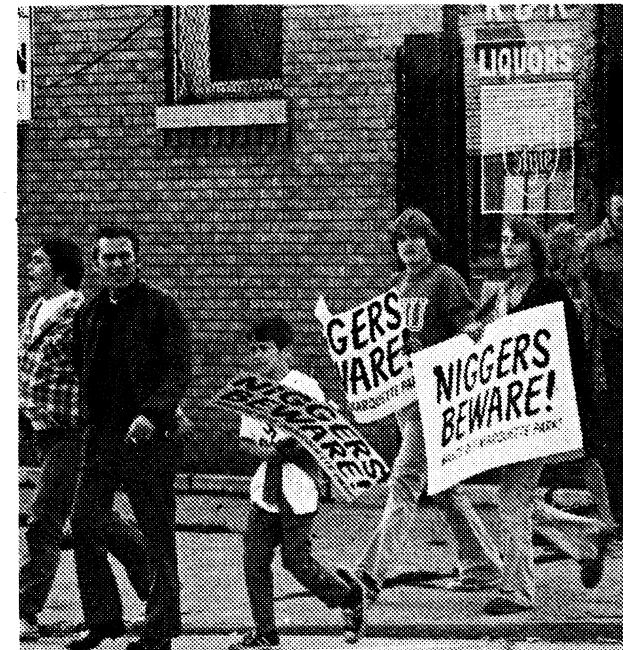
By Randi Lawrence

CHICAGO—Forty Black residents of Chicago's community of West Englewood met at the West Englewood Community Center November 3 to protest a continuing onslaught of racist attacks on Blacks living here.

West Englewood borders on the all-white community of Marquette Park, which has also been the scene of violent assaults on Blacks venturing there to shop or merely walk through the park.

For the past year, Blacks who have bought homes in West Englewood have been subjected to constant harassment, physical violence, and acts of vandalism on their homes.

An information packet distributed at the meeting had a partial listing of these attacks. This list alone



Nazi demonstration in Marquette Park, scene of racist assaults on Blacks.

included fifty-four separate attacks on seventeen different families, ranging from rocks thrown through windows and mobs of racist thugs storming homes to attempted arson and murder.

Participants at the meeting described the response of the police to these assaults. They have provided virtually no protection and in some cases have taken advantage of the tense atmosphere to further harass and intimidate Black families.

One man told how he had caught a young racist thug trying to vandalize his home, brought him into the house, and called the police. The cops' response was to threaten to arrest the Black homeowner himself for kidnapping.

In another incident, a mob of fifty whites approached the home of the Haley family. The police did not respond to Haley's calls for protection. But when Haley went outside and fired two warning shots into the air, the cops arrived and arrested him on the spot.

The National Socialist White Peoples party (Nazis) has supported and participated in the attacks. They recently held a rally of 500 that later broke down into mobs storming through the Black community.

One of the purposes of the protest meeting at the community center was to describe these events and discuss solutions with local elected officials who had been invited to participate. However, none of the invited officials came in person and only two—Sen. Cecil Partee, president of the state legislature, and one state representative—bothered to send representatives from their offices. The community residents at the meeting were angered and insulted by this.

Andrew Pulley, Illinois coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, spoke at the meeting. He pledged his organization's support to the fight for the right of Blacks and other minorities to live in any community of their choice free from fear for their safety.

Resolutions were passed by the meeting to demand that Senator Partee come out publicly for police protection and for apprehension of the attackers.

Future planning meetings will be held to discuss further actions to publicize and rally support for these Black families as well as to constitute a delegation to visit Mayor Richard Daley to demand that protection be provided for the Black residents of West Englewood.



Writings of Leon Trotsky

Writings of Leon Trotsky is a collection, in twelve volumes, of selected pamphlets, articles, letters, and interviews written during Trotsky's third and final exile (1929-1940).

They include many articles translated into English for the first time, but do not duplicate other material permanently in print.

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

Calendar

ATLANTA

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Speaker: Linda Jenness, cochairperson, Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. Fri., Nov. 21, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St. NE, Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Ed Heisler, cochairperson, Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee; Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate; Vince Eagan, 1974 SWP candidate for governor of Georgia. Sat., Nov. 22, 7 p.m., refreshments; 8 p.m., rally. Donation: \$2. Ausp: 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (404) 525-0649.

CHICAGO

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY AND RECEPTION. Speakers: Peter Camejo, 1976 SWP presidential candidate; others. Sat., Nov. 29. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 8:00 p.m.; party to follow. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: 1976 Socialist Workers Illinois Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-0756.

DETROIT

SPAIN: WHAT NEXT? Dreams and Nightmares, a film by participants in the Spanish civil war. Panel presentation with representatives of Detroit Spanish Film Committee and SWP. Fri., Nov. 21, 7 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

HOUSTON

WHEN WOMEN'S INDEPENDENCE MEANT DEATH: THE TERROR OF THE WITCHCRAFT TRIALS. A panel on women's history in the Dark Ages. Fri. Nov. 21, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: LABOR MOVEMENT UNDER ATTACK. Speakers: Prof. Warren Bratter, USLA representative to first Dominican Republic trade-union freedom conference; Claudio Tavarez, Dominican CGT (General Confederation of Workers) defense director. Fri., Nov. 21, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (at 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

PHILADELPHIA

WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM. A weekend seminar. Fri., Nov. 21, 8 p.m.: **Women's Evolution and Human Nature.** Speaker: Evelyn Reed, author of *Woman's Evolution*. Fine Arts Aud., 34th and Walnut (Univ. of Pennsylvania). Sat., Nov. 22, 1 p.m.: **The Roots of Women's Oppression.** Speaker: Evelyn Reed. 3 p.m.: **Socialism and Feminism: a Historical View.** Speaker: Clare Fraenzl, SWP. Sun., Nov. 23, 1 p.m.: **Strategies for Today.** Speaker: Robbie Scherr, member, YSA National Committee. Sessions on Sat. and Sun.: 1004 Filbert St. Donation: 3 classes on Sat. and Sun.—50 cents each. Ausp: YSA and SWP. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

PITTSBURGH

RACISM AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS. A socialist educational conference. Fri., Nov. 21, 8

p.m.: **Racism in America.** Speakers: Tony Austin, coordinator, Philadelphia Student Coalition Against Racism; Christina Adachi, Pittsburgh SCAR representative. Sat., Nov. 22, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m.: Two-part class—**The Cities in Crisis.** Speaker: Dick Roberts, *Militant* staff writer. Dining Rooms A, B, and C, Univ. of Pittsburgh Student Union. Donation: \$1. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

PORTLAND

SOCIALIST ACTIVISTS AND EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Fri., Nov. 21, 8 p.m.: **Should Young People Support the Democrats in 1976?** Speaker: Ruth Peterson, SWP city council candidate. Sat., Nov. 22, 10 a.m.: **Black Liberation and Socialism.** Speaker: Carmen Maymi, YSA. Noon: Statewide Socialist Workers campaign organizing meeting. 2 p.m.: **Two Hundred Years of Capitalism—Prospects for Socialist Revolution.** Speaker: Stacey Seigle, SWP candidate for state treasurer. 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE SOCIALIST ANSWER TO RACISM AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS. Speaker: Peter Camejo, 1976 SWP presidential candidate. Wed., Nov. 19, 8 p.m. Third Floor Lounge, Univ. of San Francisco. Ausp: San Francisco SWP campaign committee. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

SAN FRANCISCO/EAST BAY

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET. Featured speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate; and Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California. Sat., Nov. 22, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Refreshments, 5:30 p.m.; banquet, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 8:00 p.m. Donation: \$5, \$1 for rally only. Ausp: East Bay Camejo-Reid Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 548-0354 in the East Bay; or (415) 863-2285 in San Francisco.

TWIN CITIES

CIVIL LIBERTIES SPEAK-OUT. Speakers: William Kunstler, attorney; Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Prof. August Nimtz, Political Rights Defense Fund. Mon., Nov. 24, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. SE, Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

HISTORY OF WOMEN IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT: A FEMINIST VIEWPOINT. Speaker and slide presentation. Speaker: Dianne Feeley, contributor to *Feminism and Socialism*. Fri., Nov. 21, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...doctors

Continued from page 9

in strikes. So most of the male patients who come in are sympathetic towards us."

The doctors' strike has won strong support from nurses and other hospital employees, 250 of whom attended an outdoor rally November 3 organized by the Cook County Hospital unit of the Illinois Nurses' Association.

The walkout also has broad labor

and community endorsement. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH and other community leaders offered to organize a "blue ribbon community group to mediate the dispute." The doctors accepted the offer but the governing commission has so far refused.

The commission has threatened to lay off other hospital workers as the strike continues. The doctors responded with a leaflet stating: "The layoffs which occur during the HSA strike or any other strike are not the responsibility of doctors or any other workers. The administration is responsible! The House Staff will not, in the interests of Cook County Hospital patients, employees, and itself, go back until all CCH workers are rehired. No layoffs, no speed-ups, hire more workers in all categories."

...vote

Continued from page 16

gation had no one to vote for, and the antibusing forces could take their pick.

Nonetheless, the victory of incumbent Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll, a Democrat, was a sign that the antibusing forces in Kentucky don't speak for as many people as they claim to. The antibusing organizations had urged the defeat of Carroll, who had been compelled to take steps to enforce court-ordered busing in Louisville.

Similarly, in Boston, although both Mayor Kevin White and his opponent Joseph Timilty had virtually identical stands on busing, the antibusing groups mobilized in an unsuccessful drive to defeat White.

The city's Black vote went 3 to 1 in White's favor, despite the fact that Timilty had been endorsed by several members of the State Legislative Black Caucus and by Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins, as a "lesser evil."

The capitalist politicians who were elected November 4 are guaranteed to continue the racist and antilabor attacks that are dictated by the capitalists' needs in the present economic crisis. This will hold true whether they were elected over union opposition or with union backing as "lesser evils."

To defend the workers' interests, a new and different policy is needed: not reliance on treacherous "friends" in the Democratic and Republican parties, but independent working-class action in the streets and a labor party

that could organize union power in the political arena. That is the only way to reverse the dismal trend of setbacks in New York, San Francisco, and around the country.

...Reid

Continued from page 17

all working people," she told them.

Reid went on to speak about the recent defeat of the state Equal Rights Amendments in New York and New Jersey. She urged a stepped-up campaign for passage of the federal ERA.

"We've got to turn the endorsements of the ERA that exist on paper from hundreds of women's and labor groups into action that can make the ERA the law of the land," she said.

While in Ohio, Reid spoke to students at four campuses—Cleveland State University, Kent State, Cuyahoga Community College, and Ohio State University. Reid's appearance at Kent State was cosponsored by the Black United Students and the Institute for Afro-American Affairs. About eighty students, overwhelmingly Black, attended.

After the meeting, many of the students remained to talk informally with Reid about the relationship between socialism and the struggle for Black liberation.

Reid appeared on every major Cleveland television station and was interviewed by the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. She was also a guest on the "Dorothy Fuldheim Show." Fuldheim has been a television personality in Cleveland for decades and has a large following. She fired questions at Reid, and Reid came back just as rapidly with emphatic, to-the-point answers.

As Reid stepped off camera at the end of the interview, Fuldheim told her, "You're a pretty gutsy woman, Ms. Reid, and you're sure to command some attention anyway."

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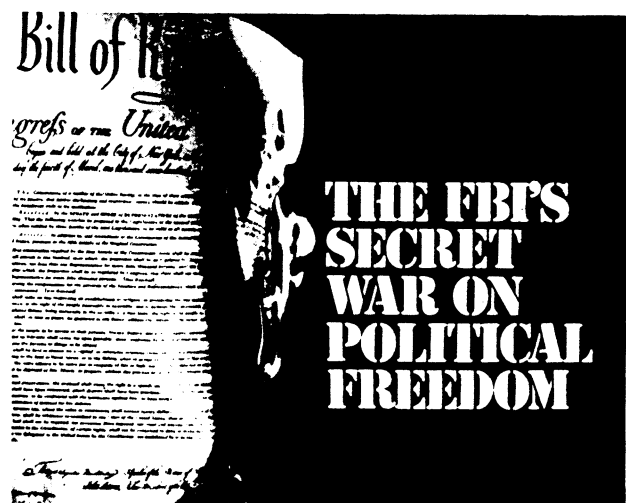
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ATLANTA

Socialist campaign rally

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22. Speakers: Ed Heisler, cochairperson of Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee; Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate; Vince Eagan, 1974 SWP candidate for governor of Georgia. 7 p.m., refreshments; 8 p.m., rally. 68 Peachtree St. NE, Third Floor, Donation: \$2. For more information call (404) 525-0644.

Ausp: 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. Chairperson: Laurie Perkus; treasurer: Richard Rathers.

THE MILITANT

At Senate hearing

Black student leader blasts antibusing drive

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—"Desegregation is our right and we intend to win it!" Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, told the Senate Judiciary Committee on November 11.

Dixon was invited to testify at the committee's hearings on busing. Other witnesses included Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.) and Percy Wilson, head of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center.

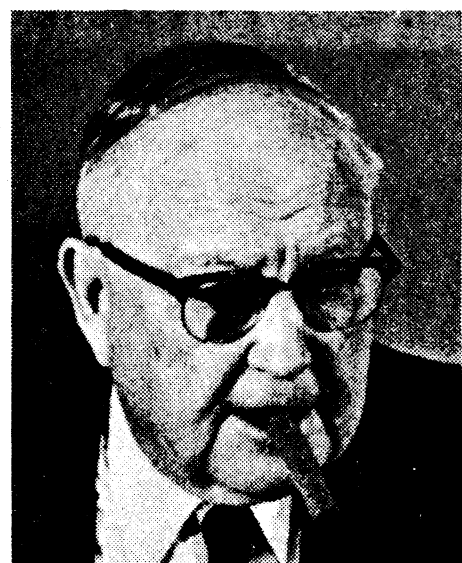
The senators also invited representatives of the racist, antibusing movement, including Louise Day Hicks, Boston city council member and leader of ROAR, and Massachusetts legislators Raymond Flynn and William Bulger, all Democrats.

The Senate committee is currently debating proposed constitutional amendments that would prohibit busing to achieve school desegregation. Previously, the committee heard witnesses from Louisville, Kentucky.

Blasting the antibusing amendments, Dixon explained why busing is necessary to guarantee the rights of Black people in Boston.

"Today, the gains of the battle which broke down the formal, 'legal' obstacles to full access to equal opportuni-

ties have been boldly challenged in no less a place than the 'cradle of liberty'—now being called a cesspool of reaction—Boston, Massachusetts."



Sen. James Eastland (left) called busing 'foreign to everything American,' while Edward Kennedy expressed hope that busing fight would not take place 'in the streets.'

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Militant/Lou Howort

MACEO DIXON: 'Desegregation is our right and we intend to win it!'

'Ford inflames racists'

"Above all," Dixon continued, "this mentality of snarling prejudice has been inflamed by President Ford, the chief antibusing bigot in America, along with Vice-president Rockefeller who, in the heat of the turmoil in Boston, praised the partisans of segregation. The Congress as well has praised the latter-day defenders of Jim Crow."

Senator Eastland himself has a long record of hatred for desegregation, matched only by his record as an anticommunist witch-hunter. During his brief appearance at the hearing, Eastland attacked one witness, Prof. Thomas Pettigrew of Harvard University, who was testifying in support of desegregation.

"Why shouldn't parents have the right to send their children to the school nearest them?" Eastland snapped. "Forced busing," he continued, "is foreign to everything American."

Then he leaned over, peered down at the witness, and asked: "Do you believe in the power Stalin used in Soviet Russia?"

The only other senator to show up at the hearing was Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.). Although Kennedy has taken a position in favor of busing, he refrained from defending that position at the hearing. Instead, he expressed his hope that the busing struggle will take place in congressional committee meetings, "not in the streets or in the halls of the schools."

The antibusing witnesses were not so timid. They boldly indicated that they intend to intensify their campaign against Black children.

Dixon answered their threats by pointing out that Blacks and other supporters of equal rights are also mobilizing. "This movement has begun to mobilize and organize, standing on the shoulders of the civil rights mass actions and marches, protests and rebellions, of a decade ago," he said.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism is the new, organized national student expression of such a campaign.

"There will be no constitutional

amendment banning busing to achieve desegregation," Dixon predicted. "The Black community and its white supporters—be they the unionists whose AFL-CIO official leadership supports busing, or the students who stood with us against Jim Crow and shook the government with their rage against the Indochina war—will not tolerate any attempts whatsoever to roll back our rights."

"We demand the fullest protection of our Black youth. Our resources from city, state, and federal governments must be used to implement the law. If city police, national guards, or federal troops are needed to enforce the law—so be it. Send those forces—not to the Black community—but to South Boston; Charlestown; Jefferson County, Kentucky; or other racist strongholds, in Dallas, Detroit, or wherever Black rights are being abrogated. We demand full steam ahead on desegregation and busing, above and below the Mason-Dixon line."

"I pledge you this," Dixon said, in concluding his statement. "We will appeal to the best in America to stand up for what is right and decent. We will march to your very doorsteps, building on and surpassing the powerful struggles of the last twenty years."

"We do not take the threats posed by the racist drive lightly. The refrain of the old civil rights song, 'We shall not be moved,' should ring loud and clear to you, in its most graphic implications."

"We shall not be moved out of our desegregated schools! We shall not be moved off the buses required to get us to them!"

"We will not be written out of the constitution we had to fight and die to get into!"

"We shall not be moved!"