

workers world

Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite

The increasing city debt to the banks is the underlying reason behind layoffs of city workers. See p. 3.

Vol. 16, No. 28

Dec. 20, 1974

25 cents

25,000 march in Boston, say 'no to racism'

— See pages 4-10



These people traveled from Baltimore to participate in the march against racism in Boston on Dec. 14. WW photo: Dick.

Civil rights leaders join protest

Support grows for Birmingham hospital strike

- 2—Birmingham hospital strike; Vigil for low rent housing; Decline & Fall
- 3—Massive city layoffs; GE layoffs hit women
- 4-5—The Boston march
- 6-7—Nationwide support for Boston march: Youngstown, Houston, Milwaukee, Southern Contingent
- 8-9—The role of the SWP; Interview with Emergency Comm. official
- 10—Highlights and sidelights of the Boston march
- 11—Milk drivers, plant workers win strike; Puerto Rican workers return to work under protest; Sugar barons
- 12—Editorials: 1) The "automatic" majority; 2) The real tyranny; 3) A new turn in Portugal?; What we mean by Capital; Letters
- 13—Rockefeller's wage slaves; LULAC supports Houston 12; Va. pickets hit death penalty
- 14—Political Prisoners
- 15—Why Greeks voted no; "A Christmas Carol" revisited
- 16—Class lines sharpen in Ethiopia; Militant resistance in Oman

WORKERS WORLD

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Special to Workers World
BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Over 400 hospital workers fired for attempting to unionize have been out on strike here for 9 months, while the hospital directors have hired strike-breakers from outlying rural areas.

On November 11 and 12, Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a prominent leader of the civil rights struggle in Birmingham, both participated in a major demonstration that succeeded in publicizing the strike and lifting the spirit of an already growing and militant group of workers to continue on in their struggle.

In 1973, hospital workers throughout the city intensified a long-developing organizing drive. These 15,000 workers, 70 percent Black and 80 percent women, consist of all hospital personnel except registered nurses, doctors, and supervisors. The workers formed the "Public Employees Organizing Committee" to guide their organizing efforts and were able to get about 5,000 cards signed for the Laborers International Union including substantial majorities at several major hospitals.

At last, on Feb. 20, 1974, about 350

of 500 workers at Princeton Baptist Medical Center and 20 of 400 at Montclair Baptist Medical Center walked out and began picketing. Although a large percentage of white workers had signed cards, only 35 whites were among the strikers.

LOW PAY AND RACISM

The desperate need for an adequate wage higher than \$2.25 an hour that most workers are paid was one reason why the workers began to organize, but racism is the paramount problem.

At both of the Baptist hospitals, almost all supervisors are white and nearly three-quarters of the workers are Black. White workers get promoted before Black workers, even if the Black workers have more seniority, and if a department consists of only Black workers, the administration goes outside to hire a supervisor.

Pay scales are different for white and Black workers and it is not at all uncommon for white workers to get paid more than Blacks for doing exactly the same work. Even the restrooms at Montclair, located in the affluent end of town, are still segregated.

HOSPITAL UNION BUSTING ENDANGERS PATIENTS

At the start of the strike, the

directors of both hospitals swore they would have nothing to say to the workers until they went back on the job. Of course, these same administrators had refused to say anything to the workers at any time in the past when they were working.

The people of the city were told that the hospital workers were putting the patients' lives in danger and that the picketers were being violent and disruptive. Of course, it is the administrators and owners of the hospital who are putting the patients' lives in danger by refusing to pay the workers an adequate wage and to allow safe and equal working conditions.

Soon after the strike began, when public interest and support for the workers were running high, three Black workers were charged with setting fire to a van which was carrying scabs into the hospital, and as an afterthought two were charged with assault with intent to murder a policeman. Although no evidence has yet been turned up to support these charges, the media used it to smear the strike.

On July 11, 1974, both houses of Congress passed a law putting all "nonprofit" hospitals under the National Labor Relations Board jurisdiction. This meant that there should no longer be a need for recognition strike in the Baptist hospitals. On July 14, three days later, Princeton fired all 400 of the strikers, knowing full well that if these workers were not fired, they would return to work as soon as the bill was signed into effect, and then vote to have a union.

HOSPITAL DIRECTORS WEAR OTHER HATS

Richard Pizitz, the man who

inherited Birmingham's largest department store chain, is Chairman of the Board of the Baptist Hospitals Foundation. He has not only refused to see representatives of the workers, but has issued an order preventing all his stores from hiring anyone who used to work at Baptist Hospitals.

The President of this hospital foundation, G. Thornton Nelson, is also the Vice President of Alabama Power—a subsidiary of the Southern Company, which is in the process of trying to import 30 million tons of coal from racist South Africa.

The list goes on and on. But the workers have declared: "If the hospital workers can have no Thanksgiving or Christmas, then neither will the merchants of Birmingham." This threatened boycott of Pizitz stores, and others as well, could begin a revival of the effective civil rights boycotts of the 1960s.

STRUGGLING TOGETHER

The strikers are meeting at least twice a week and more than 100 people have been showing up. They come together to discuss their own strategy and to learn about other struggles. To this end, they have already heard from several other people about their fights, their tactics, their solutions.

A local Black minister, Rev. Samuel Pettagruie, who is President of the Birmingham chapter of SCLC, is working closely with the strikers and promises that they won't stop until all 400 workers have been rehired, and until the workers are allowed to make their choice about getting a union. The workers know they are going to win, and when they do it will be a victory for all of us.

Dec. 22 vigil marks 4-1/2 yr. fight for low rent housing

NEW YORK, Dec. 14—On Sunday afternoon, December 22, at 2 p.m., the long-embattled "We Won't Move" tenants of Columbus Hospital will hold a holiday vigil, with caroling, outside the hospital on East 19th Street, between 2nd and 3rd Avenues.

The main demand will be that Columbus, a Catholic hospital founded by Mother Cabrini, patron saint of the homeless, rent to elderly persons, Vietnam veterans, and others the 30 empty apartments at 210-214 East 19th Street.

Because the apartments were vacated (under hospital pressure) prior to enactment of the 1971 Vacancy Decontrol Act, they remain under rent control.

New Yorkers in need of a decent place to live are urged to

participate in order to help liberate the empty apartments.

It is widely believed that Columbus still hopes to wear down the 18 present tenants in order to be able to demolish the building and replace it with a 27-car parking lot. The tenants began a rent strike for heat and removal of violations in January 1973. The case is now in Housing Court.

In the caroling, pro-tenant jingles and rhymes will be substituted for the traditional words. The theme will be, "No Room at the Inn."

After a knock-down, drag-out 4½-year war against unwarranted hospital encroachment and expansionism, the 210-214 Tenants Committee is determined to make the structurally sound building a prototype in the struggle to preserve low-rent housing.



'Your money or your life'

DECLINE AND FALL

THE DELICACY OF THE PRESS

New York Times, Dec. 8 (News of the Week in Review):

"To the press today, a politician's private life remains just that—private. During last summer's Senate Watergate hearings, John Ehrlichman complained that the press did not report drunkenness, even on the floor of Congress itself. He was right. Once in a while a reporter writes that a Senator appeared in the Senate in 'high spirits.' Those on the in know the reporter means the Senator was drunk. The reader doesn't."

"The fact is that there's hardly a reporter in Washington who could not reel off a long

list of alcoholic and philandering Representatives, Senators, members of the Executive branch, and Governors. . . .

"If a reporter is called upon to write a story on a Cabinet officer, for instance, is it honest journalism to make no reference to the fact that the official dines out four nights a week with a woman who isn't his wife? Or that he staggers into his office drunk several afternoons a week? . . .

"Most reporters agree on a commonsense sort of rule. If a Congressman, say, appears drunk on the floor of the House every now and then, it is to be ignored. If, on the other hand, he's drunk every day, or drunk at a time when he should be doing important committee work, or drunk at the time of an important vote, that, they feel, is news. Even then they suspect it is the sort of news

most editors simply will not print."

How many workers can get away with drunkenness on the job—and how many bourgeois editors would sympathize with them?

ALL STOMACH, NO HEART

Craig Claiborne (food editor), New York Times, Dec. 9:

"SAIGON, South Vietnam—The best vantage point to view the street-life of Saigon must be the bamboo and rattan terrace of the Continental Palace Hotel, a French colonial relic still admirably staffed. . . .

"To the great surprise of almost any newcomer there remains in Saigon today a deep-rooted respect for good food conscientiously prepared on almost every level.

"Even breakfast has been an uncommonly pleasant experience here.

"There are said to be many excellent

French restaurants in Saigon, not the least of which is Chez Henri. The proprietor reputedly came to Saigon as a French Legionnaire 20 or more years ago. Henri's andouillettes were of a commendably high order. The frog's legs were quite edible, although they had been cooked from a frozen state and were chewy.

"The Binh-Trieu Quan restaurant describes itself in French as having 'An atmosphere rustic and restful,' with Cuisine Vietnamiennne la plus raffonnee. The meal was of a high order with a remarkable curried eel soup, salt and pepper crab and a masterfully seasoned shrimp with pork and bean sprouts salad plus local beef. The check, which amounted to just under \$5 for two, was in the process of being paid when artillery fire sounded somewhere north of the place, which is harbored in the middle of a lotus pond. Everyone turned to look and without comment returned to the meal at hand."

And so they went back to digging their graves with their teeth.

Massive city layoffs due to NYC debt

By T. MITCHELL

NEW YORK, Dec. 11—New York City Mayor Abraham Beame gave the order today for 3,725 layoffs effective next week and forced early retirement for 2,700 other workers. These dismissals come on top of 1,510 cut from the payroll just 3 weeks ago, making a total reduction of 7,935 jobs so far, amounting to more than 2 percent of the 338,524 city workers.

Beame, who formerly managed the account books as City Comptroller, claims the layoffs are necessary to close a projected \$320 million deficit in the \$11.1 billion city budget for the year ending June 30, 1975. According to Beame, a \$135 million deficit yet remains, and even more layoffs are being considered.

SICK TEACHERS MUST WORK: MORE FIRE DEATHS

The job cuts have hit every department, with the schools taking the greatest losses, including 1,100 teachers and educational researchers and 200 librarians and cultural institution employees. Also, teachers will be forced to work when they are sick so that 875 substitute teachers won't be hired.

Firemen are being reduced by 150 in addition to the closing of eight fire companies, mainly in ghetto areas, announced 3 weeks ago. Fire deaths, especially in the dilapidated tenements, run two to three times greater during the winter months. Just 2 years ago, six other fire houses were closed in poor, nonwhite communities in New York, and since then 70 people have died and 466 have been

injured in fires in these areas.

Although New York City is notorious for the piles of uncollected garbage in poor sections, 235 sanitation workers are being eliminated.

No cops will be fired, but 400 graduating from the Police Academy won't be added to the more than 30,000 armed goons paid to protect the rich from the poor.

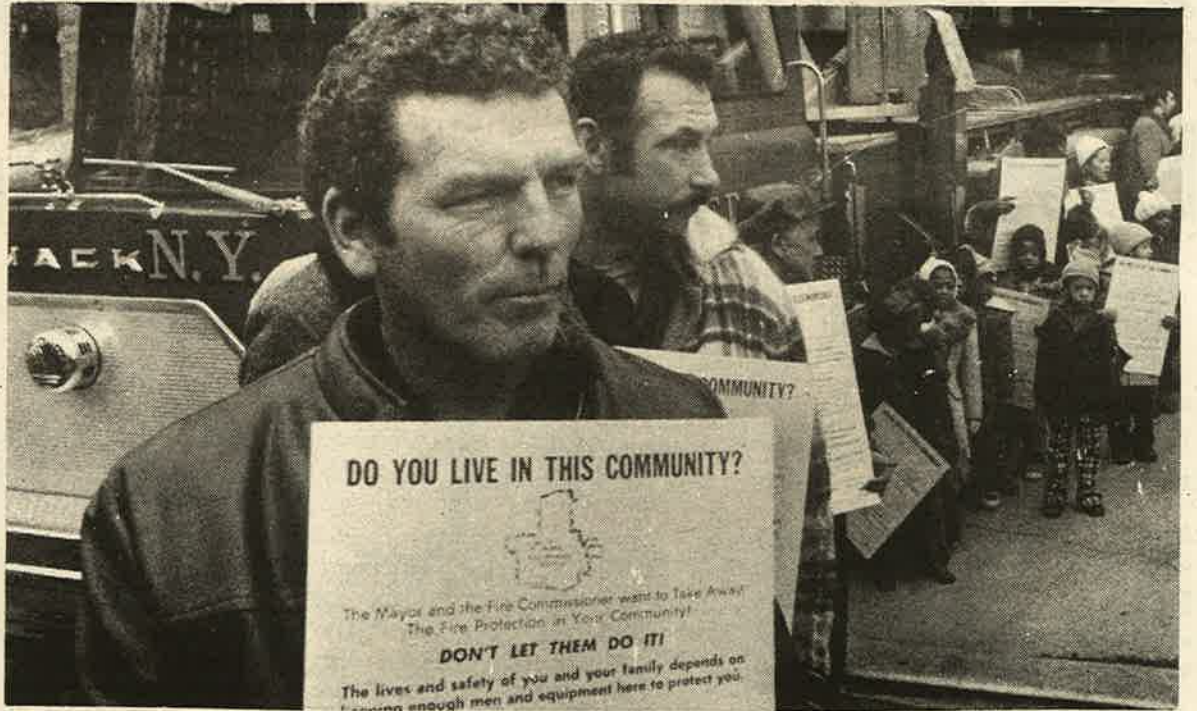
Social Services Department workers are also being cut, even though the lines outside the welfare offices start forming in the middle of the night while the welfare rolls have increased sharply in the recession to 950,000, leaving more than one in ten New Yorkers battling the bureaucracy to get an average \$1,000 annual allotment.

City workers, who are not covered by unemployment insurance in their supposedly secure jobs, may well find themselves standing in the cold outside the welfare offices.

BIG BANKS DRAIN THE CITY TREASURY

These are the first large-scale layoffs of New York City workers since 1934. Mayor Beame, the professional bookkeeper, is supposed to be believable when he says the payroll must be cut. This man says he is "terribly saddened," and he has offered as an alternative payless days, payless vacations, and across-the-board salary cuts.

But it doesn't ease the pain for the thousands laid off to hear Beame declare: "I don't want to hurt anybody." The truth is that the city budget is in crisis because



New York's poor communities, with many firetraps, will be hit hardest by the closing of firehouses.

so much money is going to the banks.

New York City is the home of Wall Street, the financial center of the capitalist world. The Chase Manhattan Bank, First National City Bank, and Manufacturers Hanover Trust, three of the four top banks in the U.S., have their headquarters in New York, as well as a host of other multi-billion dollar financial corporations.

New York City plays host to these giant money moguls by filling their coffers out of the city treasury. Interest and debt payments in the current fiscal year in the New York City budget

amount to more than \$1,776,000,000! Next to salaries, servicing this debt is the biggest single item in the budget.

When the city borrowed \$600 million on December 2, there was only one bid from a consortium of 14 of the biggest banks, brokers, and investment corporations, and the 9.48 percent interest rate will turn over \$47.3 million in interest to these banks in the next year.

The Wall Street Journal reports that New York City has borrowed \$6.8 billion in short-term loans over the first 10 months of this year, nearly 30 percent of all short-term borrowing by state and local

governments in the U.S. In short, the NYC treasury is a gold mine for the big banks.

Mayor Beame has never mentioned the cost of supporting the opulent income of the banks; he just pleads poverty and cuts the city payroll.

The people of New York need new schools, firehouses, apartment buildings, and much more, while the city workers need their jobs and additional help. One look at the money that the banks take and it's obvious that the funds are there to be had when the people organize to keep them from piling up in the bank vaults.

GE layoffs discriminate against women workers

By ELEANOR RIGGS

NORFOLK, Va., Dec. 16—Workers in the television manufacturing industry across the country are being laid off by the thousands. RCA, Zenith, and General Electric, among others, have shut down production for extended periods over the Thanksgiving and Christmas holiday periods, throwing workers and their families into economic uncertainty.

Over the last 10 years, these giant corporations have moved huge sections of the TV industry either to the South or to underdeveloped countries in order to magnify their profits—and to thwart unionized workers' attempts to gain a decent wage and working conditions. In the mid-60s, for example, GE pulled its unionized operations out of Syracuse, N.Y., and settled in the "right-to-work" state of Virginia. In 1971, thousands of IUE members lost their jobs when RCA moved its Memphis, Tenn., plant to Taiwan.

Since October, around 1,400 workers, predominantly women, at General Electric's television receiver plant in Portsmouth, Va., have been given their temporary layoff notices. In this unorganized shop, the GE bosses had no union contract to force them to abide by seniority. The bulk of the layoffs have been among those in the lowest job category, the processors or assembly line workers.

WOMEN FIGHT DISCRIMINATION

The company employs a blatantly discriminatory policy toward women in job assignment, promotions, and layoffs. Within the processors classification, there are strictly defined "women's" jobs and "men's" jobs. In this recent

series of layoffs, GE had separate seniority lists for women and men assembly line workers. Originally, the cutoff date for women processors went back to August 1972 while men processors with only months in the plant kept their jobs. GE management justified the different dates by saying it was harder to keep men at the plant so they didn't want to let many of them go.

Women workers affected by this biased policy fought the unfair layoffs. The in-plant union organizing committee put out leaflets informing women of their rights and encouraging them to participate in the filing of an EEOC suit against GE. Several male processors volunteered to testify in support of the women. Women demanded—and won—the opportunity to work a so-called "man's" job.

MORE DIRTY TRICKS FROM GE

Forced to back down slightly by individual women who refused to be laid off and by the inroads the union organizing committee was making among the workers, GE made a more subtle attack on the women who had challenged the company. While the "men's" jobs vary greatly throughout the plant as far as lifting heavy materials, almost invariably women were assigned to the large television lines, such as the 19-inch and 25-inch sets, and their jobs were some of the heaviest in the plant.

For example, a woman on the union committee who has been a leader in the fight against discrimination was given a job carrying over 27 tons of television sets a day from one assembly line to another. Yet there are several

jobs held by men with less seniority in her area that require no or relatively little heavy lifting.

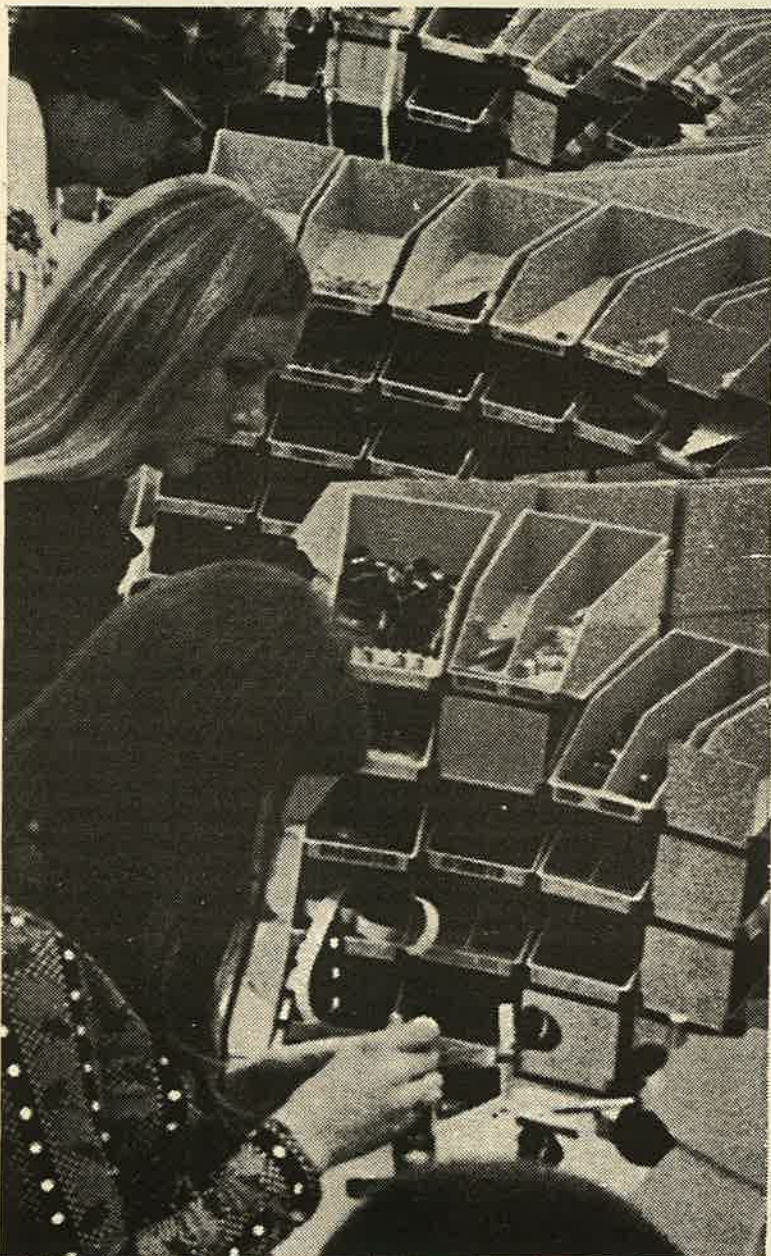
Psychological pressure has been put on these women by foremen gathering in groups to watch them work. One woman's foreman told her she had to use the men's bathroom now that she was doing a man's job. Low-seniority male workers who were laid off were told by their supervisor that they were losing their jobs because of the women.

FEWER WORKERS DO MORE WORK

Of course the layoffs might not have been necessary or so severe if GE hadn't raised production rates over and over again earlier in the year. Hundreds of new employees were hired, the assembly lines were sped up almost beyond endurance, and thousands upon thousands of television sets were stored in the warehouse.

While the layoffs have caused untold hardship for those thrown out of work, they have meant additional work loads and still more speed-ups for those remaining in the plant. In many cases, two or three jobs are now being done by one worker. The workers have been told that if they can't keep up this inhuman pace, they will be fired.

The callous tactics of General Electric are no different than any of the other major corporations trying to better their profit picture during this period of crisis. But for the workers at the Portsmouth GE television plant, the layoffs are creating a growing awareness of the need for organization and are raising questions in the minds of many of the workers about the profit system itself.



Women in the television manufacturing industry are fighting the job discrimination which makes them the first victims of layoffs.

Massive militant turnout for Boston march against racism

By ANDY STAPP

BOSTON, Dec. 14—The most massive and militant demonstration against racism held anywhere in the United States for a decade took place today in the city of Boston.

The march was called by the Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism, an organization set up to counter the racist and fascist groups who have been instigating lynch mob attacks on Black people here under the code slogan of "fighting busing."

Participants in the anti-racist demonstration began arriving in Roberto Clemente Memorial Park at 10 a.m., about three hours before the march was scheduled to begin. Many were among the estimated 5,000 people who came in buses from 36 states to join 20,000 local residents of Boston, almost half of whom were Black, who participated in the action.

MARCH GARNERS WIDE SUPPORT

Only seven weeks had passed since the Emergency Committee had begun to build for the demonstration. During that brief period the idea of a march against the racist terror gripping Boston gathered very wide support, especially from labor, despite the utter collapse of the ruling class liberals of the Kennedy stripe.

By December 14, half a million leaflets calling for the demonstration had been handed out in the various neighborhoods of Boston. Shortly before the march, South Boston itself, an organizing center for the fascists, was heavily posterized by workers from the Emergency Committee.

A number of gay women, several of whom live in South Boston, took the lead in this and in one night pasted over 100 posters over the racist epithets, KKK slogans, and swastikas that every morning have confronted the Black school children being bused into the area.

By 12:45, the park was a sea of color as thousands of demonstrators massed with green banners and flags denouncing racism. Although it was cold and threatening to rain, the crowd was in high spirits. Even before the march began, those present could see it would be larger than anything the racists had been able to organize—despite almost a decade of segregationist organizing in South Boston.

As more and more demonstrators poured into the assembly area it was clear on people's faces: they knew history was being made in Boston this day.

'KKK—IT'S NOT YOUR DAY!'

The racists—the Klan, Nazis, and the notorious ROAR group led by Louise Day Hicks—had threatened to use violence to stop the march only a few weeks ago. In the face of the large and militant crowd that gathered today, however, not one racist dared show his face. Cheers rippled through the field as a group of demonstrators hung Hicks in effigy. The jubilant anti-racist crowd began to chant, "KKK—it's not your day!"

Less than a week before, 600 of the most vicious racists had trapped 100 Black children inside South Boston High School for four hours, threatening to kill them if



This high school student choir came all the way from St. Louis, Mo., to express their solidarity with the Black students of Boston. WW photo: Ed C.

they tried to go home.

The media spread the news of this vile attack across the country. The television networks showed the hate-distorted faces of these racists, while commentators implied that this was how the majority in Boston feel about Black people trying to get equal rights.

The demonstration today exposed this lie and dramatically showed that the majority of people have nothing in common with the lynchers.

The crowd in the park swelled to 20,000. Shortly before 1 p.m., a contingent under the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party broke away from the majority and marched ahead to the Boston Common, but relatively few left with the SWP, and even some of these seem to have been confused.

To make matters worse the SWP faction marched down what they proclaimed as the "legal" route, while the Black leadership were still attempting to pressure the police for a better one.

CROWD GETS EVEN LARGER

At 1:40 p.m., the march was off. "We say NO to racism," the crowd

chanted as it surged up the Street. By now the march was so large that a person standing in the midsection could not see either the front or rear. A group from South Boston, was there, too, marching with Black people from Roxbury.

Many of the marchers had come many hundreds of miles from the South to help the people of Boston fight the racists, just as 10 years ago many from Boston went South to aid in the struggle there.

It had been announced for several days that the march would proceed down Boylston Street, a route the racists have often used in their "anti-busing" marches. But Boston's liberal mayor, Kevin White, uses a different rule book for Black people and their white supporters than the one for Hicks, Kerrigan, and the other local racist politicians.

When the march reached the intersection of Boylston and Massachusetts Avenue, a massive police barricade appeared. Dozens of mounted cops, backed up by over 100 riot police and scores of cop cars and vans, blocked the way.

The marchers protested being

denied the use of Boylston Street, which had always been open for the right-wing demonstrations. But Boylston is the main shopping street and probably the richest in the whole state of Massachusetts, and capitalists who had welcomed the racists with open arms were adamant against letting an anti-racist march use the route.

The December 15 Boston Globe admitted this, writing, "Deputy Police Superintendent Joseph Jordan told reporters that Boylston Street businessmen had complained," and therefore the march could not go through.

POLICE CHARGE

For about 20 minutes, the cops and demonstrators confronted each other, the marchers demanding the street be opened, the cops refusing. Suddenly, the mounted police charged, clubbing and pushing. Six of the marchers were arrested, but the line held.

The marchers then turned left and proceeded to Commonwealth Avenue and then to the Boston Common rally site. When the head of the march reached the speakers' platform at the Common, the hundreds of banners of the

Emergency Committee proclaiming, "We say no to racism—we say no to racist mob violence" stretched back for more than a mile all the way back to the starting point.

For almost an hour the marchers streamed into the Boston Common, and by the time Mtangulizi, the chairman of the rally, introduced Ralph Abernathy, 25,000 people had massed in the Common.

Abernathy was warmly applauded by the crowd when he said, "We have come to Boston to say that Hicks and all her gang should be jailed." He went on to attack Ford and said of poor whites, "Their struggle is our struggle. Let us get together and let the racists know we are not going to be turned back or turned around."

DICK GREGORY NAILS THE RICH

He was followed on the podium by Dick Gregory who pointed the finger at the wealthy interests who have been behind the racist attacks, saying, "We're going to see to it that these few rich elite stop tricking white folks. The Rockefellers and the power class in

Labor supports Dec. 14

Besides the fact that 25,000 people showed their determination to fight racism at the right place and the right time, the next most important thing was that union labor was an outstanding feature of the march and insured the participation of thousands of rank-and-file workers.

While State Senator Owens of Boston made the initial call, the chief leader and advocate of the march in the important New York area was Dennis Serette, vice president of Local 1101 CWA, AFL-

CIO—the largest body of telephone craft workers and phone installers in the country, and vice president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

A large number of union women affiliated with the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), gave wide support to the action.

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) locals in several cities were active, sent delegates, and contributed money. The greater New York section, District 37,

supplied several buses and hundreds of thousands of leaflets.

District 65 sent forces to Boston as did the United Shoeworkers. The Hospital Workers Union 1199 showed up with and without their famous hats, as did District 65. The United Store Workers sent a bus from New York City. The New England Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing Workers were extremely helpful and a delegation of Amalgamated Meatcutters came all the way from the Midwest.

A number of other locals gave money, moral and other material aid from the smallest ones in Boston to a Steel local of 10,000 in Chicago. Several Teamsters locals helped; some of the Farmworkers, innumerable local officers and even some national officers and business agents lent their names.

This stand by a substantial segment of the labor movement is a sure sign that the working class itself is going to struggle against racism, the main internal enemy of the working class, and defeat it.

MARCHERS FILL THE STREETS



On Dec. 14, the streets of Boston were filled with marchers, Black and white, demonstrating the strength and determination of the fight against racism. WW photo: Dick

this country wouldn't walk their dogs through the poor white neighborhoods or wash their feet in the pots poor whites cook in."

Jesus Lopez of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party spoke next. "We are participating in this rally," Lopez stated, "to raise the voice of the Puerto Rican people who are fighting the same enemy, U.S. imperialism. Our struggle is for the destruction of the reactionary capitalist system. This system uses racism to keep large sections of the people oppressed and exploited. The enemy is a small minority, the capitalists who leech off the blood and sweat of the workers all over the world. The Hicks, the Fords, the Rockefellers are using racism to divide the people."

Ellen Moves Camp, representing the American Indian Movement, followed Lopez. Moves Camp called on all people to "stand as one against racism in the U.S." and asked support for the Native Americans being framed up in the Eagle Bay case.

WE ARE READY!

Bill Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists spoke next. Lucy told the crowd

that, "The time has come to put human needs over capitalist needs."

He added, "We are ready to come back any time in the fight to end racism."

John Boone, a leader in the fight against the concentration camp conditions in U.S. prisons, followed Lucy. Boone called the prison system "the second slave system." He introduced the wife of a prisoner who said, "It's time for people like myself to say we can't live with racism. I'm convinced that together we can do it."

Two high school students spoke next. Marguerita Skinner, a Black student attending school in South Boston was warmly applauded when she stated, "We ought to be allowed to go to school there just like they are."

WHITE STUDENT AGAINST RACISM

Linda Lawrence, a white high school student spoke next and said that many of the white kids weren't against going to school with the Black students but that their parents were making them stay out. She said, "Deep imbedded racism" runs rampant where she lives and that she had been

threatened for being seen with Black children.

"Racism, like a huge cloud hangs over Boston today," she said, but added, "The clouds must eventually break and the sun shine through once more."

Claudette Furlonge followed the two students on the speakers platform. A national coordinator for Women United For Action, Claudette urged the people massed in the Commons to dig deep into the economic system itself to find those who promote racism. "Our demonstration here today must answer the racist mobs, show them we can't be intimidated, can't be beaten down. Our presence has shown them that they can't stop the struggle of Black people for freedom and justice. But it isn't just the racist mobs we must answer. We must set our sights on the big shots behind them or we will fall short of our mark. We must get to those who instigate the violence, finance the organizing, those who find it so very, very profitable to have poor fighting poor when a depression is coming on."

'STAND UP OR LIE DOWN AND DIE LIKE DOGS'

The next speaker was State Senator Bill Owens, the first Black State Senator of Massachusetts and Chairman of the Emergency Committee. Owens said, "At some point we have to make a decision. Stand up or lie down and die like dogs." Calling the attacks on Black school children the epitome of racial oppression, Owens went on to denounce Mayor White for acceding to the Boylston Street millionaire demands to bar the march. Owens stated, "Mayor White had the audacity to turn loose his militia on us this morning. The Mayor of the city of Boston was willing to sacrifice all of us in favor of capitalism and big business. They were willing to trample us with horses. Big business did everything in its power to stop this march. The police department made up its mind we wouldn't come here." It was apparent from the size of the crowd that the mayor, the cops, and the right wing had failed on all counts.

The speaking program wound up with Imamu Baraka, leader of the Congress of Afrikan People, and Professor George Wald, Nobel laureate in Physiology.

On Friday, the night before the march, the Student Committee held a teach-in at nearby Harvard with nearly 1000 in attendance.

Georgia State Senator Julian Bond, Reverend Vernon Carter, a famous civil rights fighter of the sixties, and Jonathan Kozol, author of "Death at an Early Age," addressed the crowd. Kozol received a standing ovation for his heartfelt indictment of the racist system.

Julian Bond said the racism was "cheered and encouraged by a parochial President" and "wrapped in and sanctified by the American flag."

Richard Wallace, a Black junior high school student, told a vivid story of how racist parents had sent their kids running through his school with white sheets on, screaming that they were the KKK.

Boston was not alone on Dec. 14 in the fight against racism. Support rallies were held in Seattle, San Francisco, Pasadena, Houston, Dubuque, Portland, Youngstown, Milwaukee, and Denver.

Mtanguizi closed the Boston rally by congratulating the staff of the Emergency Committee, naming Chuck Harris, Claudette Furlonge, Pam Kirkland, Nick Frankel, Mwanafunzi, Brian Becker, Les Feinberg, Henry Kubick, Akoua, Gary Wilson, and Bob Young.

Nationwide support for Dec. 14

THE BUSES ROLL IN



On the morning of Dec. 14, buses poured into Boston from all over the country. One bus, filled with dedicated supporters, set out from Louisville, Kentucky, but unfortunately broke down on the way to Boston. WW photo: Dick

Rallies support Boston march

HOUSTON

By BARBARA TEEL

HOUSTON, Dec. 14—Several hundred Houstonians gathered today to symbolically join hands with the Black school children of Boston. The occasion was a rally called by the Houston Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism, a coalition recently formed to show support for the Black students who are being attacked in Boston. The rally was planned to coincide with the National Freedom March for Human Dignity being held in Boston today.

Many well-known Black and Chicano individuals and organizations, as well as students, trade unionists, and women, helped initiate and carry through the rally. Among the many sponsors of the local action were Mary Brown of Houston Metropolitan Ministries, State Representative Mickey Leland, Raza Unida Party, the Black and Brown Coalition at the University of Houston, the Student Association at Texas Southern University, and representatives of the United Farm Workers.

During the 2 weeks before the action, volunteers worked many long, hard hours getting the word out about the rally. Five thousand posters were put up, and thousands of leaflets were distributed all over the city.

The crowd heard speakers denounce the racist mobilization in Boston. Deborah Andrews, a Black high school student, set the tone of the rally with her opening speech. Showing the same spirit and proud determination as the Black students in Boston, she denounced

the Boston bigots, particularly the racist "welcoming committee" of students in South Boston who attacked Black students as they arrived at the school on buses.

Speaker after speaker criticized the poor quality of education received by Black children all over the country. They defended the right of Black and Latin people to have quality education in their own communities, but also supported their right to attend schools in predominately white neighborhoods if they so desired.

Ricardo Aguirre, one of the Houston 12 defendants, described

his upbringing in the racist school system of Texas. He exposed the Texas "desegregation" plans which classify Chicano students as white and "integrate" schools by putting Black and Chicano students in the same low-quality schools. He described the case of the Houston 12, and showed how it was another instance of racist attack. He asked the people present to oppose this racist frameup in Houston with the same determination they showed in opposing the racist mob violence in Boston.

Speakers from CLUW, Texas

Southern University, Centro Chicano, and other organizations also were heard. The State Director of the United Farm Workers sent a message of solidarity, urging people to unite against racism in order to fight for economic demands.

Barbara Timko from Women United for Action was the closing speaker. Reminding the crowd once again that racism is the biggest obstacle to building the struggles around their daily needs, she urged people to continue to combat this menace. She expressed the strong feelings of everyone present with the demands heard around the country—"No to attacks on Black school children, No to racist mob violence!"

YOUNGSTOWN

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Dec. 14—A march and rally today drew some 150 people, both Black and white, to support the National March Against Racism in Boston.

The demonstrators gathered at the Board of Education building and eventually marched over to Federal Plaza. Besides the many slogans being chanted, the main and largest banner of the march read, "In solidarity with Boston."

At Federal Plaza, a rally was held with featured speakers Ron Daniels, President of the National Black Assembly, Dr. Alice Budge, Professor at Youngstown State University, Rhoda Dotson, Black activist in educational and community work, and Robert Saffold of Warren, Ohio, Coordinator of the Tri-County Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. The rally was chaired by Al Garcia of the Center for United Labor Action (CULA).

The march and rally attracted a number of local rank-and-file steelworkers and auto workers from nearby Lordstown. Support for the Boston campaign against racism included 35 sponsors from the local area.

MILWAUKEE

MILWAUKEE, Dec. 14—Over 100 people marched here today in solidarity with the National March Against Racism being held in Boston.

The march was called by the Anti-Nazi Anti-Racist Coalition, which includes Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF), the Wisconsin Alliance, October League, radical cultural groups and printing

HOUSTON SUPPORT RALLY



These schoolchildren were among those who demonstrated their solidarity with the schoolchildren of Boston in an anti-racist rally in Houston on Dec. 14. WW photo

She travelled 1,200 miles to fight racism



houses, and several collectives.

A rally was held first at the Civic Center in front of the Police Administration building. Speakers at the rally were Peggy Geden of YAWF, Sacramento Delegado of the Ray Mendoza Defense Committee, Tony Baez, a Puerto Rican leader (formerly of the Young Lords), and Skip Overbrunner of the Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism.

The demonstrators then marched to the downtown area where the Nazi Party has regularly gathered every Saturday in Marine Plaza. When the Nazis failed to show, a picket line was nevertheless set up. The demonstrators chanted, "Stop the Nazis, Stop racism!" A large banner was carried reading "No to racism!", the main slogan of the Emergency Committee.

Demonstrators in 9 cities denounce Boston racists

By ANDY STAPP

DECEMBER 14—Today nine other cities joined Boston in demonstrations against racism, mostly sponsored by the Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism. In San Francisco about 200 rallied in front of the Federal Building against the racists. Only about nine fascists, uniformed members of the American Nazi Party, turned out to disrupt the demonstration, but they were rebuffed by demonstrators.

Three hundred marched in Pasadena, where about eight Nazi party members also were turned away in their attempt to attack the march.

Roosevelt Grier, the former football star, spoke at the Pasadena rally. Another of the demonstration organizers, Martin Zinkin, told the crowd the anti-racist mobilizations in Boston and Pasadena were not isolated incidents.

"This demonstration is only the beginning..." he pointed out. (Pasadena has been the scene of a racist "busing" controversy, similar to that of Boston.)

A demonstration in Portland, Oregon marched around the school district administration building where speakers demanded that, "the disease of racism which has broken out in Boston be stopped and not allowed to spread to Portland or anywhere else."

About 350 Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, and whites came out for the Seattle March for Human Dignity. March leader Thad Spratlen told the crowd, "The violent attacks on Black students in Boston attempting to receive a decent education" amount to "pure and unadulterated racism."

Rallies were also held in St. Louis, Houston, Denver, Youngstown, and Milwaukee. On December 6, there was a demonstration in Dubuque, Iowa, against the racist attacks on Black school children in Boston.

From Birmingham to Boston

Southerners march, say 'NO to racism'

By AL LONG

BOSTON, Dec. 14—They came in busloads from Norfolk, Virginia, and Birmingham, Alabama; in carloads from Atlanta; Richmond; Durham, Greensboro, and Statesville, North Carolina; and other Southern cities. They were Black and white, old and young, workers, welfare recipients, students, teachers, ex-prisoners, labor and civil rights activists. They marched behind a large blue banner lettered: Southern Contingent—Say no to racism! Defend Black students!

The 300 march participants from the South represented many more who had worked over the last few weeks to publicize and support the National Mobilization Against Racism in nearly 40 cities throughout the South.

The historic connection between the civil rights marches of the 1960s in the South and today's march in Boston was underscored by the participation of Rev. Ralph

D. Abernathy, successor to the late Rev. Martin Luther King as President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The Boston march was endorsed by many other Southern civil rights leaders including Atlanta State Representative Julian Bond and Representative-elect Hosea Williams, U.S. Congressman from Georgia, Andrew Young, Rev. Joe Boone of Atlanta, and Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of the Atlanta Board of Education.

Also endorsing the march were: John Lewis, former chairman of SNCC; Fannie Lou Hamer, a leader of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; John Hulett, Black sheriff of Lowndes County, Alabama; and Walter Collins, Virginia Collins, Fred Shuttlesworth, James Dom-browski, Bob Zellner, and Anne Braden of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, based in Louisville, Kentucky. All the leaders of the historic Selma-Montgomery Civil Rights March of 1965, as well as Coretta Scott King, widow of the murdered Rev. Martin Luther King, endorsed the Boston march against racism.

The Southern contingent was welcomed in Boston by Rev. Charles Smith of the St. John's and St. James Episcopal Church where the contingent was housed. He told the Southerners: "I always knew when we were going down to Selma, Birmingham, and Mississippi that we would have to turn our attention to our own city of Boston. Your sacrifice in traveling here to aid the cause of freedom in Boston is a true testimony to the power of love over hate."

Tom Gardner, an electrical worker and an organizer of the Southern contingent, also addressed the Southern contingent prior to the march. He said: "Racism has been the main tool used for years by the bosses in the South to keep Black and white workers divided, powerless, and poor. The KKK has always done the dirty work of the bosses against Black people and against unions and all working people as well."

"We in the South reject these attempts by the companies to divide us. More and more throughout the South white workers are joining with their fellow Black workers to organize and to win improvements at their workplace and in the community. We have learned through a history of struggle in the South that saying 'No to racism' is the first step in building unity among working people everywhere and that is one reason why we have come to Boston today."

Monica Moorehead, an organizer of the Norfolk contingent, told this reporter: "It may seem a peculiar twist of history for Black and white Freedom Riders to travel from the South to Boston to 'Say no to racism.' But we know from our tragic experience in the South that if racist hate-mongering is not opposed wherever it rears its ugly head, its poison will spread."

"We have come here to support the Black community of Boston against these racist attacks and also to keep the gains made in the South from being rolled back to the days of rigid forced segregation. We still have much to do to end racism in the South, but we see coming to Boston today as an important step against racism and for human dignity everywhere."



The "Solidarity Bus" from Birmingham traveled 31 hours to Boston. It departed from the 16th Street Baptist Church where, in 1963, three Black children were killed in a KKK-style terror bombing.



Supporters of the Boston march in Youngstown, Ohio organized a solidarity rally in their own city, and they also sent a contingent to Boston to participate in the march. WW photo: Paddy

SWP tried — but failed to capture march comm.

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD
BOSTON, Dec. 15—Getting together the tens of thousands of people from Boston and around the country who made the National March Against Racism such a success is a complicated and back-breaking job. In discussions with staffers from the Emergency Committee's offices in Boston and New York, Workers World was told that not the least of the problems came from the behavior of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The SWP led a break-away march to the Boston Common a full 45 minutes before the official march got underway. While this action disgusted and angered many at the mobilization (including many in the "student contingent" who didn't know what was happening until later), it was just the culmination of a long campaign by the SWP to either take over, or when that became impossible, set up leadership parallel to and competing with the Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism which initiated the action.

TRIED TO TAKE OVER COMMITTEE

The staff members of the Boston Emergency Committee office recall the first approaches of the SWP as extremely arrogant. First Don Gurewitz, the 1974 SWP candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, and then Fred Halstead, past-Presidential candidate of the SWP, approached the Committee early in November with the attitude that it couldn't do anything without them. Halstead, who had flown in from the West Coast, belittled the Committee's efforts, claiming only the SWP could provide the "professional fund-raisers and professional marshals" needed to make the mobilization a success.

But when the Committee asked these emissaries from the SWP to provide them with lists of sponsors, help distribute literature, put up posters, raise funds, and so on, the response was nil. For at least 2 weeks the SWP kept dangling its great fund-raising abilities and organizational prowess in front of the Committee without providing an ounce of concrete help. Then, after one day in which the SWP tried to pack the Boston office, take over the phones, call all the sponsors, etc., but was kept under the surveillance of the Committee staffers, it disappeared from the scene—and was next heard from when it announced the formation of a Student Committee which was to

hold a teach-in the night before the march and rally.

A similar experience was had in New York City. After trying to pack the Committee meetings but failing to take over the organization of the march, the SWP set up a separate Brooklyn office and bank account, began organizing for the teach-in, but gave the impression to sponsors and the public that it was organizing the march. Reports began to come in from around the country that sponsors were getting calls from local SWPers implying they were the Emergency Committee. These approaches confused and antagonized quite a few of the sponsors.

All these moves were done without consultation with the Emergency Committee, and in fact were attempts to undercut and overwhelm it.

SEPARATE BANK ACCOUNTS

In both Boston and New York, the SWPers set up separate bank accounts and tried to divert funds from the march to the student committee.

Yet in Boston the SWP refused to pay a \$66 bill for leaflets they had taken from the Committee, claiming they "couldn't afford it." (The Committee was asking all groups to pay \$3 a ream for leaflets to cover their cost.)

The idea of a teach-in the night before the march, while planned independently by the Student Committee and without consulting the Emergency Committee office, could have been helpful in building the 14th. But the way in which it was organized was clearly competitive, rather than complementary to, the main mobilization for the next day.

The Student Committee siphoned off funds that could have gone to the organization of the march by approaching sponsors to lend their names to ads and fund-raising letters soliciting money for the Student Committee. Many of these sponsors were unaware that the teach-in was organized by a parallel structure.

PASTED OVER MARCH POSTERS

The factionalism displayed by the SWP-YSA Student Committee went so far that they were pasting up student teach-in posters in Boston on top of the march posters. When Leslie Feinberg, a staffer for the Emergency Committee, complained to Don Gurewitz about this, his reply was, "Isn't that what it's all about?"

While all this was going on, however, coverage in the Militant,

the SWP paper, gave the impression that the SWP was completely behind the action for the 14th and even that the Student Committee was organizing the whole event. In the issue of December 13 (dated about a week ahead), the Militant devoted five full pages to Boston, including its front-page headline reading "Boston freedom march—Stop racist drive—All out Dec. 14!"

But there is not one mention in the whole issue of the Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism, which was organizing the march and rally.

LED BREAK-AWAY

The completely factional approach of the SWP to this great historic event, which contains so much meaning for the Black struggle in the U.S., finally surfaced clearly on the day of the march. The Student Committee contingent arrived with a mimeographed "Official March Route" which it had prepared while Senator Owens and other Black leaders of the march were still in negotiations with the mayor over the route.

It was clear from the many discussions held at the assembly site between the top police brass on the one hand and Fred Halstead and Syd Stapleton of the SWP on the other that the SWP had worked out a deal with the police to follow the route the authorities were insisting upon. This led down Commonwealth Avenue, a residential street, instead of Boylston, a busy shopping area.

The SWP kept announcing over their bullhorns that this "official" march route was the only one approved by the authorities and that people who followed the route of the other march, that is the real march, might be arrested.

Finally, just before one o'clock, they led out a small contingent of about a thousand people and proceeded to the Commons along the police-approved route while Senator Owens and other Black leaders were still in the process of trying to get approval for the Boylston Street route.

As the Emergency Committee staffers wryly commented afterward, this was the first "break-away" march at a large national mobilization that was in collusion with instead of defiance of the authorities.

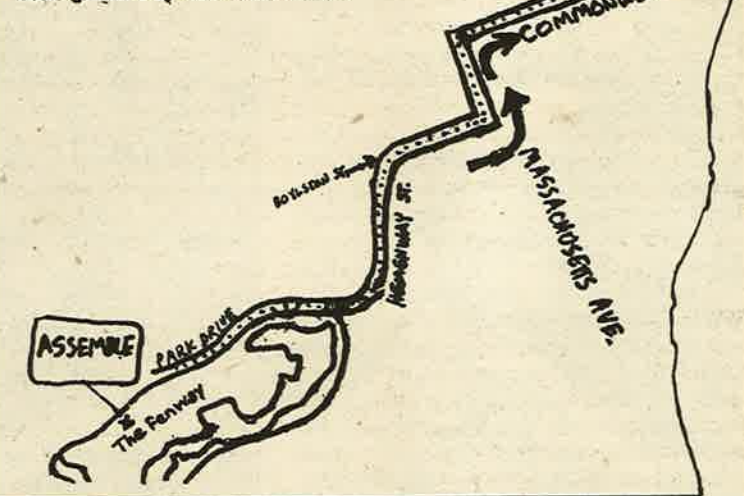
VICTORY OVER RACISM, OPPORTUNISM

The December 14 National march Against Racism in Boston turned out to be a smashing

OFFICIAL MARCH ROUTE

DEC. 14 FREEDOM MARCH

This is the only march route for which a permit has been granted by the authorities.



The SWP's Student Committee distributed this unsigned "Official March Route" while Emergency Committee officials were still negotiating for a Boylston Street route.

success. It helped to elevate the struggle of Black and white against the forces of reaction, and it set a precedent for bringing together the radical movement and Black militants in a common effort to combat racism.

But it could have been a disaster

if the Emergency Committee had not been able to deal with factionalism, if it had been diverted from its purpose by the enraging and petty tricks pulled by the SWP. The march turned out to be a victory not only for the fight against racism, but for the fight against opportunism, too.



Some of the many thousands who came to Boston Common



Marguerita Skinner
Boston H.S. student



Linda Lawrence
Boston H.S. student



Bill Lucy
Nat'l Coalition of Black Trade Unionists



Claudette Furlonge
Women United for Action



Jesus Lopez
Puerto Rican Socialist Party

Emergency Committee official explains significance of march

Workers World interviewed Mtangulizi, a Coordinator of the Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism, on how he saw the significance of Saturday's march and what were some of the problems that had to be overcome. Here are some of his answers. (The interview was conducted by WW reporter Bob Dobrow.)

WW: Saturday's demonstration attracted thousands of Blacks and whites in a way that hasn't been done for years. What was the significance of this in the overall fight against racism?

Mtangulizi: This was a march of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans, as well as whites. It took a very different kind of approach and attitude to the question of racism in America. That approach saw racism as being deeply imbedded in the fabric of American life.

The reality is that that many folks, Black and white, haven't been brought together for quite a period of time. And I think it is highly significant to the political development of the social movement in America that that

happened.

I'm sure that those in power understood what it means to put that many people out on the streets to say, "Hell no to racism," to say, "Hell no to the capitalist, imperialist system."

WW: On the march itself, there appeared to be incidents with certain contingents. Could you elaborate on this?

PROBLEMS WITH STUDENT COMMITTEE

Mtangulizi: There had already been problems with the "Student Committee" before the march itself. There were problems with them in a lot of things, such as fund raising. We thought there was a lot of deception in how they approached it. They often tried to take credit for organizing the march, which they did not. They went after a number of people who were sponsors of the 14th. They went ahead and sent fund-raising letters out over those people's signatures for their own committee.

If they wanted to build a student movement, they shouldn't have done some of the things they did around this.

In the final analysis, on the day of the march Black students marched in their own contingent. I was impressed with the fact that Black students began to see some of the dynamics of what was going on in the "Student Committee" and didn't want to be a part of them. That was a hell of a commentary on the role of the "Student Committee."

When they also proceeded to march ahead of the main body and to announce the official route as Commonwealth Avenue, I didn't think that was very smart. I thought that was unprincipled opportunism, because they should have waited for the main body and they should have participated in whatever decisions that body was going to make.

BLACK LEADERSHIP

On the question of whites accepting Black leadership, the activity was called for by an elected Black official and by and large most participants, Black and white, Puerto Rican and Native American, accepted Black leadership as a reality, although there were points of disagreement with various persons and contingents from the conception to the execution of December 14.

I think the fact that most people accepted the reality of Black leadership was a very positive sign. That historically is a problem whenever Blacks and whites are together, the difficulty of whites not being able to accept Black leadership. At least that didn't happen here.

Massing that number of people together to make a statement about racism that is imbued within the American political economy, has to be of historical significance.

Finally, the march was not conceived or conducted with the pretense of integration or Black and white racial harmony as its principal focus. The principal focus was developed around the fact that many people in America of diverse races, cultures, and political persuasions were to come together to make a significant commentary on racism and other social evils of America.

A significant amount of work remains to be done in trying to analyze and determine what are the appropriate political formations necessary to wage an extended struggle against the social evils of America and for a more just and humane society. And December 14 was one contribution to that analysis and determination.



Emergency Committee Coordinator Mtangulizi. WW Photo: Dick



Common to say "NO!" to racism. WW photo: Ed C.



Emergency Committee chairman William Owens



Ellen Moves Camp



Carl McCall
N.Y. State Senator



Dr. Ralph Abernathy



John Boone



Dick Gregory

Highlights and sidelights of the Boston march



Enthusiastic bystander cheers on the march against racism in Boston. WW photo: Dick

By a New York Marcher
Saturday, 6:03 a.m. Three minutes late at Union Square. But New Yorkers are always late, so I'll be the first one there. But what's this? It looks like 200 people here already—even before the buses!

+...+...+

The buses come at 6:15. Enthusiastic but cool and competent organizers shepherd me into the first bus, pointed due north around the corner. We are filled up and off within ten minutes and ride for an hour through New York and almost to Connecticut before the daylight breaks.

+...+...+

It seems that most of the passengers don't know each other. But they do talk to their seatmates. One man breaks into song somewhere near Boston, apparently expecting everybody to join the chorus. Nobody does. (His songs are about 110 years late, but very good in a way and his spirit is appreciated. . .)

+...+...+

I count 32 whites and six Blacks on this particular bus. The oldest person on the bus is probably the Black preacher, who is big and strong. You can see he has been in other battles.

+...+...+

Some older white women, a little opinionated, but otherwise

agreeable and really quite militant, keep saying: "Why didn't we hear about this anywhere before? I had to get it from a leaflet on 34th Street." After the march one of them tells me how really wonderful it all was and how she couldn't get over the surprise of how good this and that was, but why didn't we hear about it before, etc.

+...+...+

A rather nervous man keeps telling another woman to leave that revolutionary paper (*Workers World*, of course) in the bus so she won't get caught with it on the march. Everybody silent. He does it again. So your correspondent reassures the jittery individual that people do read newspapers—even on marches against racism. Happily, he shuts up.

+...+...+

The assembly park is already half full when we arrive (and we are on time!). And it seems to be filling up to double capacity before our eyes. After a while we are told to go to the football field 150 yards away. We fill the field immediately, and the park behind us is filled up again!

+...+...+

The flags, as the newspapers later tell us, are a sea of green—the official banners and flags being black-lettered green cloth. The grand old orange and black of

Youth Against War & Fascism and Workers World are there too.

+...+...+

Somewhere along the line I see a few dozen people locking arms in the middle of the field. And I can hardly miss the big policeman-like figure with a bull-horn, yelling at everybody to get behind this human chain.

Turns out that this is the SWP or YSA trying to capture the whole march, but boxing itself into an ignominious corner and leading a small break-off to the Common. Sic transit eye-soria.

+...+...+

Finally we're off on the great march itself. It's like the best anti-war marches were, but stronger, surer, and tougher.

I wonder if the racists will show, figuring I will shove my dental plates in my overcoat pocket, come the time. But outside of the cops, not a single racist peeps. Only obscene phone calls at march headquarters, I hear later.

+...+...+

We all get stronger by the minute. All the way to the Common we chant simple strong slogans, like:

"We say no; We say no; We say NO TO RACISM!" And you really have to hear 20,000 people saying that at once to get the force and meaning of it.



Demonstrators carry effigy of Louise Day Hicks, racist Boston City Councilwoman, who is one of those responsible for the racist mobilization in Boston. WW photo: Dick

+...+...+

We stop at Boylston Street and I almost see the brutality of the super-armed cops. The word comes back that six of us are beaten and arrested. Senator Owens mounts the top of the sound truck, tells us all to keep calm, he will take a formal arrest and we will go along the route the police demand.

+...+...+

We get to the Common and the rally there is far better than might have been expected. I brace myself for the usual Establishment politicians and liberal platitudes. But instead, there is a lot of real militancy and most of it short and sweet. When was there ever any Washington march you could say that about?

+...+...+

Going home, I talk a little with a white woman opposite me who had been chatting with a young man all the way on the trip to Boston. And now she is footsore but still glowing about the march.

I discover that she is 20 years old and wants to be an actress. But actress or not, she says: "From the time I saw that leaflet last week, I was determined to go on that march. I was never in anything like this before. But I know what that racism is. I know how some of those Irish Catholics in Boston are."

I don't want to get into that kind of thing and almost start to give her a lecture about the real source of racism—how it's not Irish, or Italian, etc., etc. But she knows that already, all too well.

"I know because I'm Irish myself. In fact, I'm Irish and Catholic and I was brought up in Boston."

—V.C.





The workers of the Aqueducts and Sewers Authority in Puerto Rico have returned to work. But 200 were immediately fired.

Await court decision on salary limitations

AAA workers in P.R. return under protest

BY JAIME RUIZ

NEW YORK, Dec. 17—"We return to work as enemies of the Aqueducts and Sewers Authority and will continue the struggle within." This statement by Hector Lugo, leader of the Authentic Independent Union (UIA), reflects the mood of the 3,000 Aqueduct and Sewers Authority workers as they returned to work on Thursday, December 12, thus ending for the moment a 6-week-old strike that shook the colonial government of Puerto Rico and its master, the United States.

The agreement to return to work was reached last Monday, December 9, by the membership of the UIA who met at the Roberto Clemente Coliseum in Hato Rey. While accepting the motion to end the strike, it was made clear by union president Hector Lugo that no contract has been signed and that the workers were free to walk out again.

The AAA workers will await a decision by the Island's Supreme Court regarding the union's challenge to Law 142, which limits salary increases of government corporation workers in Puerto Rico to no more than 10 percent.

Government employees are forbidden from going on strike. It is to break down this union-busting law that the workers went out on strike, in addition to demanding a wage increase. On the very first day back to work, December 12, the company fired 200 workers, thereby adding fuel to the flaming fire.

GUARD CALLED OUT

In response to the strike and the growing support from the labor movement which resulted in the release of 11 jailed union leaders of the UIA, the colonial governor of Puerto Rico, Hernandez Colon, unleashed the repressive forces of the state, calling out over 1,800 National Guardsmen to the installations of the Aqueducts and Sewers Authority (AAA). The immediate pretext for this attempt at crushing the strike was the bombing of the ITT office in San Juan on December 1 and other similar acts against U.S. corporations in Puerto Rico.

Along with the physical attempt to crush the strike in the form of the national guard, the colonial government also embarked on a red-baiting campaign in order to divert the real issues of the strike. This resulted in the raiding of homes of members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP),

which has supported the strike. The colonial regime blamed them for the bombings which have occurred throughout the Island. On December 14, the FBI arrested Delfin Ramos of the PSP and accused him of possessing "stolen explosives" in violation of U.S. laws. He is presently being held in La Princesa prison in San Juan under \$100,000 bail. This act reveals the collusion between the colonial puppets of Puerto Rico and their U.S. masters in their desire to crush the struggle in Puerto Rico.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WORSEN

The strike of the Aqueducts and Sewers workers comes on the heels

of a worsening economic crisis in Puerto Rico. In the towns of Lares and Arroyo, unemployment is presently at 40 percent. In Lares, the site of the heroic Grito de Lares uprising against Spanish colonialism in 1868, 90 percent of the population is living on food stamps. Predictions by colonial officials are of a deepening of the economic crisis in Puerto Rico which is taking its toll on the Island far more drastically than within the U.S.

Though the strike of the AAA workers is over for the moment, the wave of strikes throughout the Island continues to mount. There is the struggle of over 1,200 workers of ITT Caribbean, who were recently thrown off their jobs with

Milk drivers, plant workers unite to win NYC strike

By T. MITCHELL

NEW YORK, Dec. 15—The 2,700 members of Teamsters Local 584, drivers and plant workers in the milk processing industry here, voted today to accept improved contract terms after an 11-day strike. In spite of the misleadership of Local 584 President John Kelly, the strikers beat back the companies' attempt to split their ranks.

The strikers stopped processing and delivering more than 4 million quarts of milk a day on December 5, cutting off supplies in New York City, much of Long Island, and parts of Westchester County after negotiations broke down with the Greater New York Milk Dealers

Labor Committee, representing 115 plants.

The turning point in the strike came on December 8, when the "final offer" endorsed by Local 584 President Kelly was rejected by a vote of 1,008 to 486. Plant workers were offered a raise of \$34 a week this year and \$20 a week next year from the current base pay of \$216 a week.

But drivers, who depend on a commission of 1.5 percent of the dollar value of deliveries, about 16 cents a case, were offered a payout under a new formula that would fix the commission at 5 cents a case. Overall, drivers' income would have gone down about \$80 dollars a week.

The rejected contract also would have forced drivers to use trucks 24 feet long instead of 20 feet, resulting in layoffs for one in five drivers. As the December 8 vote was being taken, one driver with 15 years on the job remarked, "The contract isn't worth a bag of beans."

Kelly had promised reporters: "I'm confident they will accept it." However, the plant workers, who look forward to becoming drivers, united with the drivers and repudiated Kelly and the milk dealers, forcing them to reopen negotiations. One happy driver with 31 years' seniority declared: "That will show the bosses they can't con us!"

Under the new contract accepted today, commissions for drivers will continue to be based on 1.5 percent of the dollar value of deliveries and the trucks will be 20 feet long.

TWISTED NEWS REPORTS

When the Local 584 rank-and-file rose up to overwhelmingly reject this attempt to divide them, every news report stressed the "fact" that the 1,008 to 486 vote was only 11 votes more than a two-thirds majority, claiming that the Teamsters union constitution requires two-thirds to reject.

Local 584 President Kelly said nothing to the contrary and the strikers did not know that actually, once a strike is on, only a simple majority is needed to maintain the walkout. While the media put pressure on the strikers to swing 11 votes, the milk dealers and Kelly waited a week for another vote to test the waters.

Nevertheless, the concessions made by the milk dealers in the new contract are a real victory, fully as much as could be won considering the union lacked a fighting leadership. The milk dealers were anxious to resume collecting fat profits from the artificially high fixed prices they got in return for a \$500,000 contribution to Nixon and Watergate.

How sweet it is

Sugar Barons rolling in dough

By PETE PERKINS

NEW YORK, Dec. 10—Has sugar left a sour taste in your mouth recently?

Sugar prices have increased during 1974 by about 400 percent. In practical terms, housewives and other consumers now pay about \$4 instead of \$1 for a 5-pound bag of sugar. Sugar industry profits are up from an industry low of 400 percent recorded by Amstar Corporation (Domino), the world's largest, to a high of over 1,200 percent registered by the Great Western United Corporation.

The sugar industry now controls both the international and the domestic sugar market in virtual gangland fashion. A year ago an industry spokesman told Congress that there was "virtually no profit in the sugar industry." But lying under oath seems bland by comparison to the tactics they're using now.

GOVERNMENT FINDINGS

During 2 days of testimony beginning November 25 before Ford's "select panel" of the farcical Council on Wage and Price Stability, some interesting facts came out. Tactics for juggling the domestic sugar market include taking federal subsidies for not growing sugar, refusing to build any new sugar

refineries, and harvesting the crop only once every 2 years. Paying the field workers pitiful wages amounting to about \$3,000 per year is another way to line their pockets.

Another fact coming to light is the increased and inevitable speculation of the banks and big brokerage firms into the sugar commodities market. A buyer for the prestigious brokerage house of Loeb, Rhodes & Company is now facing a possible grand jury indictment on charges of fraud. This is doubtlessly just the tip of the iceberg.

For all these and other reasons like the increased failures of small neighborhood bakeries under the pressure exerted by the giants of the industry, one would guess that the wage and price council would be hard at work trying to find effective ways of regulating the industry and checking the rampant inflation. Such is not the case. The best they could do was to issue a weakly worded statement saying "all sectors of the U.S. sugar industry have realized very large windfall gains from recent big increases in sugar prices."

THE EXAMPLE OF CUBA

While industry officials staunchly oppose any federal regulations on their activities, they

fight tooth and nail to regulate Cuba out of the picture. Their latest move was to block the efforts by member nations of the Organization of American States to lift the long-standing ban on commerce with Socialist Cuba.

Had the Latin efforts succeeded, the price of sugar might easily be down at least a dollar per bag. But too many people are opposed to the blockade for it to last forever.

Eventually the class struggle will lead all peoples everywhere to adopt the same tactics whereby the Cuban people got rid of all their Sugar Daddies, from Amstar and Great Western to Uncle Sugar himself. It's called socialist revolution.

Profits in the Sugar Industry

	Net income (millions of \$)	Per cent. change from 1973	Thursday stock price close	Stock price, 1974 range
CPC International ¹	\$20.3	+17.2%	29 3/4	35-23 3/4
Amstar ¹	16.7	+227.8	31 3/4	33 3/4-23 3/4
Great Western United ²	14.3	+1,121.8	25	25 1/2-3 1/2
National Sugar Refining ³	1.3*	..		not traded

¹ Quarter ended Sept. 30 ² Quarter ended Aug. 31

³ Quarter ended June 30 *Indicated earnings. **Loss

A bag of sugar that cost you 75 cents last year costs you \$2.50 now.



The 'automatic' majority

Last week U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. John Scali attacked the progressive bloc of nations in the UN for exercising a "tyranny of the majority." This arrogant attack by the chief imperialist nation was immediately answered by many of the countries representing the majority of humanity.

While some of the politer imperialists had to qualify their defense of Scali by admitting that the U.S. had been "somewhat" high-handed when it commanded a safe majority, they didn't nail Scali's speech for what it really was: *the open threat of reprisals against small and oppressed nations.*

"For it is the smaller, poorer, weaker states (i.e. countries) that provide the bulk of the automatic Assembly majority and it is precisely these 'states that need a healthy, functioning, relevant United Nations most of all,'" said The New York Times on December 13.

This means, of course, that the "smaller states" need U.S. "aid." And they should line up and give their votes to their friendly oppressor to get it.

In addition to that, the implication is that the "automatic" majority does not represent a real majority; it is only a scattered lot of new sovereignties who don't quite understand their new power and how to use it.

It's hardly necessary to comment on the extreme chauvinism behind such an attitude.

But if an "automatic" majority is against South African oppression and in favor of Palestine liberation, it is worth emphasizing that it is automatic because it is so very real.

The socialist countries alone—that is, the Soviet Union, Peoples China, and the rest of the socialist bloc—with only the addition of India, comprise well over half the human race.

The real tyranny bares its teeth

Dec. 18—We opened the capitalist newspapers this morning and saw the first follow-up on the bullying threat so politely phrased in the paragraph quoted above from The New York Times.

The U.S. delegation to the UN has now openly boycotted a new and urgently needed special UN fund set up for emergency relief for poor and developing countries.

This is the first fruit of Scali's "Tyranny of the Majority" speech and the first time the U.S. has ever failed to participate in such a UN undertaking.

We are assured, however, by the imperialist vultures, that their philanthropic glands are still functioning. They will not fail to send their mite of "charity" to the starving millions abroad, they say. But they will now do it *through the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.*

What is so democratic, philanthropical, or international about these two "world" agencies that is superior to the United Nations?

The answer, of course, is that they are basically controlled, lock, stock and bond, by the Wall Street banks of the United States.

Countries, peoples, nations are expected to come hat in one hand, beggar's cup in the other, kneeling at the feet of the U.S. banking colossus to get the smallest portion of their own colonial labor, now crystallized in the factory-produced commodities of the overlord country.

Having no votes to speak of in these "world" banking institutions, they will presumably be at the mercy of the U.S. bankers and unable to talk back to them as in the United Nations.

But it won't work. We venture to predict that the World Bank will crash and the International Monetary Fund will be liquidated and disbanded before the U.S. financiers will further enslave the struggling peoples of the world—no matter how hungry or temporarily hard-hit the latter may be by the present capitalist-caused crisis.

A new turn in Portugal?

A "Major Split in Lisbon Cabinet" as just reported in the capitalist press here, means that the revisionist Portuguese CP, conciliationist and pro-democratic-capitalist though it is, may be forced to split from its own previous policy.

The whip of the counterrevolution cannot make the CP into a genuine communist party. But it may yet goad it into a real struggle, if only to defend itself from extinction by the inevitable attack of the reaction.

Such a struggle, we hope along with the rest of progressive humanity, will open the road to victorious socialist revolution in Portugal.



WHAT WE MEAN BY...

CAPITAL

Capital, says the capitalist, is money used in the production of more money.

The teachers of capitalist political economy put it more "scientifically." They explain that capital is factories, machinery, raw materials, and money to pay wages—the last named being in reality the means of subsistence for the wage slaves.

But these things are only capital and only command a return for the capitalist under a certain kind of social system.

For instance, the existence of Black workers and fertile lands in the South a century ago did not create the wealthy slave masters. Only a social system could do that. Only the social recognition of slavery with laws, customs, chains, prisons, and executioners could maintain the slave system.

And the massive machinery and other means of production in existence today do not in themselves equal capital. They are only the form of capital.

The essence of capital is its

social relation to the worker. The insane domination of the means of production over the producer (the worker) is only possible because of history and because of customs, culture (brainwashing), courts, and prisons which all dictate that this be so.

Consider the billions and billions of dollars worth of Rockefeller capital.

There are not enough one-dollar bills in existence to equal the value of the corporations the Rockefellers own or control. But dollars are only the name of the game. They are not the game itself.

In reality the Rockefeller corporations are a tremendous aggregation of the crystallized labor of millions and millions of people over the last 114 years (i.e., since the original Rockefeller went into the oil business). In reality, they even represent stored-up human labor from centuries earlier, too.

The Rockefellers' legal possession of all this material gives them the right to do as they

like with it. And they like profits.

Thus the achievements, sweat, blood, tears, and daily grind of the living, and practically all the stored-up production of the dead—dead labor, so to speak—are used to enslave the living laborers today.

In the words of Karl Marx, "Capital is dead labor which lives, vampire-like, from the blood of living labor.... It is only the domination of accumulated, past, materialized labor over direct, living labor that turns accumulated labor into capital."

In a rational world the living laborer would be the master of the dead labor of the past. In a socialist society, instead of being the appendages of the machine as they are now, the working people would have machines for their appendages—that is, for their increased interest in the work process and infinitely increased enjoyment of the fruits of their work.

Capital, then, would no longer be capital—the possession of the capitalist. It would be transformed or reborn into its true form and essence—the accomplishments and creation of the whole human race being used by the human race and for the human race.

LETTERS

handicapped.

With the patients getting 10 and 15 cents an hour for 36 hours of assembly line work per week, the savings to business are enormous, and these parasitic supervisors get a sweet percentage of it. The work is hard and tedious, anything but "vocational" or "rehabilitative," and under conditions that openly violate every work safety law.

Don Palma

Are you aware of the truly cruel exploitation to which mental patients are subjected through the federally operated OVR (Office of Vocational Rehabilitation) program? It is something of which too little is known.

In the name of "therapy" I was sent to slave in this program while a patient in an upstate mental institution. The hospital pressures patients to work under slave shop conditions for 10 and 15 cents an hour, with consequences for those who refuse.

Here's how it operates: A bus comes each morning and picks up all ambulatory patients—the mentally retarded included—and takes them off to an old factory building staffed with "supervisors" hired jointly by the government and local big business. These supervisors contract with these businesses in the community to have a percentage of their work load done by the mentally

I am writing to thank you for sending me the Workers World paper. Because you have been sending it to me for quite some time now, and I have been unable to send you any money. But I'm sure you have some idea of how things are for most of us who have received the justice (more correctly, the injustice) from the oppressors. But just to give you a hint of how I'm doing, I decided to stop smoking so as to be able to stretch eight dollars a month a little further. I have been imprisoned now, just about eight

years and haven't been able to see anyone in my family simply because they are all out of state; my family lives in Miami, Fla. I say this to let you know that I'm serious about not having any money to pay for a subscription for this paper you send to me. In the last issue, I've noticed that the paper will now be published weekly, which I'm happy to see. And I know that you can't possibly send me the paper every week for free. So, I will try to send you two dollars and will be satisfied if you still continue to send it to me if only once a month. Because I really like this paper, and I save most of them. Anyway, I hope to still receive one once in a while. Please permit me to thank you and the whole staff there, for putting out what I believe to be the most informative, accurate and effective news in the country. The paper prints news that all of us should know, in order to work towards the truly "Workers World" that is in the making, and will one day become a reality.

Lloyd Mackey, 65487
Auburn State Prison

Rockefeller's wage slaves

By V. COPELAND

DECEMBER 13—A great deal has been said in Congress about the vast economic empire of the new Vice President, Nelson Rockefeller. The newspapers and other news media have repeated this, occasionally added to it or corrected it, and expanded upon it generally.

But little has been said about the living part of that empire. Not a single Congressperson referred to the vast number of living human beings who keep this great empire going, and without whose labor not one wheel would turn nor one ounce of oil be pumped from the underground ocean.

And it is hardly any wonder, considering the system we live under—the system all those in Congress support—even those who cried out against the horrors of Attica.

Under this system, these live human beings are only slaves. They are slaves of capital—Rockefeller capital, in this case. And as such, they are equally expendable as the prisoners of Attica, although in a different way, and on a colossal scale.

As of early this year (before they proved to be as expendable as now), there were exactly 407,669

employees of the major U.S. oil companies owned or completely controlled by the Rockefellers.

(The companies are Exxon, Mobil, Standard of California, Standard of Indiana, Continental, Atlantic-Richfield, Cities Service, Marathon, and Standard of Ohio. Figures are from Fortune Magazine, May 1974.)

But the Rockefellers also own or have controlling interest in the Burlington Northern Railroad, with over 44,000 wage slaves there, plus deep and extensive coal mines both east and west, where the slaves die faster than anywhere else. And they have hundreds of porters, janitors, and other building workers maintaining their \$300 million Rockefeller Center alone.

They exploit and super-exploit thousands upon thousands of office workers in their Chase Manhattan Bank, their First National City Bank, and in their partially controlled Metropolitan Insurance Company.

Their Chase Manhattan has a virtual partnership in American Motors (28,259 workers, most production line slaves); a similar partnership in Chrysler (273,254 of the same); with a lesser interest in Ford (474,318).

Literally dozens of utilities (not mentioned at all in the congressional inquiries) are controlled by the Rockefeller banks. And they employ both skilled and unskilled workers, exploiting them accordingly.

Among the empire's literally millions of wage slaves, many thousands are working for the \$2 an hour U.S. minimum wage (especially in Kresge, Howard Johnson, and Safeway, all of which are apart of the empire). And in foreign countries, the Rockefeller copper miners, like other colonial workers, usually work for less than \$2 a day.

In a sense, this is not new. There used to be slave-holding Presidents and Vice Presidents in this country, and at one time they were even more taken for granted than this one.

But now there is a Vice President whose family must have many more Black-white wage slaves than there were adult Black chattel slaves in the whole 11 slave states before 1861!

We should remember, however, that those old Vice Presidents did lose their slaves in the end. And there is utterly no reason why a similar fate shouldn't await this one.



Rockefeller's wage slaves: "... without whose labor not one wheel would turn nor one ounce of oil be pumped from the underground ocean."

Houston 12 case gets support from LULAC

By BARBARA TIMKO

BULLETIN: The pre trial hearing of the Houston 12 originally scheduled for December 11 has been postponed until January 10 due to the serious illness of the defense's key witness. Support for the Houston 12 continues to grow, as the following article illustrates.

HOUSTON, Dec. 7—Today a resolution in support of the Houston 12 was passed by the State Supreme Council of the League of United Latin American Citizens as delegates from all over Texas gathered in Houston for a statewide convention. The resolution states, in part, that there is reasonable evidence to believe that a miscarriage of justice has occurred in the case of the Houston 12.

The struggle of the Houston 12 stems from a police attack one year ago on a legal demonstration against U.S. involvement in the Mideast War. The police beat and arrested 12 young men, 8 of them Chicano. All 12 were charged with "aggravated assault on a police officer." Five of the 12 were charged with "assault with intent to murder a police officer."

Alex Rodriguez, one of the five who faces life in prison and separation from his family and friends, attended the LULAC convention to ask for support during the trial, which is to begin on February 3.

Earlier this year, many Houston LULAC chapters passed resolutions of support for the Houston 12. A number of LULAC members have become members

of the Houston 12 Defense Committee. One of them, Mrs. Juanita Navarro, a respected senior citizen from the Chicano Community of Northside and the Director of Centro Chicano, spoke to the convention on behalf of the Houston 12. She urged the delegates to adopt the resolution as a protest against racism. The resolution was sponsored by Council 60, a LULAC chapter active in Houston.

LULAC is one of the largest Mexican-American organizations in the USA. There are chapters in 33 states. It represents a large number of the 16 million Chicanos who live in the Southwest.

The resolution passed by the Texas delegation, which expresses the united concern of LULAC members, states: "Be it resolved that the State Supreme Council of LULAC urges Judge Andrew Jefferson to investigate and reopen the inquiry of criminal charges brought against a dozen young men known as the Houston 12. The charges stem from an incident that occurred Oct. 9, 1973. There is reasonable evidence to believe that a miscarriage of justice occurred as the Houston 12 were attempting in a legal and orderly fashion to exercise their constitutional rights of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly."

This expression of concern from the Chicano community is sure to have a great effect on all people in Houston, Brown, Black, and white, as the Houston 12 and their Defense Committee continue to build support for the pretrial hearing on January 10.

Va. pickets hit death penalty

By ANNE PRUDEN

NORFOLK, Dec. 13—A militant demonstration of about 30 people was held here yesterday against the death penalty and in support of James Washington and Malcolm Jefferson, two Black prisoners on death row. Chanting "Stop the legal lynching, free James and Malcolm," the demonstrators protested outside a townhall type meeting called by local legislators.

The picket was led by the United Congress Against the Death Penalty—In Defense of Malcolm Jefferson and James Washington, a coalition which included the Black Student Union of Norfolk State College, the Black Military Resistance League, the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, the Defense Committee, the Prisoners Solidarity Committee of Youth Against War & Fascism, and others.

Inside, Harvey Hendricks, speaking for the United Congress, told the State Delegates and other politicians that "Capital punishment is inflicted mainly on poor and working people, Blacks and other Third World people and must be abolished."

The U.S. Supreme Court in June 1972 outlawed the death sentence in

cases where it was discretionary. Next month, the Virginia General Assembly will vote, as many states already have, on a sweeping bill to make the death sentence mandatory for certain crimes. The State of Virginia already has a mandatory death sentence for killing a policeman or prison guard. It is sufficient to prove that a prisoner was merely involved in a disturbance in which a guard died to sentence the prisoner to death.

James Washington and Malcolm Jefferson have been convicted and sentenced to death under this law. Activists in the struggle against racism and brutality in the Virginia prison system, James and Malcolm were framed on the alleged killing of a prison guard on Dec. 1, 1972, in a Powhatan County, Va., courthouse. Malcolm was sentenced to death in May 1973 and James after three trials was finally convicted in August 1974. Although their appeals will delay it, their execution was scheduled for next month as the first in a long line of racist murders on death rows around the country.

The United Congress is mobilizing public support for its campaign to abolish the death

sentence in Virginia and prevent the execution of Jefferson, Washington, and any other prisoners. On December 8 over 75 people attended a rally in Norfolk to hear the relatives of Jefferson and Washington explain the Brothers' frameup. Mrs. Bertha Gerald, the 81-year-old grandmother of James Washington, received a standing ovation when she explained that James and Malcolm were in the concentration camp in the first place only because "they are poor and Black," and called for people to unite to free them and all political prisoners.

The father of Malcolm Jefferson also spoke, and letters were read from both prisoners calling for unified and militant struggle against the prisons and the capitalist system.

A letter of solidarity was read from Mrs. Otelia Carrington, mother of James Carrington who is serving a 75-year sentence in Richmond on a racist frameup rape charge.

For more information on the campaign to Free Washington and Jefferson and stop the death penalty in Virginia contact: The United Congress, P.O. Box 6282, Norfolk, Va.

POLITICAL PRISONERS



STEPHEN KESSLER JOE MARTINEZ

ATLANTA, Ga., Dec. 10—The federal government today dropped all charges against Stephen Kessler and Joe Martinez. Kessler and Martinez had been facing two murder charges, dredged up for political purposes from two unsolved murders which occurred over six years ago in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary.

Sharon Lieberman, spokesperson for the Stephen Kessler-Joe Martinez Defense Committee, stated today: "The fact that the government dropped these charges less than a month before the scheduled trial date shows conclusively that this was a frame-up. Kessler and Martinez were framed because they have been politically active inside American prisons. Kessler helped establish the Church of the New Song (CONS), a multi-racial, egalitarian prisoners' organization, inside the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary in 1968. Joe Martinez was also a member of the Church. Stephen Kessler has been transferred over 30 times in the past 8 years because of his political activities."

The dropping of charges against Steve Kessler and Joe Martinez represents an important victory for the prisoners' struggle and the movement as a whole. Politically active prisoners throughout the federal system knew of Steve's militant solidarity with Third World prisoners and of his strong resistance to the prison administration's attempts to repress organizing activities of prisoners. Many active political prisoners facing serious charges themselves issued appeals to contacts on the outside to rally to the defense of Steve Kessler and Joe Martinez.

The Stephen Kessler-Joe Martinez Defense Committee was sparked in Eugene, Corvallis, and Portland, Oregon. The sponsors of the Defense Committee included the Eugene Coalition, the San Quentin 6, the Oregon Prisoners Coalition, the Leavenworth Brothers, Martin Sostre, Youth Against War & Fascism, and others. In June of this year, the Kessler-Martinez Defense Committee launched a massive campaign throughout Oregon to prevent Steve Kessler's extradition to Atlanta. When the transfer was finally made, members of the Eugene Coalition traveled to Atlanta to establish a Kessler-Martinez Defense Committee and put a public spotlight on the frameup trial scheduled for Jan. 6, 1975.

While the government has dropped its charges, knowing that its flimsy evidence could not stand up to the bright light of a public defense campaign, the suffering of Steve Kessler and Joe Martinez is far from over.

On December 3, Stephen Kessler was beaten in an unprovoked attack by three prison guards at the Clayton County Jail in Jonesboro, Ga., causing injury to his face and shoulder. He has since been transferred to Hall County Jail in Gainesville, Ga., making it harder for Atlanta supporters to visit him.

Joe Martinez, a 45-year-old Chicano Brother, has been released after serving 15 years on a false drug charge. Shortly after

his release, however, he suffered a heart attack and is now recovering in a hospital in his home city, San Antonio, Texas. The heart attack was attributed by Martinez to the dangerous drugs he had been administered while in prison.

Prisoners everywhere applaud this victory by and for the people. As any victory does, this win adds momentum to the struggle to Tear Down the Walls and end the concentration camps called prisons, forever.

ARMANDO MIRAMON

WICHITA, Ks., Nov. 22—Armando Miramon, a Chicano prisoner, was acquitted of four charges of kidnaping and one charge of assault today in U.S. District Court here.

The charges stem from the July 1973 rebellion at Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary in which four prison employees were taken hostage with the demand that a prisoner grievance committee meet with the warden and reporters.

After the verdict, jurors shook hands with Miramon and the defense attorneys and several jurors were crying.

Ross E. Childs, foreman of the jury stated that the government had not proved beyond a reasonable doubt that Miramon willfully intended to take hostages. He stated that prosecution testimony was "full of holes."

"Testimony about the 'hole' made a big impression on us," Childs said. "There is no reason for treating prisoners like that."

Defense attorney Antonio Rodriguez, who works with the National Committee to Free Los Tres and CASA in Los Angeles, stated, "The jury told us point blank that if they had not been presented evidence of the inhuman prison conditions and the types of behavior which the conditions cause, there never would have been a chance for an acquittal."

Lynn Unruh for the Leavenworth Brothers Offense-Defense Committee stated, "The defense of 'temporary insanity' or 'sensory deprivation psychosis' set a precedent in exposing the conditions of the hole and not only is a new defense but the beginning of the abolishment of the hole."

Miramon's defense was one of "temporary insanity" and coercion. Defense witnesses who had been prisoners at Leavenworth at the time of the rebellion testified that the prison conditions caused the prisoners to rebel after many peaceful protests had produced no changes.

Miramon, testifying in his behalf, spoke about the "hole" and what it did to his mind. Miramon stated that not being able to see out, talk to people, have decent food and sanitation, get exercise, or have personal belongings eventually affected him mentally. He began to daydream, lose his sense of concentration, and at times did not know if he was awake or asleep. There were times, he said, when he thought he was going crazy. After getting out of the hole, he would find it difficult to communicate with people.

Dr. Steve Fox, psychologist from the University of Iowa, also testified as to Miramon's state of mind. Dr. Fox has done studies of "sensory deprivation psychosis" for NASA and the military in the past, and has visited many prisons. He is a member of

the Church of the New Song (CONS), a new prisoner religion.

Dr. Fox stated that people who are isolated for long periods of time from normal sense inputs develop a sensory deprivation psychosis. The symptoms include depersonalization, sleeplessness, impulsive acts, fear, unusual sensitivity to noise, hallucinations, daydreaming, loss of concentration, and paranoia. Miramon exhibited these symptoms on the day of the rebellion and, at the time of the kidnaping, did not know what he was doing, Fox said.

Earlier in the trial, Jesse Lopez had also been charged with four counts of kidnaping. Lopez, a Chicano, had been pulled out of his cell by riot equipped guards to be a mediator to set up the prisoner grievance committee. At the conclusion of prosecution testimony, Judge Frank Theis gave a directed verdict of acquittal because the government had no evidence on him. The defense contended that Lopez had been framed because he is a leader in the prison rights movement—Church of the New Song, food boycotts, and work stoppages.

This trial was the last of two trials involving the July 1973 rebellion at Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary. In the first trial, four Black Leavenworth Brothers were found guilty of assaulting guards and inciting to riot by an all-white jury.

CARLOS FELICIANO

BULLETIN: NEW YORK, Dec. 13—Carlos Feliciano, Puerto Rican Nationalist, appeared in court today to begin serving a 4-year sentence stemming from his second frameup trial in Manhattan in October 1972. Carlos will be confined to Rikers Island for 30 days before being transferred to a facility upstate.

Carlos Feliciano was framed up on over 20 phony bombing charges because of his participation in the struggle to free Puerto Rico. Even though he was acquitted of all charges in the 1970 Bronx trial, he was reindicted and convicted in Manhattan on essentially the same accusations.

The Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano is preparing future activities in Carlos' behalf. For more details see next week's *Workers World*.

HURRICANE CARTER

NEW YORK, Dec. 11—New Jersey Superior Court Judge Samuel A. Lerner declared today that recanted testimony by two former prosecution witnesses lacked the "ring of truth" and rejected an appeal by Rubin (Hurricane) Carter and his codefendant John Artis for a new trial on triple murder charges. This same judge sentenced both men to life imprisonment 7 years ago.

Lawyers for the defendants said the ruling will be appealed, but no further evidence can be offered in the appeal and Judge Lerner's opinion can be reversed only if an appeals court finds a judicial flaw in his ruling. Mr. Carter, who in 1966 was a very high-ranking middle weight fighter, and a known Black militant, said "If he (Judge

Lerner) sets a new trial, it will be like investigating himself."

At a 6-day hearing in October and November, Mr. Bello and Mr. Bradley, who provided the only eyewitness identifications of Carter and Artis, admitted they had lied when they originally identified the defendants fleeing from the scene of a triple murder in Paterson on June 17, 1966. In today's court hearing, both Bello and Bradley said they had been coerced by the Passaic County detectives into perjuring themselves at the murder trial. Bello had been offered a \$10,500 reward, and Mr. Bradley, facing an 80-year prison sentence



Hurricane Carter

at the time, got his sentence considerably reduced for lying.

"It's a double standard," said Carter. "They believed them in 1967, but they don't believe them now."

Mr. Carter is now doing time in Trenton, N.J. He has lost the use of his right eye in prison due to inadequate medical care. Sentenced to two life terms, he will not be eligible for parole for another 23 years.

ATTICA BROTHERS

BUFFALO, Dec. 11—Yesterday Charles Pernasilice, Attica defendant, staggered into court, a red bruise visible on his left jaw. He testified that he was choked and fell unconscious after he objected to an inspection of a bundle of his belongings by Erie County guards.

A medical examiner found further bruises on his head, mouth, neck, throat, collarbones, forearm, leg, and lower back. Disregarding evidence of obvious brutality, State Supreme Court Judge Gilbert King ruled that Pernasilice had himself caused the incident by disobeying regulations that said his belongings must be searched!

Pernasilice, along with Dacajewiah, both Native Americans, are among the first of the Attica defendants to go on trial. They are facing frameup charges for the murder of prison guard William Quinn, who was wounded on the first day of the Attica uprising, released by the prisoners, and died while negotiations were taking place.

Today's justification of the beating of Pernasilice by prison guards indicates that the State is still conspiring to crush all remnants of the bravery that was Attica. Although 43 prisoners and hostages were murdered by the troops ordered to storm the jail by Rockefeller, only prisoners were indicted on criminal charges stemming from the rebellion. All told, 61 prisoners face 1,300 counts carrying 63,000 years, and four men face the death penalty.

For further information contact: Attica Brothers Offense Defense, 147 Franklin Street, Buffalo, New York 14202, (716) 856-0302.

Why the Greeks voted no

By V. COPELAND

DECEMBER 14—The Greek people rejected the Greek monarchy last week by a vote of nearly 3 million to less than one-and-a-third million—68.5 percent to 30.8 percent.

This was higher than the most optimistic bourgeois republicans had expected—and maybe in the long run, much too high for them, too.

The significance of the vote is moderated by the fact that the Greek monarchy has never been intensely popular and was saddled onto the Greek people by the British and other super-oppressing powers only a century ago.

Any such vote in Britain itself to abolish the 900-year-old monarchy there would certainly be an immediate prelude to socialist revolution, if indeed the latter did not come first. (Today, the "socialist" Labor Party leaders give "speeches from the throne" and accept pompous titles from the Queen!)

REJECT BLUE BLOOD, GREEN MONEY

Nevertheless, the Greek vote of 68.5 percent against an institution once considered "divine" must have a deep meaning. Any vote against a person accepted by all millionaires and billionaires of the world as having the most eligible "blood" of all for their own precious families must be viewed as having more significance than most of the individual voters themselves yet dare to dream

about.

The scheming Caramanlis, once the main defender of the king and now Premier, warned his former sovereign to "stay away for a while" rather than come back to "his people."

The foxy politician obviously fears an uprising, at the very least.

The "stable" and "democratic" capitalist-run parliament is now operating for the first time after 7 years of military dictatorship. This is expected to cool down all passions and return everybody to willing obedience to the rule of capitalist oppression, with the free exercise of the ballot once every

few years.

The Greek people, however, do not see it quite as their oppressors want them to see it. Their vote against the king is a vote against oppression far more than against the ceremonies of the court.

It is a little too soon to say that the Greek masses are on the verge of an all-out fight for socialism. But this is certainly one time they don't have to intone the familiar old dirge that "The king is dead; long live the king."

Instead, they can truly say: "The king business is dead; and the capitalist business is not far ahead."



Jubilant Greeks celebrate their victory after the monarchy was soundly voted down.

Book review:

'A Christmas Carol' revisited

A Christmas Carol, by Charles Dickens, 1843.

No other writer has ever been so celebrated in his own lifetime as was Charles Dickens (1812-1870), but few have had as many mixed feelings about such acclaim. As he grew older, Dickens came more and more to passionately hate the bourgeois society that lionized him. But this alienation was matched by an insatiable hunger for public recognition—a contradiction that drove him in his last triumphant years probably past the brink of madness.

It could have been otherwise. His grandparents had been servants, his father in debtors' prison, and he himself, at age 12, in a shoe polish factory. These realities of his background, however, were confused in his early career by a belief in the benevolent possibilities of capitalism. In "A Christmas Carol" (December 1843), he came to a politically progressive but personally painful turning point.

Scrooge is utterly a capitalist: an "odious, stingy, hard, unfeeling" man, whose "tight-fisted hand" grinds his clerk, poor Bob Cratchitt, and whose icy heart is not even warmed by Tiny Tim, Bob's dying son. Scrooge's Christmas Eve conversion to humanity is so sentimentally described that it's unlikely Dickens believed it any more than we can. What we remember about Scrooge is his ruthlessness and his total alienation from human consideration, even from Christmas—which Dickens

represents as the one day the spirit of love, of human togetherness, predominates.

The story's popularity has added to the tyranny of Christmas, which for many of us is less oppressive commercially or religiously than psychologically. Life in bourgeois society is just not that merry, Yuletide or anytime, especially in today's lonely, crowded cities. Capitalism has torn apart the human community, distorted personal ties, and made so many of us isolated strangers.

And often the Christmas season makes it just that much worse—because in our alienation we often think that, yes, everyone else is having a terrific time. Some people are, but many aren't—and, worse, can't admit it because they're trapped in a dilemma. Reject the idea of the universal warmth of Christmas, and be associated with cold, selfish, willfully alienated Scrooge. Accept the legitimacy of the season's demands, and have only yourself to blame if you're not merry.

More people kill themselves Christmas week than any other week of the year because their depression seems as unworthy as it is unavoidable, a terrible stain on the spirit of the holiday. One answer is to see the depression so many of us are prone to, through New Year's Eve, for what it is: legitimate anger turned inward against ourselves, legitimate anger more properly expressed against those who control this unjust, unhappy society and who have robbed us of cause for

jollity—legitimate anger which our enemies use Christmas to repress. ("You'd better not pout, you'd better not cry....")

It's just this tendency to idealize Christmas and to indict ourselves that draws us toward Scrooge as he is made to watch a series of perfect holiday scenes (all of which stress community), feeling each time the wretchedness of his own isolation. And if the story moves us, against our better judgment, to care for Scrooge, it's because the man beneath the capitalist is really Dickens, who himself could never come to terms with his own alienation.

Some of the flashbacks to Scrooge's youth are clearly Dickens' memories of a more loving, more vulnerable self he has been forced by capitalist reality to suppress in the interest of economic safety and psychological security. What Scrooge learns is how much he has lost, and the sentimental ending impresses us less as a moral conversion than a return to the human community, and only a vague hope at that.

Of all his characters, Dickens loved most his young working class hustlers, his outlaws, and his revolutionaries. But he never quite saw that for his own good his desire for public self-assertion and his hatred of capitalism could be integrated in behalf of the working class. The answer to alienation in an oppressive society is not Christmas, but joining together with other men and women in angry, joyful struggle.

B. Lapides

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Although returning to work after a 6-week strike, AAA workers in P.R. vow struggle isn't over. See p. 11.

Interview with official of Ethiopian student group

Class lines sharpen in Ethiopia



In Ethiopia, "... the popular surge is still continuing."

By M. WYNN
NEW YORK, Dec. 16—Since the overthrow of the feudal monarchy of Haile Selassie by the Ethiopian masses last February, that impoverished East African land has been under the rule of a military junta.

Workers World spoke to Wallelig Mesfin, a New York chapter official of the Ethiopian Students Union of North America, about the character of the junta and the present level of the mass struggle in his country. We asked him about the executions of 55 ruling class functionaries by the junta last month. The world bourgeois press and imperialist politicians were enraged at the shooting of these corrupt officials.

Mr. Mesfin explained: "About the executions, it can be said that the junta has no class criteria. It kills those who oppose it. That is a very expedient criteria. We have no moral compunction if there are executions among the enemies of the Ethiopian people. These same bloody and corrupt officials not too long ago themselves made homeless over 13 million Ethiopian people.

"The equally bloody junta is also an enemy of the people. It is killing, torturing, and massacring the Ethiopian people.

"When the junta executed its own corrupt officials, it also

massacred five democratic persons, rank-and-file army men who held for a provisional popular democratic government; who upheld the interests of the Ethiopian masses and were rooted in the people."

WALDHEIM UNMOVED BY FAMINE, SORRY FOR ARISTOCRATS

Characterizing the outcry of the United Nations over the executions as hypocritical, Mr. Mesfin reflected angrily, "The UN has a strange sense of morality. When we brought to the attention of Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General to the UN, the fact that a whole people was dying away by famine in the provinces of Tigre and Wallo, his reaction was dastardly cold and barbaric. But when a few aristocrats were executed, the outcry reached the heavens. This shows that the UN does not uphold the interests of the masses, but only stands for the aristocrats."

It was in fact this famine, plus the growing national liberation struggle in Eritrea, that quickened the fall of Emperor Haile Selassie. He had ruled Ethiopia for 50 years, amassing a personal fortune quoted in the millions, while the per capita annual income of the mass of the Ethiopian people is only \$60. Mr. Mesfin attributed Selassie's fall to the upsurge of the masses of workers and students

and progressive military men, who come mostly from the peasant class.

"When the masses went on strike in February, it confused the ruling class, and made them give concessions. Each grouping was pounding the system in its own way. At this point, our people were able to regain their rights for awhile and over 53 trade unions were organized soon after February.

"In an attempt to contain this mass upsurge and prevent further organizing among the people, the junta took control to suppress the popular will of the people. World opinion should know that. The junta said 'Stop!' to the masses, 'We'll do it for you.' Then they took away our rights again and began trying to deceive the people.

"But the people refused to be deceived, and the ruling class was discredited. The junta literally has lost all its control. It rules only by brute force.

FALL OF SELASSIE CREATED VACUUM

"Historically, the fall of Selassie was a good thing, a progressive thing. A power vacuum was created and the ruling class can't hold down the revolutionary fervor of the masses. This popular uprising is a result of the objective problems of the time.

"The country was drowning in a sea of contradictions: national,

social, political, economic, and class contradictions. In a word, there was total chaos. So the workers went on strike and the masses joined them.

"The junta has not yet consolidated its fascist tendencies, and the popular upsurge is still continuing."

At present, according to Mr. Mesfin, the strongest force in the country is the labor unions, which comprise the biggest part of the

working class, and which is led by the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions. "The working class is strongly anti-junta, as are all the other social classes of the people. This leaves it isolated and paranoid, and its only ally is the CIA.

"The people know that no military clique, steeped in its own interests, can bring justice. In Ethiopia, only the people can punish and give justice."

British, Iranian drive in Oman meets militant resistance

By MOLLY CHARBONEAU
DECEMBER 13—Britain and Iran this fall launched the largest offensive to date against the liberation struggle in the small and poverty-stricken country of Oman.

British imperialism has held this southeastern section of Arabia in colonial bondage, euphemistically called "protection," for over 150 years. Even bereft of its once global empire, the British lion still has a formidable array of weapons and technology to draw on in its efforts to crush the insurgency. And with the participation of Iran from across the Arabian Gulf, whose Shah has been armed to the teeth by U.S. imperialism, it would seem that the guerrilla forces in a country whose total population is less than a million and where illiteracy is 75 percent are facing overwhelming odds.

But the tide of history is with the movements of national liberation, and this is nowhere so well illustrated as in the tough and tenacious struggle being put up by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf (PFLOAG).

Oman is located at the entrance to the oil-rich Arabian Gulf and bordered by South Yemen and Saudi Arabia. Prior to 1965 nearly all the Omani people, with the exception of the Sultan of Oman and those around him, lived in dire poverty. Hardest hit by poverty and disease were those in the rural areas of Oman.

The British, colonial masters for a century and a half, had not built a single road, hospital, or school for the benefit of the Omani masses. British imperialists, interested only in exploiting the rich resources of Oman, deliberately maintained backward conditions there.

On July 9, 1965 the Omani people, under the leadership of the PFLOAG, rebelled against British imperialism and launched a revolutionary struggle which has

been going on since that time. The main base of the struggle is in Dhofar in southeastern Oman.

IRAN, ENGLAND LAUNCH NEW ATTACKS

Due to Oman's strategic location and rich resources (which include copper, tin, chrome, iron, gold, silver, and diamonds), both British and U.S. imperialists along with their loyal puppet, Iran, will stop at nothing to prop up the corrupt Sultan of Oman and crush the PFLOAG.

Although there has been fighting in Dhofar for years, Iran and England at the beginning of October launched the most vicious offensive so far against the Omani liberation struggle. Several thousand counter-insurgency troops have been ordered into Western Dhofar, backed by naval shelling from the sea, Omani, Iranian, and British jets overhead, columns of armored cars, and Iranian helicopter gunships.

Although the United States is not directly involved in this offensive by name, it is well known that the U.S. supplies Iran with much of its military hardware. The U.S. is also in the process of building up Saudi Arabia's navy at a time when it has shown it may enter the offensive against Oman.

Despite the involvement of Iran in the offensive against Oman, there is support for the Omani struggle among the Iranian people as well as Arab progressives, workers, and poor throughout the Middle East. The Arab masses are growing more aware that their interests lie not in wars between their nations but in the international solidarity of the workers and oppressed in the Arab countries and around the world. Only through such class solidarity can the masses end imperialism's grip on Oman and Arab countries and build the society of abundance for all for which the PFLOAG and the Omani people are now fighting.