

THE MILITANT

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

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UFW presses fight for union rights

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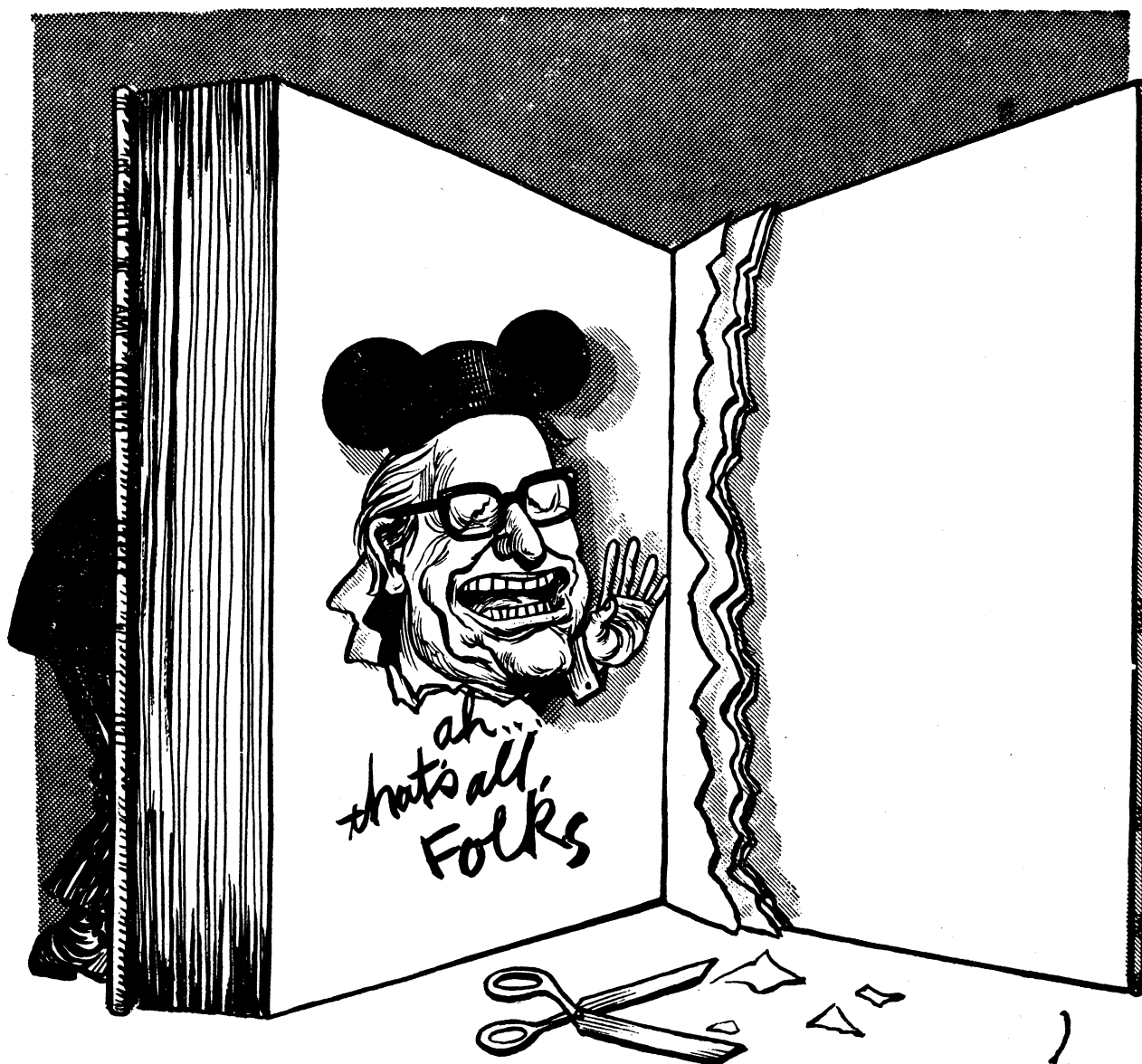
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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 39/NUMBER 24
JUNE 27, 1975
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JUNE 18

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-2798. Washington Bureau: 1345 E. St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Washington, D.C. 20004. Telephone: (202) 638-4081.

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Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: domestic, \$7.50 a year; foreign, \$11.00. By first-class mail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$32; all other countries, \$53. By airmail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$42. By air printed matter: Central America and Caribbean, \$40; Mediterranean Africa, Europe, and South America, \$52; USSR, Asia, Pacific, and Africa, \$62. Write for foreign sealed air postage rates.

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

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

In Brief

RIGHT-WING RALLY IN CHICAGO FLOPS: Evangelist Carl McIntire had predicted that more than 200,000 would participate in his national "Save America" rally June 7. This was to be a massive "patriotic" response to the recent victories of the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples. Tens of thousands of dollars were spent by McIntire's "International Council of Christian Churches" for full-page ads in Chicago's daily papers.

One ad read: "40 States will be represented. . . . Never has so many different groups joined together in one great demonstration in behalf of freedom for all and faith in America."

Yet, when the noses were counted, it turned out that fewer than 2,000 had shown up. Even friendly police said only 1,560 were present.

Delegations included counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles, Korean backers of dictator Park Chung Hee, racist textbook burners from West Virginia, and rightist exiles from Eastern Europe.

McIntire said he was "greatly disappointed" by the turnout. "It shows we still have an awful lot of work to do before we're going to turn this country around and away from Communism."

S. CAROLINA PRISONERS PROTEST CONDITIONS: Nearly one hundred inmates in a South Carolina prison have sent a letter to the *Militant* protesting intolerable conditions. They enclosed an article from a newspaper in Columbia, the location of the Kirkland Correctional Institute, where they are being held. "Corrections Boss Seeks To Buy Tents For Prisoners" was the title of the story, in which William Leeke, the prison system director, described the situation created by a more than 25 percent increase in the state's prison population during the past year.

"We have got people sleeping on the floor throughout the system," said Leeke, who is negotiating with National Guard and Civil Defense officials to purchase tents. The state legislature, which just slashed a supplemental budget request for the system, is considering legislation requiring stiffer sentences for some crimes. That threatens even further crowding, according to Leeke.

"Mr. Leeke's comments cover only a small part of actual inhumane conditions," the prisoners wrote. "There is no library, no educational or recreational facilities. . . . Starting next week we will be allowed seven hours per week out of our rooms to walk around inside one wing of this building. The rest of our time is spent two men to a room that was constructed to house only one man. . . .

"These ninety-eight signatures are from only one building, which houses approximately 110 persons. Due to the great time it would take to pass this letter around to each building, we are submitting these signatures as an example assuring you 600 more can be obtained," they continued.

"We hope the editors of the *Militant* will help make our circumstances known to as many people as possible."

TUITION PROTEST AT NORTHEASTERN U.: More than 500 students turned out on June 5 to protest a proposed \$75-a-quarter tuition hike at Northeastern University in Boston. The rally, organized by an ad hoc Student Committee Against Tuition Hikes, also protested threatened financial aid cuts and demanded the opening of the financial records of the school.

"Veterans, women, and Black students cannot be considered expendable budget items. Education is a right of all," Ken Withers, a member of the Student Coalition Against Racism, told the rally.

'RADICAL' ENTERS DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY: Tom Hayden, one of this country's most publicized 'radicals,' recently announced his intention to challenge the incumbent for the Democratic party nomination for U.S. Senator from California in next year's primary. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Hayden denied that he is a socialist or "would advocate doing away with free enterprise [the capitalists' term for capitalism] in its entirety."

In the news release announcing his campaign, Hayden said, "We need to consider new *competitive public enterprises* [his emphasis] in the energy and banking fields which can provide real alternatives and a yardstick for competition with powerful private corporations." He also went out on a limb and advocated a "humanistic foreign policy."

"The candidate seemed reluctant to get too specific," the *Times* reporter observed. Sounds like a good Democrat.

PA. UNIONISTS STAGE MASS RALLY: Some 20,000 Pennsylvania state employees rallied on the capitol steps in Harrisburg June 9 to press their demands for a 30 percent

wage increase, a cost-of-living allowance, and other benefits. Several thousand more state workers stayed away from their jobs in a one-day strike. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which represents 76,000 state workers, called the action after the state offered a wage increase of only 3.5 percent. The cost of living in Pennsylvania has been rising at a rate of 12 to 18 percent a year.

The demonstration also focused on the closing of several state institutions, an action that threatens the jobs of tens of thousands of employees. Gerald McEntee, president of AFSCME District Council 13, told the gathering that the closings were an attack on the union that represented a test. "By this showing," McEntee said, "we have answered this test."

"We defy anyone to return us to second-class citizenship," McEntee continued. "If we are granted a decent contract on July 1, we will be working. If not, then on July 1 we will not be working."

MEANS CHARGES 'ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT': American Indian Movement leader Russell Means termed the gunshot wound he received in the back on June 7 an "assassination attempt."

After the FBI confirmed Means's contention that he had been shot in the back, a Bureau of Indian Affairs spokesperson admitted that Means had not been shot in the abdomen, as the BIA had earlier maintained. The BIA says that one of its police officers, Lt. Pat Kelly, shot Means accidentally. But Means says it was Kelly's son, not Kelly, who shot him. "How could I be shot accidentally in the back?" he asked.

Attorney William Kunstler told a news conference that Means's claim also is proven by the lack of powder burns on the wound, which would have been left by the weapon used, a .357 Magnum, if it had been fired within ten feet. The cop claims the gun discharged while he was grappling with Means, which means that the weapon would have been very near Means when fired.

BOMB VERDICT HIT: The acquittal by an all-white jury of two men accused of the New Year's Day bombing of the home of a Black family in Rosedale, Queens, New York, has brought a wave of protest from Black groups in New York. Rev. Timothy Mitchell called the ruling another indication of the "deeply entrenched racism found in the city's criminal justice system."

The lawyer who defended those charged with bombing Ormistan Spencer's house also represented Thomas Shea, the cop acquitted of the murder of ten-year-old Clifford Glover last year.

"Black people have been duped into believing that the struggle for freedom was over in the sixties," Mitchell said, "but the overt racism which is taking place should remind us that the fight is still on." —Nelson Blackstock

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Whose 'national security'?

The debate over 'reforming' the CIA

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—In the wake of the release of the Rockefeller commission report on the CIA, the capitalist politicians and other representatives of the ruling class are full of proposals for "reforming" the spy agency.

What the New York *Daily News* described as "a prestigious presidential-congressional commission" came up with a few specifics. In a draft report, the Commission for Reorganization of the Government's Foreign Policy proposed changing the sullied name of the agency to the "Foreign Intelligence Agency" and replacing current CIA head William Colby with someone from outside the "intelligence community."

The Rockefeller commission itself proposed thirty ways to give the appearance of cleaning up the government's international secret-police operation while leaving it free to continue its dirty tricks at home and abroad.

Among them are:

- Congress should establish a joint committee on intelligence to oversee the CIA. Why a joint committee would be better than the existing committees, which have exercised "oversight" of the CIA since it was set up, wasn't explained.

- "Congress should give careful consideration to the question whether the budget of the CIA should not, at least to some extent, be made public. . . ."

- The caliber of CIA chiefs should be upgraded. "Persons appointed to the position of Director of Central Intelligence should be individuals of stature, independence, and integrity," the commission recommended. Their term should also be limited to ten years. (The contradiction between these two "reforms" wasn't explained. Why, once such a morally upright spymaster is found, should he have to step down after only ten years?)

'No better answer'

Despite the rhetoric, few CIA reformers even pretend that their proposals will make any real difference to the cloak-and-dagger operators. Summing up the proposals of the Rockefeller commission, the *New York Times*, which claims credit for originally breaking the story of CIA illegal surveillance, concluded: "Essentially, however, the commission recommends naming good people to run the C.I.A. and then watching them closely."

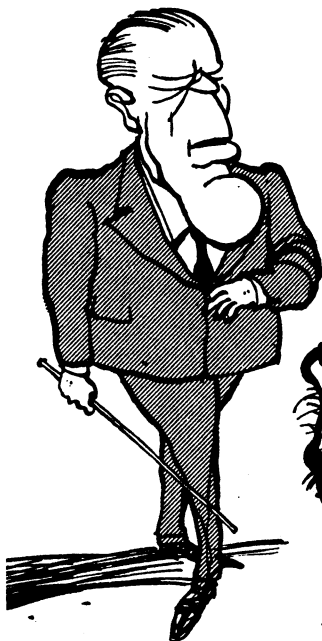
"Simplistic as this sounds, there is probably no better answer."

A "better answer" would be to publish all the CIA secret files so the American people can learn what crimes have been committed against them, and against the people of the entire world in their name, and then to flatten the CIA headquarters with a giant bulldozer. Lest anyone draw such an irresponsible conclusion, however, the *Times* adds: "Even in this era of détente, an alert intelligence-gathering agency is a necessary instrument in the making of foreign policy."

The "reformers" all agree on two points. First, the United States needs the CIA. Second, the CIA needs to have the power to keep its activities secret from the American people. As the *Wall Street Journal* wrote editorially, "Nothing about the Rockefeller report suggests . . . that the CIA's specific operations should be put in a fishbowl where its effectiveness in gathering intelligence would be hampered."

The Rockefeller report doesn't exactly put the CIA's operations in a fishbowl, but it does lift the curtain on some of the CIA's illegal operations.

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'Let that rap on the knuckles be a lesson to you!'

Citing what is undoubtedly only a fraction of the actual examples, the report says that domestic CIA spying included thirty-two wiretaps, thirty-two bugs, twelve break-ins, and sixteen inspections of tax returns.

A relatively detailed discussion of illegal surveillance activities, however, is contained in the chapter on CIA mail tampering.

According to this section, the CIA carried out secret inspection and opening of international mail in New York, San Francisco, New Orleans, and Hawaii over a period of twenty years, allegedly ending in 1973. The most massive inspection went on in New York, where in 1973 alone, the CIA snoops intercepted 4,350,000 items of mail, photographed the outside of 33,000 of those, and opened 8,700.

The opening of first-class mail—flagrantly illegal—was done with top-level Post Office knowledge. The CIA circulated memos over the years discussing what would happen if this criminal activity were ever publicly exposed.

'Flap potential'

The most revealing memo quoted by the Rockefeller report was written in 1962, concerning the "flap potential"



CIA launched investigation of groups charging government involvement in assassination of Malcolm X.

of this activity. The communication sounds strikingly similar to the Nixon White House discussions over how to best lie one's way out of situations embarrassing for the government.

The memo said that if the tampering was discovered, "it must be recognized that no cover story is available to any government agency." However, the author hopefully predicted, "it should be relatively easy to 'hush up' the entire affair." If worse came to worse, the memo concluded, "it might become necessary . . . to find a scapegoat to blame for unauthorized tampering with the mails."

Domestic assassinations

If the CIA went to all this trouble to cover up illegal mail tampering, what efforts has it made to conceal its role in foreign and domestic assassinations?

In particular, the circumstances surrounding the 1965 assassination of Malcolm X appear in a new light with the revelations that the CIA hired Mafia gunmen to kill Fidel Castro, with White House approval.

Just before he died, Malcolm became convinced that the pattern of harassment and threats against him—which he had attributed to the Black Muslims—was more than the Muslims could have organized. In fact, when Malcolm tried to visit France, just twelve days before his death, French officials refused to allow him to enter the country. It was later reported that they feared he would be assassinated on French soil.

In a mysterious passage of the Rockefeller report, which has gone unnoticed in the press, reference is made to the Malcolm assassination. In the chapter entitled, "Protection of the Agency Against Threats of Violence—Office of Security," the report says:

"In 1966 and 1967, the Deputy Director for support ordered the Office of Security to prepare several studies relating to dissidents and dissident groups. One of the studies centered on the individuals and groups who were charging the CIA with involvement in the assassination of Malcolm X, the Black Muslim leader. The study provided background information relating to those accusing the CIA."

A footnote at the bottom of the page adds, "No evidence was found which would support such a charge."

If there was "no evidence" of the

CIA's involvement in the killing, why did the agency consider groups raising such charges a threat? Why was the "Office of Security" involved? If a search was made and "no evidence" was found, why wasn't this report made public? What does the CIA have to hide?

Although the Rockefeller report doesn't specify which groups were involved, it is well known that the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers party played a prominent role in raising questions about the official story on Malcolm's death. The *Militant* gave extensive coverage to the trial of the accused killers, and pointed to the many suspicious events surrounding the assassination and the trial. Week after week, the *Militant* pointed to the possibility of government responsibility for the murder.

There is, clearly, something both the CIA and the Rockefeller commission do not want disclosed about agency operations against the Black movement. According to a report in the June 12 *New York Times* by Seymour Hersh, "The commission's report did not mention the destruction in late 1974 of between 150 and 200 C.I.A. domestic files on Black dissidents, nearly all of which included photographs of some kind."

Were these files destroyed after the first *Times* story exposing the massive CIA surveillance? Who was included in the files—Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, slain Black Panther leaders?

Cover-up continues

The cover-up is continuing and not just concerning Black liberation activists. The CIA and the Rockefeller commission are also withholding all but a few details on "Operation CHAOS," the CIA's program to infiltrate antiwar, student, Black, and left groups from 1967 to 1974.

Only a handful of the reportedly 1,000 target groups have been revealed. For example, neither the Socialist Workers party nor the Young Socialist Alliance is included in that list. Both organizations played major roles in the antiwar and campus protests of the 1960s. SWP presidential candidate Peter Camjeo recently obtained some heavily censored CIA documents on him through the Freedom of Information Act.

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Goal is broad, united action

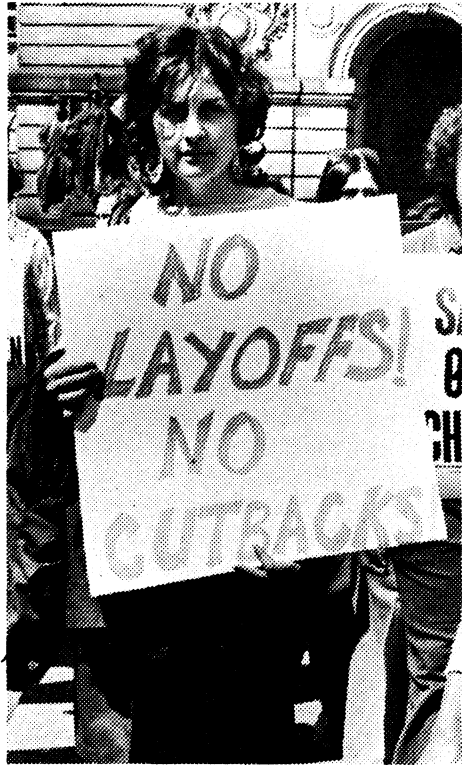
Set June 28 protest against NY cuts

By Andy Rose

NEW YORK, June 18—A call for a united demonstration against city layoffs and cutbacks was adopted tonight by a meeting of more than 500 unionists, students, and representatives of community organizations.

The demonstration will be held on Saturday, June 28, with a march from Union Square to city hall.

Tonight's meeting was initiated by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930 (New York Public Library Guild) and



Militant/Martha Harris

Local 371 (Social Service Employees Union), one of the largest AFSCME locals in New York. It was chaired by Pat Knight, president of Local 371, and David Beasley, president of Local 1930.

The action proposal approved by the overwhelming majority of those present stated:

"The city budget crisis—with its massive layoffs and intolerable cutbacks in already inadequate social services—demands a strong, united response. We are all victims of the cutbacks—unionists, social service organizations, the Black, Puerto Rican and Chinese communities, welfare recipients, tenants and high school and college students. . . .

"We cannot allow ourselves to be

divided in the face of these attacks—city worker against CETA employee [CETA is a federally funded jobs program], Black against white, welfare recipient against worker, and so on. Only together can we fight back and win!"

The June 28 march was proposed as a way "to begin this crucial process of uniting against these attacks, and of building the type of strong social movement it will take to turn around the priorities in this city."

This proposal was put forward by Beasley; Knight; Sidney Von Luther, chairperson of the National Coalition To Fight Inflation and Unemployment; Sam Manuel, coordinator of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism; Hamilton Banks, of the National Conference on Social Service Employment; Charles Rosen, leader of a rent strike in the 50,000-tenant Co-op City in the Bronx; Alice Cordona; and Johnny Manzanet, chairperson of the Lower East Side Community Corporation.

Explaining the need for such an action, student leader Sam Manuel pointed out that "several actions have already been called. District Council 37 [of AFSCME] had a demonstration of city employees. The UFT [United Federation of Teachers] called a demonstration of teachers. There have been demonstrations of hospital workers, of students.

"All of these demonstrations have been good," Manuel said. "But what we need now is a demonstration that will reflect the real strength of the people of this city. There are thousands more people that can be brought out into the streets to demonstrate against these budget cuts. We have to begin to build a social movement in New York."

Karen Ackerman of the New York Coalition to Fight Inflation and Unemployment also addressed the meeting and emphasized the same theme. "In order for us to stop losing out day by day," she said, "we have to unify all sections. We from the coalition would urge that this demonstration be approved and adopted and be built on the broadest level possible."

The call for the June 28 march lists the demands of the protest as simply "No layoffs" and "No cutbacks." A number of proposals were raised during the discussion for additional demands.

Some were intended to specify exact-



Militant/Andy Rose

Recent city hall protest. Organizers of June 28 march hope to bring together union and community forces affected by cutbacks and layoffs.

ly how the city should get the money to maintain jobs and services, making it clear that the banks and corporations should pay. Others were put forward by sectarian political groups that insisted the demonstration must adopt their entire political program. All were voted down by large majorities.

Ray Markey, a leader of AFSCME



Militant/Andy Rose

RAY MARKEY: 'First step forward is unity.'

Local 1930 and delegate to the District Council 37 delegate assembly, explained that to adopt a whole social program would cut across the goal of bringing together diverse forces for united action against the cutbacks.

The central question, Markey said, is "How can we begin the process of fighting back? We can begin by coming out of this meeting united—to agree that we can march together in opposition to layoffs and cutbacks.

"If we can do that," Markey said, "that is a fantastic step forward. There has not been unity in this city. Every different organization has demonstrated by themselves, and the purpose of this proposal is to start turning it back in the opposite direction. The first step forward is unity."

Many of those present were dissatisfied with the failure of the central leadership of AFSCME and the other city employees' unions to take effective action to save jobs.

A Black woman who works as a welfare case aide and is a member of Local 371 told the *Militant* she had been to previous demonstrations and thought more was needed. "But it doesn't seem like the unions are ready to do anything else."

"As far as the case aides are concerned, Victor Gotbaum [executive

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Cops urge Beame to slash social services

By Andy Rose

NEW YORK—"If they have to cut, what about all the money going to people on welfare? And these kids going to City College, they should have to pay tuition!"

Part of a conservative, racist diatribe in favor of cutting social services? Well, yes and no.

The content of the remarks was obviously reactionary, but they were made from the platform of a rally supposedly protesting budget cuts in New York.

The catch is that this rally, held June 12 outside city hall, was only protesting layoffs of cops, prison guards, and fire fighters. In fact, it was not really a rally against cutbacks at all, but a "rally for public safety."

Cop organizations have up until now been welcomed by the leadership of the city workers unions as "brother unionists" and included in the Municipal Labor Committee. But their own actions may soon strip away this illusion.

Recognizing that their interests are separate and different from those of other city employees, the cops recently set up a "Council for Public Safety" that includes more than twenty organizations of cops, detectives, jail wardens, probation officers, district attorneys' detectives, and various other types of cops, plus the Uniformed Firefighters Association.

Publicity for the June 12 rally, sponsored by the Committee for Public Safety, made it clear these groups have no quarrel with Mayor Beame's budget-cutting strategy. They just want him to cut social services instead of cops.

A full-page ad in the *Daily News* said Beame "should listen to the people in deciding which services should be reduced, and which services should be maintained."

Getting down to specifics, the ad stated, "We think there is no point in providing schools and hospitals and parks and libraries if people are in

constant danger in their homes and on the streets."

The community groups that have turned out for previous union-sponsored demonstrations against the cutbacks were conspicuously absent from the cop rally. Indeed, of the 2,000 demonstrators, only a handful of Blacks and Puerto Ricans could be found.

It's no wonder. These same cops' regular duties include repression and brutality against the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities.

These "crime fighters" are well known to be up to their eyeballs in drug peddling, prostitution, gambling, robberies, and bribery and extortion schemes of all sorts.

Cops are not part of the labor movement. Their duty is to protect the property of the business interests and landlords, to break strikes, smash demonstrations, and beat down any signs of protest from the oppressed communities.

The fire fighters, who in reality are

workers performing a needed service, have been sucked into the cop coalition by the traditional mystique that links the city's "uniformed services" together as more valuable and important than ordinary city workers.

What is needed to stop the cutbacks is a united movement of workers and the oppressed communities in New York. Cops have no place in this alliance.

How, to cite just one glaring example, can the unions hope to appeal to the Chinese community, which recently mounted big demonstrations against police brutality, to join a struggle to keep more of these racist thugs and killers on the city payroll?

This contradiction, now dormant, will rapidly come to the fore as soon as the unions begin to organize a serious fight against city hall's budget cuts. As the cops are called upon to repress demonstrations and attack the unions, any question about which side they are on in the anticutback movement will be answered unambiguously.

'Big Mac': bankers' device to swindle New Yorkers & lay off city workers

By Dick Roberts

The layoff of thousands of New York City workers is now underway as a first payment to the bankers who supposedly rescued the city from financial crisis.

On June 20, 1,213 "provisional" employees are to be axed. An additional 1,315 provisional workers have received pink slips firing them as of June 30.

And 7,954 permanent Civil Service workers have received notices for June 20 and June 30. By the end of the month 10,482 workers will have been fired.

This is the second round of layoffs in the past year. As of June 18 the *New York Times* reported that 7,267 people were already off the city payrolls.

City hall, Albany, and the banks are still quibbling over exactly how many workers Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame can get rid of. More layoffs are certain.

The background to the latest wave of firings was the establishment June 10 of the Municipal Assistance Corporation—"Big Mac." This agency will issue long-term bonds to cover the city's short-term debts.

Big Mac's a bit trickier than three-card monte, but it's a shell game nevertheless. Keeping in mind that the hand is quicker than the eye, here's how it works.

New York owes \$4.3 billion in short-term debts, which must be paid off to bondholders in the next few months. It was because Mayor Beame pretended that he didn't have this money that the banks pretended they wouldn't lend Beame the money to pay these debts off.

But Big Mac—set up by the state and staffed with bankers and other ruling-class hirelings—comes to the rescue. Big Mac will pay off \$3 billion worth of the short-term debts.

In order to do this Big Mac will issue long-term bonds valued at the \$3 billion plus interest, at rates as yet undisclosed. To be sure Big Mac has plenty of funds for interest payments on these bonds, the city sales tax will be turned over to it.

To underline their satisfaction with the creation of Big Mac, the banks promptly floated a loan to the city that they previously had refused to make. At the Municipal Building June 11, Controller Harrison Goldin was handed a check for \$280 million by Frank Sneal, executive vice-president of Morgan Guaranty Trust. The bank's price was a "mere" 8 percent interest.

Workers under attack

If all this makes your head spin, it's supposed to. The financial crisis of New York is an elaborate fraud perpetrated to enable the city to fire workers. What Big Mac's creation actually proves is that the money was there all along—it was just a question of what conditions the banks demanded to make the loans.

The central aim of the bankers in the New York "crisis" is to chop down the city employment rolls, to slash social services, and to break the backs of the municipal unions in the process.

As the economic crisis deepens in the United States and across the capitalist world, there is higher and higher unemployment, corporate sales fall, and consequently taxes to state and city governments fall. No matter how far revenues fall, the bankers want to make sure that no government defaults on its debts—especially not New York.

The city is the second-largest debtor in the United States after the U.S. government. Its short-term bonds amount to 25 to 30 percent of the tax-free U.S. municipal bond market. This represents a tremendous source of enrichment for wealthy bondholders at taxpayers' expense.

If the city's tax income is going to fall, the bankers demand that it cut its expenses—not to them, of course, but on social welfare programs, on jobs, and on municipal services. The whole point is precisely to keep on paying the banks at the expense of everyone else.

Big Mac is a cover for this operation. Technically it is a state-city agency staffed by nine voting directors, five state-appointed and four city-appointed. But the line-up of bank and other corporate directors who were appointed to fill the slots makes it clear what the agency actually is—an agency of the banks. Of the nine directors, six are top officials of banks, brokerage houses, and other businesses including both AT&T and ITT.

Big Mac has nearly dictatorial powers over New



Militant/Baxter Smith

York finances.

In the first place it will get four cents for every dollar spent on taxable goods in New York City, through its receipt of sales tax revenue.

On top of this it will oversee city budgets for the next ten years, and this means that it will be the excuse used to fire workers again and again.

Such "independent" agencies are not new to capitalist politics. There are dozens of them across the country. The Transit Authority in New York is such an agency, not ruled by the city or the state, with its own secret books and its own bond issues, generating millions of dollars every year for private profit.

When transit workers struggle for living wages, they are inevitably subjected to the same kind of buck-passing con game that is involved in setting up Big Mac.

Business Week explained the process in an unusually frank editorial June 23. "Ironically," they state, "MAC may be remembered most for its role in long-term reform, rather than for raising the \$3-billion the city must have within the next 90 days. The elected officials of the city will be able to blame it for the steps they will have to take to bring about fiscal reform."

"MAC will be the guy in the black hat when the city switches to realistic accounting from the Mickey Mouse bookkeeping it has used for years, when it renegotiates the incredibly expensive pension program former Mayor John Lindsay gave the unions in 1960, and when the city ceases some of its free services, such as the free university system, and asks the state to take over some institutions such as the jails and courts." (Emphasis added.)

Thus when workers demand that their elected representatives do something to avert layoffs and cutbacks, the Democrats and Republicans will drag in Big Mac to "prove" that there is "no alternative."

The editors of *Business Week* write in the confidence that their publication will be read exclusively by executives. But they reveal the close attention that the rulers of this country are paying to financial and political developments in New York.

Big Mac's bonds

The real hooker in this bond swindle is that Big Mac doesn't solve anything. All that in fact has happened is that a short-term debt has been traded for a long-term one. This will still have to be paid off at interest, so that the long-term debt issued by Big Mac will end up costing New York taxpayers even more than it would have cost if the short-term debts had been "rolled over" in the normal fashion (by issuing new short-term bonds).

The added cost has been estimated at roughly \$200 million for this year alone. It is that much more money that is raked off of taxes and paid to the bankers for "solving" a crisis they created in the first place.

More fundamentally, all of the problems that face working people in New York are worsening. Big Mac does not create jobs; it demands that workers be fired. It doesn't aid the poor and needy; it demands that their services be cut. This will not turn the depression around but will deepen it.

Felix Rohatyn & the ITT connection

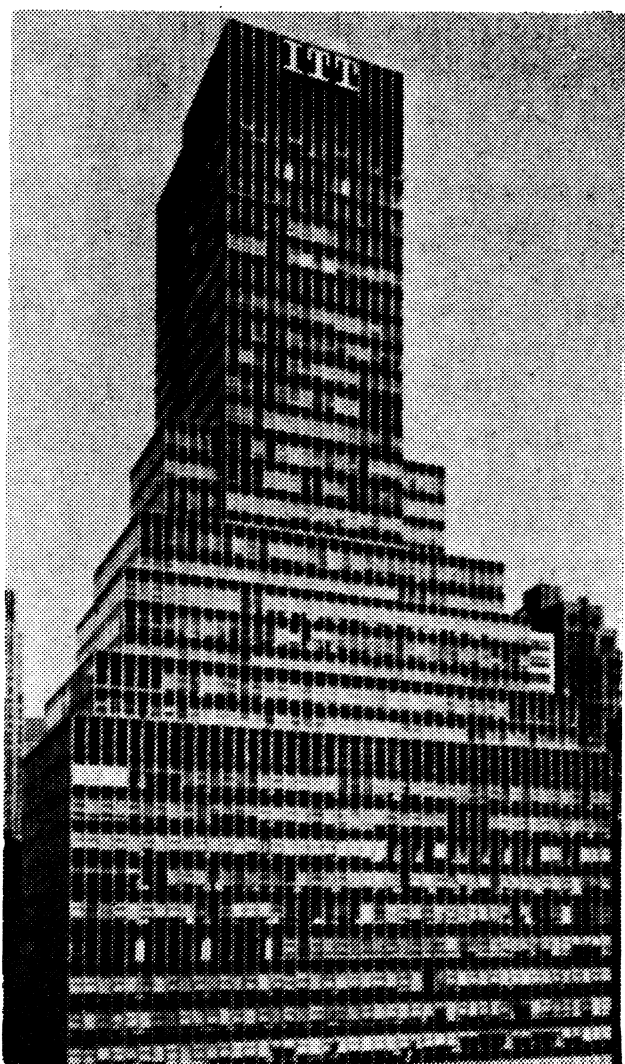
"Big Mac"—the corporation set up to rule New York finances—is headed by a board of nine members. Typical of the crew is Felix Rohatyn, a partner in the powerful investment banking firm of Lazard Frères. Rohatyn was also one of Governor Hugh Carey's "emergency advisers" who concocted the Big Mac scheme. He is a director of a number of corporations and is influential in both the Republican and Democratic parties.

The *New York Times* says he has "a reputation as one of the best merger-and-acquisition men in the business."

Not mentioned these days is the fact that Rohatyn was a key figure in the 1972 Nixon administration-ITT scandal. It was Rohatyn who engineered the ITT-Hartford Life Insurance Company merger. In return for ITT contributions to the Republican party, the Nixon administration dropped antitrust proceedings aimed at blocking the merger.

According to the *Militant*, May 5, 1972, "Testimony has revealed that . . . Rohatyn discussed antitrust matters at the Justice Department with Richard Kleindienst, at that time Nixon's deputy attorney general. On the same day, Rohatyn had two meetings with John Mitchell, then attorney general. Everyone participating in these meetings has sworn under oath that the subject of ITT never came up."

Rohatyn's latest "merger-and-acquisition" coup—New York City—seems safe enough at the moment. But if the secret deals and real intent of Big Mac are ever exposed to public scrutiny, the financial wizard may find himself in the same boat with his old cohorts Mitchell and Kleindienst.



Refute charges of illegal activity

Socialists answer FBI, CIA attempt

By Nancy Cole

The FBI's attempt to turn the tables on the Socialist Workers party in the socialists' suit against government harassment received an abrupt setback recently. The SWP responded in court to government claims of SWP terrorism, violence, and illegal "foreign affiliations."

The SWP's lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies seeks an end to the illegal government persecution of socialists and their supporters, and thus far has been responsible for major disclosures of the FBI's Cointelpros ("Counterintelligence Programs").

The government's defense strategy has hinged on its attempts to portray the SWP as a violent band of terrorists, engaging in illegal acts and about to make its move to seize control at any moment. One form their "counterattack" has taken is a set of questions, or "interrogatories," directed to the SWP in court.

These interrogatories ask for information that the government hopes to distort in an effort to justify their ongoing SWP disruption programs. Information requested includes the SWP's strategy and tactics in the United States, its international "connections," and extensive lists of SWP members and Trotskyists in other parts of the world.

In April 1974, when the socialists answered other government questions, they resisted responding to questions of this nature on the grounds that they were irrelevant to the case and served only to shift attention away from the real crimes of government harassment and victimization of dissenters.

The interrogatories are part of the suit's "discovery" stage, during which both plaintiffs and defendants are allowed to ask questions and request documents of the other side. The SWP has asked the government for all its files on the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, also a plaintiff in the suit.

In March of this year, the FBI revealed its first batch of files on the SWP and YSA—more than 3,000 pages of investigative reports and Cointelpros. These document the most massive surveillance of any political organization ever publicly uncovered.

Additional FBI files, and all those of the CIA and other defendants, have yet to be turned over. In January of this year, U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa ordered a response to all pending interrogatories so that the case could move to the next stage.

Griesa has indicated that the trial will likely



CANNON: 'We want the simple right to advocate our ideas.'

begin in early 1976, and the government is intensifying its campaign to smear the SWP.

This is not the first attempt to falsify the principles of the Socialist Workers party. These same accusations were made in 1941, when, as part of President Roosevelt's war preparations, eighteen leaders of the SWP and of the Teamsters union were sent to prison under the Smith "gag" Act.

The eighteen presented their defense through the testimony of James P. Cannon, at that time SWP national secretary. This testimony is reprinted in the book *Socialism on Trial* and has served as a basic introduction to the principles and strategy of U.S. revolutionary socialists since that time.

Because the government's smear tactics have remained unchanged in the intervening thirty-four years, many of the answers filed last month by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes refer directly to Cannon's 1941 testimony.

Today the government asks, "As Marxists and Trotskyists, have plaintiffs ever been or are they now guided in a belief that established authorities in the United States would resist a communist revolution, and are they accordingly preparing themselves for an inevitable violent revolution in the United States?"

In 1941, Cannon answered, "It is the opinion of all Marxists that it will be accompanied by violence."

Defense attorney: "Why?"

Cannon: "That is based, like all Marxist doctrine, on a study of history, the historical experiences of mankind in the numerous changes of society from one form to another, the revolutions which accompanied it, and the resistance which the outlived classes invariably put up against the new order. Their attempt to defend themselves against the new order, or to suppress by violence the movement for the new order, has resulted in every important social transformation up to now being accompanied by violence."

Defense attorney: "Who, in the opinion of Marxists, initiated that violence?"

Ruling-class violence

Cannon: "Always the ruling class; always the outlived class that doesn't want to leave the stage when the time has come. They want to hang on to their privileges, to reinforce them by violent measures. . . ."

Defense attorney: "What would you say is the opinion of Marxists as far as the desirability of a peaceful transition is concerned?"

Cannon: "The position of Marxists is that the most economical and preferable, the most desirable method of social transformation, by all means, is to

have it done peacefully."

Defense attorney: "And in the opinion of Marxists, is that absolutely excluded?"

Cannon: "Well, I wouldn't say absolutely excluded. We say that the lessons of history don't show any important examples in favor of the idea so that you can count upon it."

The same questions were repeated in 1948 when the Veterans Administration fired James Kutcher from his civil service job. Kutcher, a member of the SWP, had lost both legs in World War II.

SWP national chairman Farrell Dobbs testified before the 1949 Loyalty Review Board hearings on the Kutcher case, and excerpts from his testimony are also used to answer the government in 1975.

For all their attempts to "trip up" the SWP, the FBI and its cohorts in other federal agencies have been unable to come up with any charges against the SWP since the 1941 frame-up.

New recipe

Having been burned in the Kutcher case and in numerous cases since, the government may have now switched to a new recipe. It looks as though they may be cooking up a fabricated case to charge the SWP with violating the reactionary and blatantly unconstitutional Voorhis Act.

The 1940 Voorhis Act imposes prohibitive restrictions on organizations "subject to foreign control." Groups under "foreign control" are defined as those that a) solicit or accept financial support from, or affiliate with, a foreign government, party, or political organization; or b) determine their policies at the "suggestion of, or in collaboration with" a foreign government, party, or political organization.

The major exceptions, of course, are the U.S. armed forces, any law-enforcement agency, diplomatic missions, and religious groups.

Thus, the law implies, the U.S. Army can pour billions into wars of aggression, the CIA can assassinate foreign leaders, and Ford can conspire to derail colonial struggles—but the SWP can't belong to an international organization that shares its goal for a socialist world.

In order to comply with the law, the SWP was forced in 1940 to disaffiliate from the Fourth International, the international Trotskyist movement, which the SWP helped to form two years before. Since that time the SWP's relationship to the Fourth International has been one of fraternal solidarity.

The government is well aware of this position. Cannon's 1941 testimony and countless other public declarations and writings since then have explained it. Yet the government's interrogatories hammer away at any "connections" between the SWP and revolutionists in other countries.

"These questions and the excuses used by the CIA and FBI for refusing to turn over files are ominous signs," says Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group raising funds for the SWP's suit. "When SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo requested his FBI files under the Freedom of Information Act, they refused, saying to do so would interfere with 'law enforcement proceedings.' What law-enforcement proceedings? What are they hiding?"

"The only laws the FBI has ever cited to justify their spying on the SWP are the legally discredited 'thought-control' laws and the Voorhis Act."

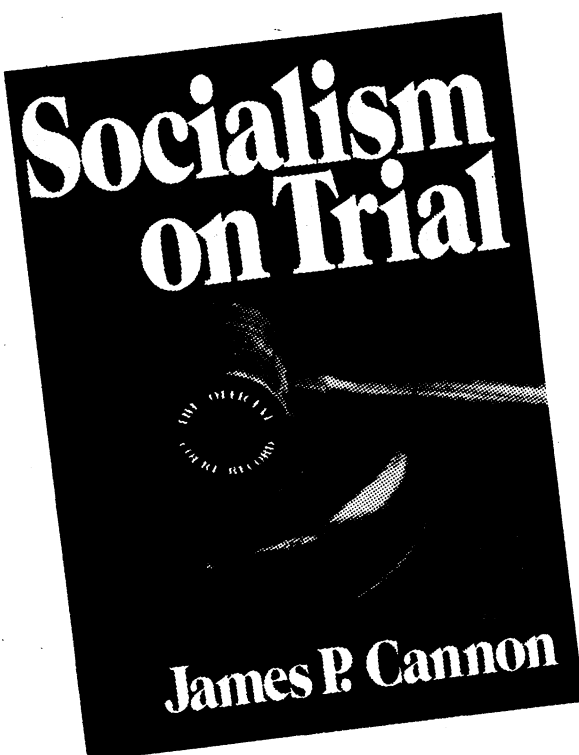
CIA sources protected

When Camejo asked for his CIA files, also under the Freedom of Information Act, they turned over nine heavily censored documents, admitting to an additional ninety-one "classified" files. Forty-nine of those withheld contain data relating to Camejo's "activities abroad" and are exempt, according to the CIA, because the information was "received from sources which must continue to be protected."

"What are those 'sources' up to that they must continue to be protected?" asks Stapleton. "The government has also admitted to certain FBI files that they refuse to disclose because it would expose their informants within the Fourth International."

"This stalling may very well be intended to give their agents provocateurs time to plant some 'evidence' to frame up the SWP," says Stapleton.

In their interrogatories the government asks, "Have SWP, YSA or any of its members or any

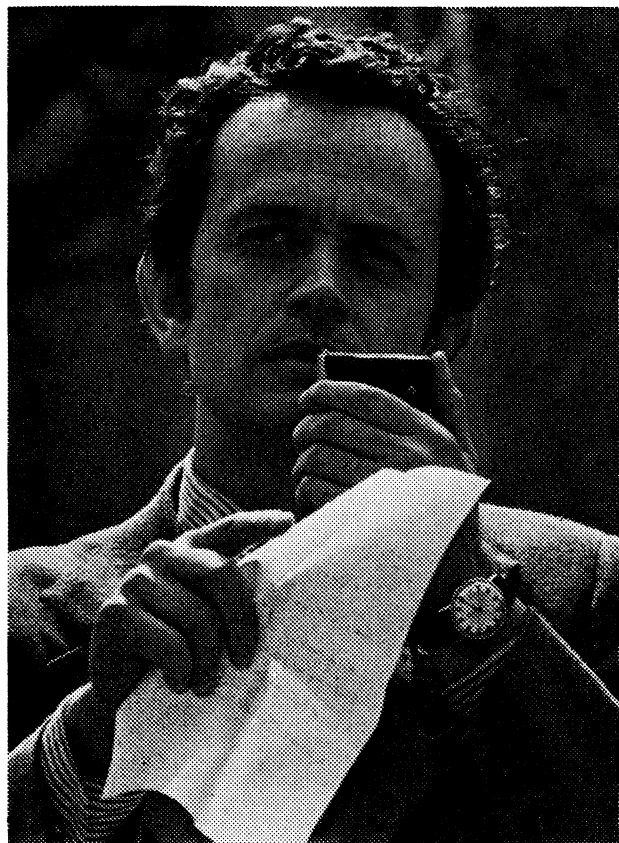


Read James P. Cannon's response to government attacks in the 1941 Smith Act trials. Cannon's court testimony is a classic statement of the strategy and principles of the Socialist Workers party and a stirring defense of the right to advocate revolutionary ideas.

184 pp., \$2.25

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to turn the tables in anti-spying suit



FBI refuses to turn over SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo's files, claiming it would interfere with 'enforcement proceedings.'

other plaintiffs in any way aided the creation of a revolutionary situation any place in the world?"

Barnes's answer is simply, "No. Plaintiffs believe that revolutionary situations are created by capitalism, not by socialists."

The questions continue, "Have SWP, YSA or any of its members or any other plaintiffs in any way aided violent revolution or guerrilla warfare any place in the world?"

Requesting clarification, the SWP answers, "Please state whether 'aid' refers to editorial support, organizing peaceful demonstrations, picketing, leafleting and so forth, which we have utilized in such contexts as our participation in the movement against United States involvement in the war in Vietnam."

In an interview with the *Militant*, Barnes commented on the party's attitude toward this government fishing expedition.

"We're proud of our record of 'aid' to revolutionists and revolutionary movements in other parts of the world," Barnes said. "When the U.S. government threatened to militarily smash the Cuban revolution, we 'aided' the Cubans by helping to initiate the Fair Play for Cuba Committee."

"When peasant leader Hugo Blanco was jailed in Peru, we came to his 'aid' by helping to build an international defense campaign. And when the United States invaded Vietnam and launched the most destructive war in history, we 'aided' the Vietnamese people by helping to organize a power-

ful antiwar movement. This doesn't mean the SWP is 'controlled' by the Cubans, Blanco, or the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

"This is a crude attempt by the U.S. government, whose goal is to 'control' the world, to distort our international solidarity into some kind of 'foreign conspiracy,'" Barnes summed up.

Fraternal relationship

Other government questions go even further in trying to establish a "foreign connection": "Has SWP continued any 'fraternal relationship' or other association or involvement with or support of the FI up to the present time? . . . Do SWP, YSA or its members give financial support to the FI? . . . Have SWP members or representatives voted in FI meetings, councils or congresses since SWP severed formal affiliation with FI?"

Barnes's statement gives the following answers: "The 'fraternal relationship' has involved public statements of political agreement with the fundamental principles and program of the Fourth International and attendance as observers at formal gatherings of the Fourth International whenever possible."

To the question on financial support, the answer given is "No." And, "SWP members, if voting, cast a consultative, nonbinding vote as an expression of opinion in their capacity as observers. The policies of the Fourth International are determined by vote of the representatives of official sections. The SWP representatives have not cast votes in that capacity since 1940."

The object of some of the questions is more obscure. For instance: "Describe in detail the means by which SWP receives educational or informational material from the FI and the means, if any, by which the same is disseminated in the United States."

The answer: "The SWP receives and disseminates educational or informational material from the Fourth International by means of mail."

Right-wing apologists for the government cops have jumped to their defense by joining the "counterattack" against the SWP. One such politician is Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.), who has the distinction of being one of two self-avowed members of the John Birch Society in Congress.

McDonald regularly serves as a conduit for FBI attacks on socialists and other radicals. His target during a congressional session in February of this year was the Socialist Workers party and its devious practice of posing as "mere socialists."

'Vocal critic'

"Perhaps the most vocal critic of the FBI internal security and counterintelligence programs in recent years has been the Socialist Workers Party," McDonald told Congress.

Echoing FBI slanders of the SWP, McDonald continued, "It is clear that under the guise of being 'mere Socialists' the SWP is trying to create for itself among people either ignorant or uncaring that

the SWP is a totalitarian Communist Party which takes a leading role in the operations of an international revolutionary organization, the Fourth International, which is actively supporting urban and rural guerrillas in several South American countries, in the Middle East, and in several Western European countries including Ireland, England, and Spain."

Taking up where the FBI left off in court—there are no annoying rules in Congress requiring evidence to back up accusations—McDonald charged: "In order to avoid violation of the Voorhis Act (1940) which required registration of 'every organization subject to foreign control which engages in political activity,' the SWP resigned its formal status as 'the American section of the Fourth International' for 'sympathizing' status."

"However, this technical withdrawal from the Fourth International has not prevented the SWP from exercising a major influence in the workings of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International—USec, from providing the major financial support for its activities, from publishing and distributing propaganda materials for the organization, nor from exercising full voting powers



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Government charges SWP's acts of international solidarity mean party is under 'foreign control.'

at the international congresses of the United Secretariat."

After reading into the *Congressional Record* extensive quotes from Cannon, McDonald concluded, "The SWP/YSA anti-police surveillance campaign is designed to force law enforcement agencies to open their files for inspection by the SWP. Thus the Trotskyist Communists can discover the extent of surveillance of its activities and identify the undercover agents within the group—an action which could lead to violent reprisals against them."

'Violent reprisals'

This charge of "violent reprisals" has been a theme of cops at all levels. In reality, the only ones subject to violent reprisals are those identified as socialists or as sympathetic to revolutionary ideas. For this reason, the SWP has refused to provide the government with extensive lists of individuals holding offices or committee positions within the SWP, contending that to do so would expose them to the "risk of harassment or injury."

The government interrogatories also request lists identifying all those "members or representatives of the FI or other foreign Trotskyist groups" who have met with SWP members in the United States.

"We object to providing any names of foreign individuals on the ground that to do so would expose them to a serious risk of injury including torture and death," Barnes's statement explains.

The SWP's suit against government harassment and intimidation is intended to put a brake on the erosion of rights in this country. Cannon explained the necessity for such a fight in his 1941 testimony:

"The people of this country are going to begin thinking seriously then about finding some kind of a political solution for this crisis that the present leaders got them into and can't get them out of. . . .

"What do we want then? We want the simple right to advocate our ideas. We want the right to have free speech and free press and free assemblage. . . . We want the opportunity to continue explaining to the people of America what our plan is to solve this problem."

Help defend political rights

The Political Rights Defense Fund, the nonpartisan group financing and publicizing the socialists' suit against government harassment, has won support from many civil libertarians.

Some who have endorsed the PRDF recently are themselves victims of government harassment, including John Marks, Morton Halperin, and Edward Ericson.

Marks's book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (coauthored with Victor Marchetti), was censored by the government prior to its publication. Halperin, a former government official, was the target in 1968 of a wiretap ordered by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. And Ericson was chairperson of the Washington, D.C., Ethical Society in 1968 when that group was targeted by the CIA's "Operation CHAOS."

Former senator Eugene McCarthy, also a PRDF sponsor, recently hailed the suit as "a most important challenge to unconstitutional

government intervention in the political process."

"The PRDF suit has done a great deal to protect the rights of all Americans," McCarthy said.

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Secret meeting exposed

Boston mayor caught in pact with racists

By Gary Cohen

BOSTON—A secret alliance has recently been uncovered between Mayor Kevin White and the leadership of the major racist antibusing organization here, ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights).

White, who is up for reelection this year, has a liberal image. In 1972 he came close to being chosen as the running mate for George McGovern, and he still has aspirations for national office.

The June 4 issue of the *Real Paper*, a Cambridge-based weekly, reports that a secret meeting was held between White and ROAR leaders last November.

The meeting came shortly after the defeat of a city-wide referendum, originally sponsored by White, to take control of Boston's schools out of the hands of the Boston School Committee and place it in the hands of the mayor's office.

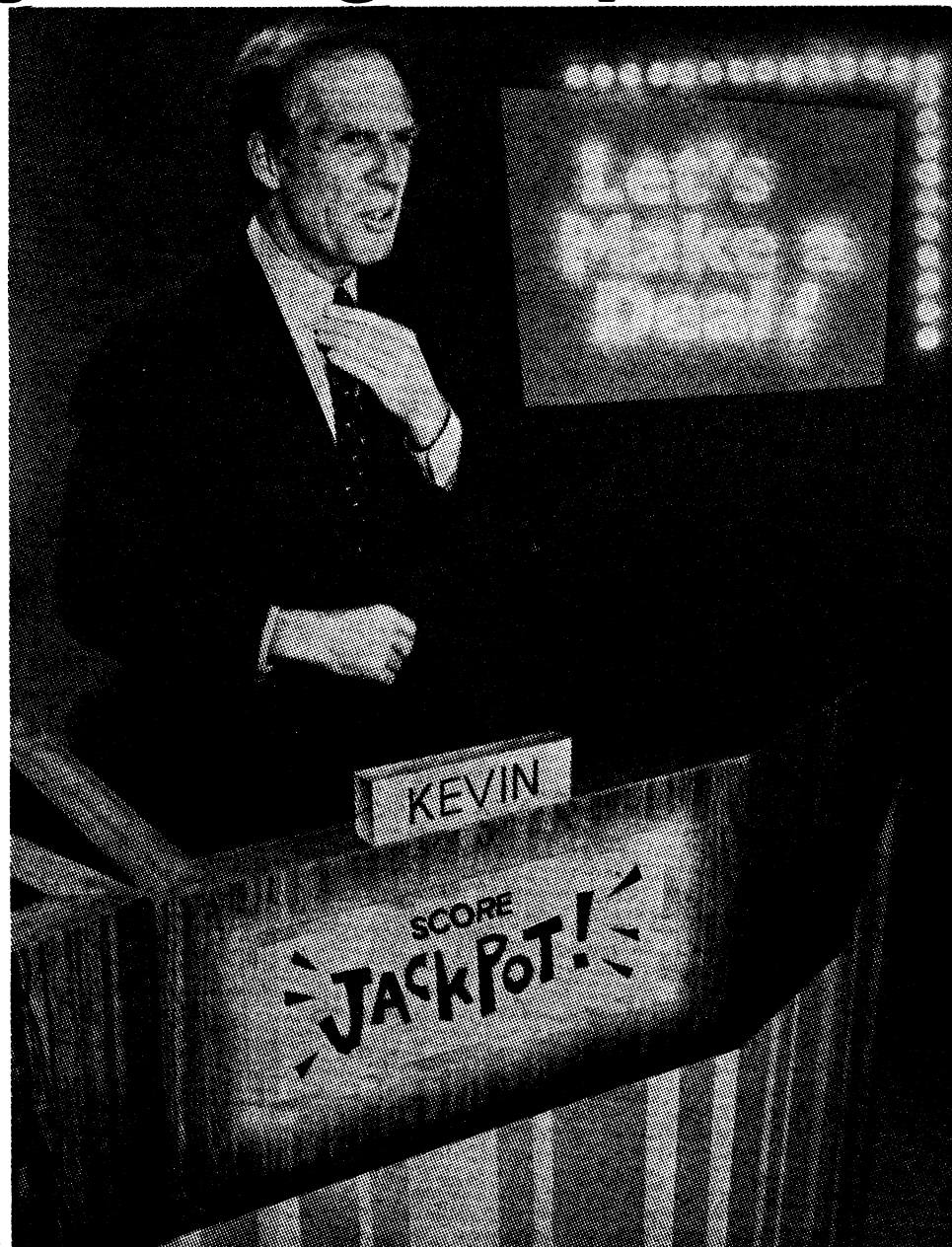
ROAR had spurred a well-organized campaign to defeat the referendum and to whip up support for the racist school committee, which has helped lead the resistance to school desegregation in Boston. The referendum was overwhelmingly defeated.

Thinking ahead to his election campaign, White obviously decided to strike a bargain with ROAR. Six days after the defeat of the referendum, the husband of leading ROAR member Janet Palmariello received a patronage job in a city department. This was only the first of many such jobs White was to throw ROAR's way.

The husband of East Boston antibusing leader Pixie Palladino also got a job from White. She's the woman who cheered when she saw a telecast of the near-lynching of a Black man in South Boston last fall.

On November 20, White held a secret meeting with the executive board of ROAR in his city hall offices. At the meeting White handed out a two-page typed list of twelve ways in which he has helped ROAR and the Boston Home and School Association (which has interlocking leadership with ROAR).

On the list was a promise to have the city foot the bill for the Home and



Real Paper/Marty Braun, Peter Southwick

School Association's appeal of Federal District Judge Arthur Garrity's school desegregation order.

White followed through on his promise, and the taxpayers of Boston were forced to shell out lawyers' fees for Thayer Fremont-Smith. Smith was the attorney for Massachusetts Citizens for Life, the anti-abortion group that boasted that it was responsible for initiating the investigation that led to the indictment of Dr. Kenneth Edelin

for performing an abortion.

Other favors included on White's list were:

- "Publicly criticized Garrity—made a codefendant in [desegregation] case by declaring State Board plan was unworkable";
- "Year after year. . . when Louise Day Hicks and I were the only elected officials to appear, I advocated changing the Racial Imbalance Law"; and
- "Have asked my staff to assist you

as much as possible in staging your rallies."

The secret meeting was disclosed by two former members of ROAR who quit the organization over what they term the "sell-out" to White.

In exchange for White's favors, leaders of ROAR have discouraged demonstrations against the mayor. ROAR has had a policy of demonstrating against any political figure who does not come out strongly against school desegregation. But obviously some of the more perspicacious leaders of the racist organization recognize that it would be handy to maintain a mayor with a liberal image who would work behind the scenes for them, not to mention the lucrative patronage benefits they receive for their support.

This is causing difficulty for the central ROAR leaders, however. Part of their demagogic appeal has been that ROAR is a group of "little people" going up against the big politicians. In addition, a number of outspoken racists are running for mayor against White.

Some members of ROAR have gone around their leadership and staged disruptions of White's public appearances, and continuing splits have occurred in the organization.

When the *Real Paper* published its disclosure, both White and the central leadership of ROAR denied that the secret meeting had taken place. Both sides were finally forced to admit that the meeting did indeed happen.

Norman Oliver, who is running against White on the Socialist Workers party ticket, had this to say about the disclosures:

"When Kevin White was first elected, he won as a 'lesser evil' choice to Louise Day Hicks, a leader of ROAR. Now it's clear that both Hicks and White are staunch opponents of school desegregation and have worked together to block the civil rights of the Black community, in direct defiance of the law of the land.

"The lesson for prodesegregation forces is that they should place no faith in liberal politicians. Desegregation in Boston will only be guaranteed by the continued struggle of the Black community and others who support democratic rights."

Colorado Indians fight racism in schools

By Jack Marsh

DENVER—Racist conditions in the public schools have led to a move by the Native American community here to set up alternative schooling for Indian students.

There are 5,000 Native Americans in Denver, 509 students identified as Indians who were enrolled in the school system, and only two Indian teachers.

In September 1974, the Indian Parent Committee was formed after the passage of the federal Indian Education Act, which called for the formation of such committees to take charge of funds and materials provided by the federal government for the use of Indian students.

The cochairpersons of the IPC are Nadine Rendon, a Sioux, and Vera Mitchell, an Apache. These two women have been in the center of a continuing battle with the school board for the rights of Indian students. In a recent interview they described some of the racist attacks against Indian students that have led to the moves to set up alternative schooling.

Last fall, court-ordered busing for the purpose of desegregating the schools went into effect here. As in Boston, racists have banded together to try to deny the right of Black students to an equal education.

Indian students were exempted from being bused at the request of the Indian community. It is the feeling of the community that the special needs of Indian students could better be met if they remained grouped in schools in their own neighborhoods.

As a maneuver to get around busing, the parents of fifty-seven white students at Johnson Elementary School had their children declare themselves "Indian."

Omar Blair, the only Black member of the Denver School Board, brought this trick to the court's attention. The court ordered the parents to sign sworn affidavits stating that their children were Indian, and to prove that they were of at least one-half Indian blood through reservation rolls and Bureau of Indian Affairs records.

The school administration then used this directive to force those who have

been classified as Indians for many years to show "proof" of their birth and sign affidavits to the effect that they are indeed Indians.

The school board has continuously refused to recognize identification of Indian children conducted by Indians themselves. In some cases, members of the same family have been classified differently—one as Indian and another as Chicano or white. The Indian students classified as Chicano or white have then been ordered bused to another school.

Under the Indian Education Act, the IPC hired four Native American women to identify the Indian students and to help select materials to be used for educating Indian students. The school board ordered these women fired as of two weeks before the end of school.

Part of the court-ordered desegregation plan called for an affirmative-action hiring program, in the schools, for oppressed minorities and women. Qualified Native American teachers who recently applied were told, "There are no openings." There has not been an Indian hired as a teacher here since

1964.

It was these conditions that led the IPC to call for an Indian boycott of the public schools in April. They set up a tutoring program for students participating in the boycott. Certified Indian and white teachers volunteered their time to teach the approximately 100 students who attended the program.

The racist antibusing organization here, Citizens Association for Neighborhood Schools (CANS) has tried to take advantage of the Indians' school boycott in their campaign against busing. But the IPC has adamantly rejected their attempt to use the fight against Indian discrimination to undercut the struggle for equal education for Blacks.

Alternative Indian education has already been established in Rapid City, South Dakota; Minneapolis-St. Paul; Boston; and Oklahoma by similar Indian parent committees.

The IPC plans to use the summer break to study the experience in these other cities with the aim of establishing ongoing alternative education when school opens in the fall.

Juror: 'Of course he was innocent'

Camejo cleared of trumped-up Houston charge

By Tom Vernier

HOUSTON—The June 10 acquittal of Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo of charges of "interfering with an officer" proved once again that American juries these days are not always willing to buy the government's trumped-up charges against dissenters. The jury was made up of six women, three of them Black and two college students.

The charges stemmed from an incident that occurred in March while Camejo was on a campaign tour through Texas. Late in the afternoon of March 11, two Houston cops stopped the car in which Camejo was riding with three Chicano campaign supporters. When Camejo got out of the car to find out what was happening, one of the cops told him to get his "ass back into the car."

Camejo again asked why they had been stopped, and a cop grabbed him, twisted his arm behind his back, and said, "So you're the Commie who's running for president." Camejo was then thrown into the police car and later arrested.

This happened after Camejo's campaign committee had repeatedly requested that local and federal agencies cooperate in providing protection for Camejo during his stay in Houston. These requests were made because of recurrent threats by the Ku Klux Klan, including an armed show of force near the SWP campaign headquarters only three weeks before Camejo's visit.

In preparation for the trial, Camejo's attorney, Kenyon Houchins, arranged to have several officials subpoenaed, including Police Chief Carrol Lynn, Mayor Fred Hofheinz, and the head of the Houston FBI. These individuals have been implicated in the widely publicized illegal wiretapping operations carried out by police agencies in Houston.

"Because of the suspicious circumstances of Camejo's arrest," says Houston SWP campaign manager Ed Jurenas, "we felt that the cops had been following him, waiting for a chance to harass him in some way. We wanted to find out if this was true."

The case was tried in Houston Municipal Court. During the jury selection, every one of the fourteen potential jurors stated that they were familiar with the Socialist Workers party. Only one indicated a prejudice against Camejo because he was a socialist.

The trial lasted all day and was covered extensively by the media. According to the cops who arrested Camejo, the socialist candidate had insisted on arguing with them and preventing them from carrying out a "narcotics investigation." They insisted that they did not know who Camejo was until after the arrest.

Two "independent" prosecution witnesses went even further, claiming that Camejo had screamed at the policemen and made "threatening gestures" at them.

The defense witnesses included Camejo and two of those in the car with him during the incident—Sylvia Zapata and Armand Silvestri. Stu Singer, organizer of the Houston SWP, also testified. He explained to the jury that just one day before the arrest he had been part of a delegation that met with Police Chief Lynn to demand action against the Klan and protection for Camejo.

Judge Felix Stanley repeatedly ruled against Houchins's exploration of the possibility that the arrest had been previously arranged to disrupt Camejo's campaigning. At one point Stanley grimaced and said, "I don't like to get into these things."

Two weeks before the trial, the FBI had boldly proclaimed to the press that

they would be at the trial "with bells on." Not only were there no FBI "bells" to be heard in the courtroom, but none of the officials subpoenaed at the defense's request showed up.

Judge Stanley had ordered that they only had to be "on call." When the defense tried to have them called to testify, Stanley responded that the relevance of their testimony would have to be proven.

In his summary, city attorney Ronnie Beylote invented his own brand of logic by arguing that his witnesses were more credible because their stories conflicted, while the defense testi-

mony was too consistent. He then asserted that the real issue was whether the public would support the police or tie their hands. One of the jurors snickered.

The jury took seven minutes to reach a decision of "not guilty." One of the jurors, a young black woman, told the *Militant* later, "Of course he was innocent. There was no question about it. We even thought of several arguments in his favor that the defense didn't raise in court."

Each of the jurors was given a copy of the SWP's platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."



Militant/Tom Vernier

Jurors chat with Houston SWP organizer Stu Singer (left) after taking only seven minutes to acquit socialist presidential candidate Peter Camejo.

Summer will be no vacation for SWP nominees

By Nancy Cole

Summer may be time off for some politicians, but not for Socialist Workers party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

Tours for Camejo and Reid began June 18. The first issue of the "Socialist Campaign Organizer," a newsletter sent out to campaign supporters, summed up some of the high points of the spring campaign tours and offered suggestions for upcoming summer tours.

The suggestions cover activities specifically suited to the summer weather, such as outdoor campaigning on busy street corners or "moving street meetings."

Another idea, explained in the newsletter by John Isenhower from Chicago, is outdoor plant-gate meetings. Zeroing in on one particular meeting at a U.S. Steel plant during the Chicago mayoral campaign of Willie Mae Reid this spring, Isenhower describes the steps taken to prepare for such an activity.

After mimeographing a brief statement highlighting the problems facing steelworkers and pointing to the SWP's solutions, a team of four passed out the statement and the SWP's "Bill of Rights for Working People" to the workers as they were going into the plant the morning of the meeting. "We wanted the workers to have a chance to read and discuss our program during breaks and the lunch period," Isenhower reports.

Then at the afternoon shift change, ten campaign supporters passed out literature and sold the *Militant* as Reid and a couple of others gave "short and to the point" speeches.

With this and other suggestions in

mind, campaign supporters in the cities where Camejo and Reid will tour have charted itineraries that promise to offer some exciting opportunities for the socialist alternative this summer.

The first stop for both candidates is Chicago, where Reid is no stranger after her spirited campaign against Richard Daley this year. A rally on June 21 will launch the 1976 slate in Chicago.

From there Reid will go to Detroit. Supporters in that city have been focusing their energies on collecting 25,000 signatures to put her and Camejo on the 1976 ballot.

On the first of July Reid will travel

to Los Angeles, where some 14,000 delegates and visitors will be gathering for the National Education Association convention. Reid and her supporters intend to talk with many of these teachers about the crisis in education and the fight against school segregation.

In Raleigh, North Carolina, Reid will join many others in support of Joan Little, whose trial is scheduled to open July 14.

Washington, D.C., is Reid's last stop, where she will be the featured speaker at a rally announcing a new SWP candidate in that city's school board election.

After Chicago, Camejo's schedule takes him to Minneapolis, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh. Ed Heisler, national campaign chairperson, will join Camejo for the Cleveland and Pittsburgh stops.

In every city campaign organizers plan to set time aside for some informal get-togethers with the candidates and their new supporters. They are also appealing for volunteers to join Camejo and Reid in street campaigning, distributing the Bill of Rights for Working People, and passing out leaflets to publicize the campaign events.

How to join in socialist campaign tours

Here's how you can get involved in the summer campaign tours:

- () I want to come to a local campaign meeting to help plan tour activities.
() I can do volunteer office work.
() I can help distribute campaign literature.
() I speak Spanish and can help campaign in Spanish-speaking communities.
() I want to set up a meeting for Camejo or Reid at my () home, () union, () community group.
() Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____.

Clip and mail to the campaign headquarters nearest you (see Socialist Directory, page 26) or mail to:

Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

Occupation _____ Union _____

Business address _____

School/Organization _____

Summer tour schedules

Peter Camejo

June 18-21	Chicago
June 22	Milwaukee
June 23-24	Chicago
June 25	Gary, Ind.
June 26-July 2	Chicago
July 8-15	Minneapolis
July 17-24	Cleveland
July 26-30	Pittsburgh

Willie Mae Reid

June 19-24	Chicago
June 26-28	Detroit
July 1-11	Los Angeles
July 14-16	Raleigh, N.C.
July 18-19	Washington, D.C.

Officers of the committee—Chairpersons: Fred Halstead, Ed Heisler, Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley—Treasurer: Andrea Morell.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

Viva la causa!

The recent strike by melon pickers in Texas and the upswing in activity around the boycott of scab lettuce, grapes, and wines underline once again the inhuman exploitation farm workers are subjected to and the heavy odds they face in their uphill battle for social justice.

Despite a decade-long struggle, the United Farm Workers holds only a few contracts in California and Florida, and has yet to win even one in Texas, scene of the latest strike.

The agribusinesses the UFW confronts are among the most powerful and greedy U.S. corporations. These mighty monopolies have at their service the cops, the courts, and the bureaucrats of the Teamsters union.

In order to defeat this vast conspiracy, *la causa* must become the cause of millions—Chicanos, students, trade unionists, and working people as a whole.

The enactment of the California farm labor bill sets the stage for renewed efforts to win UFW contracts covering farm workers in that state. The UFW is continuing its boycott of non-UFW lettuce, grapes, and wine. This boycott, which has already hurt the growers, can help force them to sign contracts with the union that represents the farm workers.

All those who support the UFW's struggle for decent working conditions and social justice should respond to the UFW's appeals for stepped-up activity in support of the boycott.

CIA assassinations

One of the CIA operations noted in passing in the Rockefeller report is an investigation in the mid-1960s of "individuals and groups who were charging the CIA with involvement in the assassination of Malcolm X."

This startling revelation raises an obvious question: What was the CIA trying to hide?

The circumstances surrounding the slayings of Malcolm, Martin Luther King, Fred Hampton, and other Black leaders raised suspicions of government conspiracy. With the disclosure of the FBI's Cointelpro conspiracy against the Black movement—aimed at "neutralizing" Black leaders and preventing the rise of a Black "messiah"—the suspicions grew.

The government is now forced to admit that the CIA carried out its own spy operations against the Black movement. Is there any reason to doubt that the CIA, which was plotting the assassinations of foreign leaders, turned these techniques against those in this country that the rulers viewed as a threat to "internal security"?

The government's investigators have displayed no interest in pursuing these questions. An independent commission of inquiry, responsible to the Black community, is needed to conduct a full investigation of the CIA and FBI conspiracies against the Black movement, and to bring to light the truth about the murders of Black leaders.

Small-scale A-war?

"U.S. Air Force bomber crews have been ordered to start training for fighting a limited nuclear war," reports a June 14 *Washington Post* dispatch. The armed forces will be prepared "for a small nuclear war, where destruction might be controlled, as well as a war for massive incineration."

How comforting to know that the Pentagon will be able to incinerate on a small scale, as well as on a massive one! Unfortunately, the dispatch failed to explain how "small" the scale would actually be. Presumably it would exceed the penny-ante scale attained in Vietnam and Korea. The imperialists didn't even get to test "controlled" nuclear destruction there. They had to be satisfied with what one president called "surgical" conventional bombing.

Certainly the scale would be grander than that attained in the first fumbling attempts at nuclear warfare against Hiroshima and Nagasaki. After all, what type of war would it be if the Pentagon could only drop two bombs?

Not mentioned in the news dispatch is the problem of the reaction of those on the receiving end. Wouldn't they be justified in retaliating? How "limited" would the nuclear attack have to be in order to prevent that?

The madmen in Washington must be disarmed before they blow us all up with one of their "small" nuclear wars.

In good time

I must compliment the circulation staff for prompt service after receiving my subscription order. My order was mailed on Monday, May 26, and I received my first copy of the *Militant* on Saturday, May 31.

Keep up the fine work!
Ronald Harner
Hyattsville, Maryland

Myth vs. reality

I am an independent socialist who thinks that a revolutionary vanguard party is necessary to lead the workers to power. But I am *not* a Socialist Workers party sympathizer.

If some of the current misleadership of the SWP claim to represent the socialist future, then I'll gladly stick to the social democrats—until we can manage to discover more human beings like Peter Camejo and Linda Jenness, who can inspire others by their outstanding example and courage.

However, credit where credit is due. I was much impressed by your recent article in the *Militant*, May 23, on the civil rights struggle: myth versus reality. In the *Minnesota Daily* (University of Minnesota) two concurrent articles appeared on May 16 and 19 about the late J.F. Kennedy, which tried to give the impression—among other things—that *he* was solely responsible for the civil rights legislation of the mid-sixties.

Your timely article gives the lie to that myth!
D.A.S.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Likes most everything

I am enjoying immensely the weekly issues of the *Militant*—its truthful accounts of working-class struggles in America and around the world, its first-class journalism, and its revolutionary socialist editorials that express so clearly the interests of the working masses.

I am particularly appreciative of the feature articles in the monthly *International Socialist Review* supplements; and I am enthusiastically following the presidential and vice-presidential campaigns of Camejo and Reid.
Elizabeth Hnatyshyn
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Behavior modification

With regard to the article in the June 6 *Militant* on the death of two prisoners in Missouri, the term "behavior modification" simultaneously describes an instrument of oppression within the prison systems of a number of states and a discipline of human psychology.

"Behavior modification," as a means of subjugating the outspoken inmates of prisons throughout the country, should be distinguished from "behavior modification" and "behavior therapy" as practiced in hospitals, classrooms, and homes, *by choice*. "Behavior modification" in the latter sense has been effective in the treatment of phobia, obesity, anorexia, autism, anxiety, and other behavioral disorders with histories of resistance to other forms of therapy.

Dr. Joseph Wolpe, "the father of behavior therapy," addressed the annual Conference of Behavior Therapy and Behavior Modification on November 16, 1974. In his address Dr. Wolpe took time to denounce so-called behavior modification as practiced in prison settings.

He called the procedures employed "very cruel and undesirable," while describing those who administer these programs as "people who have only a passing acquaintance with behavior therapy, but the idea has got about that they are representative of behavior therapists as a class. As a matter of fact, when their 'work' was surveyed by expert behavior therapists, it was pronounced upon as being absolutely unsatisfactory and that it should never have been done."

Brian Scanlan
Valhalla, New York

Two problems

There are two fundamental factors militating against the present efforts being made to solve the Middle East problem.

The first is that these efforts ignore the Arab masses, Palestinian and non-Palestinian, and concentrate on the interests and compromises of their self-appointed leaders. Any serious student of Arab affairs is aware of the frightful precariousness of such an approach. He knows full well that the Palestinian masses of today and tomorrow cannot accept peace with a sense of emasculation, material and psychological.

More important in the long run, they do have such support from the masses of the neighboring Arab states as would render futile on the part of any politician, native or foreign, the efforts of divisiveness and isolation.

The second fundamental factor is that, according to all indications, the main causes of the problem are still being encouraged. The insistence on further immigration of Jews to Palestine, and on an exclusively Jewish state in it—now to be at least implicitly recognized by the Arab governments—leaves in reality everything unsolved.

Rather it necessitates disastrous eruptions at the opportune moments, of which in this case there will have to be many.

A sound approach to the Middle East problem has to deal directly with its basic roots: with the Arab masses.

Hannah Selwyn
Kokomo, Indiana

Slow madness

Enclosed is a dollar for eight weeks. I haven't seen the *Militant* in three weeks and I'm going crazy. Please hurry!

R.H.
Schenectady, New York

Political sophistication

I was glad to see Peter Camejo's comments in the May 30 issue on "why socialism will be democratic in the United States." In my frequent discussions with workers and students who are looking for an alternative to capitalism, I find that this question, coupled with the mistaken belief that human nature is a constant and unchangeable thing, is the central drawback which prevents many of them from supporting a socialist revolution.

Camejo's comments are incomplete, though. I suggest that more attention be given to this question, focusing not only on the economic backwardness of the Soviet Union in the early 1920s in contrast to the high productivity and ability to provide of the U.S. today, but also on the much greater sophistication of workers in the advanced capitalist countries.

Many students think of American workers as politically stupid and unlettered. But despite the

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



conservativizing effects of the cold war and the benefits of living in an imperialist country, American workers are politically sophisticated.

They are literate and regularly read or listen to news reports. They know which are the main crisis spots in the world and what is happening there. And they have opinions on the main political questions of the day and are often willing to take action to determine the outcome of events.

In the aftermath of a socialist insurrection in the United States, this political sophistication will militate against any tendency for a caste of privileged bureaucrats to arise, as happened in the Soviet Union.

C.K. Starr

Lawrence, Kansas

Militant gets around

The article "Rise of the women's movement in France: interview with a participant" by Caroline Lund in the World Outlook section of the *Militant* dated November 15, 1974, has been reprinted (slightly abridged) in the June 1975 issue of *efa* (Emanzipation, Frauen, Argumente—Emancipation, Women, Arguments), a women's liberation review published in Cologne. It was translated by a member of the Saarbrücken women's liberation group.

Efa is published quarterly, reflecting the views of a "socialist-feminist" current in the women's liberation movement.

W.L. Willms

Saarbrücken, West Germany

About that camera

Was a camera ever donated to the Washington, D.C., bureau of the *Militant*?

A.R.

Seattle, Washington

[In reply—One camera in good working order was donated in response to an appeal to readers. Our staff could put to use one or two more cameras, however. If any readers can help out, please get in touch with us.]

Stalin on Opposition

Militant readers may be interested to know that Peking has recently published a book entitled *On the Opposition* by J.V. Stalin. It consists of speeches and articles directed against Trotsky and the Left Opposition from 1921 to 1927—during the years Trotsky was still in the party and still in the Soviet Union.

While it is naturally written in the characteristic, turgid prose that makes Stalin so little read, even by Stalinists, the context and the content make it more interesting than the later lifeless writings churned out in Stalin's name.

Some of your readers may want to pick it up, as I have, to use as a companion volume to *The Stalin School of Falsification* and a reference to accompany the forthcoming Pathfinder Press series of Trotsky's writings on the Left Opposition.

Lee Smith

New York, New York

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

Not in the name of feminism!

Mary Bacon is probably the best-known female jockey in the country, and one of very few women who have "made it" in that part of the sports world. As such, she has been prominently heralded in magazines (including *WomenSports*), newspapers, and even television commercials as someone helping to break down barriers to women in sports.

Recently Bacon made public her membership in the Ku Klux Klan. Appearing at a KKK rally of about 2,700 in Walker, Louisiana, Bacon told the crowd: "We are not just a bunch of illiterate southern nigger killers. We are good white Christian people, hard-working people working for a white America. When one of your wives or one of your sisters gets raped by a nigger, maybe you'll get smart and join the Klan."

Bacon's membership in the Klan, along with interviews with a dozen or so other female Klan members, was the basis of a recent *New York Times* article written by Judy Klemesrud. Klemesrud has often covered developments in the women's liberation movement for the *Times* and is considered by some to be one of their feminist reporters. Her recent article is titled, "Women in Ku Klux Klan Move Into the Male Power Structure."

"More women are gaining high positions in the various 'dens,' or units, of the Klan," writes Klemesrud. She then proceeds to list women who are "giants," area coordinators, "exalted cyclops," "Kludd," and even "grand genies" of different chapters of the Klan.

Klemesrud quotes David Duke, the grand dragon of the Knights of the KKK of Louisiana, as saying, "Women are the same as men in our organization. . . . In fact, some of our best members are women." Duke claims that 40 percent of his organization is female.

Klemesrud reports all of this as though there is something progressive about it. Worse yet, she reports it as though it has something to do with women's liberation.

Well, let's set the record straight.

The Ku Klux Klan is the antithesis of every value and aspiration expressed by feminism. Women who belong to the Klan are no better than the hateful filth

who are their male counterparts. And, even if women were 90 percent of the membership of the Klan and held all of the high positions, the KKK would still be an enemy to be fought and destroyed.

The women's liberation movement is based on a set of ideas, demands, and goals. These ideas include the belief that the oppression and exploitation of one group of people by another is intolerable. The demands include changing the structure and institutions of society that perpetuate sexual and racial oppression. The goals include building a society free of violence, hatred, and divisions.

These aims are incompatible—in every way, shape, and form—with the Ku Klux Klan or any other racist organization.

It's also worth noting that the women interviewed in the *Times* article, with one exception, were conscious antifeminists. They boasted of having helped defeat the Equal Rights Amendment in Louisiana. They included the women's liberation movement on their "hate" lists. One said, "I don't want to be equal with a man. I want to be a lady and have doors opened for me."

Klemesrud's article does a grave disservice to the feminist movement—not because of the information it provides, but because of her ignorant attempt to link these reactionaries in any way to the struggle for women's liberation. This kind of article plays right into the hands of those trying to drive a wedge between the women's movement and the Black liberation struggle.

What the women's movement must do is prove *in action* that we stand together with the Black community in the fight for equality and liberation. The best way to do that right now is by joining the Black community in Boston in their fight to desegregate the schools; by turning out in numbers on July 14 all over the country in defense of Joan Little; by continuing our efforts to reverse the conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin; and by uniting to defend the gains made by women and Blacks through affirmative-action programs in face of the massive layoffs.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Barkan up the wrong tree

As the economic crisis deepens and unemployment mounts there is growing skepticism among union members about the wisdom of trying to buy into the Democratic and Republican parties, with the Democrats long being the favorite investment. A lot of union money and effort have gone into the two-party swindle, with hardly enough return to keep the game going.

The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) spent \$1.7 million in the 1974 elections to put a "veto-proof" Congress in Washington. COPE chairperson Alexander Barkan says the name of the game is to win, and last year was the best.

Of the 388 COPE-endorsed candidates for the House, 270 won. In the Senate 25 won, only 8 lost. The final count, according to Barkan, was 279 "friends" in the 435-member House, and 61 of the 100 senators. That looked pretty good last fall, not so good today.

One of the reasons it looks worse now is because a lot of unemployed union members were expecting a public works program that would create jobs. All they got was a half-hearted promise, which was lost in the old Washington shuffle.

The Democrats promised a jobs bill, which they said would be passed for sure if Ford dared to veto it. As it finally turned out, the so-called jobs bill had a lot of other provisions but few jobs.

It was a \$5.3 billion package that promised at most 900,000 jobs to meet the needs of more than ten million unemployed workers. Everyone but the unemployed was taken care of. The Small Business Administration was allocated \$385 million, Postal Service \$100 million, Veterans Administration \$70 million, and Army Corps of Engineers \$325 million.

When it came down to money for a public works program, which was what the bill was supposed to be

for, only \$2.5 billion was left, and that is not enough to start the badly needed rebuilding projects that will put the unemployed back to work.

Feeble as this bill was, union lobbyists got behind it as if it were their own. The truth is that it had hardly any resemblance to the \$10 billion public works appropriation the AFL-CIO has been demanding of Congress. But it looked like this was a sure-fire thing that would sail through Congress even if it would be of little help to the unemployed. And it did pass Congress, with big majorities in both houses.

As expected, Ford vetoed what was advertised as the jobs bill. And then the highly advertised "veto-proof" Congress turned around and upheld the veto.

Why did the Congress fail to pass this bill over the presidential veto? It had bipartisan support. All the "friends of labor" in both parties were solidly behind it, they said. The Democrats have 289 seats in the House to 145 for the Republicans, only 1 short of the two-thirds necessary to override a veto.

When the vote was called on the sham jobs bill nineteen Republicans opposed Ford, but twenty-two Democrats upheld him.

The same thing happened again on Ford's veto of the strip-mining bill, which was also supported by the AFL-CIO and the United Mine Workers.

This is all in the nature of the two-party system, in which the elected representatives of both parties are committed to the dominant business interests of their districts, make deals on national issues to promote their own political careers, and under the rules of the game are obligated only to put on a good show.

That show is not worth the price of admission so far as the union movement is concerned. And besides, a lot of angry workers feel cheated, and some may soon want to look behind the scenes.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



That's nice—We were somewhat relieved when Attorney General Levi expressed the view that the president does not have the legal authority to order assassinations.

Eat now, pray later—Thirty men picketed the Volunteers of America mission in Sacramento protesting a new policy where they have to attend an "earbanging" sermon before getting fed. "Single men need food first, prayer next," one picket sign declared.

At the station house?—Trevor Schmidt of Cincinnati was sentenced to thirty days in the workhouse or one day on a pig farm for calling a police officer a pig. Obviously unprejudiced, Trevor took the day on the pig farm.

Nuke Thomson—Gov. Meldrim Thomson of New Hampshire says the National Guard should be given nuclear weapons.

Shopping tip—Unveiling his new \$75-an-ounce fragrance in Hollywood, Dr. Aldo Gucci declared: "In this recessionary moment, I say buy less but buy better."

Thought for the week—"We may not have ended cigarette smoking completely by the end of the century, but we ought to have reached a position where a relatively few addicts still use cigarettes, but only in private or in the company of consenting adults."—Sir George Godber at the third World Conference on Smoking and Health.



'200 years? It seems longer . . .'

¡La Raza en Acción!

'Chicanismo en el arte'

LOS ANGELES—It will come as a shock to some people to walk into the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and find Chicano faces staring back at them from the works of art on the wall.

It is not often that Chicanos are the subjects of the works at this museum, the principal bastion of the art establishment west of the Mississippi. Physically, as well as in spirit, the museum is located much closer to the affluent white suburb of Beverly Hills than to the barrios of East Los Angeles.

Nonetheless, the museum has seen fit to host "Chicanismo en el arte," a jury-selected exhibit of Chicano student artists from Southern California.

The Anglo art world has been forced to take notice of these young artists, who are absorbing styles, techniques, and themes of contemporary art, without losing an ounce of their *chicanismo*.

Manuel Samaniego's *I.V.L.S.* is an oil and acrylic-on-canvas study of the faces of eight barrio youth. Who else but a Chicano would immortalize those *vatos* on canvas?

In *La Mara*, Theodore Sandoval takes an ordinary snapshot of a Chicana and, in a series of repeated images superimposed over the other photographs of graffiti-covered walls and a typical "East Los" grocery store, creates a shimmering vision of the barrio.

The Chicano movement has inspired many people to express themselves artistically, thus giving birth to an explosion of mural painting, poetry, and teatro performances. It matters little that most of the artists have had little professional training.

The important thing is that they are expressing their *chicanismo*. The *actos* (skits) that denounce the war in Southeast Asia, the murals that depict the oppression of farm workers and the heroes of the Mexican revolution are an explosion of pride in being Chicano.

Beginning with such a spontaneous release of creative energy, something good was bound to follow. The hidden talents of Chicanos, so long suppressed by the efforts of a racist society to erase the cultural heritage of an entire people, began to be seen.

Among the works on display at the art exhibit was that of a group of artists called "Asco" (Nausea). Although they work in different media and styles, there are some common attributes to their work. There is an immersion into the language and popular urban culture of the barrio, often tinged with humor.

The theme of alienation from bourgeois society in a manner reminiscent of the dadaists and surrealists is a strong element of Asco.

Miguel Pendás



One Two and Three by Patssi Valdez is a spray-paint-can drawing of three Chicana faces, Picasso-esque in its simplicity yet portraying strong emotions in the defiant, painted lips, and the *mestizo* eyes and noses.

This is not the first school or group of Chicano artists to develop. Los Four were exhibited at the museum a year ago, and they continue their work in East L.A.

The emergence of a genuine school of art is a significant event. It reflects a high seriousness and an attempt to break new ground. It is often associated with the excitement of a social upheaval.

We have a direct example in the school of muralists that developed in Mexico in the 1910s—the years of the Mexican revolution. Painters like Rivera, Orozco, and Siqueiros studied existing art and then developed a unique, Mexican style, emblazoning the ideals and history of the workers and peasants of their country on walls everywhere.

The development of Chicano artists is important to the Chicano liberation movement. Chicano art is a way for the Chicano people to see the beauty and power in themselves. It will contribute to the developing consciousness of their identity as a unique people with a vital role to play in this society by breaking the chains of national oppression.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Murder in Escambia County

Hardly anybody Black believed the first coroner's report anyway. Now maybe some officials will get down to the brass tacks of finding out who knows more than what they've been willing to say about the whole episode.

The official story never did make sense.

Five Black men who fished in the waters off Pensacola, Florida, all their lives were pulled, dead, out of Escambia Bay last December.

Fact: Some were expert swimmers.

Fact: Their bait, tackle, and lunches were found in their camper on shore.

Fact: They got into an argument with the racist owner of a live-bait store just before they disappeared.

Fact: Their boat had its anchor rope cut.

All this public information, but the official report still ruled death by drowning.

There is more.

Fact: The sister-in-law of one of the men received an anonymous phone call after the men disappeared. She recounted what the caller told her:

"Robert Walker called someone there—it was the Saturday before they found the first body—and said

they were all right, they were still alive and then it sounded as though someone took the phone from him."

Fact: The cousin of one of the men went to Pensacola after their boat was found and did some private "eye-ing." She went into the bait shop and asked if anyone had heard about the accident.

"If that nigger Sterling ever comes back," an employee said, "I'm going to get him." Sterling was one of the slain men.

Fact: The cousin also went to a nightspot and spoke with a waitress who said the fishermen had been abducted and taken to a castle-like building thirty-eight miles from Pensacola. The waitress said she got her information from a cop.

Blacks in Florida have charged foul play, and there is fresh information to support their charge.

Fact: A second autopsy ordered by the families of the slain men in Atlanta found they were beaten with a blunt instrument before death.

Since the discovery of the men's bodies there have been demonstrations involving the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, NAACP, and African

People's Socialist party, to demand an official investigation of the deaths. And there has been reaction from local racists.

On one occasion sheriff's deputies busted up a march demanding justice for the fishermen and arrested some fifty persons.

Klansmen have been holding public rallies in western Florida and the panhandle area, and whites have been riding through Black areas taking potshots.

Activists point out that the inaction over the fishermen's deaths is nothing new, and there is a long history of racist abuse of Blacks in Florida.

Just recently, an Escambia County grand jury cleared a white cop who shot a Black man in the face and killed him when he got out of his car after running a red light.

Florida Blacks, comparing the fishermen's deaths to the 1964 murders of three civil rights workers in Mississippi, have been accused by officials of spreading balderdash. But with all these facts pointing to murder, not even a devil's advocate would challenge them.

Calif. farm labor bill

Struggle still ahead for farm workers

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The California farm labor law signed by Governor Edmund Brown June 5 was hailed by the United Farm Workers as a major victory in its battle to unionize agricultural workers.

At the same time, the union declared it will continue its boycott of scab lettuce, grapes, and Gallo wines until elections are won and union contracts signed. (See editorial on page 10.)

Enactment of the law was a product of the long battle of the UFW to organize farm labor in the state. California is the union's principal base, and it has long pressed for state legislation that would afford California's 250,000 field workers certain rights in unionization efforts.

Agricultural workers are not covered by the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, which provides for union-representation elections. This exclusion was part of a deal between President Roosevelt and the Dixiecrat wing of the Democratic party, which was defending the interests of growers in the South.

For the past several years the UFW had a bill in the California legislature that would have barred sweetheart contracts (agreements favorable to the bosses negotiated behind the backs of the workers). In recent years, the growers have signed such sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters in order to keep the UFW out of the fields.

The UFW-backed bill would have assured farm workers the right to designate the union of their choice through secret-ballot elections, and would have placed no restrictions on the right to use the secondary boycott as a union weapon.

Brown's promise

During his 1974 campaign for governor, Brown pledged his support for the UFW-sponsored bill. Last August, however, he reneged on that commitment and introduced a substitute measure of his own. The UFW initially scored Brown for this, but finally decided to go along with his substitute.

In a series of negotiations, Brown then won the support of both the growers and the Teamsters. This involved writing several "compromises" into the bill.

In pressing for passage of his bill, Brown emphasized that his concern was to bring "peace" to California's lucrative agricultural industry. He apparently convinced the growers and the Teamsters that it was in their best interest to accept his compromise rather than risk further struggles in the field and possible passage of a bill more favorable to the UFW.

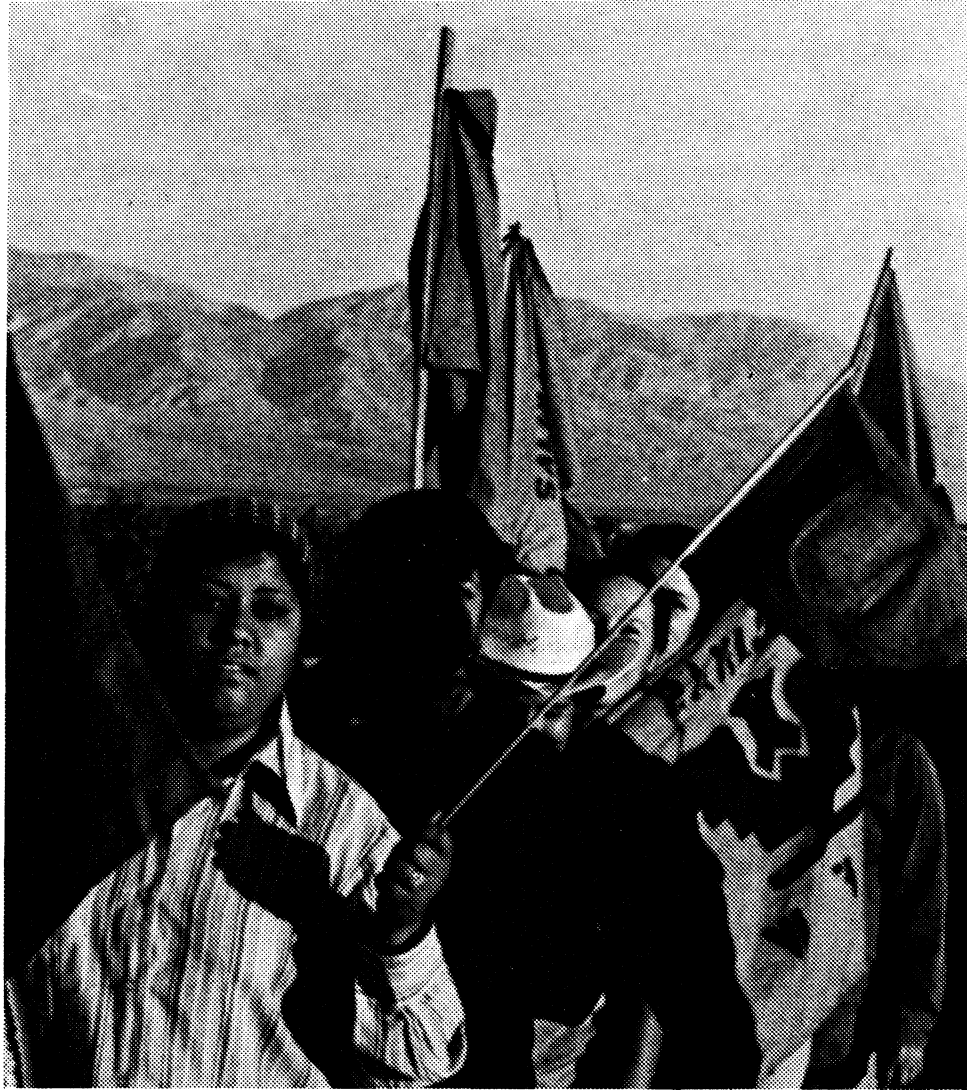
The major provisions of the law are:

- The governor will appoint a five-member Agricultural Labor Relations Board with the appointees subject to approval by the state senate. The members of the board, who will be paid a tidy \$42,500 a year, will supervise elections in agriculture and certify the results.

- A union can obtain an election by presenting a petition signed by more than 50 percent of the work force, and a rival union can get a place on the ballot with 20 percent of the work force. Petitions must be filed when at least 50 percent of the work force is on the job.

If the board holds that a valid petition has been submitted, elections must be held within seven days. If the petition is filed while a majority of the workers are on strike, the "board shall, with all due diligence, attempt to hold a secret ballot election within 48 hours. . . ."

If there are three or more choices on



Militant/Harry Ring

California farm labor bill sets stage for continued struggle to organize farm workers into UFW. Outcome will be decided in the fields and through national boycott drive.

the ballot (for example, UFW, Teamsters, and "nonunion") and none receives a majority vote, there will be a runoff election.

- Growers cannot sign a contract with a union unless that union is certified by the board as a representative of the workers.

- Once a union is certified, it is free to strike at any time, including the harvest period. However, strikes for representation without an election are outlawed.

- Existing contracts remain in force until workers covered by them vote for another union, or for no union. This provision was a major concession, inserted at the insistence of the Teamsters. It means that the some 450 sweetheart contracts now held by the Teamsters must be individually challenged by petition and election.

Teamster representatives will be able to operate freely on these farms, with the cooperation of the growers, while the UFW will have to try to organize from the outside, a serious disadvantage.

Secondary boycotts

- The law imposes restrictions on the conduct of secondary boycotts, which have been a major weapon of the UFW. There are no restrictions on leafleting or picketing aimed solely at consumers, urging them not to buy certain products. However, so-called hard-level boycotts, urging people not to shop at stores that carry scab products, or dissuading employees from working at such stores, is illegal unless the union is the certified bargaining agent for the primary employer whose product is being boycotted.

- The act defines certain "unfair labor practices," including refusal by an employer to bargain in good faith, coercion, or establishment of company unions. In general, these follow the precedents of federal labor law.

- The bargaining unit for election purposes includes all agricultural employees of a given employer. Construction workers and others covered by the

National Labor Relations Act are excluded. This was a concession to officials of the AFL-CIO building-trades unions, who were worried about losing jurisdiction over a relative handful of skilled workers on the farms.

Brown's promise of "peace" in the fields may be further off than his public-relations staff would like to admit. Although the growers accepted the compromise bill, there is no indication that they or their flunkies in the Teamsters union have given up their determination to keep the UFW out of the fields by hook or by crook.

Teamster position

The Southern California Teamster, in reporting on the passage of the bill, noted that "in pledging support to passage of the amended Farm Labor Bill . . . the Teamsters do not subscribe to all provisions and will press for amendments if it does not work out fairly in actual practice. . . . Success of the law could rest on the 5 man agricultural Board which . . . should consist of objective, fair-minded individuals who will be equitable in their treatment of everyone affected."

What the Teamster bureaucrats mean by "objective" and "fair-minded" is a board that won't allow any serious challenge to their vise-grip on the farm labor contracts.

For its part, the Gallo winery, which has been the target of a nationwide boycott by the UFW, took the occasion of the signing of the bill to call on the UFW to end its boycott of the company's scab wines.

Since the law now provides the opportunity for a secret-ballot election, a Gallo representative piously asserted, there is no justification for continuing the boycott. Gallo neglected to mention that the new law does not take effect until August 28, which is after its grape crop has been picked and all but a handful of workers laid off.

The UFW responded by calling on

Gallo to hold an election immediately. If such an election were to be held and the UFW lost, a spokesperson said, the union would immediately call off its boycott of Gallo.

Given fair elections, the UFW would win overwhelming support from the farm workers. The UFW is rightly regarded among the Chicano majority in the fields as representing *la causa*, the struggle not just for wages and working conditions, but for dignity and social justice as well.

"If the growers don't interfere and the Teamsters don't beat up our people, we can win most of the elections," UFW Director César Chávez says.

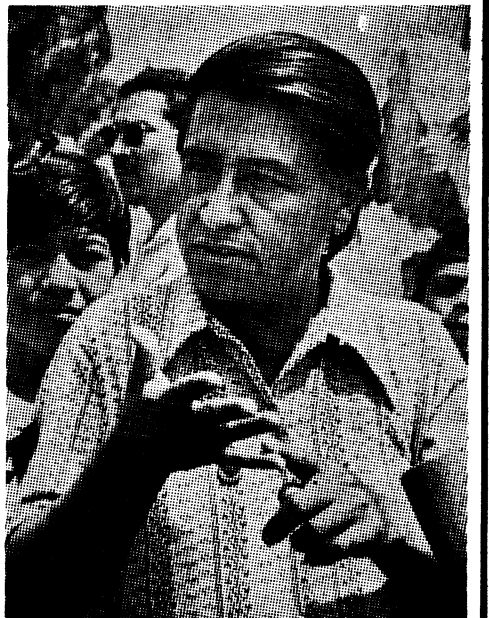
However, there is no question that the UFW will have to wage a struggle to win fair elections. A report on the new law issued by the National Farmworker Ministry, an influential church group that has long supported and closely collaborated with the UFW, points out, "Those growers who still do not want to deal with an indigenous farmworkers union will be looking for ways to use the law to fight the UFW. (There are plenty of lawyers who are experts in using labor relation laws to fight unions, and the history of the NLRA is full of examples of employers who go through the motions of 'good faith bargaining' without any intention of dealing with the most basic issues involved in a valid collective bargaining agreement.)"

Noting that the growers brought in the Teamsters because of the gains won in UFW grape contracts, including pesticide control, seniority, job security, and the union hiring hall, the report further declares: "The United Farm Workers are not going to give up the boycott until they have won elections *and strong contracts*, i.e., contracts which include the provisions that they have been fighting for for the last two years."

It can safely be assumed that the union-hating growers will collaborate closely with the Teamsters to rig elections, and if they lose an election, will do whatever they can to block the UFW's contract demands. There will be coercion, intimidation, and firing of known UFW supporters.

True, such illegalities can be challenged under the terms of the law, but such challenges can be dragged through arbitration and the courts for years.

The new law sets the stage for a renewed struggle by the UFW to organize in the fields, and it gives the union some new leverage to use in its struggle. But it doesn't settle the question of whether the UFW will win the right to represent the farm workers. That will be decided by the struggle in the fields, and through the nationwide boycott of scab lettuce and grapes and Gallo wines.



CHAVEZ: 'We will continue boycott'

Interview with Texas strike leader: the history of one UFW organizer

By José Pérez

SAN JUAN, Tex.—As the strike by canteloupe pickers for recognition of the United Farm Workers was coming to an end during the second week of June, I sat down with Antonio Orendain, the main leader of the strike, to talk with him about the story of his involvement with the UFW.

It is a fascinating story of how one individual went from being an "illegal alien" migrant worker twenty-five years ago to the leader of a movement that mobilized 3,000 farm workers in this valley in the past few weeks.

In one way or another, Orendain has been working for the social cause known today as the United Farm Workers for most of his forty-five years. He began when he first emigrated from Mexico as an "illegal" in 1950.

In the early 1950s, César Chávez and several others who later went on to become the central leaders of the UFW were working with the Community Services Organization. The CSO had been set up in Los Angeles several years earlier in an attempt to do something about the plight of the poverty-stricken *mexicano* and Chicano residents of California.

Among its main concerns were voter registration and the oppression of *mexicano* farm workers.

Orendain first moved to this country in 1950. "Even before coming here I would sometimes see the newspaper *La Opinión* from Los Angeles," he recalled, "and in 1947 or 1948 I saw they had formed the Community Services Organization in Los Angeles."

"I knew in Mexico that the kind of democracy we had there wasn't worth a damn," Orendain said, "and I told myself that if I go to the United States I would like to go into that organization, because I truly would like to do something for democracy for my people."

ple if there truly is democracy in the United States."

A short time after arriving in this country, he went to the CSO offices in Los Angeles. It was through the CSO that he came to know many of the current UFW leaders.

1951 strike

In 1951, Orendain was involved in his first strike, an agricultural workers' strike in Watsonville, California. "We workers were 'illegals' and many of the leaders were 'illegals' too," he said. "The growers called in *la migra* [the immigration cops], and we were all thrown out of the country. They deported me to Tijuana, but I came back."

After returning, he continued working as a migrant field hand, but by 1956 he had stopped migrating and had settled in Los Angeles.

He told me he went to a *coyote* (a parasite who exploits undocumented immigrants), who charged him \$500 to obtain the legal documents necessary to reside permanently in the United States. "That was \$500 then, not now. Even today, that is still a lot of money for an 'illegal.'"

As many other *mexicanos* have tried to do, he searched for a way to escape from the inhuman oppression in the fields. "I stayed in Los Angeles and started studying to obtain U.S. citizenship. I also learned to be a punch-press operator so I could get work in some factory."

"The CSO was still there, but I thought I wouldn't need them anymore," he continued. "I was going to be middle class. But at that time there was a recession and I could not get a factory job."

Orendain went back to Hanford, California, where he eventually landed a job in construction. He settled down



Militant/José Pérez

Antonio Orendain, main leader of Texas melon pickers' strike, has been active in fight for justice for farmworkers since he came to U.S. in 1950.

with his family, started paying for a house, and tried to improve his English by reading newspapers.

He also continued working with the CSO, particularly with César Chávez, who had become one of the group's main organizers.

Beginning of UFW

In 1962 Chávez and several other organizers left the CSO over its refusal to help them start a union for agricultural workers. They then formed the National Farm Workers Association, predecessor to the UFW. During this time Orendain continued to work with Chávez. In fact, he was elected secretary-treasurer of the NFWA.

The NFWA organized for three years prior to the spring of 1965, when it led its first strike. Orendain was active in that strike, which involved workers in the rose fields.

A few months later the Delano grape strike broke out, and Orendain was there too. That was the opening shot in the battle that continues to this day—the battle to win union contracts for field workers in California's vineyards.

As he talked, Orendain recalled many anecdotes from his years with *la causa*. One was the story of how he went from construction worker to union organizer.

He was driving Chávez to speak at several functions, including a Saturday-night benefit in San Francisco followed by three masses at a church in Sacramento the next morning. The NFWA was desperately in need of staff and Chávez had been in search of volunteers to work full-time for the union.

During the long drive, Chávez convinced Orendain to volunteer. At first, Orendain remembered, he thought this would mean that he would go to Los Angeles or some other area where he could speak Spanish, since his English was still very poor. However, three days later he and Chávez were on a plane to Chicago. After fulfilling a speaking engagement in that city, Chávez gave him some names of people that had offered food and housing, five dollars, and told him to organize a grape boycott in the Windy City.

Soon, Orendain returned to California for the final leg of a march from Delano to Sacramento, the state capital. In those days the union was very poor and the activity very hectic. Organizers would be dispatched, sometimes even hitchhiking, to different parts of the state on a moment's notice.

In October 1966 Orendain was asked to go help organize a strike in the Rio Grande Valley in Texas, where a unionization drive kicked off in June

had come under brutal attack.

"I was just there a few months," Orendain told me, "and was arrested fifteen times."

The first time was when Orendain along with a dozen others blocked the international bridge at Roma, Texas. The UFW, which was on strike against La Casita ranch in Starr County, had been denied the right to picket at the ranch. So the organizers went to the international bridge. Many of the workers in Rio Grande Valley agriculture are Mexican residents who cross the bridge to the United States each day on their way to labor in the fields.

All "outside agitators" were singled out for particularly violent treatment. Orendain still bears the scars on his wrists from that first arrest. After the cops fastened handcuffs on him, they used them to drag him from the bridge. He and two other union organizers, Eugene Nelson and Bill Chandler, were arrested time and again.

I asked Orendain what charges were brought against him. He can't even remember most of them now, he said. Many were based on statutes that had already been declared unconstitutional or were subsequently voided by the courts.

Orendain recalled one occasion when the cops arrested Bill Chandler, currently Texas director of the UFW boycott, and charged him with inciting farm workers to riot. "But Chandler couldn't speak Spanish worth a damn," Orendain said, "and the workers in that field were all *mexicanos* who couldn't speak English. So it was all charges like that; whatever they could think of to break the strike."

Orendain returned to California in the spring of 1967, before the Rio Grande Valley organizing drive had been totally crushed through the intervention of the Texas Rangers.

Return to Texas

From 1967 until 1969, Orendain was helping to administer the UFW strikes in California as the union's secretary-treasurer. But he really didn't like an office job, he said, and eagerly accepted the assignment to return to the Rio Grande Valley.

He returned to the valley not with

'The Valley Morning Scab'

SAN JUAN, Tex.—The local newspapers here have been especially vicious in their coverage of the United Farm Workers' strike and organizing activities. Both the *Valley Morning Star* and the afternoon *Monitor*, the two local dailies, are published by the "Freedom Newspapers" chain, and both have been totally against the strike.

The *Star*—known to strikers as the "Valley Morning Scab"—specializes in manufacturing photos of "violent" strikers with the aid of scissors, paste, and imaginative caption writers.

One example is a picture of several strikers, one of them holding a small stick. The caption reads, "Paid 'union' agitator wields large club. . . ." In case you missed the "large club," the scissors-and-paste department thoughtfully provided a large black arrow pointing to the appropriate spot.

The story under the picture is just as creatively concocted: "Responsible citizens have called attention to the fact that there is no strike in the melon fields of the Valley. . . ." The proof? "A survey among major growers. . . ."

However, only a cynic would say the "Scab" is run in the interests of bloodsucking capitalist greed. On the contrary, a June 12 "Editor's note" exemplifies the lofty Christian ideals of the publication. "The trouble with unions," it piously intones, is that they are "based on force."

"Striking to force employers to pay higher wages violates the coveting commandment." Although it may be "legal," the editor scolds, "that

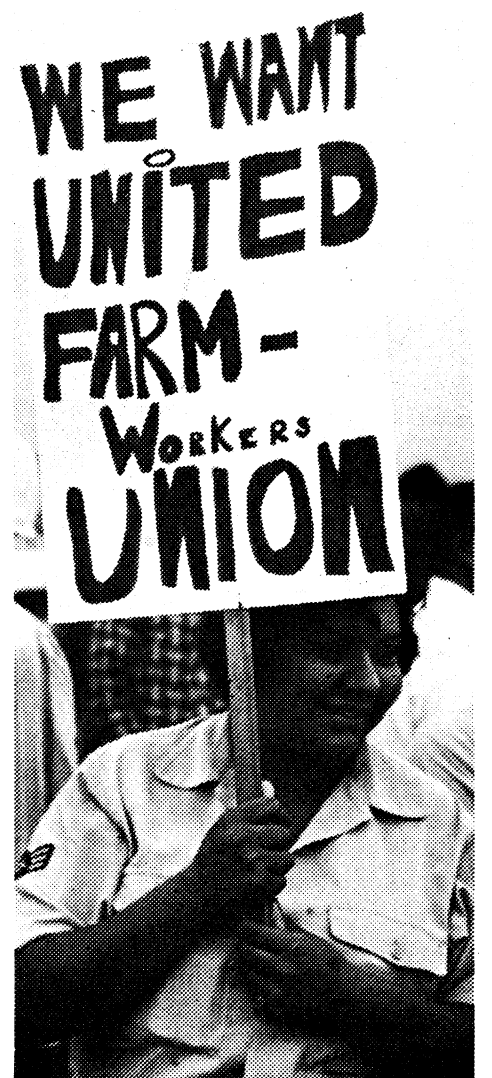
doesn't make it moral. Our moral code is contained in the Ten Commandments. . . ."

With sheets like that in town, it is easy to imagine how appreciative strikers are of the fact that at least one paper in the United States, the *Militant*, tells the truth—their side of the story. Even though many of the *huelguistas* (strikers) don't read English, they grab up copies of the paper anyway.

One example is that a few *Militant* "agitators" sold more than 100 copies—all they had—at a predominantly *mexicano* UFW rally of 700 held here at the end of May. Another is that 50 copies that were placed on the front desk at the union's office Monday, May 9, were almost all gone when I checked again on Thursday.

Workers who can't read English press into service as translators anyone who can. I was drafted for this task by a group of several strikers on a picket line at the Hidalgo international bridge very early one morning. After I finished reading the story on the strike, there was a brief and warm discussion on which striker would keep the paper until someone pointed out there were more available at the office.

Many of the leaders of the strike read the paper regularly, and some have for quite a while. I was introduced to one volunteer organizer, and asked him if he read the *Militant*. He said he had been following it for years. He started reading it while in the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, and has been reading it regularly ever since.



Militant/José Pérez



National Farm Workers Association picket. Orendain was active in that group, predecessor to today's UFW, and served on its executive board as secretary-treasurer.

the idea of starting a new strike right away. Rather, the union's plan was to lay the basis for future organizing, which was to take place after the UFW's base in California was more secure.

Although the UFW was not in a position to do more than pay living expenses for him and his family, through the financial assistance of various supporters he was able to buy time for a radio program, "La Voz del Campesino" (The Voice of the Farm Worker) on a local Spanish-language station. Orendain feels strongly that it was this program more than anything that is responsible for the subsequent progress made in the valley.

He related kinds of things he would say on the radio program.

"In 1966 and 1967, a lot of people said those are strikebreakers from Reynosa, from Mexico. If we keep out the 'wetbacks,' the growers will pay us more money."

"So on the radio I would say, look, I was one of those 'wetbacks,' or 'illegals,' for five years. And I went to Oregon and dressed like a Texan and told people I was from Texas to avoid deportation.

"In Oregon the other farm workers would tell me, 'If you stayed in Texas the growers in Oregon would pay us more money.' When I went to California it was the same thing.

"So when I finally came to Texas in 1966, it was the same story: 'Those stupid people from Reynosa. They come and drive down our wages. If they stayed in Mexico they would pay us more money here.'"

Vicious circle

"So what I said on the radio is that it is a vicious circle, one worker blaming another. You have to break out of that if you want to do something."

Orendain tells me he has gotten letters from Mexico saying that the same pitting of worker against worker is carried out there. "In Mexico, they

blame it on 'illegals' from Guatemala."

"Whoever is most hungry, whoever is most willing to work hard and cheap, that's the one the owners want to hire.

"It is not a question of stopping the 'illegals' from Mexico or the 'illegals' from Texas. It's a question of how the free-enterprise system abuses people."

On his radio program Orendain frequently talks about the day-to-day

problems of the field hands. He warns workers against particularly oppressive labor contractors or growers, in addition to explaining the rights workers have and what they can do. The program also publicizes the boycott of scab grapes, lettuce, and wines. Above all, he spreads the word about the United Farm Workers and what it stands for.

Orendain was instrumental in building—brick by brick—an organizing center for the union in the Rio Grande Valley. A ten-acre plot of land was obtained with the assistance of sympathetic church and union officials. Working Saturdays and Sundays over several months, the farm workers themselves completed the construction.

El Cuhamil

Located in San Juan, Texas, the workers decided to call the center El Cuhamil. Cuhamil, Orendain tells me, is an Indian word. After the Spaniards robbed the Indians of all the best lands, they left the worst plots—on the sides of hills, for example—for the Indians to cultivate. "That little piece of land, where they let you work for your own benefit, was called 'el cuhamil,'" he says, "and that's what we have here."

The building has a meeting hall large enough for at least 200 people and equal space for offices. In addition to the union, it houses the offices of a legal program funded by several foundations. Its lawyers represent the farm workers in court.

The walls in the building are covered by posters, and in the main hall there are two very large murals done by a *mexicano* from Reynosa who supports the union.

There are numerous copies of one particular poster on the walls. It is a picture of A.Y. Allee, who was captain of the Texas Rangers until 1970. He personally directed the rangers' brutal campaign against the 1966-1967 union drive. Scrawled across his picture, in red, are the words: "¡Abajo los Rinches!" (Down with the rangers).

In general, there is no love lost between farm workers and the cops. While Orendain and I were talking, for example, sheriff's deputies showed up with warrants for the arrest of seven of the strikers wounded by grower Chestley Miller at the beginning of the strike. In a classic example of making the victims into the criminals, they were charged with criminal mischief.

But Orendain told me that if the

workers had their choice, the hottest spot in hell would be set aside for the rangers, who function as a legalized anti-*mexicano* vigilante squad.

Orendain has also been involved in the production of several newspapers. The first was *¡Ya Mero!*, which is a *mexicano* expression meaning, roughly, "Almost!" It was started by Orendain and various other people involved in the Chicano movement in the valley, and was edited by David Fishlow, who had served a two-year stint as editor of the UFW's official newspaper, *El Malcriado*.

¡Ya Mero! ceased publishing in mid-1972 because of financial and other difficulties, but several months later *La Voz del Campesino* began to appear with Orendain as one of the editors. Toward the end of 1974 it was replaced by *La Voz del Cuhamil*, which continues publishing although it was forced to skip several issues during the recent melon strike.

During these years Orendain has been involved in many different kinds of movement activities, ranging from protests against police brutality to helping to organize a food cooperative for farm workers. A constant and time-consuming aspect of his work has been the promotion of the various boycotts against scab produce conducted by the UFW nationally.

During these past several years, Orendain told me, *la causa* has assembled a group of several dozen families who are regularly participating in the meetings and other activities of El Cuhamil UFW office. In addition, there is a very widespread sympathy for the union and the goals it is fighting for.

Also during this period, Orendain decided not to run again for a post on the UFW's national executive board. He wanted to stay in the Rio Grande Valley and felt that this would make it difficult for him to carry out the responsibilities of a national officer. At the end of 1974 he left the valley for several months to work on the boycott in Chicago. He returned to South Texas since he felt he could be most effective here.

Orendain—and everyone else I've talked with at El Cuhamil and at the picket lines—views the 1975 melon strike as just the beginning of a new union drive in the valley. Their spirit is captured by the slogan long ago made popular by the UFW: *Si se puede*—yes, it can be done.

Camejo urges solidarity with strikers

SAN JUAN, Tex.—Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo briefly toured this area June 12 to express his solidarity with striking melon pickers in the Rio Grande Valley and to obtain firsthand information about this struggle.

During his visit, Camejo spoke with Antonio Orendain and Lupe Cásares, two strike leaders, and went out to inspect the road where grower Chestley Miller gunned down eleven workers at the beginning of the strike. Camejo also spoke with activists at the United Farm Workers office here in San Juan.

Camejo said that the main reason he had come to the valley was to obtain a clearer picture of what has been occurring. He plans to use these firsthand impressions to explain to people all over the country the importance of this struggle and why all working people should support it.

Camejo noted that Rio Grande Valley ranchers are "out of step with the whole country" if they think they can get away with gunning down peaceful picketers on roads used by the public. A campaign to scandalize the growers and organize support for the Texas strikers could be decisive in the drive's success, Camejo feels.

"The struggle here in Texas," the socialist candidate said, "is another part of *la causa*. The mobilization of 3,000 field hands in the Rio Grande Valley strengthens the drive to win justice for all farm workers. It should be supported wholeheartedly by all those who have also supported the efforts of the UFW to unionize California agribusiness."

UFW leaders are asking that expressions of support take the form of contributions to the Texas Strike Fund, which can be sent to: United

Farm Workers, Route 1, Box 149-B, Alamo, Texas 78516.

This was Camejo's second visit to the UFW's "El Cuhamil" office in San Juan. Last March he had spoken here to more than 100 farm workers. His remarks against the victimization of undocumented *mexicano* workers were particularly well received then. Camejo noted that the unity between *mexicanos* and those who live in the United States had been one of the most important factors in the current strike's effectiveness. —J.P.



Socialist presidential candidate Peter Camejo addressing workers in San Juan UFW headquarters last March.

Party Building Fund

How to really fight government corruption

By Barry Sheppard

"There is nothing in the Constitution that says you cannot by law focus the energies of the nation into two political parties."

That statement was made by Kenneth Guido, mouthpiece for an outfit called "Common Cause" that has been

Barry Sheppard is the national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers party.

beating the drums for the campaign "reform" law.

This law has been touted as a way to correct the "abuses" of Watergate, but its real intent is exposed by Guido. It's designed to bolster the domination of "two parties"—guess which two.

Guido could just as easily have said, "There is nothing in the Constitution that says you cannot by law focus the

energies of the nation into one political party."

The American ruling class is not prepared to go to that extent in restricting our democratic rights—yet. So far they are doing O.K. with their two-party shell game, which the "reform" law is designed to bolster.

Under this new law, the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates are each required to keep their campaign spending down to \$10 million in the primaries and another \$20 million in the general election.

Laboring under such severe restrictions, the Democrats and Republicans surely would need some compensation, reasoned the reform-minded lawmakers, and so they voted to give each Democratic and Republican candidate \$5 million from the U.S. treasury to go toward the amount they can spend in the primaries, and the entire \$20 million in the general election.

By spending only our tax money, you see, these candidates representing the bloated billionaires will be kept from temptation.

Smaller parties get nothing, which is only reasonable, since "there is nothing in the Constitution" that says the Democrats and Republicans shouldn't have this money "focused" into their treasuries.

To further root out corruption in high places, this law requires that all contributors to any campaign who give \$100 have to be reported to the government. The campaign committees have to keep records on everyone who gives more than \$10, and the government can audit these records.

The American Civil Liberties Union has brought a suit against this provision on behalf of the Socialist Workers party. This provision violates our rights and the rights of those who support our campaigns because such public disclosure can expose contributors to government harassment and victimization. The SWP has refused to turn over the names of such contributors while it is fighting this in court.

Victimization is not the only aim of



COMMON CAUSE: "There is nothing in the Constitution that says you cannot by law focus the energies of the nation into two political parties."

this provision. Its purpose is also to make it more difficult for any party that would depend on small contributors—La Raza Unida, a Black party, a future labor party, and socialist parties such as the SWP.

The law also limits contributions from any labor group, such as the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, to \$5,000. While COPE support has been going down the drain of Democratic party politics, this provision will make it harder for any organizations of working people to participate in politics.

All this goes to prove that when capitalist politicians set about "reform-

ing," especially when oily-mouthed hirelings like Guido, representing mysterious and sinister well-heeled organizations, come to their defense, the rest of us better watch out.

You can contribute to the SWP Party Building Fund as a good way to fight the undemocratic practices of the Democrats and Republicans. Since this fund is to be used for general work to help build the SWP, there are no laws yet on the books that we have to disclose your name. Send in all or whatever part of your income tax rebate you can afford to the SWP Party Building Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Scoreboard

Area	Pledged	Collected
Atlanta	\$3,000	\$335.00
Boston	1,865	797.95
Brooklyn	3,700	2,024.14
Chicago	2,500	898.58
Cleveland	1,500	894.85
Denver	715	370.00
Detroit	200	
Houston	2,100	1,645.75
L.A. (Central-East)	2,200	1,698.80
L.A. (West Side)	2,200	781.00
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	5,000	1,694.10
Milwaukee	820	311.55
Oakland/Berkeley	2,500	745.35
Philadelphia	1,000	170.00
Pittsburgh	900	141.00
Portland, Ore.	730	405.00
St. Louis	1,200	859.75
San Diego	425	
San Francisco	1,400	175.00
Twin Cities	1,500	460.00
Upper West Side, N.Y.	3,000	1,358.55
Washington, D.C.	2,200	1,154.00
General		1,670.25
Totals	40,655	18,590.62

Reed defends 'Woman's Evolution' at UCLA

By Evelyn Sell

LOS ANGELES—The recently published *Woman's Evolution: from Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family* was the subject of a May 14 debate between the author, Evelyn Reed, and Dr. Walter Goldschmidt, president-elect of the American Anthropological Association and former head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of California in Los Angeles.

The debate took place at UCLA, sponsored by the Women's Resource Center and the first vice-president of the Student Legislative Council. Two hundred people turned out to hear the confrontation between Reed's challenge to establishment anthropology and a leading figure in the field.

After tracing the development of anthropology from its promising nineteenth-century beginnings to its present-day deterioration, Reed called for a return to the earlier evolutionary and materialist viewpoint of the pioneer investigators of human society.

She said contemporary anthropologists have abandoned the long view of human history that sought to discover the origins of human society, and substituted a "worm's eye" view based on empirical studies of present-day primitive peoples, which has led anthropology into "a blind alley."

Especially injurious to the science has been the rejection of evidence that the earliest stage of social organization

was matriarchal in form, for the notion that patriarchy has always existed, she said.

Reed described some of her findings on the institution of totemism, which existed during the earliest stage of society—savagery.

Totemism, she said, "was the means by which humankind elevated itself out of 'animalkind.'" She offered convincing evidence that the key problems faced by earliest humanity, in its ascent into cooperative social life, were cannibalism and the competitive violence of primitive male sexuality.

The institution of totemism and the taboos associated with it, she explained, were the means by which early humanity was able to solve these problems. Up to now it has been the commonly held view that the main purpose of these institutions was to prevent incest.

Reed pointed out that since primitive humanity had no knowledge of biology and the connection between sex and reproduction, the taboos could not have been directed against incest.

Refuting long-held prejudices about the biological "inferiority" of women, Reed argued that it was early women who introduced the institutions of totemism. They were the social leaders in laying down the foundations of cooperation and culture.

Far from being biologically inferior,

she said, females were the "advanced sex" in the beginning. Unlike primitive males who suffered from the "biological handicap of separatism and competition," females had the capacity to band together for protection of themselves and their offspring. This capacity for cooperation led them into systematic labor activities, which paved the way for new advances in human control over the environment and to even higher productive levels of society.

Instead of dealing seriously with the questions Reed posed, Goldschmidt attempted to dismiss her theories as "myths" without offering anything to back up this contention.

He accused Reed of being a sexist and said that her book is "a paean of hate" for men "and for that reason if no other reason I would reject it on moral grounds."

He also accused Reed of being a racist because she described primitive peoples as having a different conception of life processes than modern people and because she used the classical evolutionary term "savagery" to denote the earliest form of society.

"Frankly if I were an American Indian or I were Black I would simply get out and picket any occasion when she came," Goldschmidt said.

Since Reed's book deals with the earliest stage of social life when humanity was collectivist and equali-

tarian, and there was no such thing as class exploitation and its twin evils of racial and sexual oppression, "it is difficult to know what Goldschmidt meant by this. Perhaps he thinks the term "savage" could only apply to Blacks and Indians and that white people were exempt from going through the stage of savagery."

Goldschmidt rejected the idea that matriarchal society preceded patriarchal society. Reed raised three questions in regard to this:

"1. Where did the matrilineal structure and kinship system come from, if they are not a survival from the former matriarchal epoch?"

"2. Why, as the nineteenth-century scholars discovered, did the change-over in the kinship pattern uniformly proceed from matrilineal to patrilineal kinship and never the other way around? Doesn't this indicate the priority of matrilineal kinship?"

"3. Why is matrilineal kinship never found in advanced patriarchal nations today . . . but is found only among primitive peoples? Doesn't this signify a survival from an earlier matriarchal epoch?"

Goldschmidt refused to answer any of these questions, retreating instead into simply repeating that Reed's theories are "unscientific."

Following a lively discussion period, a reception for Reed was held at the campus Women's Resource Center.

Campaign law a menace to political rights

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—The National Capital Area chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union held a lively debate June 10 on "Campaign Finance Reform: The Conflict Between Civil Liberties and 'The Public Interest.'"

One hundred fifty people attended to hear Monroe Freedman, dean of the Hofstra University Law School, debate Mike Cole, associate director of legislation for Common Cause.

Common Cause, which promotes itself as the "citizen's lobby," is on a national crusade in defense of the 1974 federal campaign finance "reform" law. This law sets limits on the size of contributions, provides public financing for Democrats and Republicans, and requires the disclosure of names, addresses, and occupations of all contributors of more than \$100 to any candidate.

In his opening remarks, Cole said that the law will curb Watergate-type corruption because it "frees candidates from the influence of moneyed interests."

He tried to portray public financing and contribution limits as a boon to smaller parties, arguing that these measures "promote diversity among candidates" and "make all voices relatively the same."

He denied that the law is a threat to civil liberties, insisting that it "is designed to promote First Amendment rights."

Freedman, who said he had initially been sympathetic to the finance reforms, declared that he now considers them "a menace."

The law has a chilling effect, he explained, because it discourages people from contributing to a party that has been subjected to government or right-wing harassment, for fear that their names will be disclosed.

The logic of the disclosure provision is to intensify all forms of government intervention in the exercise of free speech, he added.

Freedman also challenged the public financing section of the law. Far from enhancing "diversity" and "equality" in the election, he said, the law gives Democratic and Republican presidential candidates an outright grant of \$20 million each, while not giving a cent to the smaller parties.

"It is little wonder," Freedman said, "that this legislation is opposed by the Socialist Workers party, La Raza Unida party, Peace and Freedom party, Feminist party, and others, who point out that it actually inhibits minority or newly formed parties and independent candidates."

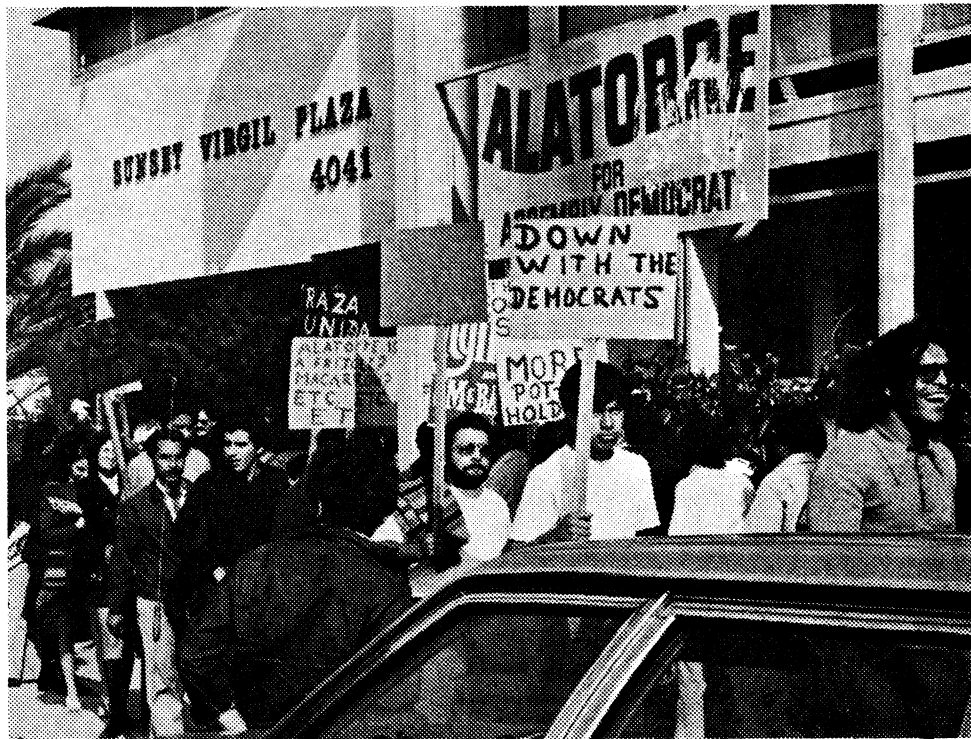
In the discussion period, several people assailed Common Cause's stand on disclosure, noting the harassing effect disclosure has on parties such as the SWP. Each person attending the meeting had received a copy of an open letter to Common Cause on this subject, signed by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws. CoDEL is supporting several suits by Socialist Workers campaign committees against the federal, state, and municipal campaign finance laws.

Florence Isbell, former executive director of the local ACLU, said, "The SWP is suing the District of Columbia campaign finance law and the ACLU is supporting them. They feel they have been harassed and subjected to police infiltration, and that this law provides the government with a cheap way to do it."

"This may not have been the original motive of the law, but it seems to be the effect."

An activist in the D.C. Statehood party took the floor to point out that the disclosure requirement had inhibited contributions to the SWP's 1974 local school board campaign.

In response, Cole insisted that Common Cause "does not favor harassment of these small parties." But in the same breath he added that "the potential of harassment is not reason



Militant/Priscilla March

La Raza Unida party demonstration. Campaign finance law is threat to parties independent of Democrats and Republicans.

enough" to exempt such parties from disclosure.

Erich Martel, 1975 SWP candidate for D.C. school board, pointed out that the question is not "potential" harassment but actual harassment, documented by the government's own admission that it subjects supporters of the SWP to attacks such as the FBI's Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program").

Pressed further by Martel, Cole conceded that "there is some infringement of First Amendment rights" in the disclosure provisions, but he said that Common Cause considers this infringement secondary.

Both SWP and ACLU representatives testified the next evening on the D.C. campaign finance law before the City Council's Committee on Government Operations.

Jennie Ross, vice-chairperson of the National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union, urged that smaller parties such as the SWP be exempted from disclosure.

"The FBI frequently reviews SWP nominating petitions to determine the identities of voters who sign such petitions," she noted, "and considers contributions made to SWP electoral activities as indicative of SWP membership. . . ."

"Persons identified as members, supporters, or those associated with the SWP have been exposed to economic reprisals and loss of employment."

Erich Martel spoke on the Rockefeller CIA report, which detailed a concerted effort by the CIA and D.C. cops to thwart local antiwar, Black, and radical groups. He said this latest spy

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Court hears arguments on McCarthy suit

WASHINGTON—Arguments heard here in federal court June 13 made a strong case for throwing out the 1974 federal campaign finance law on the grounds that it is unconstitutional.

The law is being challenged in a suit filed by Eugene McCarthy, who is running for president as an "independent"; Sen. James Buckley, Conservative-Republican of New York; the New York Civil Liberties Union; and others.

Their suit challenges almost every aspect of the law, but focuses on the spending and contribution limits and on public financing, both of which discriminate against smaller parties, they charge.

The arguments in the suit were heard simultaneously by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia and by a three-judge Federal District Court panel. A decision is expected this summer, and an appeal to the Supreme Court by whichever side loses could take place in the fall.

Ralph Winter of the Yale Law School presented arguments for the plaintiffs against the public financing section of the law. This section gives the Democrats and Republicans matching funds of up to \$5 million for each candidate in the primaries and another \$20 million for the nominee of each party in the general election.

Smaller parties, such as the Socialist Workers party, or independent candidates, such as McCarthy, will get no money whatsoever. In order to qualify, smaller parties first need to win 5

percent of the vote.

Winter explained that this provision is an outright move by Congress to establish the Democrats and Republicans as the "official" parties in the United States. The law "discriminates against new and minor parties," he explained, because it serves "as a declaration to the public that some candidacies deserve no support."

Winter added that the refusal to finance smaller parties is doubly discriminatory, because these parties have greater expenses in achieving ballot status. While Democrats and Republicans get on the ballot automat-



Suit filed by Eugene McCarthy and others challenges constitutionality of campaign 'reform' law.

ically, smaller parties are forced to spend large sums of money for petitioning.

Attorneys for the plaintiffs also argued against the spending and contribution limits in the law. Individuals may now contribute no more than \$1,000 to any one federal candidate. Presidential candidates may spend no more than \$10 million in primaries and \$20 million in the general election.

"This legislation threatens minor parties not at all," claimed defense attorney Paul Mode, representing the Center for Public Financing of Elections and the League of Women Voters. These two groups, along with Common Cause, the Federal Election Commission, and the Justice Department, are defending the law.

Their central argument is that small parties and independent candidates are so insignificant and raise so little money that the new statute will hardly affect them at all.

"Why do you have any regulation of minor parties if they're no threat?" asked Chief Judge David Bazelon.

The question was well taken, since the law's supporters clearly do see parties outside the two-party system as a threat.

Mode himself admitted this when he said that previous court decisions have upheld "a substantial interest in avoiding splinter parties" and in "preserving the stability of the system."

Lloyd Cutler, the main defense attorney, also articulated this concern for "stability." He said that Congress

had enacted the campaign finance law in the wake of Watergate, "to correct the appearance of undue influence" of money on politicians. Congress, he said, was just trying to prop up confidence in the government. "A failure to act would have reduced confidence" even lower, he maintained.

The court also heard arguments on the disclosure provisions in the law. These require candidates to turn over the names, addresses, and occupations of all contributors of more than \$100.

Joel Gora, representing the New York Civil Liberties Union, argued that smaller parties should be exempted from disclosure because it opens their contributors to possible harassment. Requiring disclosure is also unconstitutional, he said, because it violates the right to a secret ballot.

This aspect of the campaign finances law is a central part of another lawsuit against campaign "reforms," filed by the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee. The socialists charge that complying with the disclosure provision opens contributors to wiretapping, spying, and attempted intimidation through the massive harassment campaign conducted against the party by the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies.

The suit was brought by the American Civil Liberties Union. It is being supported by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, a national group fighting against discriminatory election legislation.

Philip Allen: victim of racist frame-up

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—On a recent Saturday afternoon I visited the home of Philip Allen and his mother Ellery. They live in a simple, comfortably furnished bungalow and give the impression of a working-class Black family that is getting along reasonably well.

They immigrated to the United States from Honduras about fifteen years ago. Ellery Allen, a working mother of two, is an outgoing person. She's active in the Fellowship of Social Justice at the First Unitarian Church.

Philip, twenty, is quiet and soft-spoken. He's majoring in radiology at Los Angeles City College. Family and friends call him by his nickname, Lennie.

Both he and his mother are warm, friendly people and I felt at home immediately. My visit had all the outward appearance of a pleasant social afternoon. But it wasn't quite that way.

Philip Allen is charged with killing a Los Angeles deputy sheriff.

On June 17, jury selection was to begin in his trial for first-degree, premeditated murder.

On the advice of his attorney, Lennie has refrained from discussing prior to the trial the details of what happened. But he does insist that he is the victim of a racist frame-up. A reading of the transcript of a preliminary hearing strongly supports him in this assertion.

Lennie's ordeal began January 1, 1975.

It was the early morning hours and

The Philip L. Allen Defense Committee is appealing for Los Angeles area residents to attend the Philip Allen trial, in Superior Court, 1725 Main Street, Santa Monica. To obtain further information, or to make a contribution, contact the defense committee at the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, California 90005.

he was returning home from a New Year's Eve party.

On the way to the bus stop, he walked down a West Hollywood block of massage parlors.

Lennie came down the street minutes after the front window of one of the parlors had been broken, apparently by a disgruntled patron.

According to witnesses, Lennie seemed "high" and despondent. He was carrying a screwdriver in his hand. According to one witness, a hostess at one of the parlors, Lennie spoke of suicide.

Cops arrive

This occurred just as police cars arrived. One of the deputies saw the screwdriver in Lennie's hand and ordered him to drop it. At the same time he was surrounded and seized by deputies who began clubbing him.

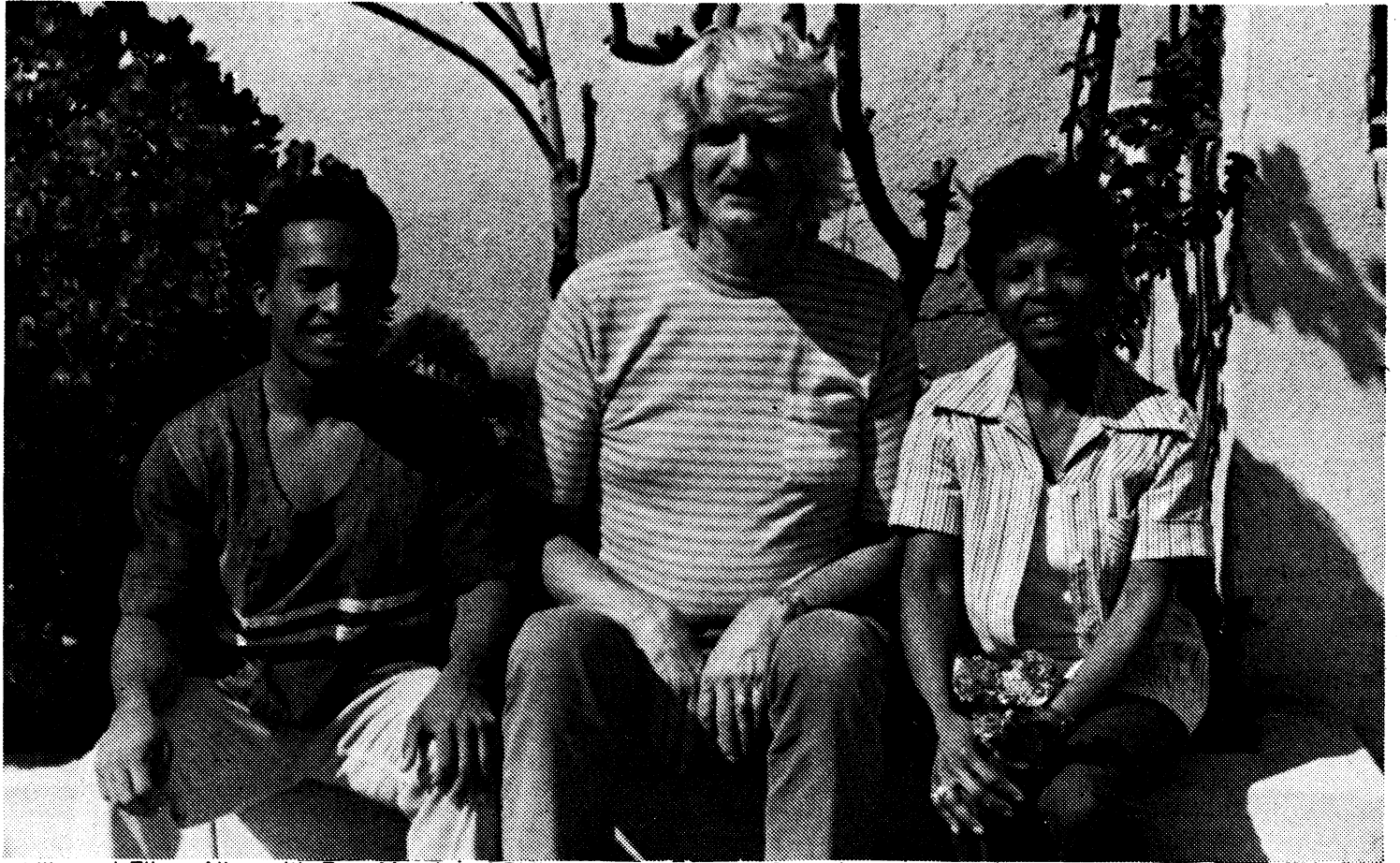
The hostess testified that she shouted at the cops to let him go, that she could persuade him to give her the screwdriver.

The cops continued beating Lennie. Flashlights and, apparently, saps were used.

Witnesses said it all happened swiftly. Lennie resisted the beating. Shots were fired. Lennie was on the ground with cops on top of him.

One deputy, Sergeant Hollis, was dead. Two others were wounded.

According to the police story, Lennie had broken free from a half-dozen cops, had seized one of their guns, and



Philip and Ellery Allen with Rev. Murphy of Philip L. Allen Defense Committee.

Militant/Harry Ring

had done the shooting before he was subdued.

None of the bystanders at the scene saw Lennie with the gun.

"If it was a fight," Lennie told me, "it was all one-sided, because I didn't have a chance. I couldn't tell how many police were beating me at the time. It was coming from all directions."

"The next thing I knew, I was falling to the ground. As I was falling, I remember hearing gunshots."

"I was dragged from the spot," Lennie continued quietly. "I was tossed into a police car and taken to the jail."

At the station, the nightmare continued.

"I was kicked in the groin twice," Lennie said. "An officer told me that the next time he saw my face I was a dead nigger."

"They took me to a cell," he continued, "stripped me, searched me, and threw me in. I stayed overnight, naked."

The next morning, he said, they photographed him and took him to the county jail. There a guard noticed his head was bleeding and took him down to the emergency room where he received four stitches.

At the station house and the county jail, Lennie asked what he was charged with. He said the guards answered, "They'll tell you later."

He asked to make a phone call to his mother. He was told he couldn't until after he spoke to the investigating officers.

Some detectives finally came and told him what he was charged with.

Lennie shook his head in disbelief as he recalled the scene. "They said I killed a policeman. Until the officer told me, I didn't know any policeman was dead. I didn't know anybody had been hit."

"I didn't believe it," he continued. "At first I thought it was a joke, until I saw the man was very serious in what he was saying to me."

"He had to tell me twice."

Police testimony

Michael Grimes, deputy sheriff, testified at the hearing that Allen had taken his gun and fired it six times, killing his partner and wounding the other two deputies.

According to police testimony, there was a pitched battle between Lennie

and six of them that lasted about a minute and a half. They said that Lennie had literally lifted three of them off the ground.

Lennie seems sturdy. But he's five feet and three inches tall and weighs 135 pounds.

There was more incredible testimony to come.

Under questioning by defense attorney Lawrence Steinberg, Grimes admitted that after the shooting he had straddled Lennie, who was then prone on the sidewalk, and placed his gun at his head. (Presumably he had recovered it.) Grimes admitted he pulled the trigger twice.

"And at that time did you intend to kill Mr. Allen?" the defense attorney asked.

"Yes."

Fortunately for Lennie, by that time the gun was empty.

Perhaps even more astonishing, when Lennie's lawyer asked whose fingerprints were on the gun, the answers were at first evasive, with one official responding that the prints were "negative."

Finally it was stated that on this gun—which had allegedly passed back and forth between Deputy Grimes and Philip Allen—there were no prints!

No ballistics test

No ballistics test was made to confirm which gun did the shooting. Nor, apparently, was there a paraffin test to determine who did the shooting.

Meanwhile, Lennie has the good fortune of his mother's activity in the Unitarian Church. On her initiative, a Philip L. Allen Defense Committee of the First Unitarian Church was established. Jim Berland, public affairs director of Pacifica radio station KPFFK, and Rev. Amos Barstow Murphy are cochairpeople of the committee.

The defense committee has been active in raising money to help defray the heavy legal expenses of a murder trial. A growing number of groups and individuals have endorsed the defense effort. Petitions are being circulated and the public spotlight is beginning to focus on the case.

Particularly gratifying to Lennie is that a group was formed at Los Angeles City College to aid his defense. Calling itself Justice for United

Students, the committee has already helped promote a number of benefits for the defense fund.

In addition, the LACC Black Student Union organized a successful campus benefit for the case.

Case not unique

Lennie is deeply appreciative of the support he is receiving. But he feels that it is not simply for him. His case is not unique, he says. He's just fortunate that he has had people to come to his defense where so many people in his position don't.

What has happened to him, coupled with the vicious treatment he received in jail, he said, typifies the racist treatment that Blacks suffer at the hands of the law.

"When you have a Black youth being charged with killing a white cop," he observed, "you immediately have a situation where racism comes into play."

"Just the fact that I'm being charged with first-degree murder—premeditated murder—which means I planned out what I was supposed to have done, just that is an injustice."

In jail, he said, the racism was open and virulent.

"When I was in the county jail, officers would come by and call me 'nigger.' The whole treatment was racist. They would come in my cell at night and call me names."

"When I was leaving jail," he said, "I was threatened by about fourteen deputy officers that when I got out on the street they would kill me—that I wouldn't live to see the trial."

"Before I left," he continued with anger in his voice, "they knew I didn't have anything, but they stripped me down and 'skin-searched' me, made me do the little routine they do."

"While they were searching my clothes, they were calling me names and telling me how much they wished they could kill me. I worried whether I'd make it through the door."

The authorities have used their powers to have the trial assigned to a court in Santa Monica, immediately adjacent to the city of Los Angeles. Santa Monica is largely white and that's the way the jury is likely to be.

A defense motion for a change of venue was denied.

Lennie Allen needs strong public support.

World Outlook

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

JUNE 27, 1975

Behind crisis in Portugal over closing of 'República'

[The following article is from the New Analysis section of *Intercontinental Press*.]

An important victory for workers democracy was won in Portugal June 6 when the bourgeois military regime, in response to mass pressure, decided to permit *República*, the Lisbon daily that reflects the views of the Socialist party leadership, to resume publication.

The heads of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) had shut down the newspaper and sent troops to enforce evacuation of the premises May 20 following a provocation by members of

However, what was decisive in forcing the military to retreat were the mass demonstrations organized by the Socialist party in defense of *República*'s right to publish. Demonstrations mobilizing, reportedly, up to 60,000 persons were staged in Lisbon—proof of the sharpness of the issue and the awareness of many workers of its importance. That the SP leaders, thoroughly committed as they are to electoralist methods, felt obliged to mobilize the masses in the streets indicates the pressure placed on them as a consequence of the moves against *República*.

Protests Would Continue

There was every indication that such protests would continue and would expand, confronting the regime with a major challenge to its political authority.

In return for lifting the ban on *República*, the Socialist party leaders agreed to concessions demanded by the military high council, one of them being resumption of their participation in cabinet meetings. The council has announced that the press law will be "revised" so as to restrict the right of publishers to determine the editorial content of journals.

Two arguments were advanced in behalf of the printers whose action led to the closing of *República*:

1. That they were concerned about an alleged loss of circulation because of the editorial policy, which could end by bankrupting the paper and thus causing them to lose their jobs.

The phoniness of this argument is obvious. Through the government's action, they lost their jobs at once.

2. As honest, revolutionary-minded workers, the printers had a right to a voice in the editorial policy of the newspaper on which they worked.

This argument is as false as the first one. Where they have a right to exercise a voice in editorial policy is in the newspaper of the Communist

party, *Avante!* Would the CP leaders agree to these printers closing down *Avante!* because it was losing circulation or because they disagreed with its editor?

The logic of this argument leads to odd results. If the printers employed by *Avante!* were members of the Socialist party, would the CP leaders concede that they had a right to close down the paper if its editorial policy did not meet with their approval?

Obviously every political tendency has a democratic right to determine its own editorial policy. And if rival political tendencies seek to intervene on some pretext, they are violating the democratic rights of others and laying a basis in principle for violation of their own democratic rights.

The military government's suppression of *República*, heartily supported by the Communist party, enabled a leading voice of American imperialism, the *New York Times*, to portray the conflict as evidence of the antidemocratic nature of communism. The *Times* sought to take advantage of the situation, just as it has taken advantage of the crimes of Stalin in the USSR to smear the Russian Revolution.

But it requires imperialist gall for imperialist critics of the Portuguese regime to pose as defenders of democratic rights. From South Vietnam to Brazil, Spain, and Iran—and in Portugal itself for almost half a century—they have amply demonstrated their preference for the most sordid, venal, and brutal dictatorships to defend and uphold the capitalist system. This has been the main component of American foreign policy since the turn of the century.

The protests of publications like the *Times* are designed primarily as propaganda to smear the image of proletarian revolution and to furnish a lying, democratic cover for more direct intervention in Portugal if the MFA and the Communist party prove incapable of

controlling the mass movement and blocking its development in an anti-capitalist direction.

Working-class Assets

For the bourgeoisie, democratic rights are not essential to preserve their class rule; in fact, in today's world, democratic rights stand in the way of maintaining their rule—which is why we see such an erosion of democracy in the "free" world. For the working class, democratic rights are precious assets in the struggle for social emancipation.

Freedom of the press—which was directly under attack in the *República* affair—is a basic democratic right, won in long, hard struggles, which the working class has every interest to defend. The revolutionary-socialist approach to this question was explained by Leon Trotsky in succinct fashion in 1938 in an article summing up the principled position of the Bolsheviks.

Trotsky's main argument is as follows:

1. Working people cannot free themselves from the influence of reactionary ideas by means of a ban on reactionary publications. "In reality, only the greatest freedom of speech, of the press, and of association can create favorable conditions for the advance of the revolutionary movement of the working class."

2. In capitalist society, restrictions on freedom of the press arm the bourgeois state with special means for controlling public opinion. Moreover, the restrictions are turned against working-class publications.

3. "It is essential to wage a relentless struggle against the reactionary press. But workers cannot let the repressive fist of the bourgeois state substitute for the struggle that they must wage through their own organizations and their own press."

Viewed from this standpoint, the failure of the Portuguese military regime's attempt to suppress the Socialist party press must be counted as a victory for the working class in the revolutionary process in Portugal.

The bourgeoisie ruled for a half century in Portugal through a totalitarian dictatorship. Today they are exercising their rule through a different means, the Armed Forces Movement. The MFA is relying heavily on the Communist party to "discipline" the labor movement, to control and head off strikes, and generally to contain the class forces pressing toward breaking up the capitalist system and its state structure. But the Stalinists' usefulness is limited by the growing economic crisis, which restricts the employment of reformist tactics. In addition, the CP is becoming discredited among the more militant layers of the working class, owing to its class-collaborationist policy and its antidemocratic attitudes.

The MFA is using the time placed at its disposal by the treacherous role of the Stalinists to build a political

Continued on page 22



Portuguese troops outside headquarters of 'República.' Defense of freedom of press was at heart of dispute. Working class has important interest in defending this basic democratic right.

How accurate are predictions of upswing in capitalist

By Dick Fidler

Has the depression "bottomed out"? Is an upturn about to begin? If so, how long will it last? Will there be a new slump? These are some of the questions now being discussed by economists and political leaders.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has predicted an average growth of 3% in output of goods and services in its twenty-four member countries during the next six months, compared with zero growth during the last twelve months.

But this prediction is based largely on the expectation that the governments of the strongest countries—in the first place, the United States, West Germany, and Japan—will be forced to "reflate" their economies in coming months to combat the most severe slump since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

At a news briefing in Paris May 21, OECD economists reported that the steepness of the current decline had exceeded their expectations. They said that industrial production in the OECD's five largest members—the United States, West Germany, Japan, France, and Italy—would show a drop of between 10% and 20% for the first half of this year from the level for the last half of 1973.

Unemployment, they said, had doubled to an official 14 million in member countries, approximately 5% of the combined labor force. They estimated that during the first half of 1975, total output of goods and services will register a decline of 3%.

"A slow pick-up in economic activity is still expected for the second half, continuing through next year," reported Clyde H. Farnsworth in the May 22 *New York Times*. "But the experts conceded there has as yet been little evidence of an upswing, a point that is worrying some officials."

The prospects for recovery depend very much on the U.S. economy, which accounts for one-third of the output of the OECD member countries. The decline in the United States was deeper than most economists had predicted. In the first quarter of this year, the U.S. gross national product dropped at an annual rate of 10.4%. Gross private domestic investment declined 21% (in current dollars) during the same period. Most of this decline in investment resulted from a drop of more than \$35 billion in inventory investment. But spending on plant and equipment was down by \$4 billion, and on housing construction by \$5 billion—indicating little likelihood of a rapid turnabout. According to McGraw-Hill Business

Publications, U.S. industry is currently operating at only 65% of capacity.

The waste in human lives and productivity entailed by this underutilization of industrial capacity is revealed in the extraordinarily high rates of unemployment—currently more than 9% of the work force by official statistics, and probably close to 12% if the millions of working people are included who in desperation have dropped out of the labor market.

The 8.5 million workers listed as unemployed in the United States today represent almost two-thirds of the total unemployment in the major capitalist countries. And despite all its rosy predictions of an economic upturn just around the corner, the Ford administration holds out no hope of a substantial reduction in unemployment *before the end of this decade*.

"Revised projections" for the economy published May 30 predicted a growth rate of 6.3% in 1976, but estimated that even if such growth were sustained for the rest of the decade, unemployment, expected to average close to 8% next year, would not fall below 5% before 1980.

Upturn is 'Imminent'

However, Washington officials have pointed to a slowing of the rate of inflation. Consumer prices rose by less than 6% in the last three months, compared with a peak rate of more than 13% last year, and wholesale prices have barely increased in recent months. This, they claim, is evidence that an upturn is "imminent." The administration has therefore loosened bank credit and cut taxes somewhat to encourage a modest increase in investment and consumer spending.

West Germany, with the lowest rate of inflation of the major imperialist countries, has been "reflating" its economy for some time. But unemployment, which peaked in February at almost 1.2 million jobless, or 5.2% of the labor force, still remains above the 1 million mark. Another million workers are on reduced hours.

In the first quarter of 1975, Germany's exports to the United States sank 46% below last year's levels, and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is publicly urging Washington to step up its expansionary policies. Nevertheless, with nearly \$40 billion in gold and foreign-exchange reserves, the West German economy is by far the strongest in Western Europe.

Japan, accustomed to annual growth rates of 10% or more throughout most of the postwar expansionary period, saw its economic output decline 1% or 2% in the fiscal year ended March 31.



'I hope you guys know where we are . . .'

For the current fiscal year, growth has been officially forecast at 4.3%.

The major source of optimism for Japanese officials has been a recent sharp decrease in the rate of inflation. Wholesale prices are expected to rise only 5% in the current quarter, compared with rates as high as 35% last year.

Businessmen are also encouraged by the fact that wage settlements in the *shunto*, or annual spring labor offensive, averaged only about 15%, well below the unions' stated objectives of 25% to 30% increases.

No doubt a major factor in the unions' weakened combativity was the pressure on wages exerted by 1.3 million unemployed. This 2.5% unemployment rate is unprecedented in recent decades.

Italy has experienced the most remarkable turnaround. With the help of \$9 billion in loans last year from the International Monetary Fund and West Germany, a domestic austerity program, and an expansion of exports, Italy has reduced its huge payments deficit and has made a substantial improvement in its trade balance. In early April international banks removed Italy from the list of countries from which they demand a high-risk premium on loan interest rates.

Heavy Unemployment

But this relative stabilization of Italian capitalism has been achieved at the cost of heavy unemployment—officially more than 1 million, or 5% of the work force, and well above previous official estimates. And this will be the first year in twenty-five that Italy's economic output will actually decline; the GNP is expected to register a net drop of 2.5% in 1975, in contrast to an increase of 3.4% in 1974.

Britain's economic situation continues to worsen. Prices have climbed at a record rate of over 20% in the last twelve months, and the rate of inflation is expected to go above 25% this year. Unemployment, now at 800,000, is expected to climb to a million or more in coming months.

The major worry of businessmen is that so far the British working class has shown no inclination to slacken its combativity. Many recent wage settlements have provided for annual increases of more than 30%. Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey responded in April by bringing in a harsh austerity budget, denouncing wage claims in "excess" of "increases in prices" and "improvements in productivity."

Meanwhile the depression has more deeply affected certain countries that for one reason or another had previous

ly escaped the full brunt of the downturn in the major capitalist centers. An example is Canada, which last year took advantage of the high prices on the world market for its raw materials—oil, wheat, pulp, and paper—to register an increase of about 4% in real output.

The U.S. slump has caught up with Canada, which exports almost 20% of its production to the United States. The Trudeau government recently threw out previous predictions of modest economic growth in 1975 and is now forecasting no increase in output this year. The official unemployment rate of more than 7% is the highest since 1961.

The Canadian bourgeoisie, concerned that the combativity of Canadian workers has virtually eliminated the longstanding wage differential with American workers, is now campaigning for "voluntary" wage and price controls—the prelude to a mandatory freeze if Canada's international competitive position continues to deteriorate.

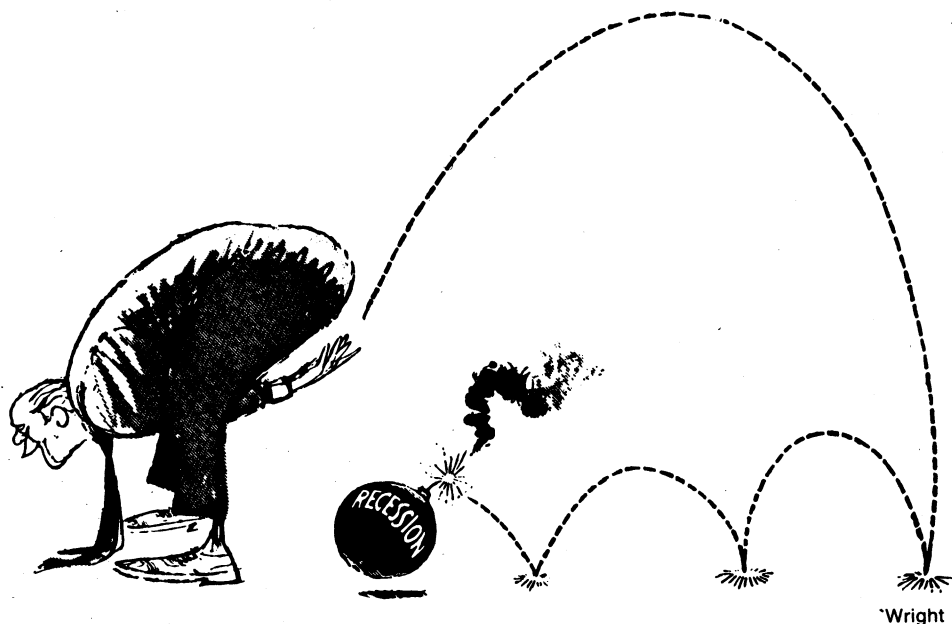
Most semicolonial countries, hit by a simultaneous decline in orders for raw materials and sharp escalations in the prices of imported manufactured goods, have been especially affected by the international depression. A handful of oil-exporting countries alone have experienced any substantial increase in revenue from exports.

The signs taken to mean that the slump has bottomed out in some of the major capitalist countries have encouraged optimistic predictions of a major upturn just ahead. OECD ministers ended three days of closed-door discussions on May 29 expressing "confidence" in a quick recovery of output and employment, and a "further reduction in the average rate of inflation."

U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon predicted that the U.S. growth in the second half of 1975 "may well be the highest" among member countries.

However, the forecasters' hopes for an upturn in the next six months are clouded by signs that the underlying sources of the current depression have not disappeared, and may indeed be exacerbated by a partial recovery.

Most ominous is a marked slowing of the rate of increase in world trade. The OECD reported May 21 that imports for the group declined by an estimated 10% for the first half of 1975 from the last half of 1973—the sharpest drop since World War II. Although no figures were given, it was reported that the decline in exports was partially offset by demands from semicolonial oil-exporting countries for Western goods.



Wright

economy?

"This slowdown of world trade," an OECD official said, "is a new thing in the world economy and provides some reason for doubting the strength of the recovery."

In previous postwar depressions, the effects of the downturn in some countries could be compensated by expanding exports to countries that continued to go through expansionary phases. In a generalized depression, as at present, this becomes impossible. The downturn in the major national markets reinforces the decline in all.

The continued high levels of inflation—and the uneven rates of inflation among various countries—are another ominous indication that the underlying instability in world capitalist economy is far from ended. Inflation during the first four months of 1975 averaged less than 10% for the twenty-four OECD countries, as compared with 15% for the whole of last year. But the situation varies widely from country to country, ranging from a probable 25% or more this year in Britain, to 5% in West Germany.

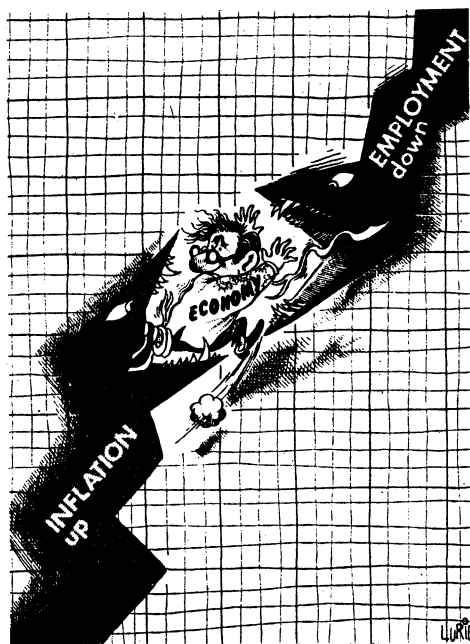
"It's anyone's guess," an economist at the International Monetary Fund in Washington told the *Wall Street Journal* in February, "whether we're witnessing a lasting change in the international price situation or simply a hiatus" in a long-term pattern of worsening inflation everywhere.

Keynesian Concepts

According to the Keynesian concepts that have guided capitalist economic and monetary theory in the postwar period, inflation can be countered by slowing the economy's growth through such means as restricting the money supply, raising taxes, and allowing unemployment to increase. Now economists are increasingly worried that a renewal of expansion will bring on a new round of double-digit inflation and result in a new slump, possibly one more serious than the current downturn.

The massive government deficits projected for 1975-76 practically assure a resurgence of inflation more virulent than ever during the next upturn. The Ford administration's predicted deficit of \$60 billion for this fiscal year is widely regarded as understated; the actual deficit could be as high as \$100 billion or more. Bonn has budgeted a deficit of 50 billion Deutschmarks (more than US\$20 billion). Tokyo's budget for fiscal 1975 calls for a 25% increase in government spending, to be supplemented by increases later in the year.

Fears that the recovery will be partial and short-lived are being open-



ly voiced by many officials and commentators in the business press.

Alan Greenspan, chairman of Ford's Council of Economic Advisers, warned a recent meeting of investors from major Wall Street financial institutions that there is a serious danger of another "big cyclical swing"—one more boom-bust cycle—resulting from inflation imbalances.

Reporting on the meeting in the April 30 *New York Times*, economics analyst Leonard Silk noted that "internationally, some observers foresee the next crash as being the really devastating one. Frances Cairncross and Hamish McRae, economics correspondent and financial editor of *The Manchester Guardian*, have offered the following scenario in their new book, 'The Second Great Crash':

"As the next expansion gathers pace, inflation is sure to accelerate. There is a grave danger—indeed, a near certainty—that the boom of 1977-8 will see a number of major countries lose control of their currencies."

"Many businessmen, such as Reginald Jones, chairman of General Electric, share the view that the United States economy is in a long, depressed cycle in which recoveries will not carry through to put employment at the high levels reached earlier and recessions will be deeper than heretofore."

Silk cited a study by Prof. Hyman P. Minsky of Washington University in St. Louis, who attributes the economy's weakness to the "fragility" of the financial structures. "...many businesses and banks are still relatively illiquid, straining to meet heavy payment commitments out of diminished cash flows from operations. This has forced them to cut back on investment and other outlays."

In other words, a major hindrance to long-term recovery is the "liquidity crunch" facing banks and corporations—their massive burden of accumulated debt.

Servicing this debt stokes the fires of inflation. As interest burdens increase—the result of larger debt as well as higher interest rates stimulated by the huge demand for loans—capitalists raise prices to meet these obligations. Price increases spread throughout the economy, increasing the need for further borrowing. Debt obligations, interest charges, and prices chase each other in an upward spiral of inflation.

Furthermore, the banks themselves, in their quest for profits, have loaned out such a high proportion of their assets that their own liquidity is endangered.

In his April 30 article, Leonard Silk noted that the traditional remedy for a liquidity crisis is a depression. Businesses reduce capital spending, dispose

of inventories, liquidate relatively unprofitable branches—at the cost of bankruptcies and mass unemployment.

But today such a cure is politically very difficult to apply, the *Times's* expert observed. "Both threatened unions and failing businesses—the bigger the organization, the heavier the political clout—insist that the fiscal and monetary authorities pump in enough money to float the economy off the rocks."

"Thus arises the danger that slump will give way to inflation."

In its May 26 issue, *Business Week* took issue with OECD economists who forecast a sharp upturn in the second half of 1975. "This conventional approach to forecasting..." it said, "which assumes that future cycles will be more similar than different from the past, clashes with evidence that the new maturity is taking its toll."

By "new maturity" *Business Week* indicated it was referring to a generalized turn in the postwar economic situation. It cited the views of Kurt Richebaeher, chief economist for the Dresdner Bank in Frankfurt, who "views the recession as part of a genuine structural crisis and interprets the recent flatness of output not as a prelude to recovery but merely as a temporary pause in a longer downturn."

Business Week argued that the "new maturity" of the West European and Japanese economies would inhibit the growth of U.S. exports and thereby the potential for recovery in the United States itself. In particular, it drew attention to world trade, which is expected to increase this year by only 1% to 3% in real terms, compared with 5% last year and 15% in 1973. This, the

credit squeeze, West German capitalists are making a bigger proportion of their investments abroad. Volkswagen, for example, is laying off workers and threatening to close plants in Germany even while it considers plans to build cars in the United States.

All these pressures are felt most strongly in sectors that helped to fuel Europe's postwar expansion—autos, steel, machinery, rubber, and glass.

'Intensified Competition'

"For U.S. businessmen," the May 26 *Business Week* said, "the economic crisis in Europe and Japan will mean intensified competition for world markets and raw materials. Foreign business will be looking to increase its penetration of the U.S. market both through exports and construction of plants on the scene. And U.S. investors will meet vigorous competition in such critical new areas as the Middle East, Latin America, and East Asia."

Thus the long phase of postwar capitalist expansion, characterized by an enormous inflation of credit and expansion of trade, and based on the U.S. dollar as a stable international medium of exchange, has given way to a phase of intensified trade rivalry, double-digit inflation, reduced capital spending, and increasing instability in international monetary policy.

These developments dominated the meeting of OECD ministers held in Paris at the end of May. Their discussions, held in secret, were characterized by Britain's Denis Healey as "extremely frank."

With only Portugal dissenting, the ministers adopted an agreement not to set curbs on imports or to artificially encourage exports—but not without appeals from weaker countries like Britain, which argued that they could



Bottomed out

Wright/Miami News

magazine said, "could exacerbate trends toward various forms of protectionism."

In its March 3 issue, *Business Week* noted "some striking similarities" to the 1930s. "The formation of the Deutschmark bloc is a tentative throw-back to the currency blocs of the 1930s, as are the tendency of countries to manipulate their exchange rates in 'dirty' floats and the move toward the kind of bilateral deals that have been made with the OPEC nations, or are in the early stages of negotiation with OPEC by some of the Western countries."

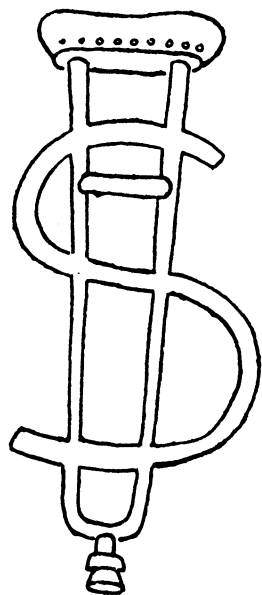
Prospects for a major upturn in Western Europe and Japan are also clouded by the long-term decline in capital spending. In West Germany, for example, new plant and equipment outlays, stagnant from 1971 to 1973, dropped sharply in 1974 and will fall again this year. Pressured by a severe

not resist further protective action unless the stronger economies adopted more extensive antirecessionary measures.

France reiterated its objections to floating exchange rates, arguing that they had resulted in undesirable declines in the value of the U.S. dollar, weakening French exports.

But every capitalist government is well aware that in the last analysis the main point in an upswing is the renewed flow of profits it assures. But this occurs at the cost of the workers, that is, a relatively lower level of real wages.

That is why a modest upturn in production in the next period—if it occurs—is hardly cause for cheering among working people. They face continued high rates of unemployment and underemployment, and increased attacks on living standards and democratic rights.



Immigrant African workers exploited in France

[Sally N'Dongo is the general secretary of the Union Générale des Travailleurs Sénégalais en France (UGTSF—General Union of Senegalese Workers in France). He granted the following interview to Tony Thomas in Paris last February. The interview was conducted in French, and Thomas has provided the translation for *Intercontinental Press*.]

Question. How have the relations of Senegal and other African countries with France led to the immigration of thousands of workers?

Answer. Senegal has been colonized by France for centuries. French exploitation through the slave trade and other forms of plunder dates from around the 1670s. After the resistance of the Senegalese to colonial penetration was crushed, the colonizers began to plunder the natural resources and to impose forced labor.

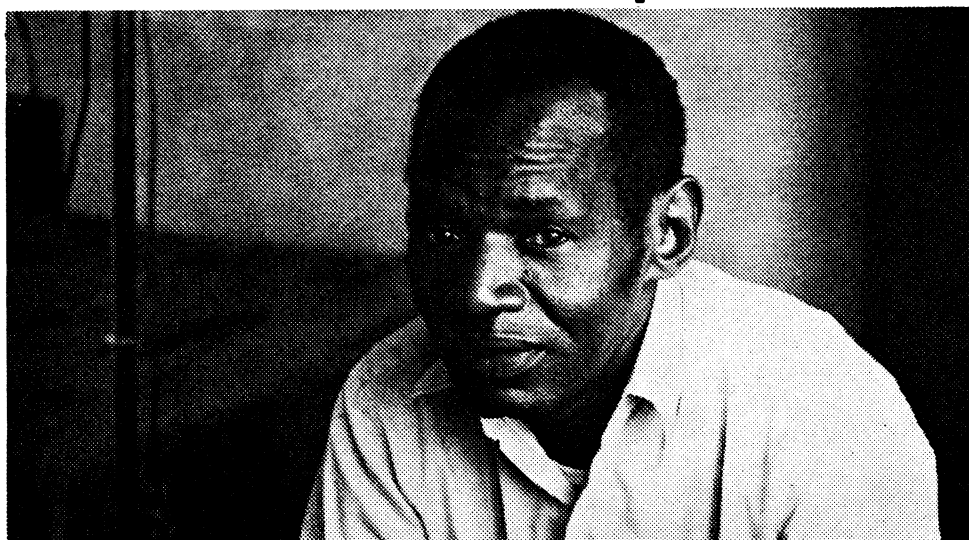
Forced labor—which I was a victim of—included the construction of roads, public buildings, military bases, hospitals, and other things needed to support the colonial regime. There was also forced labor in the form of military service, either in combat or doing things like cutting wood.

The colonialists imposed peanut cultivation to change our farming from growing things for Senegalese to eat and wear to a commercial agriculture oriented to the imperialist economy. Before this, people didn't grow peanuts very much, but grew their own food and manufactured their own iron, weapons, cotton for clothing, and so forth. Everything was made by Africans for Africans, without modern techniques. But the Africans lived much better than now.

So by these two ways—forced labor and the imposition of commercial agricultural production—colonialism brought poverty and misery into Senegal.

After "independence," which was only another form of dependence, de Gaulle made sure that reliable people were in power in Senegal. They, in turn, signed accords with the French government on the relationship between the two countries.

In Senegal, Africans are unable to get higher-paying posts. All the education there is controlled by the French. If an African wants to study to be an engineer, a technician, and so on, he is told that this is not good for him or



Militant/Caroline Lund

Sally N'Dongo, general secretary of General Union of Senegalese Workers in France, describes exploitation of immigrant African workers and how they are organizing against it.

useful for the country.

Senegal is completely in the hands of French imperialism. From the level of the president of Senegal on down, the country is controlled by technical, military, and political "consultants" or "assistants" from France. This includes the police, who have French instructors who show them how to torture.

The same relations apply to the accords on immigration. A Senegalese who wants to come to France needs a passport, a job contract approved by the French embassy, and a round-trip ticket. He must also deposit 35,000 francs CFA¹ in the Senegal state bank. This is equal to 700 French francs.²

Theoretically, a Frenchman coming to Senegal to work must do the same thing. In practice, any French person with an identification card or a passport can come to Senegal and do what he wants.

This encourages illegal African emigration to France. The bosses force this because they never send job contracts to Africans. At least not to any I ever saw.

Forced by misery, unemployment, famine, and drought, Senegalese and other African workers have to come to

France illegally without a job contract.

The bosses then force them to take any type of wages and working conditions, because they know the workers don't have the proper papers.

Q. What kind of activities does the UGTSF carry out?

A. The UGTSF is an organization that helps African workers take care of their everyday problems here in France. At the same time, it links this action with political struggles not only in France but in Senegal itself.

Our work begins with teaching the workers how to read and write. By doing that we are able to raise their consciousness. We use this to expose the administration of the companies, the government, and the leaders in Africa. We try to help them deal with the problems of social security, family allotments, immigration, housing, and the unions. We have, for example, organized rent strikes in the lodging houses for foreign workers. At the same time, we explain how the mechanisms of capitalism are used to keep them in their place.

Q. In the United States, the AFL-CIO trade union federation has largely ignored the problems of immigrant workers. Is the same thing true in France?

A. The two big union federations here, the CGT³ and the CFDT,⁴ have been forced to deal with the problems

of immigrant workers, although they have not made any effective efforts to educate the ranks about this question.

Many French workers think that we have come here to take the bread out of their mouths, as the saying goes. They think that the money they pay into the social security goes to us and that we take their jobs.

However, we point out what is going on with the social security money. We also point out that France has gotten rich through the continuing pillage of our countries. That is why we are forced to leave our homelands to come to France to get jobs.

The constant propaganda of the capitalists has its effect on French workers. The leaders of the working class have to fight this if the struggle of all workers is to be effective.

The leaders of the CGT and the CFDT probably don't know how to carry on this type of struggle because they don't know how to fight against the capitalist class in a really independent way. However, these groups have been forced to take action in our defense because of the role that African workers are playing in the unions and the plants.

Several years ago the government issued the Fontanet-Marcellin Memorandum, requiring European and North African workers to obtain job contracts before working in France. Previously they were able to get a permit to come to France and look for a job.

At first the union leaders supported these decrees, seeing it as a way to stop the competition of the immigrants who they thought were wrecking their strikes.

Through educating and agitating around this issue we forced them to recognize that these decrees were directed not only against immigrant workers but against the unions as well. In factories where the majority of workers are immigrants, the unions would be paralyzed if the immigrants weren't struggling. So we were able to force the unions to take a good stand and fight for the repeal of this memorandum.

3. Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, dominated by the Communist party.—IP

4. Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, led by Social Democrats.—IP

... 'Republica'

Continued from page 19

movement directly controlled by the commanding officers of the armed forces of the Portuguese state.

A necessary part of this course is the gagging of outlets for actual or potential opposition to the MFA's goal. The closure of *República* was a case in point. It marked a new level in the series of attacks by the MFA regime on the Socialist party, Maoist groups, elections, and freedom of the trade unions.

In this respect, the action of the CP-led union in ousting the editor of *República* and censoring the newspaper's editorial content dovetailed with the course followed by the military. When the Socialist party held a mass demonstration at the newspaper's offices to protest this violation of its

right to express its views, the regime stepped in and closed down the offending journal.

The relation between democratic rights and the proletarian struggle has been especially obscured by the Stalinists, whose model of "socialism" is the bureaucratic regimes in the Soviet Union, China, and the "people's democracies" in Eastern Europe. On the one hand, the antidemocratic practices of such regimes discredit socialism, thereby constituting a major obstacle to its advance. On the other hand, even many revolutionary-minded critics of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries have come to believe that the suppression of democratic rights under Stalinist regimes is the norm for a workers state, and that such rights have little or nothing to do with the revolutionary struggle for power.

The Stalinists' attack on workers democracy in Portugal is directly linked to their strategic perspective, which, despite the "socialist" demagogues they employ, is to contain the mass

movement within the limits of the capitalist system.

The Socialist leaders likewise have no intention of leading the Portuguese masses to the overthrow of capitalism. They used the mobilizations around the *República* affair to try to reinforce their position inside the government as servants of the MFA.

But whatever their subjective intentions, the Socialist party's struggle in its own defense against the combined attack from the military junta and the Communist party has helped bolster democratic rights. Revolutionists must strive to further strengthen this gain by carrying forward the struggle for a socialist Portugal.

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Plumbers hit with antitrust suit

Supreme Court deals blow to union rights

By Frank Lovell

The Supreme Court's June 2 decision in an antitrust suit by Connell Construction Company against Plumbers Local 100 should be a warning and a lesson to the union movement.

The warning is that unions are coming under attack on all fronts. The lesson is that only the organized power of the working class can defend past gains and win new victories.

The majority opinion of the high court is a throwback to the open-shop era when unions and union members were prosecuted as "conspirators" against free trade and fined or jailed under the Sherman antitrust law.

The Plumbers local is held liable for triple damages because it forced Connell, a general contractor in Dallas, Texas, to sign an agreement to sublet work only to employers of union labor. The majority opinion held that this "indiscriminately excluded non-union subcontractors from a portion of the market."

The ruling is a blow to the union movement, another step in chipping away at labor's right to organize and strike. As such it is hailed by anti-union forces.

J.N. Matich, president of the Associated General Contractors of America, called it "the first step in assisting construction management to regain the right to manage." This is his way of saying that the contractors have another club to use against building-trades unions. It will be used against all other unions too.

Danbury Hatters

The historical precedent for this decision predates World War I. In the infamous Danbury Hatters case the court ruled that a boycott by the Hatters union of Danbury, Connecticut, against hat manufacturer D.E. Loewe Company was in restraint of trade under the Sherman law.

In 1916, individual union members were held liable and assessed damages and costs totaling \$252,000, a staggering amount in those days. These workers were robbed of their meager savings. This was the first application of the triple-damage provision of the antitrust law to a labor union.

Ostensibly a law against capitalist



1947 rally against Taft-Hartley. Supreme Court decision is latest in long series of government moves to limit labor's right to organize and strike.

monopolies, the Sherman law was invoked most savagely against workers and their unions.

In 1932 Congress passed the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, which restricted injunctions against strikers and exempted unions from antitrust laws if they did not conspire with management.

The Wagner National Labor Relations Act of 1935 established the first national labor policy and for the first time provided legal protection for the right to organize, a valuable concession wrested from the government by the resurgent union movement.

But the law also marked the beginning of the formal institutionalizing of the unions, subjecting them to a host of government regulations and restrictions.

Legal dispute

Attorneys for Plumbers Local 100 argued that the agreement between the union and the Connell Construction Company was exempt from antitrust regulation under the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 and the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959.

Taft-Hartley prohibits secondary

boycotts, but does not provide antitrust penalties. Landrum-Griffin specifically exempts agreements between building-trades unions and contractors governing work at a construction site.

The minority opinion, written by Justice Potter Stewart, holds that the ruling against the Plumbers is contrary to the intent of Congress in 1947 and 1959, which he says was clearly not to impose antitrust sanctions on unions. Stewart argues that the government's national labor policy is to maintain a balance of power between unions and management, which he fears is "threatened" by the majority ruling.

Fine points of law and the supposed concern of courts for an even-handed policy are swept aside by the new relationship of class forces. The government at all times defends the interests of the employers against the workers, limited only by whatever economic and political pressures the labor movement can bring to bear.

Millions of unemployed workers are today the helpless victims of the economic crisis. Employers everywhere are taking advantage of this to drive down wages and to weaken unions.

They sense that they are in a stronger position now than any time since the rise of the CIO in the mid-1930s.

The crusade of the industrial union movement at that time to organize the unorganized and win union recognition brought social reforms and favorable labor legislation. These gains were systematically undermined by wartime restrictions and the postwar Taft-Hartley Act.

Craft-union mentality

Complacent union bureaucrats who rely on "friends" in the Democratic party and make deals with "good" employers have contributed to the present weakness and isolation of the unions. The case of the Dallas Plumbers is an example.

The officials of that local thought they could strike the general contractor, already signed up with building-trades unions, and force him to sublet plumbing work only to "good firms" that hire members of Local 100. It is unlikely that organizing the unorganized plumbers into the union ever entered the heads of these officials, bound as they are by the narrowest job-trust outlook.

The union movement will find protection from punitive court decisions, and from the general union-busting offensive of the employing class, when it undertakes to organize *all* unorganized workers, employed and unemployed.

The "Jobs for all" demand should include everyone who needs work and not be interpreted as "Jobs for all . . . of us dues-paying union members," as the actions of some of these craft unions imply.

Political action

The economic crisis demands of the union movement a new social consciousness, a crusade to reorganize society, to rebuild the country, to break up the dictatorship of the corrupt employing class, and to give working men and women their own clear voice in government.

A Supreme Court decision that reimposes antitrust sanctions on unions, which must be understood as a *political* decision, underscores the need for political action by the union movement, independent of the two parties of the ruling rich.

Mo. welfare workers, recipients demand raise

By Craig Adams

ST. LOUIS—Since mid-May, the newly formed Association of Family Services Employees (AFSE) of Missouri has organized a series of job actions aimed at increasing the disgracefully low pay and benefits allotted by the state for welfare workers and recipients alike. The organization has rallied, picketed, and lobbied in the state capitol, publicizing its demands.

Ranking forty-sixth nationally, Missouri state employees are among the lowest-paid throughout the country. About one-third of the family services staff members receive less than \$500 per month. Because of their low pay, 10 percent of the welfare workers themselves receive benefits from Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), and a large percentage have additional part-time jobs or use food stamps to supplement their incomes.

Despite the 38 percent increase in the cost of living in the past five years, welfare employees have received only two 5 percent salary increases. In contrast to these meager raises for workers, the Missouri state legislature recently cast aside all rhetoric about inflationary budgets and voted them-

selves a 47 percent salary increase.

Missouri's Governor Christopher Bond recently vetoed a bill that would have offered a 15 percent salary increase to welfare employees. He is expected to sign another bill, which offers only a 6 percent increase for caseworkers and nothing for clerical workers.

Nancy Liederman, a caseworker, told the *Militant*: "On top of offering us only 6 percent when we're asking for 22 percent just in order to keep up with the cost of living, their bill leaves clerical workers out in the cold. We won't accept an offer that doesn't improve the situation of a woman in clerical who's been working for ten years and yet makes only \$494 a month."

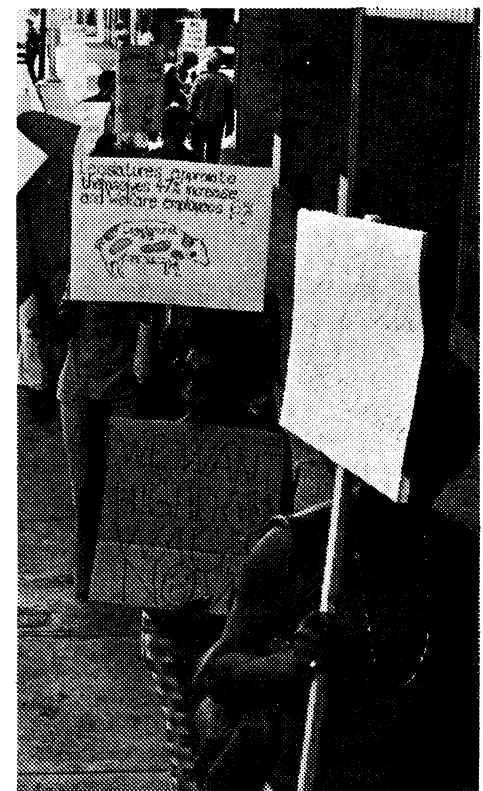
The association is demanding an across-the-board increase of 22 percent for both case- and clerical workers. They also demand a cost-of-living increase for welfare recipients. Since 1961 the general relief grant of Missouri has not increased even though the cost of living during the same period has risen 78 percent. At present, a welfare mother with three children

gets a monthly allowance of only \$37.50 a person.

This spring's activities have been the first actions involving large numbers of welfare workers in Missouri. Some 900 out of 1,500 welfare workers in the city of St. Louis held an informational protest on June 2 and 3. They were joined by co-workers across the state. Since public employees in Missouri do not have the right to strike or bargain collectively, participants in the two-day protest were forced to take sick and vacation days off.

Following the two days of activity, the administration of the Missouri Division of Family Services has waged an attack on welfare workers who were involved in the protest. Supervisors who were active in the protest have been particularly singled out. AFSE has pledged to take on their defense by offering legal aid and counsel.

Welfare workers see this as just the beginning of a continued struggle. At a rally following the two-day protest, Herbert Singer, a spokesperson for AFSE, said, "We will go back, get organized, get ready. . . . This is just the beginning for us, and we will win."



Militant/Pat Hayes

Association of Family Service Employees pickets for cost-of-living wage boost.

Two million dead

Washington's intervention in Korea:

By David Frankel

Twenty-five years after the outbreak of the Korean War, Washington still has 40,000 troops stationed on the Korean Peninsula. They are backed up by the mighty Seventh Fleet, by the huge U.S. bases in Okinawa and Japan, and by what the *New York Times* recently described as "untold numbers of tactical nuclear weapons."

Because the Korean War took place during the anticommunist witch-hunt of the 1950s, when even mild dissent was equated with disloyalty and treason, the lies of the U.S. government were never exposed before the eyes of the American people. To this day liberal apologists for imperialism argue that Washington's counterrevolutionary war in Vietnam was a mistake, an exception, while ignoring the fact that precisely the same issues were posed in Korea at the end of World War II.

After forty years of Japanese rule, the Korean people were not interested in having their country once again occupied by foreign troops. Less than a month after the surrender of Japan, on September 6, 1945, an independent government of Korea was declared, based on popular committees that had been organized by the anti-Japanese resistance movement.

Despite the formation of this Korean government, the country was divided into two zones of occupation, with Soviet troops in the north and U.S. troops in the south. While the Soviets recognized the new government, the U.S. occupation forces ignored it, setting up an Advisory Council staffed with figures who had collaborated with the Japanese during the war.

On October 10 the United States Military Government in Korea—a body that did not have a single member who even spoke Korean—declared itself the sole government in South Korea. It called for an end to pronouncements by "irresponsible political groups," and the following month it outlawed the Congress of the People's Republic.

The imperialists finally set up a Korean front for their rule in February 1946. A so-called Representative Democratic Council, which was so right-wing that leading liberals boycotted it, was formed. It was headed by the just returned Syngman Rhee, who had spent thirty-seven of his seventy years in the United States.

Roots of war

Thus, the roots of the Korean War were not at all in the fabled "aggression from the North," which was also Washington's refrain in Vietnam. It was in the artificial division of Korea



Burning a Korean village. U.S. intervention was directed against the masses of Korean workers and peasants.

by the U.S. imperialists, a division that was part of Washington's general strategy of trying to stem the colonial revolution following World War II.

Historians are still arguing over which side moved first in June 1950 to spark the Korean War. Both Rhee and his defense minister had been threatening to invade the North for months. The dictatorship in the South was facing increasing popular opposition, and only the war saved Rhee's government. However, the question of who fired the first shot is really irrelevant to the basic cause of the war. Washington set up a situation in which civil war in Korea was almost inevitable, and then used the occasion to launch a war aimed at China.

In his book, *The Hidden History of the Korean War*, journalist I.F. Stone showed how the State Department had a draft resolution prepared for the UN General Assembly before the war even started. The United Nations condemned North Korea as an aggressor without ever hearing its side of the story.

While Washington was eager to use the UN flag as a cover for its intervention in Korea, it didn't bother to wait

for the United Nations before ordering its forces into action. On June 27, 1950, the White House announced that President Truman had "ordered United States air and sea forces to give the Korean government troops cover and support." Three hours later the UN Security Council met to decide on whether it should act on the side of the Rhee regime.

'Starved for supplies'

In the first months of the war the imperialist army was almost swept off the Korean Peninsula. I.F. Stone noted in his book, "Soviet air power and sea power by intervening could have pushed the Pusan defenders into the sea. The North Koreans might have done it alone, if they had not been starved for supplies."

In Moscow, Stalin was hoping to placate the imperialists and strike a deal with them at the expense of the Korean people. His refusal to give the Koreans adequate military aid was to result in the war being prolonged for three years, and in the threat of its extension into China.

By the middle of September, U.S. Marines had landed behind Korean

lines in Inchon, and on September 30, with the North Koreans in full retreat, they had reached the Thirty-eighth Parallel—the boundary between North and South Korea. Washington had based its case for intervention in Korea on the argument that South Korea was a sovereign country, facing an invasion from the North. But speaking the very day that U.S. troops reached the Thirty-eighth Parallel, U.S. Ambassador Warren Austin told the United Nations:

"The aggressor's forces should not be permitted to have refuge behind an imaginary line. . . . The artificial barrier which has divided North and South Korea has no basis for existence in law or in reason."

The U.S. forces pushed on into North Korea. On October 20, 1950, the North Korean capital of Pyongyang fell, and by November South Korean forces were approaching the Chinese border. As I.F. Stone explained, "The North Korean regime had been overthrown, its capital occupied, and its troops smashed. . . ." And all this had been accomplished with the Stalinist regimes in Moscow and Peking doing virtually nothing to help their Korean ally. However, Washington was just beginning.

China enters war

Emboldened by the lack of response from Moscow and Peking, the imperialists kept pushing. The commander of the U.S. forces in Korea, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, made no secret of his desire for a counterrevolutionary war against China. He continually inveighed against the "privileged sanctuaries" across the Chinese border.

U.S. warplanes were repeatedly bombing and strafing Chinese cities, and on October 8 two U.S. planes had even attacked a Soviet airport sixty miles beyond the Korean border and only forty miles from Vladivostok.

The atmosphere in Washington was indicated on August 25, when Secretary of the Navy Francis Matthews made a speech calling for a war against Communism, saying that this would "cast us in a character new to a true democracy—an initiator of a war

Korea: '...a brutal imperialist invasion'

Although there was widespread opposition within the United States to the Korean War, the popular dissatisfaction was rarely expressed publicly because of the intimidating effect of the McCarthyite witch-hunt. Despite the attacks of the witch-hunters, the Socialist Workers party stood firmly on the side of the Korean people, against the imperialist intervention, and it said so loud and clear.

In an open letter to President Truman and Congress, printed on the front page of the July 31, 1950, *Militant*, SWP national secretary James P. Cannon declared:

"The American intervention in Korea is a brutal imperialist invasion, no different from the French

war on Indo-China or the Dutch assault on Indonesia. American boys are being sent 10,000 miles away to kill and be killed, not in order to liberate the Korean people, but to conquer and subjugate them. . . .

"The explosion in Korea on June 25, as events have proved, expressed the profound desire of the Koreans themselves to unify their country, to rid themselves of foreign domination and to win their complete national independence. . . .

"This is more than a fight for unification and national liberation. It is a civil war. On the one side are the Korean workers, peasants and student youth. On the other are the Korean landlords, usurers, capitalists and their police and political

agents. The impoverished and exploited working masses have risen up to drive out the native parasites as well as their foreign protectors. . . .

"There is not an iota of concern for the wishes and rights of the Korean people in this brutal invasion. The attempt to prop up the Syngman Rhee regime by armed force is part of Wall Street's planned program to dominate and exploit the whole world. . . .

"The right in this struggle is all on the side of the Korean people. Like the colonial peoples everywhere in Asia, they want no part of U.S. or even UN 'liberation.' They want the American troops to get out of Korea. They want freedom from all foreign domination. They want to decide their own fate."

the Vietnam of the 1950s

of aggression . . . the first aggressors for peace."

After repeated statements that U.S. forces would stop forty miles from the Chinese border, they kept right on going. Only twenty years earlier, the Japanese imperialists had used the same Korean route to invade China. Furthermore, the dams and power installations on the Yalu River, which marked the border with China, provided much of the power for Manchuria; at that time the center of Chinese industry.

Finally, on November 24, MacArthur ordered 100,000 troops into an offensive designed to reach the Yalu. The Chinese had had enough; within a few days MacArthur's troops were in full retreat.

Truman rattles bomb

Responding to China's entry into the war at a November 30 news conference, President Truman stated that "we will take whatever steps are necessary to meet the military situation." When asked if that included the atomic bomb, he said, "That includes every weapon we have," and added that "there has always been active consideration of its use."

Having already used it against Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there is no reason to suppose that Truman would have hesitated to drop the bomb again. However, Washington's own allies recoiled in fear. Canadian External Affairs Minister Lester Pearson pointed out that "certainly its use for a second time against an Asian people would dangerously weaken the links that remain between the Western world and the peoples of the East."

Expanding on his fear of the colonial revolution, Pearson added that the military advantages of dropping the atomic bomb "are likely to be far outweighed by the reactions among the peoples of the world."

Although thwarted in their hopes for a nuclear offensive against China, the U.S. imperialists consoled themselves with a bloodletting in Korea that left two million dead and another three million wounded. New programs with names such as "Operation Killer" and "Operation Strangle" were initiated by the defenders of freedom in the Pentagon.

'Liberators' not welcome

As early as August 24, 1950, only two months after the war began, a *New York Times* dispatch discussing the possibility of elections in Korea noted, "The difficulty is that there is a strong probability of an over-all Com-

munist majority if the elections were held before the communization of North Korea had been undone, and before a UN reconstruction program had assuaged the bitterness of North and South Korea against the destruction of their homes during their liberation by UN forces."

The November 9 *New York Times* described an attack by almost 400 U.S. planes on Sinuiju, a city on the Chinese border, which was reported as 90 percent destroyed.

The attack began in the morning "when fighter planes swept the area with machine guns, rockets, and jellied gasoline bombs." This was followed by high-explosive bombs, and then "the remaining planes used incendiaries exclusively on a two and one-half mile build-up area. . . ."

Reporters were assured that all targets were of a military nature, and pilots "had kept away from the city's hospital areas."

As Gen. Emmet O'Donnell, head of the U.S. Bomber Command in the Far East, explained before a Senate committee, "I would say that the entire, almost the entire Korean peninsula is just a terrible mess. Everything is destroyed. There is nothing standing worthy of the name. . . . Just before the Chinese came in we were grounded. There were no more targets in Korea."

Scorched earth

The destruction of Korea was not limited to its larger towns and cities. "Allied troops in the Wonju sector," reported the *London Times* January 15, 1951, "pursuing a scorched-earth policy, have burned twenty-two villages and set fire to three hundred haystacks."

Whole villages were napalmed as suspected "enemy" outposts. The *New York Times* reported one instance in its February 9, 1951, issue: "The inhabitants throughout the village and in the fields were caught and killed and kept the exact postures they had held when the napalm struck—a man about to get on his bicycle, fifty boys and girls playing in an orphanage. . . . There must be almost two hundred dead in the tiny hamlet."

The slaughter in Korea went on for more than three years. In November 1954, his country having been made "safe for democracy," Syngman Rhee had himself named president for life.

In the spring of 1960 student demonstrations sparked a massive response and Rhee was overthrown. However, a military coup the next year brought the current dictator, Park Chung Hee, to power.



Korean police attacking student protesters in Seoul. South Korean dictatorship relies on U.S. backing.

In the wake of Washington's defeat in Vietnam, the imperialists have been focusing their attention on Korea once again. They are trying to make it appear as if the threat to their puppet regime in South Korea comes from an aggressive regime in the North.

New war threat

However, in any new war in Korea U.S. forces will be fighting the people of South Korea no less than those of North Korea, as was the case in the first Korean war. The current world economic crisis has deepened the class divisions in South Korea, a fact made clear in a dispatch from Pusan by Richard Halloran in the June 7 *New York Times*.

Halloran noted the impact on the workers of South Korea's brutal inflation. "Government statistics show that a family of five needs \$125 a month to live," a union leader said, "but some of our members are making only half that. . . ."

"The union official was unhappy with the Government in Seoul because it provides no unemployment benefits. 'If our members lose jobs on such a massive scale,' he argued, 'then the Government should do something to protect us.' He noted that strikes were forbidden."

A business executive interviewed by Halloran felt differently. "As businessmen we have no grievance against the Government. It has helped industry ride out the storm with lower interest rates on loans and extending repayment and many other privileges."

The lessons of Korea and of Vietnam are the same: Washington's only interest is in maintaining and extending its economic and political domination of the rest of the world. Its allies are the rich and the privileged; its enemies, the masses of workers and peasants trying to control their own countries. Its imperial ambitions are a threat to the very survival of humanity; its military establishment must be dismantled and its troops and missiles withdrawn from around the world. Otherwise, a new Vietnam—or worse—is only a matter of time.

Popeye Jackson murdered in S.F.

By Robert West

SAN FRANCISCO—Popeye Jackson, a Bay Area Black leader and head of the United Prisoners Union, and Sally Voyer were shot to death June 8 while sitting in a parked car.

A group calling itself the New World Liberation Front took credit for the assassinations on the grounds that Jackson was an "elitist pig" who colluded with the police. A second communiqué claiming to be from the "real" New World Liberation Front disclaimed responsibility for the murders.

Roland Sheppard, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of San Francisco, released a statement here condemning the murders. The statement said, in part:

"The assassinations of Popeye Jackson and Sally Voyer are an attack against all who are working for social change. The police now claim that they knew of a plot to kill Jackson two weeks ago, yet no attempt was made to prevent it. There is a real possibility that the persons taking responsibility for the murder are using a phantom left-wing cover for right-wing terrorist acts.

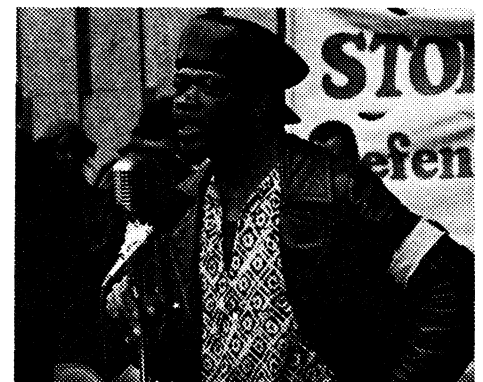
"Popeye Jackson was well known to me as a friend of oppressed prisoners and a vigorous fighter for their rights. Members of the Socialist Workers party participated with Jackson and others in building demonstrations against racism in the Boston schools, and Popeye had spoken a number of times at SWP public forums.

"Although we did not necessarily agree on all issues, I mourn the loss of Popeye Jackson as a loss to the movement for social change, a loss felt by all who are fighting to eradicate the racism and oppression fostered by this capitalist system.

"Jackson is the latest victim in a long series of assassinations of Black leaders. From Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X to Mark Clark and Fred Hampton, outspoken Blacks have been the target of the assassin's bullet. According to recently released documents in the FBI's Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") aimed at dissenters, the FBI feared above all the development of a Black movement that could lead Black people to victory against the racism, unemployment, and misery they face.

"The recent revelations of the CIA show that the CIA, in collusion with the White House, has been willing to use assassination as a weapon when it fears the interests of the American ruling class are at stake. In view of these facts, I do not think it is unreasonable to suggest that the police and other authorities know more than they are telling about this matter.

"I demand that Mayor [Joseph] Alioto launch a serious investigation of the role of the police and prison authorities in this matter, as well as the activities of the FBI and CIA in San Francisco."



Popeye Jackson speaking at recent demonstration in defense of desegregation in Boston.



U.S. troops in Korea. More than 54,000 died there.

Calendar

ATLANTA
PORTUGAL: MILITARY JUNTA OR REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' DEMOCRACY. Speaker: David Williams, SWP, Fri., June 27, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

LOS ANGELES
SOCIALISM & THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION. Weekend conference. **Black Workers in American History.** Fri., June 27, 8 p.m. **The Civil Rights Movement.** Sat., June 28, 1:30 p.m. **The Rise of Black Nationalism.** 4 p.m. Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, SWP 1964 presidential candidate and target of FBI disruption plan. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN
LAST HIRED, FIRST FIRED. A panel discussion. Speakers: representatives from: Por los Niños parents' organization; CLUW; SSEU Local 371; Harlem Fight Back; New York SCAR; and participants in CUNY anticutback struggle. Fri., June 27, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

SAN DIEGO
CONSPIRACY IN AMERICA. A panel discussion. Speakers: Donald Freed, author, *Executive Action*; others. The Zapruder film will be shown. Fri., June 27, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

...CIA

Continued from page 3

The SWP and YSA are suing the CIA, along with other government agencies, to halt the illegal spying against them.

The CIA was tight-lipped when asked by the *Militant* in a telephone interview whether Operation CHAOS included the two socialist groups. Dennis Berend, deputy assistant to CIA Director William Colby, had only a curt reply: "The agency is not discussing the Rockefeller report."

Asked whether it didn't seem fairly evident that the SWP and YSA must have been CHAOS targets, Berend snapped back: "What is fairly evident to you is evident *only* to you!"

However, Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, told the *Militant*, "We have reason to believe that the SWP and YSA were major targets of Operation CHAOS, and we are expecting that the CIA will soon be forced to turn over to us documents to that effect."

...N.Y.

Continued from page 4

director of District Council 37] has already shown us that he's not going to do anything," she said bitterly. "If we don't want to accept CETA positions, we're not going to have a job. That's what he's told us."

Earlier this week several hundred case aides—all of whose jobs have been eliminated—staged a demonstration outside the headquarters of District Council 37.

Speakers from several sectarian groups at tonight's meeting tried to take advantage of this well-founded frustration to propose that those present should demonstrate *against the union officials* rather than against city hall. They insisted that denunciation of the "sell-out" by union leaders be part of the program of any action.

In an interview with the *Militant* after the meeting, Ray Markey discussed what is wrong with this ultra-left approach. "What the sectarians fail to understand," he said, "is that no fight against the cutbacks and layoffs can get anywhere unless it *brings the unions into action*."

"We intend to take the proposal for the June 28 march into all the unions—to the official leaders and to the ranks—in a serious effort to win support," he said.

"We want to *win Victor Gotbaum's support* for this march," Markey emphasized.

To direct the main fire at the union leaders instead of the real enemy, the city administration, would guarantee in advance that broader union support will not be won, Markey pointed out.

These proposals were rejected by the meeting, which was aimed at broadening the fight against the cutbacks, not narrowing it.

The forces involved in the June 28 march at this point are modest. They represent those farsighted enough to realize the necessity for *united action* against the cutbacks.

The crucial task ahead is to win broader forces, especially in the labor movement, to this perspective, initially by encouraging them to join the June 28 march.

As Local 1930 President David Beasley said in closing tonight's meeting, the next step is to "go back to our groups and get them all out for that demonstration, get the communities

and the unions together."

For more information or to find out how you can get involved, call Local 1930 at 697-8030 or Local 371 at 677-3900.

...debate

Continued from page 16

scandal underscored the need to protect contributors to the SWP from victimization.

"We are anxiously waiting for the D.C. City Council to order the police to turn over all their files and to conduct an open investigation into the full extent of this illegal police activity," he added.

BERKELEY, Calif.—A meeting of the Berkeley Fair Campaign Practices Commission heard testimony June 11 suggesting changes in the Berkeley campaign finance law.

The Berkeley law has a number of provisions that make it even more stringent than the federal or state laws, including requirements that the identities of all contributors of \$25 or more be reported, that lists of contributors of more than \$50 be printed in Berkeley daily papers, and that the city administer campaign bank accounts.

Carl Finamore, the SWP mayoral candidate in this spring's election, proposed to the commission that the law be amended to provide for exemptions. He also attacked the provision prohibiting labor unions from contributing to candidates. "At a time of economic crisis, this law restricts the political activity of working people," Finamore said.

Although the commission made no decisions, its chairperson indicated agreement with the proposal to end limitations on trade unions, commenting that it would never withstand the constitutional test if taken to court.

...prison

Continued from back page

no communication with the outside, and the temperature was about 110 degrees. There was nothing in the cell—just a rough cement floor. The toilets were flushed only at night by the guards. . . . Every time they opened

the cell they started beating the people near the door."

Tavárez explained that although those in the cell with him had not been charged with anything, they had no way of knowing when they would be released. "There were two people that couldn't even stand up," Tavárez said, "because they had been there six days without eating. If nobody brings you food from the outside, there's no way that you can get food."

Luckily, Tavárez had been expected in New York. When he didn't arrive, his family and friends traced him to the national police headquarters, although the police at first denied that they had him in custody. Energetic protests, including inquiries from a lawyer in the United States, led to Tavárez's release after about twenty-five hours. The police were reluctant. "They said, 'Remember, we also have police in New York, and we're going to follow your activities.'"

Tavárez stressed the fact that the secret police had waited until after he cleared customs to arrest him. "The thing that worried me was that nobody knew I was detained. There are people in Santo Domingo who are detained, who spend three, five months, even a year locked up in those cells, or who are killed, and nobody ever knows about it."

Tavárez plans to work with USLA in order to defend the less fortunate victims of the Balaguer regime. A protest sponsored by USLA, El Comité pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la República Dominicana, and other groups, took place at the United Nations on June 11, and others are being planned.

In summing up the importance of the type of publicity generated by USLA and similar organizations, Tavárez said, "If I didn't have my family and the people here sending telegrams and calling, I don't think I would have ever gotten out."

Black Liberation and Socialism

Edited by Tony Thomas; \$9, paper \$2.45

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tucson: YSA, c/o Clennon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Long Beach: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, CSU, 6101 E. 7th St., Long Beach, Calif. 90807.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512; YSA—(213) 483-2581.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o U. of Cal. Campus Activities, 234 Commons, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, P.O. Box 20669, Sacramento, Calif. 95824.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-0615.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825; YSA—(303) 893-8360.

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GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Champaign: YSA, Room 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

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KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-3975 or 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

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MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 247-8911.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050; YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

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East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

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Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

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NORTH CAROLINA: Greenville: YSA, P.O. Box 1693, Greenville, N.C. 27834. Tel: (919) 752-6439.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, P.O. Box 27, University Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43401.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Charles R. Mitts, 6830 Buckingham Pl., Cincinnati, Ohio 45227.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553; YSA—(216) 391-3278.

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State College: YSA, 333 Logan Ave. #401, State College, Pa. 16801.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Arnold Rodriguez, 901 Morrow, Apt. 303, Austin, Tex. 78757.

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WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 238-6224.

Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.

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Socialist campaign rally & barbecue

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Unionists main target

Dominican regime arrests hundreds

By David Russell

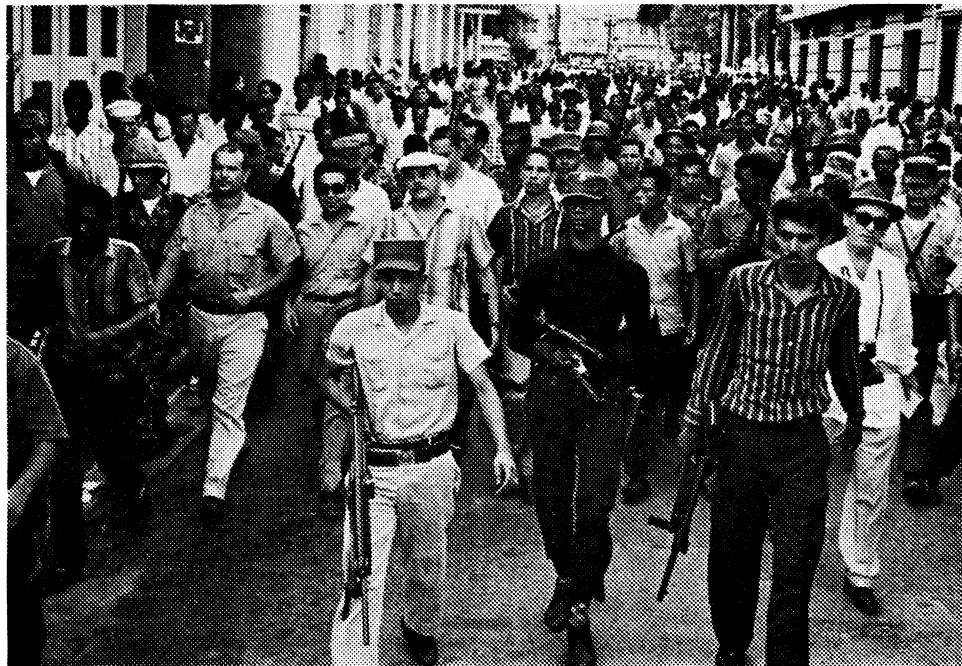
The regime of Dominican dictator Joaquín Balaguer initiated a massive wave of arrests on June 5. As of June 14 some 500 of the government's critics had been picked up as a result of roadblocks on the country's major roads and extensive raids against opposition political organizations and private homes.

The three central leaders of the CGT (Central General de Trabajadores—General Workers Federation), along with thirteen other trade unionists and left-wing leaders were charged on June 10 with attempting to overthrow the Balaguer government. At a news conference June 11, the CGT denounced the indictments against its members as an attempt to destroy the Dominican labor movement.

The federation reported that not only had three of its top leaders been arrested, but that two more—Dionisio Vargas and Aquiles Maleno—were being sought by the police. The CGT headquarters is under constant surveillance, and the organization voiced fear for the lives of its imprisoned leaders.

Those charged June 10 were the first of the hundreds arrested to be formally accused of anything. The people indicted included CGT General Secretary Francisco Antonio Santos, Education Secretary Julio de Peña Valdez, and Grievance Secretary Eugenio Pérez Cepeda. Also named was David Onelio Espallat, a central leader of the Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD—Dominican People's Movement).

Aside from those charged June 10, the Partido Revolucionario Dominicana-



Constitutionalist rebels in Santo Domingo during 1965 revolt against dictatorship. Although rebellion was crushed by U.S. troops, Dominican regime still faces strong internal opposition.

no (PRD—Dominican Revolutionary party) was apparently the main target of the repressive drive. A majority of the PRD's local and provincial leaders were detained.

The PRD is the party associated with the brief period of constitutional rule in the Dominican Republic in 1962 and with the attempt to restore a constitutionalist government in 1965. That rebellion against the Dominican dictatorship was aborted by a U.S. invasion.

Other sectors of the opposition to Balaguer were also hit by the repres-

sion. Those imprisoned included members of the Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (PLD—Dominican Liberation party), led by ex-president Juan Bosch; the Partido Revolucionario Social Cristiano (PRSC—Social Christian Revolutionary party); the Partido Comunista Dominicano (PCD—Dominican Communist party); the conservative Partido Quisqueyano Democrata (PQD—Dominican Democratic party); and many unaffiliated civil liberties lawyers, political activists, and journalists.

The pretext for the repressive cam-

paign was the claim that a guerrilla invasion of the island, supposedly launched from Cuba, was imminent. One week after the reported landing, no trace of any guerrillas had been found.

It is certainly possible that a handful of political activists have returned clandestinely to the country of their birth. Hundreds of Dominicans have been forced into exile by the Balaguer regime, many after completing long prison sentences under barbaric conditions. Those who wish to return have no choice but to do it in secrecy.

In a June 11 radio broadcast Juan Bosch, former president of the Dominican Republic, said that even if some former guerrillas had returned to the country, this would not justify the massive detentions, searches, and alarm caused by the regime. The crime of those who have been arrested, said Bosch, was "to organize the workers so that they can defend their right to earn a better wage."

The real issue, insisted Margarita Cordero in her June 12 column in the Santo Domingo daily *El Sol*, "is the current government's persistence in using repressive methods, the indiscriminate character of this repression, and the possible implications of its current escalation."

As the CGT pointed out in its June 11 news conference protesting the indictment of its leaders, Balaguer's prisoners face dangers other than just long prison sentences. Apart from the inhuman conditions in Dominican jails, many political prisoners mysteriously disappear, or are shot "while trying to escape."

A day with the Dominican secret police

By David Russell

The real character of the dragnet arrests currently being carried out against political opponents of Dominican dictator Joaquín Balaguer was illustrated by the arrest of Claudio Tavárez on June 12. Tavárez, a native of the Dominican Republic living in New York, had been visiting his family. In an interview with the *Militant* he described what happened to him when he tried to return to New York.

"I checked through immigration and everything; I was ready to board the plane," Tavárez said. But before he got onto the plane, a member of the Dominican secret police pulled Tavárez from the boarding line.

"He took me back into a little room and started screaming that I was a Communist, that this was the end for me," Tavárez said.

The secret police accused Tavárez of being Claudio Caamaño Grullón—the

man accused by the Dominican government of leading a guerrilla invasion of the island in order to overthrow the regime. This was an unlikely explanation for stopping Tavárez, since Caamaño's picture has been featured on the front page of leading Dominican dailies as part of their coverage of the supposed plot.

Tavárez has been active in the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and is a well-known participant in actions against the Balaguer dictatorship. He helped to build a commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic in April, and he helped organize a meeting for Argentine socialist leader Juan Carlos Coral before a number of Dominican groups in New York in May. He has also been active in the struggle for community control in New York's school District One.

Tavárez described his interrogation:

"There were about five of them [secret-police agents]. They all stood around screaming, calling me a *ladrón* [thief], saying 'We're going to get you,' 'Communist, who did you come to give orders to,' and so on."

The "evidence" against Tavárez was a packet of newspaper clippings on the repression, taken largely from the daily press in Santo Domingo, and two tape cassettes, one blank, and the other with popular songs recorded on it. The tapes were especially "incriminating": "They told me to tell the truth, that they already had all the proof. They said the two tapes had all the messages I was supposed to give to the Communists in Santo Domingo."

After being held about an hour and a half at the airport, Tavárez was taken to the national police headquarters, where he was thrown into a cell. "There were about 150 people there. There was no running water, no food,

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Militant/Della Rossa

USLA is organizing protest actions in U.S. to win release of Dominican political prisoners.