

THE MILITANT

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

Boston busing battle

Blacks say: 'Halt racist violence!'

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PHILIP ALLEN CONVICTED: On August 18 a nearly all-white jury found Philip Allen, a twenty-year-old Black, guilty of voluntary manslaughter and two counts of assaulting a police officer with a gun. The charges stemmed from a shooting incident last January in which a Los Angeles County deputy sheriff was killed and two others wounded. The district attorney had asked for a second-degree murder verdict. Allen's conviction on the lesser charge of voluntary manslaughter suggests the jury didn't completely buy the prosecution's version of the episode.

Allen's attorneys plan to appeal. He will be sentenced in early October.

COP SAYS WOMEN'S LIBERATION PROMOTES CRIME WAVE: Los Angeles Police Chief Edward Davis says that women's liberation has brought America to the verge of "a crime wave like the world has never seen before." Because mothers now want to "act like husbands are supposed to act," they are raising a generation of savages. "If mommy believes in swinging, and that there's no viability to the truth, that you can lie, you can cheat, you can steal, then the piddling 17 and 18 percent increase in crime now is going to go up so that it's going to shock hell out of you," Davis told the Los Angeles Breakfast Club.

Responding to Davis's speech, Ruth Miller, president of the Los Angeles Coalition of Labor Union Women, said: "Someone ought to tell the chief that today's work force is 40 percent female. These women leave their homes and are out working in some of the lowest-paid jobs in the city—not because they don't want to be 'mommies' but because they need to eat."

AFFIRMATIVE-ACTION COMPLAINT FILED: Gilbert García, recently ousted coordinator of the California State University at Los Angeles (CSULA) Student Parole Program, has filed a complaint against the university with the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. García is asking for his reinstatement and for university compliance with the school's affirmative action program.

CSULA is in the heart of the Chicano community with a student population that is 45 percent nonwhite and 43 percent women. But only 12 percent of the faculty are national minorities and 25 percent women. García's letter of termination cited his participation in a public rally at which he criticized the university for not implementing affirmative action.

MILITANT REPORTER GETS AROUND: Militant staff writer Baxter Smith is a contributor to the July/August 1975 *Black Scholar*. Titled "New Evidence of FBI 'Disruption' Program," Smith's article details the FBI's attempts to disrupt collaboration between Black leaders and the Socialist Workers party, and the government's harassment campaigns against the Black Panthers, Martin Luther King, Jr., and others.

RACISTS ORGANIZE IN BROOKLYN: White racist parents in Brooklyn are threatening a school boycott if the New York City Board of Education does not rescind its high school rezoning plan. The Community Coalition for Neighborhood Schools has set September 3, five days before school opens, as the first day of picketing at schools in Brooklyn's Bensonhurst, Bay Ridge, and Gravesend areas. Attorneys for the Bay Ridge Community Council are appealing the rezoning decision before the state commissioner of education.

A rally on August 26—called, according to a local newspaper, "to show the city they mean business in their fight to preserve the neighborhood school concept"—drew 1,500 whites. Speakers included the principals of two area high schools, the superintendent of School District 20, city council member Angelo Arculeo, and a representative from the office of Brooklyn Borough President Sebastian Leone.

JUSTICE I: Robert Reid, a \$30,000-plus-a-year credit manager for a Washington, D.C., department store chain has been sentenced to spend thirty weekends in a federal prison. This rap on the wrist was meted out by U.S. District Court Judge Charles Richey after Reid's conviction for a fraud and kickback scheme that netted him \$16,800 in two years.

Richey says this "innovative" punishment was necessarily "tempered with mercy" because of Reid's background and the problems he is currently having with his family.

JUSTICE II: A twenty-five-year-old drugstore porter in Washington, D.C., charged with shoplifting, "mistakenly" spent eight months in jail. While awaiting his trial, Larry Jones, with no previous arrest record, was picked up on

another charge and went to jail. Days later, the second charge was dropped, but due to a "paper foul-up," Jones was never released. When he didn't appear for his shoplifting trial, a bench warrant was issued for his arrest.

After eight months of trying to get help, Jones finally succeeded in getting a legal-aid worker to secure his release. D.C. police were waiting at the jail entrance to serve him with the bench warrant, and he went back to jail for another night. The jail records supervisor has magnanimously admitted that "this was one case where a man got lost in the system."

CIVIL LIBERTIES GROUP TO CHALLENGE ELECTION RULING: James Wilson's election to the Schuylers-Chemung-Tioga school board in upstate New York was declared void August 13 by the state education commissioner. The decision was based on a state law prohibiting anyone convicted under the federal selective training and service act from holding public office.

Wilson, an antiwar activist associated with the *Catholic Worker* at the time, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in 1966 for failing to report for induction. He served twenty-three months in prison. The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee will challenge the commissioner's ruling and the constitutionality of the state's Public Officers Law, under which the ruling was made. An August 20 news release from the NECLC explains, "The Public Officers Law is an unconstitutional interference with the right to hold public office, and denies the constitutional right to seek employment."

LET STRIKERS' FAMILIES STARVE, SAYS HEW: The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare may soon finalize regulations denying welfare payments to striking workers or their families. According to the *New York Times*, the idea has been advocated for years by the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, who contend that the payments "give unions an unfair economic advantage in labor disputes."

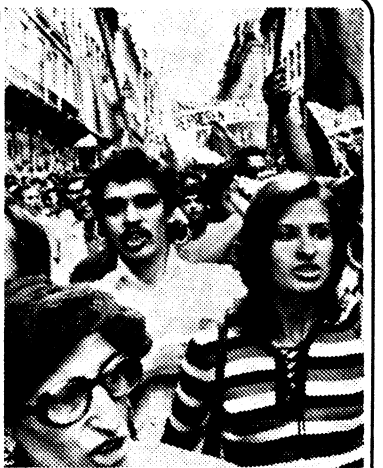
CAMEJO JOINS THE QUOTABLES: The *World* magazine of the *San Francisco Chronicle* carries a column of quotations called "hue and cry." In the July 27 issue, notables quoted included Paul Gallico, author of *Poseidon Adventure*; Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Joseph Kraft, newspaper columnist; and Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate.

The Camejo quote: "You know, I find that when I shake hands with people, they are hostile unless I use the word 'socialist' fast. I find that if I say, 'Hi, I'm so-and-so, running for office,' they turn away. They think I'm just another politician and they don't want any part of me."

—Nancy Cole

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Portugal: rightist offensive rolls on

By David Frankel

AUGUST 26—Against the background of an unchecked rightist offensive, the generals of the Portuguese MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement) are maneuvering behind closed doors to determine the composition of a new governing coalition in Lisbon.

This jockeying to see which clique of officers will come out on top has become the center of attention in Portugal. The Communist and Socialist parties, which have the allegiance of the majority of the Portuguese workers and peasants, have not attempted to mobilize the masses independently of the capitalist government. Instead, they have lined up in support of one or another competing military clique.

Not a single one of the feuding military leaders offers any positive alternative for the Portuguese masses. Although all of them use some form of socialist rhetoric—an indication of the depth of the radicalization that still exists in Portugal—the generals themselves have demonstrated just how seriously they take their own programmatic pronouncements.

On August 19 Maj. Ernesto Melo Antunes, the former Portuguese foreign minister, and chief of security forces Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho announced that they and their followers had arrived at agreement on a joint platform. Melo Antunes has portrayed himself as a moderate socialist, while Carvalho has professed admiration for the Cuban revolution and talked extensively about the need to speed up the revolutionary process in Portugal. Neither of them, however, was prepared to let his alleged principles stand in the way of a chance to grab power.

Although the Carvalho-Antunes pact broke down in a couple of days, it was typical of the cynical bargaining going on. Nor have the contenders for power limited themselves to talk.

Coup threats

On August 21 an artillery regiment surrounded the state-run television studios, later withdrawing with the explanation that the move was only an "exercise."

Tension in Lisbon reached such a pitch that the Ministry of Information issued a special statement August 22 denying rumors that a coup was in progress. And the following day Premier Vasco Gonçalves's opponents in the military hierarchy mounted another "exercise." The headquarters of the central military region in Coimbra put its forces on alert.

Gonçalves himself has been defended by the Stalinist Communist party and identified as a leftist in the capitalist media. However, his real political program is not essentially different than that of his opponents in the MFA.

This was indicated on August 21, in the midst of the governmental crisis, when Gonçalves's cabinet approved a new code to encourage and protect foreign investment in Portugal. In addition, it was decided to reopen the stock market, closed since April 1974, and to help make up the losses of private investors who suffered as a result of nationalizations.

The rightward motion of the military government has been hastened by the development of a mass rightist campaign against the Communist party. In the last six weeks nearly fifty headquarters belonging to the CP and its allies have been attacked by right-wing mobs.

On August 18 one such attack in the northern town of Ponte de Lima left a Communist worker dead and more

than 100 people injured. The death came after soldiers arrived in the midst of a battle between CP members barricaded inside their headquarters and a mob surrounding them. The troops opened fire on the headquarters with machine guns.

The following day a CP statement accused the military of passivity during the current wave of rightist attacks, and of "complacency" at Ponte de Lima.

It is certainly true that the MFA has refused to respond sharply to the rightist mobilizations. But the Portuguese officer corps has other concerns in this situation than pulling the CP out of the fire.

CP isolated

In the months following the April 1974 coup that overthrew nearly fifty years of Salazarist dictatorship in Portugal, and especially after the rightist coup attempts of September 28, 1974, and March 11, 1975, the masses of Portuguese workers and peasants moved sharply leftward. They formed factory committees, demanded the nationalization of large sections of the economy, and gave the Socialist and Communist parties a majority of the vote in the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

Today, however, the CP is isolated and has been unable to mobilize significant mass support against the violent rightist attacks on it. Its lack of popular backing forced the CP to call off a mass rally scheduled for Oporto, the second-largest city in Portugal. A call for a half-hour general strike August 19 in support of the CP, at first scheduled by the CP-led union federation as a nationwide event, met with so much resistance that it was limited to the Lisbon and Setúbal strongholds of the CP. Even there the response was weak.

Another indication of the growing isolation of the CP was the defeat of its slate in elections for the leadership of the Journalists Union. A Maoist and social democratic slate won the election.

The mass sentiment that has crystallized in opposition to the CP has opened the door for rightist forces, enabling them to mobilize with impunity. However, the rightists owe much of their success to the policies of the Stalinists, who played into their hands at every turn.

Behind rightist upsurge

What was decisive in enabling the rightists to take the initiative so soon after Portugal's dramatic turn to the left was the attempt of the Stalinists to impose a bureaucratic stranglehold on



Rightist thugs burn auto owned by member of Communist party

the mass media, the unions, and the overall political life of the country. The Stalinist attacks on democratic rights, although carried out in the name of the working class and socialism, were actually in the interests of the military junta and the capitalist system it is defending.

Had the junta tried to simply repress the radicalization in Portugal, it would have been broken. The mass response to Spínola's attempt to do just that proved the need for greater flexibility. Its alliance with the Stalinists enabled the MFA to spout socialist rhetoric while relying on the CP to blunt the radicalization.

The CP worked to restrict criticism of the MFA in the press. It openly tried to break strikes in the name of the so-called battle for production. And it took responsibility for the junta's austerity measures, designed to make the working class pay for the capitalist economic crisis.

Now that its Stalinist allies have become so unpopular, the MFA is moving to disassociate itself from them. Moreover, it may dump those in its own ranks who have been compromised by their association with the CP.

The opportunism of the Stalinists in supporting the capitalist government in Portugal has been matched by their suicidal sectarianism in responding to the attacks on them. Instead of proposing specific joint actions for the defense of democratic rights to the leadership of the SP, the other major

working-class party, the CP has gone it alone.

Because of its failure to mount an effective political appeal to the majority of the working class, and its own recent attacks on the democratic rights of others, the attempts of the CP to arm its members and defend its headquarters have not helped to stem the rightist tide. In the case of Ponte de Lima, the CP only played into the hands of the military. Its isolated defense ended with the death of one of its members.

Although the Stalinists have been the main victims of the right-wing attacks so far, if these continue unchecked they will soon be turned against other working-class parties. In Leiria, for example, the headquarters of the Trotskyist Internationalist Communist League was burned by a rightist mob August 26.

The Portuguese colonies

The rightward shift of the Portuguese political scene has also had its effects overseas in the Azores and within Portugal's remaining colonies.

In Angra do Heroísmo, in the Azores Islands, thousands of farmers destroyed the offices of left-wing parties August 18. One Communist sympathizer narrowly escaped being lynched, and others were beaten. The following day rightist mobs attacked political offices in Ponta Delgada, another Azores town.

In Timor, warfare has broken out between rightist forces favoring the maintenance of Portuguese rule there, and the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor (Fretilin).

The most serious situation is in Angola, where civil war has broken out between the three independence movements in that country. On August 14 the Portuguese high commissioner announced that he was resuming executive power in Angola. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola responded by saying that it would resist any attempt to reimpose Portuguese rule.

The Portuguese imperialists still maintain some 24,000 troops in Angola. This is part of their attempt to impose neocolonial rule there.

Support for this course was quick in coming from one quarter. The August 17 *New York Times* editorialized, "Though often indecisive in confronting the political crosscurrents of his homeland, Portugal's President Costa Gomes has taken a necessary firm stand in Angola."



Archbishop of Braga speaks to rightist demonstrators. Catholic church has been in forefront of reactionary mobilizations.

Three-year wage freeze, more layoffs

Bankers win another round in N.Y.

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Aug. 27—The latest in the long, dismal series of schemes to "save the city" was announced at a news conference yesterday by New York Mayor Abraham Beame and Gov. Hugh Carey. Its stated purpose, like all the previous plans, is to "restore the confidence of investors in city fiscal affairs."

This time, control of city finances is to be turned over to a panel made up of Beame, Carey, and State Controller Arthur Levitt.

In return for two-to-one control over city revenues, the state will arrange for some \$1 billion in loans to meet city expenses. This is money the banks have refused to loan directly either to New York City or to the state-created Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC, or "Big Mac").

The banks demanded other guarantees before loosening the purse strings, and these too were met.

Beame pledged to freeze all taxes except property taxes for the next three years, and to limit increases in the city budget to 2 percent a year, regardless of the rate of inflation. The real significance of this provision was splashed across the front page of the *Daily News* in a banner headline: "Abe Seeks 3-Yr. Lid on Pay Hikes."

Furthermore, Beame acknowledged that the city had run up a hidden deficit of \$2.8 billion and that this would have to be paid off.

As for the Beame-Carey-Levitt fiscal triumvirate, the *New York Times* explained today that it "is designed to act as a receiver of \$7-billion to \$8-billion city revenues from taxes and state and Federal aid that now come directly to the city and insure that revenues are set aside to pay off any borrowing done by the city."

Saved again?

New York City, a skeptic might note, has been saved several times already this year, but the cure doesn't seem to stick.

In June, Big Mac was supposed to have rescued the budget. In July, thousands of city workers were fired. At the beginning of August, municipal unions agreed to a wage freeze and even a rollback of wages to the July 1 level. In just a few days, bus, subway, and rail fares will rise 43 percent.

Each time, Beame, the banks, and the union officials who accepted the cutbacks and layoffs promised that things were finally being straightened out. But the financial crisis in New York just keeps getting worse. What's going on? In a widely noted article, the August 18 issue of *Business Week* magazine declared, "New York is again poised on the brink of a finan-



City in bondage: To keep interest payments flowing, banks will squeeze N.Y. workers and residents dry.

cial abyss. And this time the question is not whether it will tumble in, but when."

The influential finance magazine stated that "sometime within the next year New York will almost certainly fail to meet its obligations," meaning it would no longer pay interest on its bonds nor repay principal as the bonds come due.

Business Week warned that a default by New York City could spread to New York State within thirty days, hit other debt-ridden cities like Detroit and Newark, and, at the least, drive up municipal bond interest rates across the country. At worst, it could bring the entire international credit structure tumbling down.

When Big Mac tried to issue bonds in mid-August, fears of default drove the interest rate up to 11 percent, reportedly the highest interest ever paid on municipal bonds.

Buyers hold back

For the wealthy families in the top tax brackets who purchase such bonds, the tax-free interest payments could be equivalent to a return of 25 percent or higher on a normal taxable investment. And yet the buyers held back. Doubt spread about whether Big Mac could float a new issue of bonds at all.

Business Week showed the table (reproduced on this page) of the crushing burden of short-term debts that the city must repay to the banks in the next year. The question the financiers raise is simply: Where will it come from?

Their worries are real enough. *Business Week* described August 25 how New York banks have become increasingly tied up in city finances. "Wall Street sources estimate that big New York banks bought \$500-million of the first MAC offering, which raised \$1-billion in July. As part of MAC's initial plans for August financing, the banks were to buy \$350-million worth of 6% bonds. When the financing was imperiled last week, the banks reluctantly agreed to buy an additional \$125-million."

By now, *Business Week* figures, New York City and Big Mac bonds account for one-quarter of the total capital of the twelve biggest New York City banks.

Each time notes come due, if the city cannot raise the money elsewhere, the banks must lend more again to save their own skins. One bank manager told *Business Week*, "It's like robbing

Peter to pay Paul. They're taking money that may be needed later on. But today's crisis is so pressing that there's no time to worry about tomorrow."

World credit crisis

The uncertainties about New York's budget (which is larger than the budgets of most capitalist countries) mirror to a certain extent what happened last year in Italy. Both testify to the ever-widening credit crisis of world imperialism, and to the increasingly harsh measures the bankers demand before they will advance money.

The long post-World War II capitalist prosperity was dependent on a tremendous expansion of credit on all fronts. Billions upon billions were borrowed by governments, corporations, and consumers. But now, as recession spreads around the globe, all governments face increasing difficulty raising tax money. Fewer workers are hired, so incomes are less. Fewer goods are sold. Both personal and corporate income taxes fall.

At the same time, inflation drives up interest rates—so that ultimately all the more money must be borrowed just to keep things from collapsing. The weaker governments on a national, state, and local level become unappealing to the banks.

In Italy in 1973 and 1974, galloping inflation and an economic downturn—coupled with sharp class battles by the workers—left the government unable to levy sufficient taxes to pay all of its debts. It was forced to turn to the international finance markets for loans.

At that time the New York bankers turned Italy down and ultimately maneuvered West Germany into performing the rescue operation—once Rome promised drastic austerity measures against the Italian workers.

Bonn's loans succeeded in temporarily stabilizing the financial situation of Italy. But now it is the city government of New York itself that verges on bankruptcy. In the meantime the international credit balloon has expanded all the further, and Wall Street is howling bloody murder.

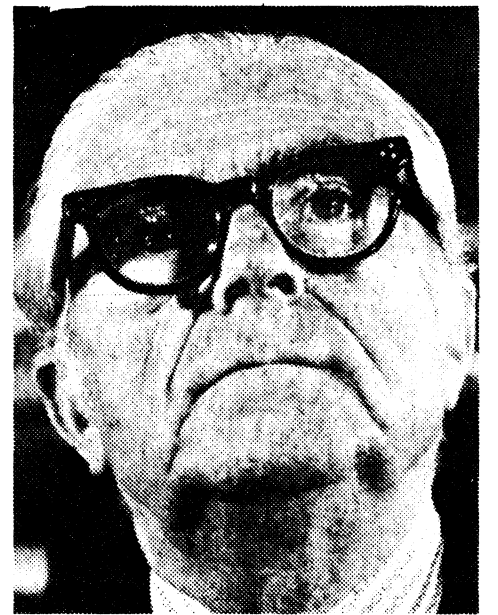
Insatiable demands

There is no longer any way to make the New York financiers feel secure. Their demands are insatiable. They want the budget cut; they want more

layoffs; they want pay cuts; they want guarantees from the federal government; and—this isn't penny ante!—they want to teach harsh lessons to city workers all across the country as well.

As a prelude to the state takeover of city finances, the bankers got city hall to establish a Management Advisory Board earlier this month. Its purpose is to speed up municipal labor and further cut city jobs.

Head of the board is Richard Shinn, one of the original architects of Big Mac. Shinn is a director of the Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank and chairman of Metropolitan Life, which



BEAME: Eyes new antilabor moves to satisfy bankers.

holds \$758 million in New York real estate and \$2.1 billion more in securities of New York-based corporations.

To give the board a semblance of neutrality in carrying out its antilabor role, Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Central Labor Council, was added to the eight-man board.

In addition to speedup and the long-term wage freeze, the bankers want further firings. Roderic O'Conner, head of the powerful Citizens Budget Commission, told *Business Week* that the city's payroll is the big issue. "The \$6.5-billion payroll amounts to half of the budget," he said.

The message is unmistakable. To keep the interest payments flowing to the banks, New York City workers and residents are to be bled dry... and the squeeze has only just begun.

New York's crushing \$4-billion short-term debt

Notes due on	Amount (millions of dollars)
Aug. 22, 1975	\$741
Sept. 11	46
Sept. 15	400
Oct. 17	420
Nov. 10	250
Dec. 11	400
Jan. 12, 1976	620
Jan. 13	200
Feb. 13	290
Mar. 12	341
June 11	280
Total	\$3,988

Data: Office of the Comptroller, New York City

crisis

Will the city default? Here it is necessary to read between the lines in *Business Week's* talk about a chain-reaction default of other city and even state governments.

It is precisely because there would be such a chain reaction, because it would bring down banks in its path, and because this would have serious international ramifications as well, that the United States government cannot allow an actual default on payment on New York bonds.

New York Times financial expert Leonard Silk reported August 24 on an interview with Arthur Burns, chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve System. Burns made it clear that if New York went bankrupt, the U.S. Treasury would step in to bail out any banks that might otherwise go under. This is what Burns did when the Penn Central Railroad collapsed in 1970. A default by New York would be on a much larger scale.

Silk emphasized that this would mean bailing out the banks, not the city. The Federal Reserve does not intend to "relieve Mayor Beame of what it sees as the urgent necessity of cutting expenditures further. . . ."

All of this does not mean, however, that a default by the city isn't contemplated. Just as the present crisis atmosphere is used to justify attacks on labor and social services, so a city "bankruptcy" might be used to justify further antilabor measures.

It must also be kept in mind that New York is a prelude and a testing ground for what will happen in other big cities. The bankers view their moves in New York on the larger chessboard of American economic, social, and political life.

'An era is ending'

Business Week put it bluntly: "What has to be faced is that an era is ending. There is neither the political will nor the money to 'save the cities,' as the rhetoric of the 1960s proclaimed."

Here a translation is hardly necessary. As the capitalist economic crisis deepens, the gains made by Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, and all working people will have to be reversed. The first casualties will be the jobs and social services—in health, education, and welfare—won in the 1960s.

This is a momentous undertaking. A city hall official told the *New York Times*, "We came in here trying to avoid confrontations in the streets and with labor unions. When you think about it, it's amazing that all the dislocations that have happened so far have been without a lot of polarization and hatred."

He is whistling in the dark. It is true that New York union officials have so far capitulated every step of the way. But to decisively roll back the accomplishments of past decades is something else.

When city workers, students, and other victims of the crisis begin to realize what is actually happening—that their lives are being put on the chopping block for the banks' profits, and that the Democrats are wielding the axe—there are going to be big changes.

The bankers know and fear this. And that is the reason, in the last analysis, why ten-year, twenty-year, and even thirty-year New York bonds run into trouble in the financial marketplace.

Shanker blocks unity

N.Y. teachers face contract battle

By Nancy Cole

NEW YORK, Aug. 27—The prime target in Mayor Abraham Beame's campaign to eliminate jobs and roll back contract gains of New York City workers is now the United Federation of Teachers.

In negotiations for a new UFT contract to replace the one expiring September 9, the board of education has proposed a longer workweek, larger classes, and drastic cuts in teachers' benefits.

"We are not going to accept these proposals and we are shocked that the board of education, at a time like this, when we should be fighting City Hall and Washington together, has decided to pick a fight with the teachers," says Albert Shanker, president of the UFT and of the American Federation of Teachers nationally.

Earlier this month Beame signed into law a bill freezing the wages of all city workers. Shanker refused to join with other union officials in voluntarily accepting the freeze. He has continued to demand a 25 percent pay increase for the 55,000 teachers and 25,000 other school employees represented by the UFT.

The UFT's expiring three-year contract was signed during the period of federal wage controls and provided for annual increases of only 5.2 percent. A big raise is needed now just to make up for inflation.

Both Shanker and the board of education maintain that the city wage freeze does not apply to teachers since the school system was set up by the state and is not directly under the city government.

School board demands

The board's demands for whittling away at the UFT contract include the following:

- Extending the working day by thirty minutes, thus reducing the need to hire teachers for after-school programs.
- Eliminating additional preparation periods now granted teachers in Title One schools—those with "disadvantaged" children.
- Reducing from ten to five the number of sick days allowed teachers with less than three years of service. The practice of "borrowing" sick days would be eliminated, and teachers absent the day before or after a weekend or holiday would have to submit a doctor's statement.

- Eliminating all sabbatical leaves.

In addition, School Chancellor Irving Anker has announced that school budget cuts will amount to \$225 million to \$250 million. Some 17,000 teaching positions and many educational programs, including trade schools, will be axed.

Shanker has protested the cuts and has warned that the UFT's "no contract, no work" policy will hold if an acceptable contract is not negotiated by September 9.

In a special issue of *New York Teacher* mailed to all UFT members, Shanker wrote: "There may be some of us who will argue that we must accede because of the fiscal problems this year. But, if we agree to partly finance the schools out of our own hides this year, what will the board propose next year and the one after? This would be only the first in a series of backward steps. . . ."

"We are at a point where the very existence of collective bargaining for public employees is at stake," Shanker said.

Shanker is absolutely right that the city's current confrontation with the UFT will be a crucial test case for teachers around the country, for all public employees, and for parents and students in their quest for a decent education. But the present policies of the UFT leadership cannot advance the needs of teachers or students.

Instead of working for solidarity of all public employees and city residents, Shanker has called on the city to make cutbacks in noneducational services as a way of saving teachers' jobs.

Instead of exposing the city administration's complicity with the banks and rallying public support behind embattled city workers, Shanker has (for example) devoted his weekly union-paid advertisement in the *New York Times* to defending the hated and discredited Beame.

Worst of all, Shanker has given the Black and Puerto Rican communities of New York no reason to believe that the UFT, in the event of a strike, will be fighting for their educational needs and not just for the narrow interests and privileges of older white teachers. Just the contrary.

The UFT has proposed as one of its contract demands that bilingual teachers be put on the same seniority list as regular teachers. They are now on separate lists.

This would mean that in the event of layoffs, the recently hired bilingual teachers, many of whom are Puerto Ricans, would be fired and replaced with high-seniority English-speaking teachers who have supposedly "qualified" for bilingual teaching . . . by taking a crash course in Spanish over the summer!

This UFT demand amounts to deliberate sabotage of the bilingual programs that are supposed to be expanded this fall. It is an attempt to preserve Shanker's base among privileged white teachers at the expense of quality education and the jobs of young Puerto Rican and other bilingual teachers.

Deal with Carey?

Right now Shanker seems to be angling for a special deal with Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey to get extra state funds to provide a raise for teachers—possibly only a token raise, possibly "deferred," possibly in exchange for acceptance of layoffs.

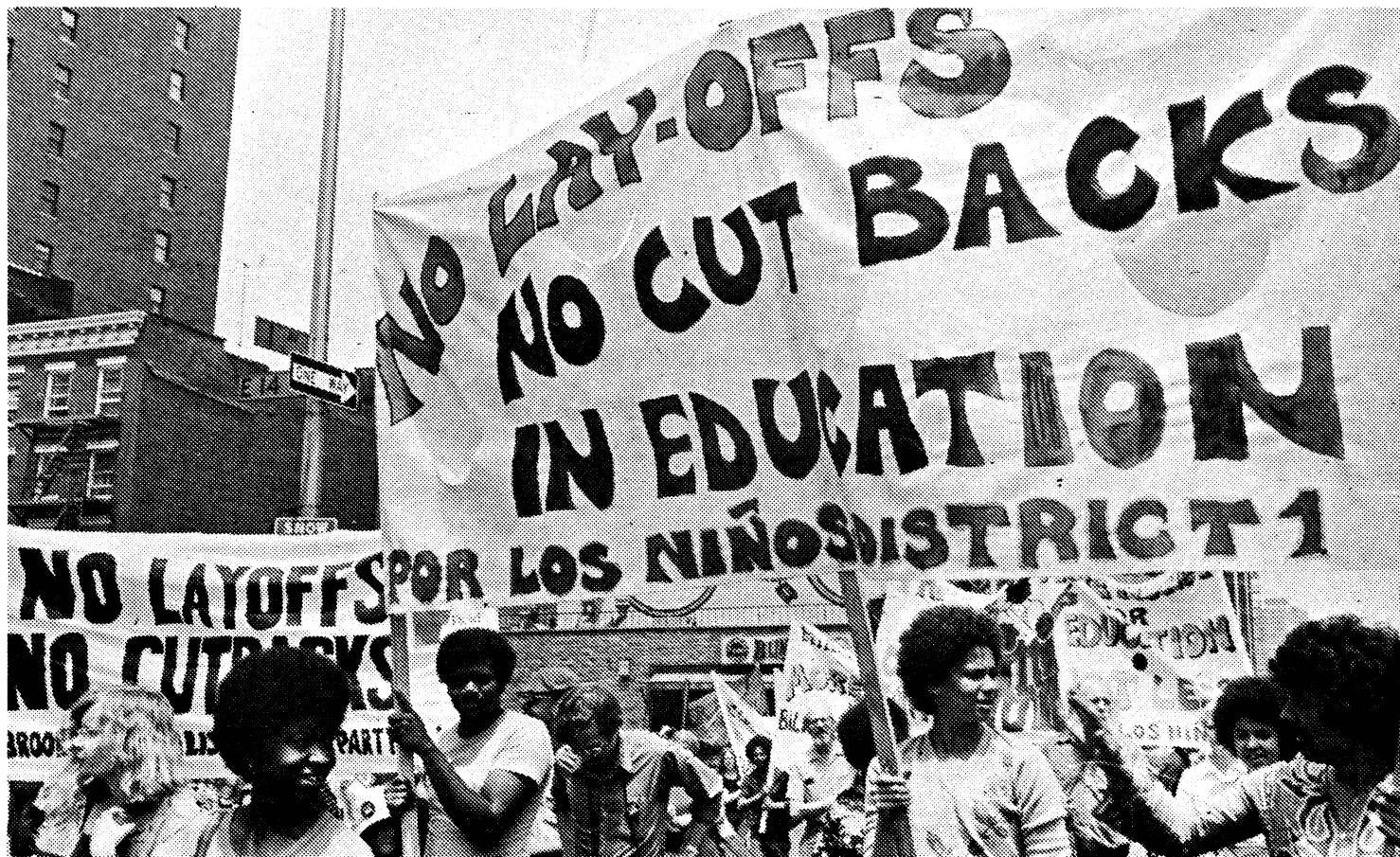
UFT negotiators have leaked rumors that Carey has promised Shanker new state aid "when the crunch comes." Carey publicly denies it.

There are certain obvious problems for Carey and Beame in making such a deal. A raise for teachers would tend to undermine the whole wage-freeze policy, spurring demands by other city workers for equal treatment and heightening their suspicion that they were sold down the river when their own union officials accepted the freeze without a fight.

At the same time, Shanker is under powerful pressure from his membership to produce some gains. His standing not only in the UFT but nationally rests largely on a reputation for winning good contracts in New York.

As the *Militant* goes to press, the negotiations are shrouded in secrecy. Neither teachers nor parents have any idea what to expect. At the last minute, the UFT members will be told to vote for either a new contract or a strike, with no time to examine or discuss their negotiators' proposals.

But this much is certain: If the UFT is forced into a strike, Shanker's racist, white job-trust policies will be the greatest obstacle to a successful, united struggle by teachers, parents, and students to save the New York schools.



District One Por Los Niños supporters join June 28 anticutback protest in New York. Shanker's racist policies are obstacle to united fight of teachers, parents, and students.

Militant/Flax Hermes

Panel nails Ford for inciting bigots

By Wendy Lyons

On August 20 the United States Commission on Civil Rights issued a 223-page report on school desegregation in Boston. It is a sweeping indictment of government officials, from President Ford down to the members of the Boston School Committee, for obstructing the right of

Boston's Black community to equal education.

The commission's report:

- scored President Ford for aiding opponents of school desegregation;
- charged the Boston School Committee with "a deliberate policy of minimal compliance" with court-ordered desegregation, and recom-

mended that it be stripped of its authority if it "persists in its refusal" to aid the desegregation process;

- accused Boston Mayor Kevin White of making public statements about desegregation that "confused the public and constituted a disservice to the rule of law";
- condemned the Boston Police Department for assigning "low priority" to enforcing desegregation, and for having "no effective mobilization and operation plan for potential disorders."

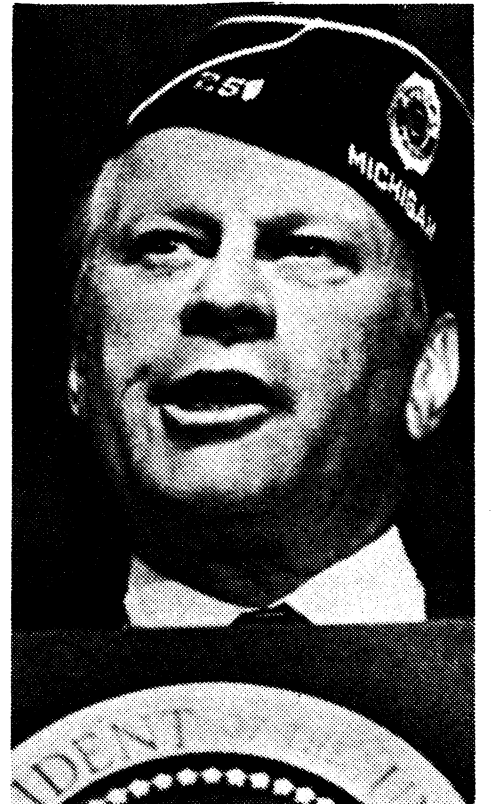
The civil rights commission is a federal investigatory agency with the power to make recommendations, but no power of enforcement. Its report is based on more than fifty hours of testimony taken from more than 100 witnesses during public hearings held in Boston in June.

At the news conference where the report was released, commission head Arthur Flemming focused his fire on the school committee.

"Boston continues to confront one unresolved issue that could prove to be the Achilles heel of the entire [desegregation] program," Flemming said. "The major administrative responsibilities for implementing the order rest with the Boston School Committee. This committee has given no indication of a willingness to change attitudes."

In recommending that the school committee be stripped of its authority if it does not start cooperating with the desegregation order, the commission's report explains, "The effect of its [the school committee's] statements, policy, and inaction was to foster within the community outright resistance to school desegregation."

The report cited a precedent for taking authority out of the hands of the school committee. In 1966 the Talifero, Georgia, school board was



FORD: Fuels fire of racist resistance.

removed from power because of its role in obstructing desegregation in that city.

The day after the commission's report was released, Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity, who handed down the Boston desegregation order, accused the school committee of "thwarting" plans for the extension of school desegregation this fall. Garrity announced that he will hold hearings to consider the civil rights commission's recommendation that the committee be placed under receivership.

Garrity pointed out that school committee members have publicly

Continued on page 30



DETROIT: Demonstrations for and against school desegregation on day of court ruling scrapping busing plan.



Mayor's race

Where Boston candidates stand on busing

By David Frankel

As the Boston public schools reopen this September, voters in that city will be going to the polls in the first round of a "nonpartisan" mayoral election. Dividing the city is the overriding issue of school desegregation.

The Democratic party machine that runs Boston has produced two major contenders for mayor—incumbent Kevin White and State Senator Joseph Timilty. Both are staunch opponents of busing to desegregate the schools.

White, who won office in the last election as a liberal, has had his image tarnished in the Black community by his support to racist forces seeking to block court-ordered school desegregation.

The June 4 *Real Paper*, a Cambridge-based weekly, exposed secret meetings between White and the major antibusing organization, ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), at which White pledged favors to ROAR, including patronage jobs for some of its members. White's refusal to use his power to stop a summer-long campaign of racist violence against Blacks has further embittered the Black community toward him.

Timilty ran against White four years ago as a "law and order" candidate, campaigning against such things as "hippies using the Boston Common" and for stronger censorship laws.

But now, in a bid to corral the Black vote, which amounted to 14.3 percent of the total in the 1971 elections, Timilty has been trying to cultivate a liberal image.

He has hired a battery of public-relations experts and speech-writers who have worked on the campaigns of politicians such as John Lindsay, Robert Kennedy, and George McGovern.

Timilty's public-relations campaign is meeting with definite success. Numerous newspaper articles have described his "political metamorphosis" from a reactionary to a liberal. He has also succeeded in getting State Representative Melvin King, a prominent Boston Black Democrat, to coordinate his campaign effort in the Black community. King is pushing Timilty as a "lesser evil" to White.

What does Timilty really stand for?

In a generally sympathetic article on his campaign in the August 12 *Boston Phoenix*, Howard Husock notes that during his 1967-71 tenure on the Boston city council, Timilty "seemed more in concert with colleague Lousie Day Hicks" than with the liberal image he now projects.

The fact is, Timilty is still in concert with Hicks, Boston's leading racist.

On July 23, the *Boston Globe* ran an article headlined, "Timilty raps White as failure on busing." For Timilty, White's failure is not that he refuses to

adequately enforce busing and defend Black students from racist attack. The *Globe* reported, "Charging that White has 'failed ignominiously,' Timilty said that although he has not supported and never will support school busing for integration, 'I didn't run from the busing issue in order to enhance my own political reputation.'"

An August 10 *Globe* article on Timilty's voting record enumerated his support for antibusing legislation and reported, "But Timilty is proud of his antibusing vote score. 'I have a 100 percent record in this area. I'm a consistent individual. Unlike my opponent, I don't hide from issues,' he said, referring to White."

Timilty's reactionary views extend to other areas as well. He opposes the right of women to abortion; he has voted consistently in favor of the McCarthyite loyalty oath required for Massachusetts public employees; and he has opposed extending antidiscrimination laws to include homosexuals.

There is an alternative to both White and Timilty in the Boston mayoral race. It is Norman Oliver, who is running on the Socialist Workers party ticket.

In response to Melvin King's endorsement of Timilty, Oliver wrote an open letter to King, which says in part: "You said that Mayor White has done nothing effective to ensure the implementation of school desegrega-

tion. Timilty hasn't done anything to aid desegregation either.

"... You said that Timilty is for Black and white people getting together to discuss their problems. Who isn't? ... The question is not getting together, but implementing the law of the land. Where does Timilty stand on that? He opposes the law.

"How can you, with any dignity, ask our people to support someone for office who is opposed to our exercising our democratic rights? The time for the Black community to keep placing its faith in the candidates of the Democratic party is over. The Democratic party is the group organizing the racist campaign against school desegregation in this city. The all-Democratic city council and school committee are the leaders of ROAR.

"... I am the only Black candidate on the ballot in the mayor's race. I am the only candidate who supports school desegregation. I am the only candidate who helped to build and marched in the May 17 pro-desegregation march. I am the only candidate who has consistently called for the use of all the force necessary to implement the busing order and halt the racist violence against Blacks, including the use of federal troops.

"... I urge you and others to support a candidate who is for the Black community's civil rights. Support the Socialist Workers party alternative."

Violent assaults on Blacks spread

By Baxter Smith

School days, dear old golden rule days, open September 8 in Boston, but any reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic will be difficult for Black students to come by if the racist violence that has heated up over the summer continues into the fall.

For the opening day of school 2,050 state, city, and Metropolitan District Commission police will be deployed to ensure safety, city officials have announced. Six hundred national guardsmen will be assembled in armories.

All during the past school year, Black students bused for desegregation were stoned and assaulted in predominantly white areas of the city.

The antibusing movement that spearheaded these assaults has helped to deepen racism in Boston. During the summer months this sentiment has been translated into a generalized anti-Black hatred and physical attacks.

Large sections of the city are considered off-limits to Blacks, and any Blacks caught there are subject to beatings.

Even in mixed sections of the city Blacks meet hostility and malice. A Black couple who moved into their new home in the Mattapan section on August 9 heard a loud noise that night and assumed it was an automobile backfiring. When they heard the sound again and went to investigate they discovered thirteen gunshot holes in the front of the house.

"This is nerve-racking. I didn't expect anything like this," the wife said. "I think they don't want us in this neighborhood."

Carson Beach

The high point of racist, anti-Black violence occurred on South Boston's Carson Beach August 10. (See story, page 8.)

This public beach was another area that had become off-limits to Blacks until Blacks decided to hold a massive community picnic there to reassert their right to free access to it. As soon as the picnickers arrived on the beach, groups of racists hurled insults, rocks, and bottles at them. Some 800 police who were on hand did little to stop the racists and instead turned on the Blacks.

Angered Blacks took to the streets that night in parts of Black Roxbury and near the predominantly Black housing projects on Columbia Point,



Roxbury street scene as Blacks explode in anger over cop brutality and stepped-up violence by antibusing groups.

stoning cars of passing whites in retaliation.

The police responded by posting large numbers of cops on the Columbia Point project rooftops. Marauding cops with dogs also occupied the Mission Hill and Orchard Park projects in Roxbury.

This went on for several nights. Residents at Mission Hill reported instances of dogs being set loose on small children. One child was bitten on the head when overtaken by a police dog, and a pregnant woman who couldn't run fast enough was likewise mauled.

Patrons and employees of a Black taproom in Mission Hill reported that jackbooted Tactical Patrol Force (TPF) cops with dogs barged in two times on one night, Maced and bloodied customers, and busted up the place after claiming that stone-throwing youngsters had run inside. The night manager, who was clubbed about the head when he protested, had to be hospitalized.

"They couldn't catch those wild kids throwing at the cars and they wanted to beat on somebody," the manager said. "They said nothing to me. They just hit me in the mouth with clubs and then on the head."

One man said a cop told him: "Be quiet or we'll do the same to you."

"The cops stayed for a few minutes," he said, "beating on people and, as

they were leaving, they took their clubs and knocked out at the cigarette machine and knocked drinks and bottles off the bar."

Police officials denied the incident ever took place.

Meeting with Brooke

Community anger over the cop provocations continued to grow, and on August 15, Black community leaders held a meeting with Police Commissioner Robert diGrazia to get him to call off his men and their dogs. Also attending the meeting was U.S. Senator Edward Brooke. The mayor and governor were invited but declined to appear.

Following the closed meeting, Brooke told reporters that the Black community "is disturbed and very concerned and has lost faith in not only the ability but the desire of the police department" to protect Blacks.

"Racism is deep-seated and deep-rooted here," he said, "and this has to change."

He reported that diGrazia was not willing to yield on removing the dogs and cops but had agreed to reassign a motorcycle cop who had run over a Black woman at Carson Beach.

The following day, angered even more by the arrogance of city and police officials, some 200 Blacks marched downtown and picketed the major department stores.

The picket, called by the Concerned Citizens of Mission Hill and Black state legislators Melvin King and Robert Fortes, was seen as the beginning of an effort to convince Blacks to boycott the major stores to get them to apply pressure on city officials to remove the occupying police. Leaders of the National Student Coalition Against Racism trained marshals for the picket, which proceeded without incident.

Pickers carried signs reading, "Kevin White, have you ever had a dog trained to kill and attack your kids?" and chanted, "Don't Shop, Boycott. Police Out Now." Picketers also demanded the dropping of charges against those Blacks arrested.

'Outside agitators'

While Blacks have been protesting the presence of dogs and police in their communities, some city officials have been pursuing a campaign to prosecute what they term "outside agitators." These outsiders, they claim, have been the root of the problem.

The immediate focus of this campaign has been the ultraleftist Progressive Labor party (PL) and the Committee Against Racism (CAR), in which PL members are active. The thrust of this red-baiting drive, however, is against the entire antiracist movement.

At several antiracist protests, CAR has played an adventurist and provocative role, attempting to incite physical battles with the racists and the

Continued on next page



Militant/Baxter Smith

SENATOR BROOKE: 'Racism is deep-seated and deep-rooted here.'

Inquiry on racist terror to submit findings

BOSTON—The Independent Commission of Inquiry into Racist Violence wrapped up its second session of testimony and proposals August 9 and announced it will submit its findings to police officials, the mayor's office,

the governor's office, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, and the Justice Department.

The commission was initiated by the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism to help generate Black opposi-

tion to racist assaults in this city, which have grown over the summer.

The commission held its first session on August 2, when some twenty Blacks testified about racist attacks upon them.

Some of "these attacks were not planned," Percy Wilson, one of the commissioners, remarked, but the racists "have been emboldened because the police department has not been responsible in carrying out its duty" in ensuring the safety of Blacks. Wilson is director of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, an antipoverty agency.

Racist attacks have been escalating here in anticipation of city-wide school desegregation in September. Blacks have reported stonings, beatings, fire bombings, and other attacks against them.

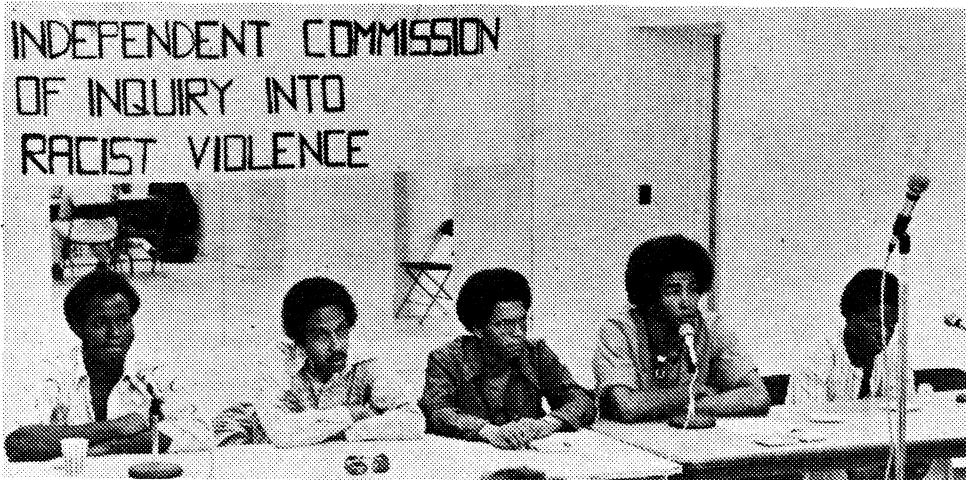
About fifty people attended the August 9 session at the Elma Lewis School of Fine Arts in Roxbury. Other

commissioners present included James Rowe, news director for radio station WILD; Obalajii Rest, director of the Columbia Point housing project's community task force; Leon Rock, youth affairs advisor for the NAACP; and Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Mac Warren of the student coalition chaired the session.

With these findings, Rock pointed out, "we hope to take some action. There shouldn't be just reaction and no action to these types of attacks."

One proposal to be included in the commission's final report was the formation of a Black united front to better coordinate antiracist activities.

Wilson concluded the hearings by saying: "It's time for all the people in the Black community to be concerned and to rise up and take on their responsibility. That's the only way we can proceed."



Militant/Baxter Smith

'We hope to take some action' to halt attacks on Blacks, commissioners said.

'We've proved the issue isn't busing

By Baxter Smith

BOSTON—Despite attacks by white racists hurling rocks and bottles, between 1,000 and 1,500 Blacks held a planned two-hour picnic on South Boston's Carson Beach August 10. The picnic was a response by the Black community to two weekends of racist violence designed to keep Blacks away from the beach.

"We'll come back here again and again either until we can swim or until we close the damned beach down," said Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins after the event.

Black leaders had a dual goal in organizing the action. First, it was an attempt to reestablish the right of Blacks to enjoy all public facilities in the city without facing violence and harassment.

Second, the picnic was seen as a test of the determination of city officials to provide the necessary police forces to back up the rights of Blacks supposedly protected by law. The confrontation of forces at the beach was seen by all sides as a prelude to what will happen when the racists try to halt school busing as schools open in September.

Said Atkins, "We're not going to send our children in September to a place where there is no protection," (meaning South Boston, where Black students were stoned during the past school year). "So we are going in August to find out," he explained.

Lynch mobs

The picnic was held two weeks after a lynch mob attacked six out-of-town Black salesmen who decided to take a swim at Carson Beach, unaware of the racist-charged atmosphere in South Boston. The men were confronted by a frenzied mob of 100, armed with pipes and clubs. The whites, one of the salesmen recalled later, were "calling us niggers and telling us to get out of here." The men fled, but one was caught and badly beaten. The other



Blacks face police line on Carson Beach. Cops pushed picnickers back, rather than protecting them from rocks hurled by racists.

five were evacuated by the cops.

On the following weekend, racists armed with bats and clubs gathered near the beach in response to rumors that Blacks were coming to "invade" it. When no Blacks materialized, the racists stoned a passing car of Latinos and broke out the windshield.

Soon the idea for a Black community picnic "to exercise the fundamental right of every citizen to use public facilities," as the call for it was phrased, began to gain strength.

A broad spectrum of Black leaders held a news conference August 8 to announce plans for the event. Appearing along with Atkins were: Elma Lewis, a well-respected Black leader; Patrick Jones, director of the Lena Park Community Center; Freda Garcia of the Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation; Rev. William Weeks of the Black Ministerial Alliance; Percy Wilson of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center; and Maceo Dixon of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

"Over the course of the past several months," the Black leaders said at the news conference, "we have seen Blacks face the brutal fact that Boston is a city sick with racism and hatred. Women, children, men in groups or alone, have faced unprovoked attacks by some people intent on 'keeping Blacks in their place.'"

Empty promises

Public officials felt compelled to make public assurances that the rights of Blacks to go to a public beach would be protected. "Anybody should be able to walk and ride through the community without fear of injury," declared Gov. Michael Dukakis. "If people want to swim on a public beach, he or she ought to be entitled to do so."

Mayor Kevin White had told Black leaders that he would be responsible for the safety of Blacks anywhere in the city. He promised to ensure "the right of any person to travel unmolested in any section of this city."

White added, "I will use all the

powers at my disposal to ensure the safety of our fellow citizens."

But all of the official promises proved to be empty as city officials refused to mobilize the necessary force against the racists.

Prior to the picnic, racist leaders issued thinly veiled appeals for violent resistance. These were couched in the Southie's favorite guise of making "predictions" of violence if Blacks insist on exercising their rights. Louise Day Hicks, a city council member, labeled the picnic plans a "provocation." She charged that Atkins, by announcing plans for the picnic, "yelled fire in a crowded theater."

"We don't see how violence can be avoided," said John Regan of the South Boston Residents Group. "An event like this invites retaliation."

The leaders of the racist organizations, however, decided that a massive brawl at the beach would hurt them politically. They prefer to keep their anti-Black goals hidden behind the demagoguery about "neighborhood schools" and "quality education," and didn't feel they could win support for a show of force to keep a public beach lily-white.

Therefore they organized a hastily called "Southie Pride Day" at Marine Park, about a mile from Carson Beach, with a stated purpose of drawing whites away from the beach area.

On the morning of the picnic, there were some 800 cops on hand at Carson Beach, including state and city police, FBI agents, and Justice Department officials.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism had organized volunteer picnic coordinators in an effort to help the affair run smoothly.

Motorcade from Roxbury

The plans called for a motorcade from the Black community of Roxbury to a mall about a quarter of a mile from the beach. The picnickers would

...violent assaults on Blacks spread

Continued from preceding page

cops. CAR is overwhelmingly white. Because of its provocative role CAR has brought considerable and justified anger against itself from the Black community. Its actions have been seen as an obstacle to identifying the real source of the violence—the racists—and helping to expose and defeat them.

Realizing CAR's isolation, the police and city officials have decided to go after the organization in an attempt to discredit the whole antiracist movement and deflect attention from the racist violence.

On August 13, fourteen members of CAR who were functioning as a defense team outside a meeting of the organization were arrested for possessing bats and clubs. Racists have disrupted and attempted to break up CAR meetings in the past.

In a letter to the mayor and police commissioner, Joette Chancy, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, protested the arrests as an example of the "double standard of justice" in Boston.

"At Carson Beach," she wrote, "racists threw rocks and bottles at Blacks on the beach, and yet not a single racist was arrested. . . ."

"While the National Student Coalition Against Racism may disagree with some of the tactics of the Committee Against Racism, we feel that the

arrests . . . were the result of a conscious victimization of CAR by the Boston police. We demand that the charges against the fourteen members of CAR be dropped and that protection for Blacks and other minorities be the business of the law officials in this city and not defending the racists."

City officials have attempted to use some of CAR's irresponsible activities and statements to set a precedent for banning antiracist demonstrations. After the arrest of the fourteen CAR members, Mayor Kevin White proclaimed that he would halt any demonstrations he considers "inflammatory."

Following the mayor's statement, the city revoked a parade permit CAR had obtained for an August 18 march. The demonstration was able to take place only after a superior court judge overruled the city. Two hundred and fifty people attended the march.

Meanwhile, the Justice Department has announced it is ready to prosecute any individuals who violently disrupt the desegregation process. While the announcement was ostensibly aimed at busing opponents, some disturbing statistics have recently come out that show Blacks were doubly victimized by the racist campaign of violence in the schools last year. Black students were attacked and provoked and then punished if they responded to the attacks!

"As a result of the opening of the

schools last year," a Justice Department official said, "we made about 400 investigations of incidents. About half of them were incidents inside the schools—fights and so forth. Out of the 400 investigations, we brought federal charges against 11 people—seven whites and four Blacks."

The official added that the department's complement of FBI agents and lawyers will be increased this fall.

On the legal side, Judge W. Arthur Garrity, who is handling the desegregation case, has announced that he is considering placing the Boston School Committee in receivership and stripping it of its authority for "thwarting" his Phase 2 plan.

He also said the school department is "ill prepared" for the opening of schools.

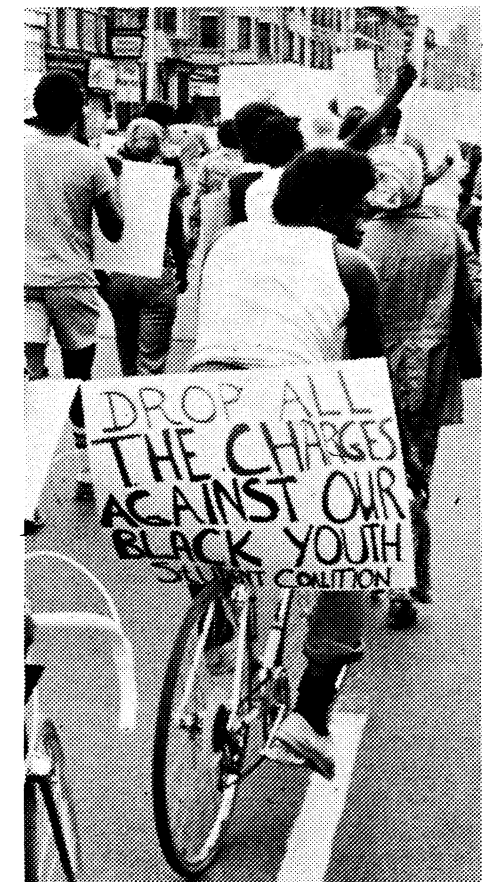
For many years the all-Democratic, all-white school committee has attempted to subvert any effort at school desegregation.

"The best way I know to frustrate the plan," Garrity said in court, "is delay, delay, delay, so that a shambles exists on opening day."

Garrity also ordered the number of Black teachers at each grade level in a school to reflect the percentage of Black teachers at that grade level city-wide.

The Phase 2 plan creates six regional school districts and one city-wide

district. It involves the busing of 21,000 students. And many of them will be Black students going into areas where whites have threatened violence.



Militant/Baxter Smith

--it's racism pure and simple!



Black picnickers challenge 'whites only' policy at beach

then walk to the beach. If the racists started any serious trouble, everyone would return to their cars and leave.

Some 300 cars went on the motorcade, but even before it arrived at the beach area there were racist attacks.

A group of about fifty Blacks from the Columbia Point housing projects near Carson Beach, had gone to the beach just before the first cars in the motorcade arrived.

When they approached the bathhouse, according to witnesses, racists who had gathered began taunting them. When police did nothing to disperse the whites, they grew more and more bold.

A Black man taking pictures of the jeering whites was spit upon when a man with a "white power" button posed for him. The man stood his ground but more spit flew.

Soon, the racists threw stones and debris at the Blacks, forcing them back from the bathhouse. Rather than arresting the relatively small number of racists who had ignored the "Southie Pride Day" and come down to the beach, the cops instead cordoned off the two groups, creating a no-man's land moving back from the water's edge.

'Stop forced busing'

When this correspondent arrived with the motorcade, knots of racists had begun gathering closer to the mall. A police helicopter droned aloft and two police boats and a small Coast Guard craft plied the waters, keeping pleasure boats about fifty yards offshore. One such boat had bedsheets draped over it with the words, "Please God Stop Forced Busing."

For a while, tense quiet prevailed. Racists, however, continually trickled over to a road behind the beach.

Then, a lone Black man, risking mayhem, traipsed into the racists' ranks with his clenched fist held high. Taken aback at first, several racist sneaks sidled up to him and one pushed him.

There it was. The pushing, the prodding, the kind of racist abuse that Blacks have endured in this city since the beginning of school desegregation last year.

It was Orval Faubus flaunting desegregation, it was Lester Maddox doing his axe-handle thing, it was George Wallace blocking the schoolhouse door, it was Sheriff Bull Connor doing a wicked number upside some poor Black's head, it was James Eastland filibustering on civil rights legislation.

It was Dixie-style segregationist

tactics transplanted to the "cradle of liberty." It was one small act, just one small act, but an act symbolizing the deep, racist hatred against Blacks here.

Then, without word or warning, a rock sailed from the racists' ranks and skittered across a car roof.

A moan went up from the Blacks and, almost on cue, dozens of rocks and bottles cut loose from the racists.

A small boy about ten caught an empty bottle on the hip and was flattened. A plump woman buckled when brained by a rock. This correspondent nearly doubled over when struck in the chest by a fist-sized rock. A man in a green shirt stood dazed with blood dripping from a head wound.

The rocks kept coming and soon people found themselves ducking at anything: seagulls on the wing, louder-than-normal exclamations, silhouettes and shadows.

The picnic was clearly over.

Soon, Atkins was announcing that people should return to their cars. Few heeded.

The Black crowd was angry. Angry at the hooligans throwing the stones. And angry at the cops who refused to put a stop to the racist violence.

All afternoon the cops had refused to break up the small groups of whites who taunted and threw rocks. Blacks who picked up the missiles and hurled them back where they came from were chased, sometimes caught, and beaten by the cops.

By contrast, this reporter saw cops idly watch racists throw rocks and then turn as if nothing had happened. Once, after one of the racists hurled a rock, a cop went over and shook his finger at him.

'Move the Blacks back'

One picnicker interviewed later said that while he was at the nearby police station he heard orders crackle over the police radio commanding cops to "move the Blacks back, move the Blacks back."

And, after each volley of rocks, as the Black crowd tried to get some shelter, the police lines pushed the picnickers back, constantly reducing the area of the beach open to them.

As the pre-agreed time for the end of the picnic approached, cops began forming their ranks to push the Blacks back to the mall.

As picnic coordinators attempted to steer people to the mall area, they ran into tight groups of demonstrators organized by the Progressive Labor party, urging people to stay. The PL grouping, of about 150 people, predominantly white, had been playing an

extremely provocative role all afternoon. They repeatedly taunted the cops, hoping to get them into fights.

As police lines would move forward, the PLers would begin chants of "Hell no, we won't go!" More often than not, they took this ultra-militant stance from well back in the crowd, urging others to stand and keep the cops from pushing forward.

The PLers were joined in these dangerous games by a few members of the October League, a Maoist group. Like PL, the October League kept a safe distance between themselves and the cops, well behind the picnickers whom they shrilly urged to fight the cops.

As the cops tried to clear Blacks from the beach, picnic coordinators caught between lines of advancing cops and picnickers were threatened and manhandled, and some were beaten. Two student coalition activists, picnic coordinators, were caught by advancing cops in this fashion and bludgeoned.

Motorcycle attacks

Cops on motorcycles tried to strike panic among the Blacks by roaring up beside them and cutting away sharply. One picnic coordinator was rammed and lifted off his feet when a cop tried this but lost control of his motorcycle.

Another cop chased a woman on his motorcycle but spun on the grass and dropped his machine on her, leaving her pinned.

A few cops on foot simply ran amuck, helping themselves to the unshielded backs and heads of fleeing Blacks.

By three o'clock the cops had moved nearly everyone into the mall parking area. But the picnickers could not depart because racists had moved onto the exit route over a hill, waiting for the departing motorcade. It took cops fifteen minutes to make the departure safe.

As the motorcade pulled out, the police radio was overheard relaying the question, "Have all the . . . uh . . . picnickers . . . left the beach?"

Black reaction

Afterward, Blacks condemned the cops' failure to disperse the racist gangs. Others condemned Mayor White, who had promised that there would be safety. Still others condemned the provocations of PL and the October League.

Black state representative Melvin King, who himself was roughed up by the cops on the beach, said, "What was unsuccessful was to get the police to make the beach safe." That "has to be ended."

Percy Wilson, one of the sponsors of the picnic, said later:

"The police have to make up their minds that we must be able to move freely and that when people try to prevent that, they must be arrested."

He said the police "deliberately put up barricades for us and the whites, but our group hadn't done anything. They didn't deal with the folk who were infringing on our right to use the beach."

Maceo Dixon of the student coalition, chief organizer of the picnic



MAYOR WHITE: Refused to mobilize force necessary to protect rights of Blacks.

coordinators, also condemned the police:

"The Boston Police, the State Police, and the MDC [Metropolitan District Commission] police refused to break up the gangs of hooligans who attacked our picnic. The policy of the police from the very beginning was to give the racists a free hand and continue to push us into the water and off the beach.

"As a result ten people were arrested and scores were injured.

"Cops who attacked our people must be arrested and prosecuted for brutality. The mayor and governor must call on President Ford to send federal troops into South Boston and other racist strongholds in the city to uphold the democratic rights of Blacks and Puerto Ricans to go anywhere in the city free of physical attacks."

One woman on the beach put it this way, while beating a fast retreat:

"At least we've proved once and for all that the issue isn't busing. It's racism pure and simple."

Neighborhood beaches?

BOSTON—"South Boston residents decreed last year that blacks could not attend public schools in that section of the city despite a federal court order. . . . Now the people of South Boston have extended their embargo to the use of city owned Carson Beach," declared an editorial in the August 7 *Bay State Banner*, Massachusetts's largest Black newspaper.

The editorial, titled "Now it's neighborhood beaches!", continued by saying that the South Boston racists "believe that they have the right to drive blacks away from Carson Beach just as they have driven them away from public schools. When pursuing this assumed right in connection with

public schools they call it the right for their children to attend 'neighborhood schools.' One wonders what they call it at Carson Beach, 'neighborhood beaches?'"

The editorial points out that attacks against Blacks hoping to use the public beach have "been going on for at least 30 years." It concludes:

"So far the police have shown great restraint in coping with South Boston violence. One wonders, if the police would have shown such tolerance, if blacks had been attacking whites.

"Now is the time for the police to crack down. Those who will not respect the law must be made to respect force."

'Incidental' rights

In a blow to democratic rights, the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., has upheld the constitutionality of the federal election campaign act. This law requires disclosure of the names and addresses of campaign contributors, sets spending and contribution limits, and gives tax money to Democratic and Republican candidates—but not to smaller parties.

The law's stated aim of "cleansing the democratic process," the court reasoned in a decision handed down August 15, justifies any "incidental" abridgments of First Amendment rights.

Supporters of civil liberties may have difficulty grasping how government persecution of individuals in any way associated with the Socialist Workers party—persecution that will be facilitated by forced disclosure of contributors—could be dismissed as "incidental." But in their attempt to convince the American people that Watergate is a thing of the past, while tightening the grip of the two capitalist parties on the elections, the judges chose to toss constitutional rights out the judicial window.

"Lesser measures, taken since 1910, have failed. But these latest efforts . . . should at least be given a chance to prove themselves," the court pleaded. But what the new law will prove, if it hasn't already, is that you can no more curb the influence of money in the capitalist two-party shell game than you can suspend the law of gravity by a congressional resolution. And anyone who tells you otherwise is playing you for a sucker.

"Reforms" such as these will serve only to restrict the rights of those speaking out against the capitalist rulers and their policies.

Puerto Rico vote

On August 20 the United Nations Decolonization Committee voted 11 to 9 to shelve a resolution affirming "the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence." The resolution also urged Washington to "refrain from any measure which might obstruct or endanger" this right.

The resolution was shelved not because of any convincing arguments set forth by Washington—the imperialists refused to even send a representative to the debate. The vote—termed "a great success" by U.S. officials—came after Washington let it be known that support to the resolution would be considered an "unfriendly act."

"Implied in the American warnings," reported the *New York Times*, "was a clear threat of retaliation through such means as withholding of economic aid or other favors."

While effective in winning UN votes, Washington's threats have been useless in stopping the growing pro-independence sentiment among Puerto Ricans, and the growing world awareness of Puerto Rico's colonial status. The Madison Square Garden rally of 20,000 in New York City in support of Puerto Rican independence last October showed that Washington is also facing growing opposition inside the United States to its colonial policies.

UFW needs support

California farm workers are facing a momentous challenge. The new farm labor law in that state gives the United Farm Workers union a fighting chance to regain the contracts stolen from it through a Teamster-grower conspiracy.

In any fair election in the fields there can be no doubt the workers would go with the UFW. But there is no guarantee that the small, predominantly Chicano union's powerful foes will allow fair elections to be held. In fact, there is every reason to expect they will be as vicious as ever.

The UFW will need all the help it can get. It is crucial that unionists, students, the Chicano community, and other potential allies rally to *la causa*.

The *Militant* will do its part by providing in-depth coverage of the battle shaping up in California.

The farm workers union says it intends to continue to press its boycott of non-UFW lettuce, table grapes, and Gallo wines. We urge our readers to join in the activities of the boycott committees around the country. The recent UFW marches and rallies in California provide a model for the kind of mass, visible protests that are possible and necessary now.

Book-burners

I read with interest the article "NEA report blasts racist book-burners" in the July 11 *Militant*. I had earlier been urged to write urging action to destroy or otherwise remove textbooks because of reasons you cite in your article. I was reluctant because I was unsure, feeling that many times these actions are urged by people who are either 1) filled with fear, or 2) entertaining false concepts of Christian ideals, or 3) ignorant of the total truth.

Now I am glad that I didn't add my voice/pen to those objecting to those books. It occurs to me that certain portions of the Bible would probably not be considered acceptable either except that it is in the Bible.

Thank you for the article. I appreciate the kind of coverage the *Militant* provides.
R.C.
Keene, California

Santa Clara strike

Your otherwise accurate report of the Santa Clara County employees' strike (*Militant*, August 8) was marred by the inaccurate conclusion that "the strikers were forced back to work without winning their demands."

Activists from Service Employees International Union Local 535 in Santa Clara reported to the union's state executive board that they considered the settlement a clear victory, and that it received a near-unanimous "yes" vote at a ratification meeting attended by a large majority of the membership.

The welfare workers represented by Local 535 won a significant victory in regulating the size of their work loads, with the strongest contract language yet negotiated in the state. For these workers, it was the first strike in California in which work load was a major issue.

The probation officers returned to work before the others after they had won their principal demand, entrance into the state police retirement system, a much better system than most other public employees have. This action caused much dissatisfaction among those still on strike. But it is inaccurate to say the probation officers did not win their demands.

Walter Lippmann
Los Angeles, California

On fighting evictions

Reading about the rent strike of the Uplands Tenants Association in Baltimore [August 1 *Militant*], and then the police attack on the tenants, made me think of some of my own experiences during the Great Depression.

In June 1932, in Allentown, Pennsylvania, my husband, my four-year-old child, and I were evicted from our two-room-apartment—after sundown. As I ran up the street with my baby, looking for somebody to please help us, I saw a policeman and cried out. My mother had carefully taught me that the police were my friends—when in trouble, go to them. That night I learned different! The cop very gently and calmly said he'd come and see what he could do. I soon saw he didn't intend to do anything for us.

I was lucky that a couple of other men heard me. They followed us and tried to talk reason to the landlady and the cop, to no avail. I learned later that night that the name of one of those men was Art Preis. He told us about the Pennsylvania Unemployed League

and introduced us to others of the PUL who opened their homes to us.

A couple of months passed till I was able to join with this organization so that I could help others, for I'd learned that ours was far from the only family thus treated.

When we'd hear of an eviction to take place, our eviction committee would first try to reason with the landlord. If that failed, we'd get the various branches of the league informed—and in a hurry, too!

We would fill the house of those to be evicted with people, bar all the entrances, and stay until the landlord and police would realize that we would not be moved. At least not until arrangements could be made for the family.

The tenants in Baltimore made a good beginning. They formed into a good committee, and they got an attorney for some of the work on the outside. But I think they may have walked into trouble by emptying their homes when the cops appeared.

I am not exactly sure how the PUL would act today in such a situation—times are a bit different. But still, it is a depression, and I'm sure we'd have fought back. That's what workers can do and will do. By joining together and by sharing the lessons we've learned, we can and will win!

Ruth Querio
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Index-1

I read the August 8 edition of the *Militant* and would be happy to index at least one year of the *Militant* to find out what I have missed by being born after 1950. If possible, send a year in the thirties.

L.D.
Endicott, New York

Index-2

In response to your notice in the August 8 edition of the *Militant*, I would be more than happy to volunteer for indexing. I have a typewriter and plenty of time, and would enjoy exploring back issues of the paper. I began reading it last January and joined the Young Socialist Alliance in July, so as a newcomer, I would thoroughly appreciate a chance to become more familiar with my newly adopted cause.

J.L.
Esmond, Rhode Island

Index-3

Confined to a cell twenty-four hours a day, I do believe I can be of some help in the *Militant's* project to index past publications. I have had a typewriter sent to me. Perhaps being in prison would seem to be an obstacle. I don't think so.

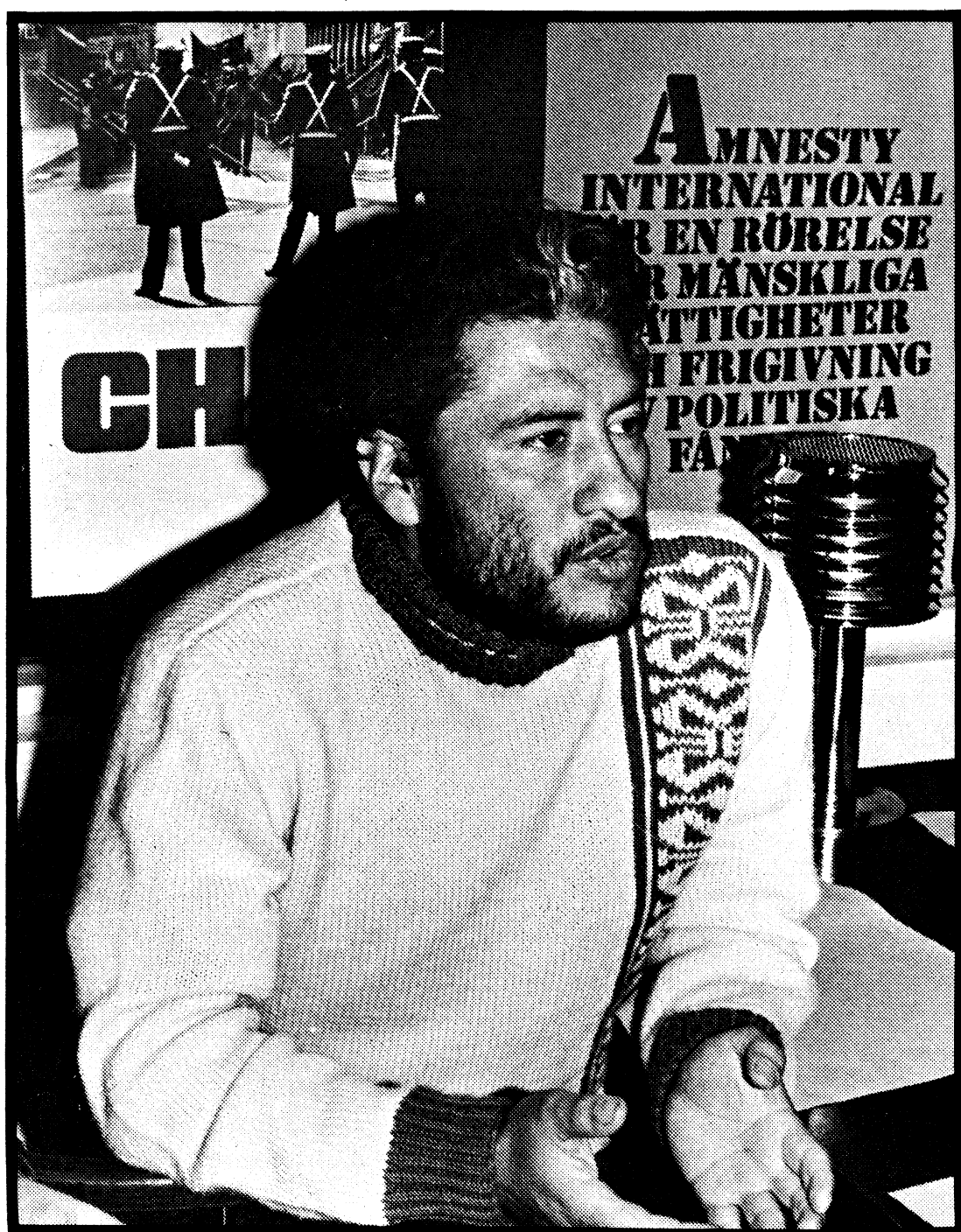
If you wish to send the bound volumes and other necessary information, please do so. I am only too glad to be of help to your efforts.

My best to you and everyone involved in educating the people to the fallacy of imperialism and in reporting news in the true light of its importance.

A prisoner
Ohio

[The *Militant* is seeking volunteers to work on indexing back volumes from 1928 to 1971. No experience is necessary—we will explain all the

international **socialist** review



Hugo Blanco: The Fight Against Repression



George Novack: The Necessity Of Revolution Two Hundred Years Ago And Today

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Lessons of New York

The blows dealt New York City public employees this summer, despite their organization into powerful unions, shed light on the inability of social democracy, one of the historic political tendencies in the workers movement, to provide answers to the problems workers face today. Social democrats, unlike revolutionary socialists, hold that workers will attain socialism through piecemeal reforms obtained by collaboration with the capitalist ruling class.

In the United States, this current is represented by two groups, Social Democrats USA (SDUSA) and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). DSOC broke from SDUSA in 1973, repelled by the latter's cold-war rhetoric and dead-end opposition to the Black and women's movements.

Although neither group is large, both are represented in the labor officialdom. Two powerful New York City unions, District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the United Federation of Teachers, are headed by social democrats. Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, is a member of DSOC, while Albert Shanker, president of the UFT, is prominent in SDUSA.

Gotbaum has been severely tested by recent developments. So far, the balance sheet is grim. Thousands of city workers have been laid off, a three-year wage freeze instituted, and working conditions and public services worsened.

All this ground was yielded without a fight by the nation's largest public employee union, a union that has been distinguished from many others by the adoption of advanced positions on the Vietnam War, civil rights, and other issues. Why didn't Gotbaum mobilize the union's power to protect its members?

DSOC's political program, which Gotbaum supports, provides the key to this puzzle. DSOC claims to advance the cause of socialism by increasing working-class "influence" inside the capitalist Democratic party. It works to elect Democratic candidates, hoping thereby to win powerful allies in high places for the labor movement. Independent labor political action is rejected by DSOC as "unrealistic."

In line with this policy, Gotbaum went all out in support of Abraham Beame's 1973 campaign for mayor of New York. A year later, he poured

union resources into Hugh Carey's successful campaign for governor. Gotbaum promised his members that these Democrats would be true friends of working people.

When the budget crunch came, however, Beame and Carey came down firmly on the side of the banks, demanding big concessions from the unions. So did all the other top Democratic and Republican politicians, regardless of their locations on the liberal-conservative spectrum.

Since mobilizing the workers under such circumstances to resist the attack would mean a break with his fundamental strategy of building up labor's "clout" in the Democratic party, Gotbaum steadily gave ground.

He ended up presenting the disgraceful spectacle of a "socialist" labor leader insisting that Blacks and Puerto Ricans hired under the federally funded Comprehensive Employment and Training Act be fired to make jobs for his members. Such a dog-eat-dog attitude toward other workers flowed from accepting Beame's basic position: the banks must be satisfied.

Albert Shanker, who supports SDUSA, has hardly done better. Since his union is now facing contract negotiations, he has used more threatening rhetoric than Gotbaum. But his basic strategy has been the same. He has shown little interest in the fate of thousands of teachers scheduled to be laid off, but has concentrated on the demand for modest wage increases for the survivors. Shanker's bitter-end racist opposition to the demands of the Black and Puerto Rican communities continues to alienate the UFT from a vital source of potential support against Beame's offensive.

Shanker is no more ready than Gotbaum to sacrifice his alliance with Beame and the Democrats in order to fight the cutbacks. In his column in the August 3 *New York Times*, the UFT president wrote: "In the weeks and months to come we will need Mayor Beame more and more. . . . Only he as our elected chief executive, can mobilize the people to fight against the monied interests and for the preservation of elected government."

"Massive support of the Mayor is there—the labor unions, the working men and women. . . . When Mayor Beame acceded to some of the demands of the bankers and The Times last week, he lost some of that support. Mr. Mayor, this must not happen again. We need you—and you need us."

As long as the Shankers and Gotbaums can persuade workers that they "need" Beame—that "only" with his support can the banks be fought—labor will continue its headlong retreat. The social-democratic policy of supporting capitalist politicians has led to disaster for the working people of New York City, and endangers the survival of the unions it took so much struggle to build. Only by breaking with the Democratic party and taking the road of independent mass action against the layoffs and cutbacks can labor begin to recoup its losses. To further strengthen its position, labor will need its own independent political party to

fight for its political interests. The "realistic" strategy of Gotbaum and Shanker has failed the acid test.

Joanne Little

On Friday, August 15, Joanne Little was found not guilty of second-degree murder in the slaying of her jailer Clarence Alligood. It took a jury of seven women and five men, evenly divided between Black and white, only 78 minutes to decide that Little acted in self-defense.

In the months leading up to the trial, Little's case became a nationwide focus for two sharply opposed sides.

On one hand stood the prosecution—the epitome of rural, Southern, racist "justice." The state of North Carolina baldly argued that far from being raped, Little, a Black woman, had "enticed" Alligood into her cell in order to murder him and escape.

On the other side, supporting Little, were the social movements in this country that found in her a symbol of racist and sexist oppression.

Women—young and old, Black and white, from all walks of life—identified with Little. The vicious abuse of Little, who was threatened by Alligood with an ice pick and forced to perform a sexual act, enraged women across the nation.

The Black liberation movement knew that Little's plight stemmed from her being Black and poor. The centuries of subjugation and victimization of Blacks were embodied in Joanne Little.

For the men and women filling this country's jails and prisons, Joanne Little's fight became a cry against the inhumane treatment of prisoners. Her imprisonment symbolized the warped "justice" of America, which puts the most oppressed behind bars and lets the real criminals run free.

Also at stake was the issue of capital punishment. North Carolina has more people sitting on death row than any other state. If convicted of first-degree murder, Little would have automatically joined them.

These forces combined in demonstrations, rallies, and pickets, turning Little's case into the most widely publicized defense case in years. The protests, from Berkeley to Atlanta and from New York City to Minneapolis, generated massive support for Little. It was that support that won her acquittal.

This victory is a victory for the American people. We have stayed the hand of repression and saved Joanne Little's life. It renews the confidence of the Black community and the women's movement that, organized and united, we can win.

Little still faces the charges of breaking and entering for which she was in jail at the time of the assault against her. Massive support for her must continue until all charges are dropped and Joanne Little is free.

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The Fight Against Repression

Peruvian peasant leader and revolutionary socialist tells of his own experiences with political repression in Peru, Argentina, Chile. They illustrate how advances in the struggles of the oppressed are intertwined with the fight against repression.

The following article is a major section of a longer work detailing a number of cases of political repression and deportations by the present Peruvian regime headed by Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado. For space reasons we were only able to print at this time the section on Blanco himself.

We are especially glad to be able to publish this article since it has been announced that Hugo Blanco will be making a national speaking tour in the United States this fall. The tour is sponsored by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

Born in 1936, Hugo Blanco grew up in the Cuzco region of Peru, which is mainly populated by the oppressed Quechua Indians, the majority in Peru. After becoming involved in political activity as a student in Argentina and later in Lima, as described in this article, Blanco returned to the Cuzco region. He became a leader of a mass struggle by the Quechua peasants to organize themselves into unions to defend their rights against the landlords.

For his role in this movement, which became an armed struggle, Blanco was imprisoned in 1963 and tried by a military court in 1966 for "murder" of three policemen and "subversion of all kinds." He was sentenced to twenty-five years on the prison island of El Frontón.

The government appealed the decision, asking for the death penalty. Over the next year a broad international campaign was mounted, which succeeded in saving Blanco's life. Demonstrations, resolutions, and petitions were organized in Europe, Japan, India, Latin America, and the United States. The appeal for Blanco won the support of Amnesty International and members of parliament in Britain, Italy, and Belgium, as well as the Québec Federa-

tion of Labor, the Italian General Confederation of Labor, and many other organizations and individuals.

After spending seven-and-one-half years in prison, three of them in solitary confinement, Blanco was released as a result of an amnesty in 1970. However, he was soon deported from Peru because of his support for a teachers' strike. After being forced out of Argentina and then Chile following the Pinochet coup, Blanco was compelled to live in exile in Sweden.

In 1972 he published the book *Land or Death*, titled after the rallying cry of the peasant struggle he helped to lead. (Published by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. \$6.95, paper \$2.45.)

The translation of this article is by Mirta Vidal.

By Hugo Blanco

The Peruvian military government is carrying out selective repression against the mass movement:

It has conducted massacres in Huanata, Cobriza, Ayacucho, Puno, Arequipa.

It has imprisoned leaders, as is the case with the teachers, the sugar workers, workers in the auto industry, university students, etc.

It uses violence to prevent the independent organization of working people as in the case of the teachers, the fishermen, and the peasants.

Last, this government that calls itself revolutionary and that has created an organization, Sinamos (Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social—National Network for Supporting Social Mobilization), to "mobilize the masses," has deported revolutionaries precisely for participating in the real mass movement.

This article is aimed at making some

of these actions known. In addition, I will take this opportunity to discuss some of my own experiences in relation to repression.

I consider the struggle of high school students against repression to be important. Out of respect for them I will discuss extensively the first years of my participation in the resistance movement. These events may not seem of great importance, but they played a very educational role.

My father used to tell us that he was persecuted when he was a student. The struggle then revolved around the demand that attendance at university classes not be mandatory, so that those who worked could also study. The Peruvian oligarchy attempted to make a college education a class privilege.

In spite of this activity, my father virulently objected to the political activity of my sister (seventeen) and my brother (fifteen),* both of whom were older than I. For that reason their political activity was doubly underground: in face of the repression of the capitalist state, and in face of family repression.

My brother was the more active and because of his activity I experienced at an early age the presence of the secret police searching every corner of our house and interrogating us. I learned to hide compromising things and to avoid police surveillance in going to my brother's hiding places.

*They were members of the APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana—People's Revolutionary American Alliance), a petty-bourgeois party that claims to be anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy. This party was harshly repressed by many governments and included many heroic activists. It now uses the remnants of its past prestige to play the role of a servant of imperialism.—H.B.

Later, when he was taken prisoner at the age of seventeen, I, then thirteen, became more actively involved. Every day when I brought food to him in prison I had to figure out ways of bringing and taking back secret messages that he exchanged with his compañeros. At the same time, I began to participate in their underground activities. I learned to work an old mimeograph machine, to make a stencil, etc.

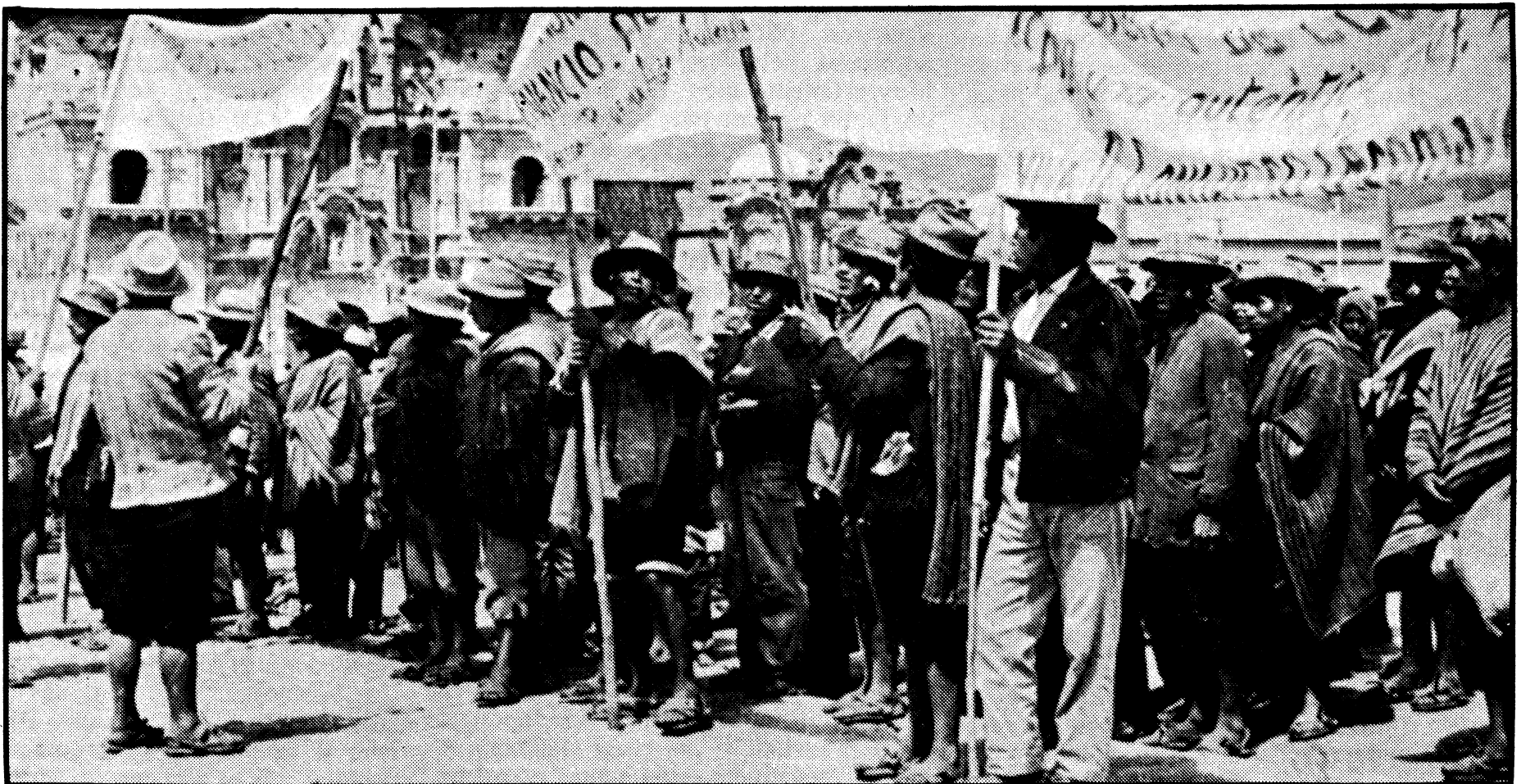
If the imprisonment of my brother was a huge embarrassment for the conservative milieu to which my family belonged, my sister's imprisonment was an unthinkable tragedy. Fortunately, both of them were freed. Later my brother left the country.

The heavy hand of the Odría dictatorship* was widely felt, even among high school students. I attended the only public high school in Cuzco, which was known for its rebelliousness. The military junta appointed a tyrant as principal, who in turn imposed a semimilitary regime in the school and committed other abuses that we could not protest because of the terror he had instituted.

1951

The abuses provoked the outbreak of a well-organized, unanimous strike, organized through delegates from each classroom and well publicized by clandestine methods. When a functionary from the capital came to arbitrate, the students of all the grades (from twelve to nineteen years old, more or less) were there awaiting him in parade uniform and in perfect formation, but we refused to enter the school building so long as the principal was not replaced. The education ministry understood that it had to give in and removed him.

*Gen. Manuel Odría ruled Peru as head of a military junta from 1948 to 1956.—ISR



Demonstration of Indian peasants of Cuzco in defense of agrarian reform

Afrique-Asie

That same year we had another collective confrontation with a small symbol of the dictatorship.

Each year our school would march with its own band in the high school parade. This time they silenced our band and forced us to march with the army band. This took us by surprise, but as soon as we recovered, our band moved up along-side the army band and we marched to our own beat past the tribunal again, leaving the police unable to stop us.

The people of Cuzco applauded with tears in their eyes on seeing this challenge to the military dictatorship under the very noses of its highest local representatives.

1952

The universities throughout the country went on strike to protest many of the dictatorship's assaults. Among other things, they raised the same demand that my father had struggled for and that had been annulled by the military junta. They also demanded the resignation of Dulante, rector of the country's main university and a major symbol of the oligarchy and the dictatorship.

That year I was going to night school and we were coordinating underground a strike of most of the high schools in solidarity with the universities, but the government got ahead of us and suspended classes.

Many of us high school students participated directly and actively in the university strike: in the take-over and guarding of the school building, in "quickie" street meetings, etc. I clashed with a mounted policeman who tried to push me back by hitting me with the side of his saber on the head and back. A few hours later a tear-gas bomb exploded near my face, making me faint and flaying the skin on my face.

Fortunately I was able to recover before the strike ended and to participate in the blockade of one of the avenues into the city. This action was part of a general work stoppage called by the Workers Federation of Cuzco [Federación de Trabajadores del Cuzco—FTC] in support of the university students. A few days later the university strike ended with Dulante committing suicide.

1953

I went back to day school, where we published a newspaper as the organ of the student body. The editorial staff was composed of delegates from all the classrooms. The delegates elected from among themselves an administrative council of three members, who were responsible to the school administration for whatever was published. I ended up as one of the three and we had many confrontations with the school authorities, who combined threats with attempts to bribe us. Fortunately, we had the support of the student body, which financed the paper and came to our defense numerous times.

There were many of us who wanted to join a party of the Left, but unfortunately the members of these parties rejected us as "too young." I hope high school students no longer suffer that kind of discrimination. (The reactionary story *The Chiefs*, by the famous author Vargas Llosa, is an example of the disdain toward the young rebels of that time.)

1954

I traveled to Argentina and entered the university. There I joined the demonstrations against the imperialist coup in Guatemala. As a result of that experience, among others, I joined the Fourth International.

1955-1956

I left the university and went to work in a factory. I participated in the



Peasant union leaders in Cuzco jail

workers' demonstrations against the proimperialist coup in Argentina and, later, in the resistance to the repression by the *gorila* government (that's where the term was born) against the trade unions. This was the best experience I have had participating in a revolutionary party in the mass struggle.

1957

I went back to Peru and worked in some factories. We reorganized a small Trotskyist group.

1958

Richard Nixon, vice-president of the United States, did a "good neighbor" tour through some Latin American countries. Despite the repressive precautions of the Latin American governments, the masses—to varying degrees—showed their repudiation of Nixon. They saw him as a symbol of the oppression of our peoples, as the great vampire coming to make fun of his victims, as the vice-emperor visiting his domain.

In Lima the Trotskyist group, along with others, organized a demonstration to express the anger of the masses. Thousands of people overflowed the police lines. Nixon was unable to reach the University of Lima as planned. He had a great deal of trouble avoiding the eggs hurled at him and cleaning his face after being spat on.

The government of [Manuel] Prado initiated repression against the Trotskyists and other revolutionaries. This forced me to leave my job in the factory and move from Lima. I traveled to Cuzco. Fortunately the repression eased a few months later.

In Cuzco I was arrested on two occasions, once for having helped the newspaper vendors (boys between eight and nineteen years old) to organize a union. Although I was freed within twenty-four hours, other workers responded to the provocation with a strike. They demanded that the boss who had had me arrested discuss ending the strike with a delegation from the union, in which I had to be included. We won some important demands before ending the strike.

On another occasion they arrested me for selling subscriptions to our party's newspaper, even though it was a legal publication.

1959

The government of Prado authorized once again raising the price of gasoline to increase the enormous profits of Standard Oil Company, which exploited our petroleum. This move increased the impoverishment of our people by raising the cost of transportation and all goods—food, clothing, etc.

The workers of the Cuzco district responded with a general work stoppage. Unfortunately, the bureaucrats of the Workers Federation of Cuzco, led by the Communist party, refused to organize picket lines to guarantee that the work stoppage would be fully carried out. Not satisfied with this betrayal, they went to the department's police chief to let him know that they were not to be held responsible "for the attitudes of provocateurs that could emerge." It should be noted that during a work stoppage with the same objective the year before, these same bureaucrats were bypassed by the masses, who almost executed them for their betrayal.

Despite the precautions taken by the authorities and the bureaucrats in this second round of struggle, there were vanguard groups that spontaneously went out into the streets to ensure that the stoppage would be carried out. I joined one of these groups, which placed me in the leadership (in the tacit form in which the dynamic of the struggle brings this about in such situations).

After two hours of activity, the picket line was intercepted during one of its rounds by a police brigade, which tried to throw me into a patrol car. When I resisted, the commanding officer aimed his gun at me. The people on the picket line and a few others reacted to this by hurling rocks, one of which broke the windshield of the police car. At that point, the cops were forced to let me go. Nevertheless, a few days later they began a hunt for me that lasted several months. I was finally captured and then given conditional freedom.

1960

As a result of the previous year's events I was imprisoned, charged with "attacking the armed forces."

Instead of defending me, the bureaucrats of the FTC had one of the trade unions publish a press release stating that it did not defend provocateurs.

I should point out that I had worked in the countryside and had been a member of the Sindicato de Campesinos de Chaupimayo [Peasants Union of Chaupimayo—SCCh] since 1958. This union defended me, but it could not threaten to strike because it was already on strike for other reasons. The Federación Provincial de Campesinos de La Convención [Provincial Peasants Federation of La Convención—FPCC] also defended me, mainly by putting pressure on the FTC. (Chaupimayo was an *hacienda* [large estate] in the province of La Convención, which is in the department of Cuzco. I was a member of the SCCh, and therefore a member of the FPCC, which was headquartered in the provincial capital, and of the FTC,

which was headquartered in the city of Cuzco, the departmental capital. The Federación Departamental de Campesinos del Cuzco [Departmental Peasants Federation of Cuzco] was formed later and affiliated to the FTC.)

Two-and-a-half months after being imprisoned I went on a hunger strike to demand my freedom.

The SCCh agreed to go on a hunger strike as a form of protest against the betrayal by the FTC leaders. When the bureaucrats were informed of this decision, they had no choice but to call a general work stoppage to demand my freedom. I was immediately released, although they demanded that I report to the police once a week.

This was very hard for me since I worked and lived in the countryside. I had to go more than fifteen kilometers on foot through the mountains under a semitropical sun and then hope that by chance a truck would pass by. And all this just so I could report to the nearest police headquarters. Then I had to do the same thing to get back.

After a few months I had to inform the police that for work reasons I was not in a position to continue that game and had no intention of returning. I never went back.

1961

Before going into the forms of repression I experienced during this year, it is necessary to briefly review the history of the valleys of La Convención and Lares so that what happened in that region can be understood. (For more details see my book *Land or Death*.)

These valleys are located on the eastern side of the Andes—that is, they are the beginning of the Amazon jungle.

The region was never ruled by the Inca empire, except for a small part. Nor were the Spanish conquistadors or the republican governments able to incorporate it into "civilized" Peru. Large areas are to this day outside the government's rule.

"Civilization" has used and continues to use religious missionaries as the vanguard for its conquest of the area. The Amazonian peoples are massacred or retreat when faced with the advance of "civilization."

The principal measure taken by the republican governments of Peru to incorporate the area into the Peruvian economy was the donation of the "mountain lands" to whoever wanted to work them (the tropical forest is called *montaña*, or "the mountains"). To acquire a piece of land one only had to pay a small tax of ten *centavos* for each hectare.

By noting who turned out to be the beneficiaries of that law, we can see

who ruled the republic: imperialism and the oligarchy. In practice, this measure meant the appropriation of great reaches of land by the imperialists and the latifundistas [big landowners] from the other regions of Peru—that is, from the coast and the hills. Here are some examples of owners of properties larger than some European countries:

- Peruvian Corporation, an imperialist company.
- Pedro Beltrán, a latifundista from the coast.
- Alfredo Romainville, a latifundista from the hills.

To save a few cents, the latifundistas would claim to have a much smaller area than what they really owned.

The theoretical basis of the law was that concessions would be made to those who would "bring these areas under cultivation, thus incorporating them into the national economy." But this was not carried out by the owners of the valleys of La Convención and Lares, not even from the capitalist view of what that sentence implies.

The capitalist or his representatives buy machinery, pay wages, organize production, etc. The landowners of La Convención and Lares did almost none of this. They would give the hill peasants a few hectares of forest land. The peasants, coming from a completely different climate, for centuries accustomed to a different diet, without economic resources, without any sanitation or any other form of help, had to struggle with a hostile forest, on land that was not considered arable by agronomists. They had to turn that forest into arable land.

Those who survived accomplished that, after years of work that left them pale and weak as a result of malnutrition and unfamiliar diseases. In payment for utilizing these lands they had to work for the latifundista. The lands he chose were the best, and the peasants had to use their own tools.

That was not all. There was a slave-like relationship between the peasant and the landowner. Since there is too much to describe, let's cite only a few examples from Romainville, a landlord in the Chaupimayo hacienda:

- He prohibited the existence of schools.
- He forced the peasants to exchange sugar for other products of much less value.
- He ordered one peasant—who had inadvertently burned one square meter of the straw roof of a storage hut—hung from a tree by his arms and legs naked, and beaten for many hours in front of his compañeros, who looked on with terror.
- He ordered another peasant to crawl on his hands and knees carrying more than seventy kilos of coffee, having him beaten to make him move, because the peasant had been unable to find a horse to carry the coffee.

But the plight of the peasant did not end there. Once the peasant had turned the piece of land given to him by the landlord from a hostile forest into a farm, then the landowner would demand to become the owner of this land, which the peasants had paid for with their lives, or a good part of their lives.

The owner could easily do this by, in the best cases, paying whatever farcical amount of money he felt like paying for the farm, the buildings, the orchards, the canals, etc. Others simply threw out the peasants without paying them a cent, as was the case in Chaupimayo. If one of them dared complain, he would be thrown in jail. The political, judicial, and police authorities on a local level were themselves landowners or their servants, just as were the members of parliament, ministers, and presidents.

Some peasants, enraged by the lack of justice, killed their landlord. Four of them are currently serving twenty-five-year sentences under this "revolutionary" government, in El Sepa, a prison

in the forest. They are Víctor Valencia, Eduardo Celis, Nazario Gamarra, and Rojas. Their story is interesting and deserves to be told on a different occasion. These peasants were not included in the amnesty granted by the government in 1970 because they are not considered political prisoners but merely "murderous Indians."

The trade-union movement of La Convención and Lares was organized to fight against these abuses. The demands included, for example, upholding the law that provides for an eight-hour workday, an end to physical abuse, reduction of the days worked for the landlords, and allowing the existence of schools.

Some landlords agreed to discuss the demands with the unions, but others thought this was the Apocalypse, utter chaos, a violation of divine laws, or something of the sort.

The landlord at Pancerbo in La Convención and the one at Alamo in Lares died of heart attacks as a result of this unheard-of event: "The Indians having the impertinence to discuss how to serve the landlords!"

Romainville survived the news, but, like the others, he went on the offensive. He initiated a criminal suit that affected nearly 100 peasants, had many of them put in jail, expelled others, resorted to physical abuse, etc.

The government issued a decree outlawing unions of *arrendatarios* [tenants]. But this did not stop the peasants. They became better organized and answered the repression by holding huge demonstrations, refusing to work for the landlords, and taking over the whole province for twenty-four and forty-eight-hour periods.

The peasants of Chaupimayo, who had withstood Romainville's abuses trembling with fear, became the vanguard of the struggle. They came to be feared and hated, not only the land-

lords, but also by the reformists. Among other victories, they collectivized the plantations of some landlords to help prisoners' families, to buy school supplies, to pay teachers, etc. These types of measures were also taken by other unions.

Nevertheless, the most important step they took was the "general strike," which consisted of not working for the bosses. The extension of this strike became a de facto land reform, making the peasants the owners of the land that they worked.

A capitalist government, no matter how "progressive," cannot allow this to pass without repression because, while it may be to the rulers' advantage to draw the peasantry into the capitalist market, the way in which the peasants did it violated the sacred norms of respect for private property. In the name of that respect, they are willing to sacrifice just about anything.

(One example of this was recently provided by the present Peruvian government, which chose to sacrifice its carefully constructed populist image by massacring hundreds of people in Lima because, driven by hunger, they looted "private property.")

It was for that reason, and because the example of La Convención and Lares was spreading, that the government repressed the peasant movement. We will see this later. Now let us return to 1961.

By that year, the FPCC had become a strong organization, encompassing peasant unions from two other neighboring provinces. As a delegate of my union and member of the executive committee of the federation, I attended the weekly delegates' meetings held in the capital of the province. On one of my usual trips I was arrested by the police. The military judge had ordered my arrest because of my failure to appear weekly at police headquarters.

I considered the meeting of the federation that was taking place that night very important and thought I could not miss it. I explained this to the police officer and told him I would commit myself to come back after the meeting.

The officer demanded that other leaders of the federation back up my promise, which they did, and so I was able to attend the meeting that night and return to police headquarters the next morning.

This pact was nothing more than a symptom of the relationship of forces between the peasant movement in that area and the capitalist state. These cases, and others that seem even more amazing, are products of the mass upsurge and the rise of embryos of workers power that began to challenge capitalist power.

I brought my case before the meeting of the federation and it was agreed that, in order to settle it once and for all, we would let the police take me to the city of Cuzco. If the military judge ordered my imprisonment, then the federation would respond with mass mobilizations.

My union did not find out about the decision but learned of my imprisonment directly through a member who had seen me taken away by the police. The union called a meeting and decided to go *en masse* to blockade the road and prevent my being taken to the department's capital and to obtain my freedom. In order to do this, men and women walked in the darkness of the night and began stopping and searching every vehicle headed toward the train station. The only way to reach the city of Cuzco was by train. Besides the cargo trucks that peasants travel in, my compañeros stopped a police jeep, made the policemen get out, and searched the vehicle.

Finally, the bus went by, in which people with money traveled. That was where the police had me. When my compañeros saw me they began throwing rocks at the bus, demanding that the driver stop it. The frightened white passengers began shouting at the police officer to let me go. The officer, who was desperate, told me to do whatever I wanted. I answered that I was his prisoner and was under his orders.

He then asked me to talk to my compañeros, who were by then beginning to climb into the bus. I went outside and explained to them that they had practically freed me already, that their mass action was all-powerful, and that the Chaupimayo union had set an example of combativity once again.

However, I explained, I was of the opinion that I should not go with them because if I did I would be confined to the area we had secured, and would then be less useful. I had to go see the military judge in Cuzco to wrap things up. If the judge ordered my imprisonment, the Chaupimayo union knew just what to do. (I was referring to the union's vanguard role in mobilizing the rest of the federation.) It would suffice, I told them, for one compañero to go with me to court to see what happened and inform the union.

The gathering approved my proposal and chose a compañero to go with me and the police to the court. The judge was forced to release me and I was once again free to move around.

A few months later I had another encounter with repression:

By then, the Federación Departamental de Campesinos del Cuzco [Departmental Peasants Federation of Cuzco] had already been formed and I was in the leadership.

One night I had been assigned by the federation to attend a rank-and-file meeting of a union in the province of Calca. The peasant's house where our meeting was to take place was surrounded and invaded by police. The



Blanco salutes supporters who attended his military trial in 1966. 'I was able to see and embrace my former compañeros in the struggle and we were able to feel firsthand the affection of the people.'

cops took down the names of everyone present and ordered us to appear at police headquarters the following morning. Since the peasant movement in that province was still weak, a compañero went to Cuzco to tell them the news.

Only about twenty of us were at that meeting, but fifty showed up at police headquarters the following day. At first the police arrested only the twenty from the night before, but the others insisted on being arrested as well. Some of them claimed that they had fled from the meeting-place when they saw the police coming, and others said they had arrived after the police had left.

The police were forced to lock everybody up and, when the interrogation began, they had to listen to and record the endless descriptions of all the abuses of the boss, who was an important figure in the department. Frightened by the determination of the peasants, the police decided to release us.

The incident wound up with a comradely victory lunch in a *chicheria* (a restaurant for Indians). It was a significant stimulus to the fight for unionization in the province.

With the subsequent growth of the peasant movement on a department-wide scale, the tensions grew, and so did the desire of the secret police to capture me. Nevertheless, they only tried that when I was in the city of Cuzco, not in the province of La Convención or in Lares, where they would see me and not say a word.

Once, during a big department-wide peasants' rally at the main plaza of the city of Cuzco, I noticed a few secret-police agents scattered near the speakers' platform. However, it was important that I speak, and I knew the police wouldn't dare capture me in front of thousands of compañeros.

I walked up to the microphone and began by stating: "The secret police have called me to a private meeting, but I don't have any personal problem to discuss with any of them. Whatever problems they have to discuss with me as a peasant leader are the problems of the peasantry as a whole, the problem of all of you. Therefore, this is where we should talk with them, and we can do that since I have seen several of these gentlemen here (and I began to point them out), although they're hiding right now. I invite them to come to the microphone and tell us what they wanted to talk about."

Upon hearing the uproar from the crowd demanding that they speak, the police opted for sneaking away.

When the rally was over the Quechua peasants marched through the city's main streets. Many intimidated whites closed their windows and doors. Under the circumstances, the police didn't dare make a move. When the contingent broke up at nightfall the police couldn't tell which of the ponchos was mine nor where I was going to sleep. And the following morning it was hard to check out every Indian returning to the countryside.

1962

For those who minimize the importance of mass mobilizations against repression, I should point out that the fight against repression played a crucial role during the rise of combativity in La Convención and in the department of Cuzco as a whole.

There were big province-wide and department-wide demonstrations by peasants demanding freedom for the Chaupimayo prisoners.

One of the most important work stoppages in the province was called around that demand.

There was a department-wide demonstration in solidarity with the peasants of Pasco, in the center of Peru, and against the repression hitting them. It was around that same issue that the first general strike in La Convención



December 1966. Peruvian Committee for Defense of Human Rights sponsored rally calling for amnesty for political prisoners. Slogan under Blanco's picture at top says 'Hugo Blanco must live.'

and Lares took place (this was the key step toward the agrarian reform carried out by the peasantry that is still in effect today).

In 1964 there was a general department-wide work stoppage demanding my release from prison and the release of other compañeros.

All these battles were very important in raising consciousness, raising morale, and training compañeros in methods of organization and struggle.

My situation of having to work underground in the city of Cuzco but having freedom in the province of La Convención lasted until the end of April 1962. From then on I was continually persecuted as a result of the adventurist actions—namely bank robberies—carried out by a group of comrades led by Daniel Pereyra in Lima.

La Convención is a mountainous region, a semitropical forest with clearings at the sites of former villages and of present and past harvest. When the persecution began, I had to hide in the forest, but a few weeks later I came back to participate in our union. We had daily and nightly vigils at the borders of our security zone. I slept in a different place every night—in a house, on a coffee plantation, or in the forest.

Unfortunately my activities were restricted. I could only be active in the area encompassed by my union and, once in a while, by taking many precautions, in the areas of adjacent unions.

Not only were special police units used to persecute me, but the repressive forces boasted of having planes and helicopters that flew over our area.

Despite that, and because of the screening done in our security zone, I was able to meet many times with compañeros from other areas and with newspaper reporters.

In my book *Land or Death* I pointed out that the main weaknesses of our peasant movement were its isolation and the absence of a revolutionary party on a national scale. (One didn't

even exist on a solid basis on a provincial level.)

For that reason it was impossible to successfully answer the violent repression against the peasant movement, which deepened in October 1962.

This repression was systematic. First it hit the department of Cuzco, without reaching La Convención and Lares. Then La Convención and Lares, without reaching our security zone. The final, most violent blow was dealt to our union after we had been left without support.

For that reason we decided that our trade-union defense brigade should leave the area to carry out the confrontation somewhere else. In this way, as guerrillas, we could confront the repression with the support of the peasantry throughout the region, not only of our union. This would lessen the chances that the militia and the union would be massacred. (The events showed us that, for lack of a party, we were unable to help build the other militias that already existed in embryonic form.)

The actions taken by the vanguard elements had to be clearly understood by the masses. We realized this when a peasant leader from the Qayara *hacienda* in a high region arrived. He was an old man who had been elected general secretary of a union formed with the help of the Chaupimayo leadership.

The landlord, accompanied by police, had gone to his shack to capture him. Since he couldn't find the peasant, he ransacked his shack and threatened to kill an eleven-year-old child, demanding that the child tell him where the union leader was. To make his threat more real, he asked for one of the policemen's guns and placed it at the child's chest. The child, not knowing the whereabouts of the leader (his godfather), could say nothing. The landlord then moved the gun and fired, wounding the child's arm.

In the search, they also chased and fired at another peasant.

The leader, after escaping, came to us and brought his grievance before an expanded assembly of several unions. (The federation had stopped holding meetings because of the repression.) The assembly decided to send a delegation to demand an explanation from the landlord. It authorized the delegation to carry arms and use them in the event they were needed. I was appointed to head it up.

Creeping in the night, the delegation avoided one of the police stations on the way to Qayara, but was not able to avoid the second one. The police from this station had accompanied the landlord on his rampage. The policeman in command, who was the landlord's main accomplice, refused to give himself up despite our orders to do so. A shoot-out followed and the policeman was mortally wounded. To avoid being victimized as a result of this clash, and having learned that the landlord was not in Qayara, we changed our route.

Although we had the protection of the peasantry, our lives were very arduous, during the crossing of the forest and the high places. It would take too long to describe how much we suffered from hunger, thirst, the heat and the cold, exhaustion, and the vicious persecution against the peasantry. The police were in a rage at not being able to find us, and their rage mounted after a second clash in which two policemen fell.

They cravenly murdered Simón Oviedo, a leader from Chaupimayo, and other unarmed peasants like him. They imprisoned several and tortured many others.

1963

Finally, we were taken by surprise and attacked by a patrol. We managed to escape but got dispersed. It was impossible for us to reunite, due again to the absence of a revolutionary party infrastructure in the area.

Elsewhere I have described the aid I received from peasants I did not previously know on the way to an out-of-the-way area. Despite their goodwill, I preferred to be alone and cut off contact. I knew that, without an organization, the peasants' aid could not be counted on and that, sooner or later, the police would track me down.

Here is what followed:

Sleeping wrapped up in a blanket under the worst torrential rains I have ever known. Getting up every two hours, more or less. Wringing the blanket. Taking off my clothes and wringing them. Putting the clothes on again and wrapping myself up in the blanket. Sleeping again.

Eating three cabbage leaves in the morning, three at noon, three at night. At other times, putting three handfuls of cornmeal into a bottle full of water. Shaking the bottle so that the water had the appearance of a warm corn-flour broth. Drinking one-third in the morning, another third at noon, another third at night.

Thinking that clouds could be edible. Thinking that it's stupid to take the feathers off birds to eat them. Becoming angry remembering the qualitative criteria concerning food: "The strangers to hunger, the satiated, those who know their stomach only through distant references . . . never talked to it as one empty hole talking to another."

Wishing that water were not so liquid; eating it even though it is. Discussing hunger with the trees with great respect: "I'm talking about mother Hunger, mother of the hunger for justice, mother of the hunger to know and of the smaller one, the hunger strike."

Thinking that it's a crime to wash dishes and pots instead of licking them as the wise peasant children do.

Covering the small sores caused by insect bites with mud.

Knowing that the peasant unions are crushed. Knowing that the small party grouping is destroyed. Knowing that

the repression in the area is brutal. Knowing that many are being tortured so they'll tell where I am.

I wonder who died. I wonder who is being tortured. How long will this last? Will they put me in jail? Will they find me? Will they torture me? Will they kill me? When will all this happen? How? Who? Where? How long? Will I die of hunger? Questions like butcher hooks fighting over my brain.

There were two doors open to me: One, to go into the forest and die so they would keep looking for me forever. The other, to get in contact with peasant compañeros to get out of the area.

But both of them were to capitulate. The first, because it was suicide. The second, because under conditions of harsh repression and without organization it was a disguised way of turning myself in.

My first duty was to go on living. My second duty was to make every effort not to be caught. To continue indefinitely in the forest of questions.

This ended when, by chance, I ran into a young peasant. The rest, up to my capture, is in the book *Land or Death*.

Immediately after capturing me they took me to the city of Cuzco in a helicopter, handcuffed and with the barrel of a machine gun pressed to my temple. The helicopter landed at a barracks one kilometer away from the city. They considered it dangerous to put me in jail in some other place within the city. They questioned me day and night and wouldn't let me sleep. I spent one month in that barracks. In addition to reinforcing the barracks' normal watch, they assigned police (who took shifts two at a time) to be in the same room with me, watching me constantly. Then the authorities began to distrust these guards for "fraternizing" with me and assigned members of a special repressive corps—the "assault guard." Soon they began to distrust them also and assigned members of the mounted police with strict orders not to exchange a word with me.

Finally, they took me to another city.

1963-1966

Prisión Siglo XX [Prison of the Twentieth Century], Arequipa:

Ten political prisoners locked up in cells. I was alone in mine.

We were forbidden to talk from one cell to another. After a while we began shouting back and forth to each other and went on a hunger strike demanding that we be allowed to go out in the corridor. The authorities gave in.

Finally only three of us were left.

They wouldn't let us work like the other prisoners. We staged another hunger strike (the third one of the twelve or thirteen I have had to go on to this day, the longest of which lasted twenty-four days) and got them to let us work.

We wanted to see people. Through a window we would watch the other prisoners playing soccer. But the authorities had the window covered with a steel plate.

Visits. Sometimes we were kept totally incommunicado. The rest of the time they restricted the visits we received to punish us for not being submissive. There were times when we could only be visited by Peace Corps members and nuns and priests, and only those from the United States and Spain. At other times they would allow close relatives to visit us. We had no relatives in that city. Once they told me that my brother was not a close relative. When relatives arrived they had to go before the military judge and go through a lot of humiliation in order to get a visitor's permit. We were forbidden to speak Quechua, our native language. Between the prisoner and his visitor stood a guard, a sergeant, and a member of the secret police.

Correspondence. Whenever we wanted to send or receive correspondence to relatives, we had to do it through one of the visitors. To do so, the letters had to be turned in the day before so that three copies could be made. Even the letters and drawings of my five-year-old daughter were all copied.

There were some officers whose intellectual activity consisted of devising new forms of psychological oppression. For example, they would forbid us to paint a certain way on the toys that we made to be sold. Or they would send a guard at night to wake us up every three hours by shining a flashlight in our eyes.

Tacna: The hearing, held in that city, was beneficial to me for several reasons. It served to unmask the prejudice of the military tribunal. I was able to see and embrace my former compañeros in the struggle and we were able to feel firsthand the affection of the people, as I described it in the book *Land or Death*.

1966-1970

Prison island El Frontón:

About 2,000 prisoners—"the most dangerous of all the criminals," according to the authorities.

At first I was locked up in a cell all day long. Again I had to resort to the hunger strike for my "right of the common prisoner" to be able to leave the cell during the day. I won it and lived in that notorious hell:

Frequent murders over nothing among people who have been deeply hurt by life.

Diseases that no one cures because the scarce medicines sent by the government are traded among all the functionaries, through whose hand they have to go. One day I felt very ill and went to the infirmary to check in. When

pay "taxes" to the prison authorities.

The merchants who bring raw materials and pick up craft objects [made by the prisoners] also have to pay "taxes," so that what the prisoner receives for his work is almost nothing. This is usually all they have to feed their families, who are thrust into misery by the guardians of "social order."

The condition of homosexuals who "play the part of the woman" is sad. They are prostituted and humiliated.

Some people go crazy on the island. Others were already crazy when they came. Some had committed no "crime," but came simply because they had neither the money nor the influence needed to be taken into a mental hospital. These people are kept in one of the worst places; there the waves crash wet and cold: the "Wolves' Cave."

An even worse place, where they sometimes put people naked and without covers, is "Siberia," the punishment cell.

The "House of Dracula" is the torture chamber, although tortures are sometimes carried on elsewhere, especially at night on the pier, by hanging the prisoners by their feet with a crane and submerging them in the sea again and again.

When someone escapes they unleash beatings and all kinds of provocations against the prisoners, hoping they will respond so they can murder them. When fugitives are recaptured they suffer prolonged torture that in some cases ends in death.

I denounced the murder of "Onjón" and "El Negro Hugo" in *Intercontinental Press* [October 7, 1968]. One of those who did not die told me later that a guard told him: "Don't worry, now there's going to be a mutiny led by you people and Hugo Blanco and we'll be forced to shoot some of you in self-



Chile after September 1973 rightist coup. 'Like everyone else in Chile, I knew that one could meet death at any moment. I knew that the junta's main task was to kill.'

I saw it, I decided to go back to my cell, because at least I would only have to combat the illness I already had.

The food is awful. The little money that the government allocates for it, as with the medicine, diminishes as it goes from the hands of one functionary to another more poorly paid.

The water is drinkable when it leaves the port, but then it stagnates and serves as a pool for the swimming championships of the roaches and rats. There is no faucet. Water is gotten by putting buckets tied to ropes into a well. Many of these buckets are kept on the floor where excrement has overflowed the broken drains. (The International Red Cross saw this but kept quiet about it.)

Some of the prisoners have set up shops with food or other articles. The prices are high because they have to

defense." The death of the two prisoners and its impact abroad probably saved us. (As another form of provocation, Eduardo Creus [an Argentine revolutionist] and I were beaten in front of the other prisoners.)

Once in a while they carry out "prison reforms" that receive widespread publicity. These only serve to give certain bureaucrats more money and everything stays the same.

I think the most horrible day in El Frontón was the day I saw the "farewell walk" of a prisoner condemned to death who was shot a few days later. I have rarely seen an expression of innocence like that one. I couldn't sleep that night; the hatred wouldn't let me. I never felt more hatred, impersonal hatred, hatred for the capitalist system that creates "criminals," imprisons them, tortures them, and murders them.

December 22, amnesty.

It would no longer be seventeen more years. I was leaving right then.

But I was not happy with the news. I had a strange, indefinite, gray sensation.

As the ferry moved away from the island, with me aboard this time, I did feel a clear sensation: a deep sadness, great affection for my ill-fated compañeros who waved at us fraternally and smiled. My brothers the "criminals," the "dregs of society."

In El Frontón there is a story told about a prisoner who left after fifty years and then felt unhappy in the outside world.

I understand him. To keep my nerves from breaking, I had adjusted my mind to life in El Frontón and when I thought of the outside I would imagine it in the distant future, with all the people I loved dead or far away from me.

The accumulation of many and strong "good" emotions hurt me more than the misfortunes, which I had always been able to take. That was not all. There were many people interested in seeing me and I was not used to saying no. To make matters worse, I could not escape from that milieu. The authorities had prohibited me from going to the countryside or visiting the "criminals."

During the entire time I was in prison there was a worldwide campaign against the threat of the death penalty and to obtain my freedom.

It is thanks to that campaign that I am now alive and free.

The campaign had other positive effects. Conditions in the prisons improved. For example, to protest the fact that Eduardo Creus and I had been beaten in El Frontón there was a demonstration in Paris in front of the Peruvian embassy. They never beat us again.

Many young people, especially in Europe and North America, began to radicalize as a result of that campaign. What happened on a small scale was similar to what happened on a giant scale as a result of the campaigns against the repression in Vietnam and Chile.

1971

After being freed I was able to go visit the Peasants Union of Huando hacienda, which was near Lima, and the miners union of Casapalca.

Later, when I tried to go to my home—Cuzco—where the workers' and students' organizations had prepared a reception, the minister of the interior prohibited me from leaving Lima. After so many years of being locked up I had an urgent desire to see the countryside, but it was impossible. Once, when I was going to a beach near Lima for health reasons, I was detained by police as I was leaving the city.

Many peasant, worker, and student organizations throughout the country had invited me to speak before them, but I couldn't do it. However, when a striking miners union marched through Lima, I was able to attend and to discuss with them methods of union struggle. Soon I was detained by the secret police, who had me locked up for twenty-four hours (according to Peruvian law one cannot be detained longer without a trial).

Later, when the teachers were demanding salary raises, some of them called on me to give a talk. When they went on strike, the newspaper I was editing gave support to their demands and their struggle. I also called for support to them every time I was able to speak in public.

Because of this I was arrested by the secret police and then expelled from Peru. They put me on an airplane that flew me to Panama; there I was turned over to the national guard, who kept me in jail for a few hours. Then they put me on a plane to El Salvador. The

aircraft's captain surrendered me to the Salvadorian police, who put me on another plane to Mexico. At the Ciudad de Mexico airport, the police were waiting, and took me to a special prison for foreigners. After a few days they freed me and gave me a false passport issued by the Peruvian authorities.

1972

Through pressure by the Mexican government, I was able to get a valid passport from the Peruvian consulate. I asked for a three-month tourist visa at the Argentine consulate. They said that as a Peruvian I didn't need a visa, but because of my insistence and after I paid the necessary fees, they gave me the visa. With it I traveled to Argentina. After one month in that country I was detained without any justification and was in jail for more than three months.

Argentina

Insecurity, instability, consciousness of being a passive victim of any change by the almighty authority.

To stamp all of this into your brain is the objective of the policy toward political prisoners in the Villa Devoto jail in Buenos Aires.

Now that repression is again on the rise in Argentina, it is our obligation to expose to the world all its aspects.

My experience is not the worst; it is minor in comparison to the other methods that have been exposed. I only speak of what I lived through. It has to be taken into account that I was treated lightly. They only wanted me to leave the country. They didn't need to get any confessions out of me and had no direct interest in stamping out my spirit of resistance.

Jail of Villa Devoto, Buenos Aires:

Some prisoners are called by loud-speakers. No one knows why. The guards come in fifteen minutes. Where is he being taken? Has his lawyer come? His relatives? Could it be that he is being transferred to another prison? Where? Or have they brought him a package? Will they take him to be tortured? Or is he just being taken to the dungeon of the prison? Could it be to murder him????

Finally the guards arrive. Sounds of keys, iron gates, and locks and chains. Line up in rows of two with hands behind the back and mouth shut. Wait. Walk. "Turn around and face the wall!" (While another row of prisoners passes by in any direction.) Walk. Sounds of iron gates. Wait. Walk.

Hope to arrive soon at the "packages section." The prisoners already know that it's neither to see their mother nor to be tortured, it's only to get a package. One by one they are called to receive their packages. The prisoner enters and always has to stop first, with hands behind his back, two meters from the employee, and only when he is ordered to receive his package can he get closer and stretch out his hand.

The guard tells him, "They brought you a radio," and shows it. "It's a good radio, congratulations," and turns it on. Then lets it fall on the floor. "Oh! I'm sorry, it fell and broke. Now it won't work, you don't have to take it."

And the prisoner is taken back. Gates, hallways, waiting, marching, waiting. With empty hands and with a heart full of impotent anger.

We were in a pavilion with ten or twelve people. It had a wide iron-gate door through which all the corners could be seen. A guard walked through the hallway night and day. The food was lousy but we could prepare other things with groceries brought by relatives. We could make leather and wood objects. There were radio and television, visits, and correspondence from one's family. We had freedom to wash clothes, to play chess, and I was surprised to see that even some Marxist books were allowed. At first I didn't realize that precisely all these rights were part of the repression.

One morning when we were busy doing different things, washing clothes, cooking, reading, etc., we heard a great bustle in the hallway and then several guards ran up and yelled from the door: "To the wall!"

We had to leave what we were doing and run and stand facing the back wall, with hands behind our backs, with our mouths shut and without turning our heads.

The guards came in and a moment later called us one by one. They made us undress and searched all our clothes. They ordered us to lift our testicles with our hands and then made us kneel to let them see our anuses. After this they ordered us to put on our shorts and grab the rest of our clothes and run to another pavilion where we had to get dressed in a hurry and stand again facing the wall, silently, without turning our heads and with our hands behind us.

We stood that way for an hour or two, listening to the noises that came from our pavilion. Then they ordered us to

'Massive campaigns against repression raise the consciousness of the masses and of revolutionaries. They raise morale and teach methods of organization and struggle. All this is combined with the direct effect of putting a brake on the repression.'

run back to our pavilion, where they left us alone after closing the iron-gate doors.

We found chaos: On the floor were the blankets together with the scattered garbage, the vegetables, the sugar, the pieces of a letter from one prisoner's mother, the clean clothes, the coffee, the rice, the clothes half-washed, the chess pieces, the food half-cooked, the pieces of family pictures of another prisoner, the silverware, the salt, radios and watches, some of them broken.

After we put things in some order, we noticed that many books were missing, work materials, some chess pieces, some family letters, the wooden and leather objects that were the product of many days of work, some silverware, some pictures of children, women friends, wives, mothers.

What had happened officially? "Search for firearms and drugs of the political prisoners." When would the next "search" take place?

It happened the next day, and more was taken. But a week or two months could go by without a "search," without things being taken.

What is the prisoner allowed to have? No one knows. They might let him have books by Lenin, or they might take away even the Bible or a book on drawings. They might forbid him to receive groceries, to have a picture of his son or to finish the work he had started. Or they might allow him all of this.

Since it does not depend on his behavior, what does it depend on? No one knows. It depends on a superior will, impersonal, very strong, invisible, almighty: the AUTHORITY that one tried naively to fight against. The "powers that be," which can do with those who dare to rise up the same thing it does with the sugar, the garbage, and the photographs.

DIPA: I don't remember what these political police initials mean. By now it may have another name.

A cell two meters long by one meter wide and three meters high. Always artificial light. You judge whether it is day or night by the food they bring you. Despite the fact that in Argentina people eat better than in Peru, this food is lousy.

Nothing to read, nothing to do. They take away your shoelaces, belt, hand-

kerchief, and whatever there is in your pockets.

One time when I was taken from Villa Devoto, I hid a piece of paper of ten square centimeters where I had drawn a chessboard, because I thought I could play alone, mentally. When they searched me they found it and destroyed it with a vicious smirk.

The only thing to do is think: How long will I be here? When will they take me for interrogation again? Will they torture me? What prison will they take me to? Do my family and friends know that I am in jail? Will they kill me? Who do those screams belong to?

The only events during the long days and nights, besides the food, are the noises of the iron-gate doors and the screams of the tortured.

Expulsion

None of the legal proceedings carried out to get permanent residence in Argentina were successful. The government insisted on my expulsion.

At first no Latin American country

would accept me. The Chilean authorities informed me that they had asked Cuba to accept me, via Chile, but that Cuba replied they didn't want me because I was against the "Peruvian revolutionary government."

Finally Chile accepted me for fifteen days "in transit to a third country." I was expelled to Chile and there I obtained residence for a year.

1973

The rich Chilean experience deserves special treatment. I will not discuss it here.

September 11: military coup. The junta issues an order to all foreigners to report to the nearest police headquarters.

To have done that would have meant suicide, because to be a foreigner was the worst crime. This was evident from that first day of the coup. Given my record, they would have murdered me the way they did many others.

Two days after the coup the curfew was lifted and I went to hide with some friends.

Like everyone else in Chile, I knew that one could meet death at any moment. I knew that the junta's main task was to kill. Who might be already dead?

Later, with the help of the Swedish ambassador, Harald Edelstam, I was able to find refuge first in the Swedish embassy and then at the residence of the Mexican ambassador. I left there for Sweden via Mexico.

A few days after my departure, the junta launched a campaign on television, radio, and in the newspapers, accusing me of escaping from a Peruvian prison with the help of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], and of preparing guerrilla warfare with the Socialist party leader Carlos Altamirano. This campaign was carried out to help justify the murder of foreigners.

At the present time I am exiled from Latin America and forced to live in Europe.

While I am here I am dedicated to working on the campaign against repression in Latin America. In this way I can continue to participate in an aspect of the struggle of my subcontinent, with which I am familiar. This narrative is dedicated to aiding this

struggle. Whoever wants to join me can do so through:

- U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, 156 Fifth Avenue, Suite 600, New York, New York 10010 (212) 691-2880;

- Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Box 38, Station B, Toronto, Ontario, Canada;

- Swedish section of Amnesty International, Barnhusgatan 4, 11123, Stockholm, Sweden.

I know that the massive campaigns against repression in the oppressed countries, as elsewhere, raise the consciousness of the masses in general and of revolutionaries in particular. They raise morale and teach methods of organization and struggle. All this is combined with the direct effect of putting a brake on the repression to one degree or another.

I have participated in this type of campaign in Peru, Mexico (against the repression in other Latin American countries), in Argentina (against the repression in Bolivia), and in Chile (against the repression in Brazil and other countries).

A Note

One important thing to note is the role played by the masses in defending those who are persecuted.

The more faithfully the actions of revolutionary socialists reflect the level of consciousness of the masses, the more guarantee we have that we will be defended by them. On the other hand, if our behavior is too far ahead of the level of consciousness of the masses, it could happen that in spite of the sympathy of the people for our actions, they will be afraid to defend us; in some cases they might consider us common criminals and even play an active role in aiding the repression.

It is true that we cannot rely on the spontaneous defense of activists, and that one of the functions of the apparatus of the revolutionary party is to be able to hide its members. But no matter how technically proficient this apparatus is, if the political attitudes of the activists do not correspond to the level of consciousness of the masses, it is like constructing a sound building on quicksand. The revolutionary party cannot function well in a hostile or unsympathetic environment (as shown by the example of the Tupamaros).

I will cite three instances of repression in which I couldn't get aid through party channels, unions, or any other link, and where I was left to my own devices.

- In 1955 I was active in the labor movement of Argentina; I was a rank-and-file member of what is now called the PST [Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party]. At that time it only had about 100 members.

The party had denounced the preparation of the proimperialist coup [that overthrew the government of Juan Perón on September 16, 1955], and had pointed out that the only way to stop it was through organized actions by the working class.

Unfortunately, Peronism was stronger than it is today, and in general, Perón's dictate prevailed over the working class: "From home to work and from work to home. I will take care of the conspirators."

As in the case of [Salvador] Allende, Perón's attitude against mobilizations was most favorable to the September 16 coup. The Peronist hierarchy didn't move a finger to channel the proletariat's will to resist, either before or after the coup. After September 16, spontaneous mass demonstrations broke out and in the factories one could breathe the will to resist. But the Peronist bureaucracy only responded with rumors that some "Peronist general" was going to lead an uprising.

Our party participated in the demon-

strations and clashes with the police. We figured that October 17, the "Day of Peronism,"* was going to be spontaneously taken by the working class as a day of protest. We knew that the Peronist hierarchy wouldn't do anything to channel these desires and that it was our duty to try our best to encourage and concretize it in a general strike.

With this objective in mind, we made as many leaflets as we could and distributed them extensively. On the night of the sixteenth, a compañero and I had to leaflet in a working-class neighborhood where we didn't know anybody. The police saw the leaflets and started to chase us. I knocked on the door of the poorest hut I saw. Since it was three o'clock in the morning, the residents got frightened, thinking we

*On October 17, 1945, Argentine workers virtually took control of Buenos Aires, thereby winning their demand for the release of Juan Perón, who had been arrested by his opponents in the military.—ISR

were thieves. We had the following dialogue:

"Compañeros, open the door, the police are chasing us for distributing leaflets."

"What leaflets?"

"Why do you ask that? Don't you remember what day it is tomorrow?"

"Come in, compañeros." (And the door opened.)

The police continued looking all night through the dark and impenetrable neighborhood streets, wishing they could capture us.

• In 1959, in Cuzco, the police were forced to release me because of popular pressure, and ordered me to go home. I knew that as soon as I left the picket line, they would try to arrest me, so when I turned the corner I looked for a place to hide. The poorest place seemed to me to be the workshop of an artisan, where the artisan also lived. The door was slightly open because he needed light, but not totally open, meaning that he supported the strike. I came in and told him the police were chasing

me because I had been on the picket line. He told me I could hide as long as I wanted and then, when I was leaving, loaned me different clothes so the police wouldn't recognize me.

• On January 10, 1963, the police surprised our guerrilla brigade and dispersed it. I was left alone in an area where I didn't know anyone.

After running away from the enemy's line of fire, trying at the same time to cover up the path of my compañeros, I took refuge in some bushes. At nightfall I went up to a poor peasant hut and, through the sticks that the hut was made of, I looked and listened to make sure that no police were there.

Since there was only a peasant couple, I went in and told them that I was one of Hugo Blanco's compañeros and that the police had opened fire on us and were now chasing us. But the peasants recognized me because they had seen me in the big demonstrations. Immediately they took the necessary measures to make the required contacts with other peasants to take me to a

safer place.

My political activity in each of these cases corresponded to the level of consciousness of the masses.

If I had introduced myself to the Argentine working-class family, or to the artisan in Cuzco, as a member of an armed group, their attitude would probably have been different.

In fact, if I had gone into that peasant hut in an earlier or later period, the attitude of the peasants would have been different.

The consequences of this type of imbalance were suffered later on, in the same area, by the guerrilla leader Luis de la Puente Uceda, and a few years later by Che Guevara in Bolivia.

It is very easy to label the masses stupid or traitors. It is difficult to correctly evaluate the level of their consciousness and, from it, determine our political attitude. This is what we revolutionaries have to do, even if it is difficult.

The Necessity of Revolution

Why did the American Revolution take place? Are revolutions historical accidents that can be avoided by compromise? Do the elements exist for a new American revolution?

By George Novack

On March 22, 1765, George III gave his royal assent to the Stamp Act, which had passed both houses of Parliament with no more commotion than "a common Turnpike Bill." The attempt to execute this hateful tax measure that affected most of the American colonists provoked the first large-scale outbursts against the crown.

Ten years later, on March 23, 1775, Patrick Henry stood up and, in answer to those opposed to arming the people, told the Second Virginia Convention that war with Britain was inevitable.

"We have petitioned, we have remonstrated, we have supplicated, we have prostrated ourselves before the throne. . . . Why stand we here idle?" Henry asked. "What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God. I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!"

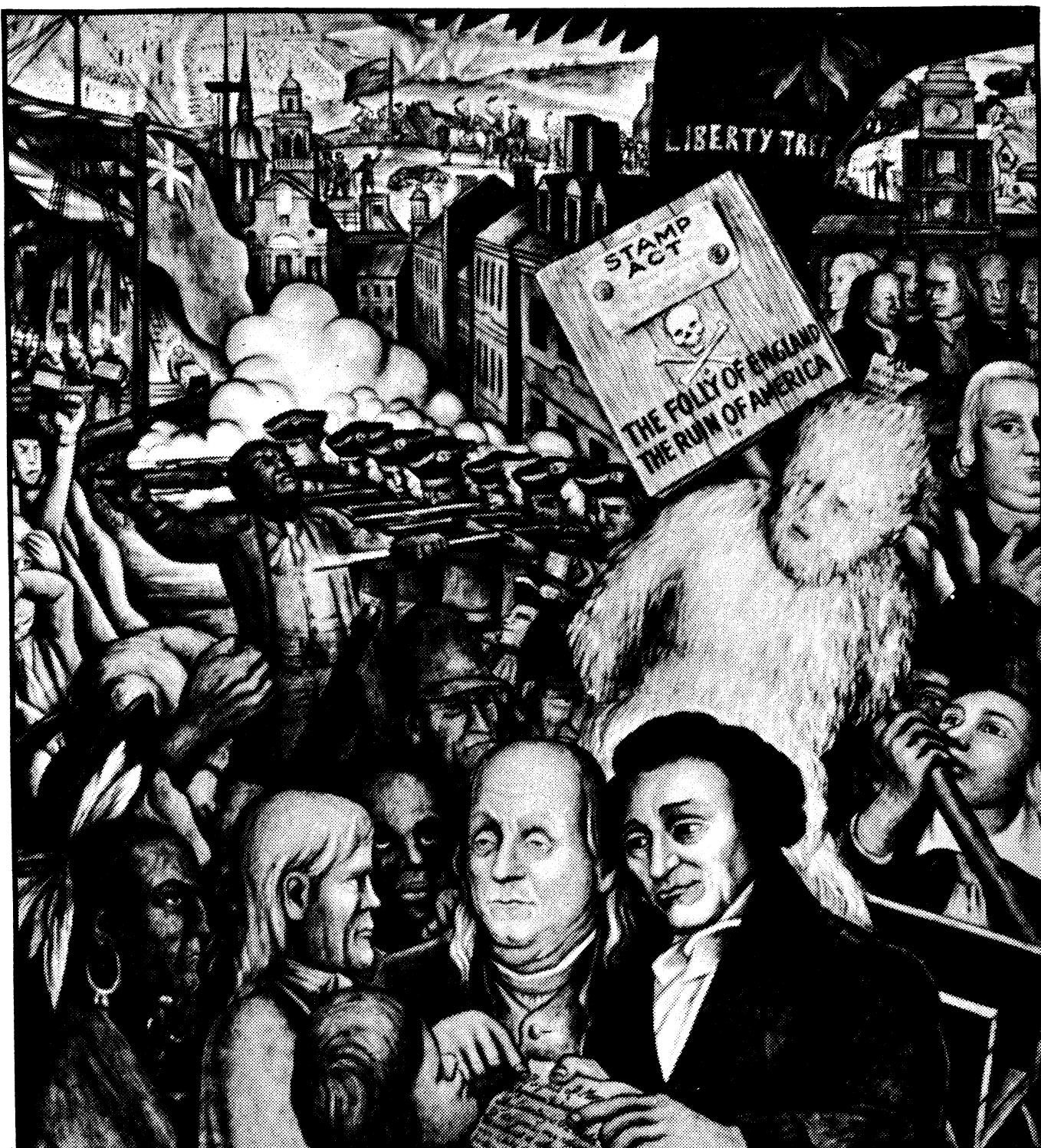
The motion to take up arms against the king passed by a small majority and the next week a committee, including George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Richard Henry Lee, established a plan for a militia in Virginia.

Why did loyal subjects become converted into rebels-in-arms over those ten years?

This question poses a highly debatable issue in history and politics. Have revolutions been produced by lawful causes or is their occurrence an avoidable accident? And how necessary was the First American Revolution?

The concept of historical necessity is in disrepute in contemporary American thought and has been disavowed by

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Diego Rivera mural depicts major scenes from First American Revolution. From foreground to background: Benjamin Franklin and Tom Paine; tarring and feathering of hated tax collector; Crispus Attucks as first victim of Boston Massacre; Sam Adams in front of Independence Hall at right; Boston Tea Party at left; and at top, French and Indian War, background for the revolution.

such influential English professors as Sir Isaiah Berlin and Karl Popper. The former categorically asserts, "For historians determinism is not a serious issue."

These liberal theorists dismiss determinism as a pernicious fallacy. Historical inevitability is a relic of dogmatic metaphysics, an aberration of Marxism, that has no validity in social science and should be expunged from historical exposition. They see no necessities at work in the evolution of class societies, and especially not in their own time and place.

Revolutions come about not when all the conditions for their occurrence from the economic to the individual converge to the breaking point, but because of mistaken judgments by one side or the other. Revolutions are therefore more or less aberrant phenomena and might have been averted if greater wisdom had been brought to bear on the situation by representatives of the respective antagonists.

Free will decides whether a country will be plunged into civil war or can detour around it. Unless there is unrestricted choice of alternatives, there is no room for the exercise of reason and the application of personal responsibility, they argue.

Marxists take the contrary view that social phenomena are regulated by their own laws, that the conflict of classes with opposing material interests and aims is the motive force in civilized societies, and the intensification of class antagonisms logically and irresistibly leads toward a revolutionary showdown in the contest for supremacy.

This line of thought originated among the Greeks, notably in the works of Thucydides and Aristotle. In examining the reasons for the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides wrote that "what made war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in Sparta." Two-and-one-half millennia later, Marxism gave a far more deepgoing and rounded formulation to this mode of historical interpretation.

The bicentennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence provides a timely occasion for testing the merits of these two types of historical explanation: the indeterminist and probabilist approach of the positivists and empiricists versus the dialectical determinism of the historical materialists.

The revolution that took place along the coastal area of North America during the last quarter of the eighteenth century introduced a salutary change in the destiny of the American people. Nowadays no one will contest this judgment. There are no Loyalists to be found in the fifty states, as there are in Canada and New Zealand. In 1775 scarcely a single voice will lament that the colonists broke away from British rule. Patriotism, realism, and two centuries of national sovereignty make such a position ridiculously anachronistic.

Despite the unanimous opinion that the revolution was desirable and beneficial, wide disagreement persists on the degree of its objective necessity. This uncertainty goes all the way back to the decade before the Declaration of Independence, when the revolt was ripening behind the backs of its prospective signers.

Tom Paine wrote in *Common Sense* that "it is contrary to nature that a whole continent should be tributary to an island." Nonetheless, England had dominated North America for almost two centuries and was then the strongest imperial power in the world.

Although some colonials believed that their fellow countrymen would one day cut loose from England's apron strings, before 1775 they could not see how independence could be achieved, nor did they expect that it would come in their lifetimes.

The decision to proclaim national freedom crystallized quite suddenly in the early months of 1776. It had taken a decade of compromises before the desirability and the immediacy of independence merged in the minds and deeds of the Patriots.

Here we bump into another familiar philosophical, historical, and moral problem: the relation of end to means.

The rebels finally resorted to armed struggle to attain their goals. Did they have to apply violence for that purpose and was this revolutionary means justified?

Marxists have no difficulty in answering these questions affirmatively. The liberal thinkers since that time have found it as difficult to resolve this dilemma in theory and square it with their principles as the moderates did at the time of the revolt.

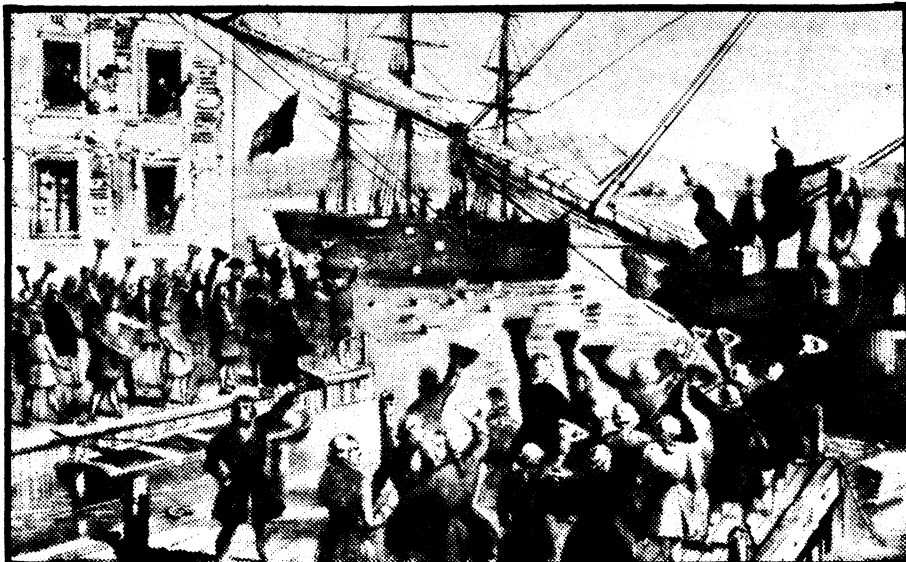
Many scholars argue that armed conflict might have been averted if

Gov. Francis Bernard of Massachusetts said later that after the Stamp Act it was apparent that the "weak patchwork government" in America had no power to prevent colonial independence "one hour after the people have resolved upon it."

But Britain, caught by surprise by the angry reaction of the colonials and barely recovered from the exhausting Seven Years' War, was ill-equipped and undisposed to impose repressive measures three thousand miles away and had to make a concession to the protesters.

What this episode signified was that, while many of the preconditions required for resistance were already present, all the necessary factors had not yet ripened. That would take ten more years of experience on both sides of the Atlantic.

The concrete problem comes down to analyzing the concatenation of causes



Boston Tea Party was protest against British move to give its East India Company a monopoly on tea in the American colonies. Demand for political independence of colonies was preceded and prepared by desire for economic independence.

reason and moderation had prevailed in adjudicating the differences. They seek to rearrange the course of history in accord with their preconceptions much as a schoolmaster corrects mistakes in the papers of his pupils. Yet they are the ones who have the most to learn from the actual historical process of their own country.

The revolutionary cycle in which the Declaration of Independence falls was launched by the Stamp Act demonstrations in 1765—the first intervention of the plebeian masses as an independent force in the contest against British exactions—and was consummated with the establishment of the Constitution in 1789.

Here was a tenacious twenty-five-year struggle, involving millions on both sides of the Atlantic and the major maritime powers. Was it an event that might as well not have happened? Or was it an *inescapable* stage in the advancement of the American people that had been in the making for decades and had necessary and sufficient causes for its emergence and development?

A scientific historian who wants to explain how something came to be rather than to explain it away has to face up to this crucial issue.

To be sure, alternative possibilities are in a *certain subordinate measure* lodged in the unfolding historical process. In connection with an exposition of the causes responsible for the specific course of events, it should be shown why these other paths were shut off and could not be taken by the antagonists at that juncture. But the indispensable task is to account for the main line of development.

It was, for example, not foreordained that independence be proclaimed on the particular date of July 4, 1776. The colonists might have launched into armed revolt as early as 1766 if the British government had tried to force the Stamp Act down their throats instead of repealing it.

during the prerevolutionary period from 1765 to 1775 that rendered armed conflict inevitable. The conditions that go into the creation of a revolutionary situation are multiple and complex; they extend from the underlying economic relations to the feelings, ideas, and responses of the individual colonist.

However, these diverse interacting factors have a gradation in importance; they did not all exert the same degree of influence upon the birth, growth, and outcome of the struggle. The most objective, weighty, and decisive determinants were the environing historical circumstances that produced the special alignment of class forces within the colonial social structure.

These generated the sharpening clash of interests between the colonists and the crown as well as between the differing strata within the provinces that found political and ideological expression through the Patriot movement.

The range of options for action that appeared open to both sides in the first phase of their confrontation kept narrowing down until they were reduced ten years later to the polar opposition expressed by Patrick Henry: "Liberty or death!"

The most sweeping aversion to this materialist approach comes from those academic American historians who pick out changing ideas, rather than the clash of class interests, as the main cause of the social and political upheaval.

Thus a reviewer of the thirteen volumes of *The British Empire before the American Revolution* by Lawrence Gipson wrote in the *New York Times Book Review* of July 3, 1966: "Yet the American Revolution was above all else an ideological revolution, and it is in ideological terms essentially that its origination is comprehensible. A complex tradition of ideas, fused into a coherent whole largely in the very early years of the 18th century, came into

conjunction with a peculiar structure of informal politics in America to create, already by mid-century, a latently revolutionary situation."

Similarly, in *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, the Harvard scholar Bernard Bailyn asserts, "The American Revolution was above all else an ideological, constitutional, political struggle and not primarily a controversy between social groups undertaken to force changes in the organization of the society or the economy."

The priority given to ideological factors in the genesis of the conflict stands the sequence of mutual determination on its head. This is an extremely shallow idealistic approach that takes a big step backward from the interpretations given by Charles and Mary Beard, Curtis Nettels, and other liberal historians of earlier generations. Despite their shortcomings, this progressive school of historiographers did recognize the importance of the economic basis of politics and the role of class interests in generating and promoting oppositional developments in the colonies.

Two major considerations speak against the thesis that ideas took precedence in the revolutionizing process.

The call for independence was voiced and supported not at the inception but only at the climax of the prerevolutionary period. And this demand for *political* independence was preceded and prepared by the desire and drive for *economic* independence from the colonial system, especially on the part of the merchants, planters, and land speculators. The Continental Congress opened American ports to all trade with all nations in April 1775, more than a year before it approved national independence.

Let us see how the pattern of determination worked out in the successive social and political crises from 1765 to 1775 that eventuated in armed insurrection and the construction of a parallel governmental-type power in opposition to the British colonial structure.

The close of the French and Indian War in 1763 ushered in the prerevolutionary period. All the major European powers participated in this Seven Years' War, which resembled the world wars of the twentieth century in its consequences. It had tremendous effects upon the combatants, whether they were among the victors or the vanquished.

Most importantly, the war introduced profound changes in the relations between England and her North American colonies. Both were struck by a postwar depression, burdensome debts, heavy taxes, and mass discontent.

England had a national debt of 130 million pounds sterling, which cost the people four-and-a-half million pounds a year in interest. Its ruling classes tried to unload an increasing share of these costs of the war upon the colonists by imposing many new taxes upon their trade, beginning with the Sugar Act of 1764 and the Stamp Act of 1765. These measures were designed not only to raise much-needed revenue, but to aid British merchants and manufacturers at the expense of their overseas rivals.

Beginning with the Proclamation of 1763, which prohibited settlements beyond the sources of the Atlantic seaboard's rivers, the crown tightened its hold upon the desirable Western territories. The king's ministers proposed a British standing army of 10,000 men that colonial taxes would have to support. They instituted stricter enforcement of the customs regulations to stop up the countless leaks in the seaport walls. In 1764 they adopted a Currency Act that outlawed colonial paper money.

This series of enactments proved so burdensome and provocative because

they hit the colonists in the midst of a serious economic depression. Jobless, landless, impoverished working people were especially incensed by them.

The Northern merchants who had grown rich during the war thanks to the British pounds poured into the colonies and through their smuggling trade with the West Indies were more independent and aggressive. The cession of Canada to England had removed the fear of the French and Indian attacks that had long menaced New England and New York.

On the other hand, Great Britain no longer had to make concessions to the colonists for assistance against the French and Spanish. London had deferred to the colonial opposition to taxation during the war and closed its eyes to the illegal commerce with the French and Spanish possessions. The definitive settlement of accounts in the military arena with these imperial rivals cleared the way for a direct struggle between Britain and her American subjects.

The revolt did not develop in an uninterrupted and steadily rising curve from the anti-Stamp Act demonstrations of 1765 to the clash at Lexington and Concord in April 1775. It proceeded along a spiraling course, marked by three distinct stages of testing out each other's intentions.

The first crisis was touched off by the onerous Parliamentary measures and crown edicts from 1763 to 1765: the Sugar Act, the Currency Act, the Quartering Act, the Proclamation of 1763, and the new enforcement decrees.

This wave of resistance came to a head with the passage of the Stamp Act, which encountered opposition from every grouping in the colonies that had to buy stamps to affix to legal documents. This arbitrary form of "taxation without representation" brought merchants and planters, lawyers and publishers, farmers, laborers, and frontiersmen into a common fighting front against Britain's exactions.

Differing sections of the resistance movement put forward different programs and favored different methods of struggle, corresponding to their social situations and readiness for military action.

The more conservative merchants, fearing to summon wide masses into combat, relied upon nonimportation agreements. By passive resistance through boycotts of British goods, supplemented by petitions, legalistic arguments, and protests to Parliament, they sought to exert enough economic pressure upon their British counterparts to strike a bargain with London whereby the government would repeal the tax and other unpopular measures in return for professions of loyalty and other concessions on their part.

The more radical, anti-British, "free trading" merchants in league with the artisans, shopkeepers, laborers, and farmers, suffering from hard times and unemployment, brandished a plebeian fist under the nose of the British tyranny.

They backed up the nonimportation campaign by military mass actions. The Sons of Liberty in Boston took the lead. In the summer of 1765, under the leadership of Sam Adams, they hanged the stamp distributor in effigy; fourteen days later they invaded the homes of a customs officer and of Lt. Gov. Thomas Hutchinson and seized and burned records pertaining to violation of the Acts of Trade.

The Sons of Liberty ruled Boston as completely as workers on general strike. Hutchinson indignantly complained to the British overlords: "The real authority of the government is at an end; some of the principal ringleaders in the late riots walk the streets with impunity; no officers dare attack them; no attorney-general prosecute them and no judges sit upon them."

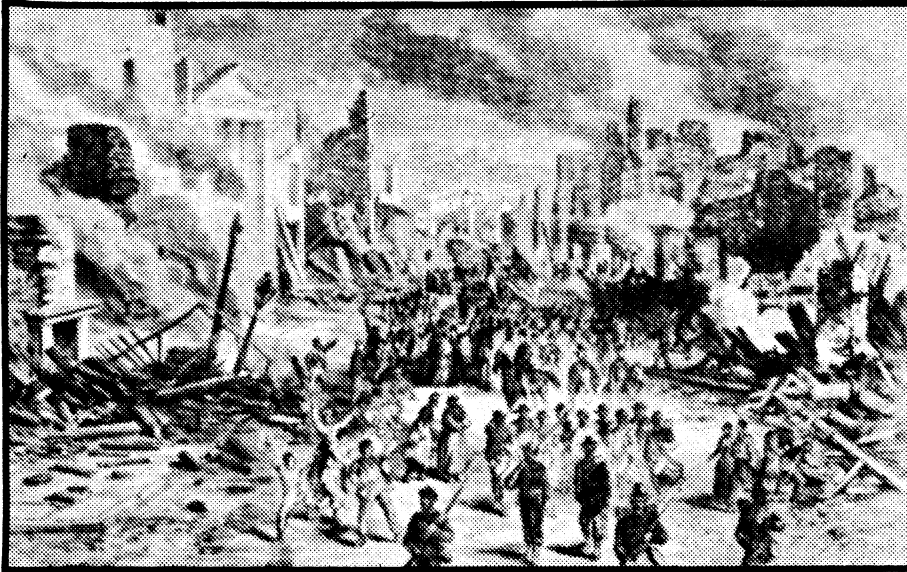
Similar demonstrations with popular backing took place in North Carolina,

Charleston, Newport, and New York.

This stormy protest movement resulted in the calling of the first intercolonial conference on the initiative of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Delegates to the Stamp Act Congress from nine colonies met in New York's City Hall, adopted a declaration of rights and grievances, and petitioned the king and Parliament to withdraw the Stamp Act.

This was a preliminary step toward the Declaration of Independence that came from the Continental Congress in Philadelphia a decade later.

The mass protests achieved their immediate aim. Parliament, prodded by the British merchants cut off from American trade, repealed the Stamp Act in 1766. The Patriots had scored their first big victory by forcing Parliament to retreat. They also had mobilized, trained, and tested their forces and gained useful experience in the ways and means of struggle.



The Civil War. Failure of First American Revolution to uproot slavery necessitated a second stage of capitalist-democratic revolution to solve the historical tasks begun in 1776. Here, Blacks welcome federal troops into Richmond, Virginia, as whites hide indoors.

After the Stamp Act was nullified, the unrest subsided—but for a short time only. In 1767, propelled by the same economic necessities, Chancellor of the Exchequer Charles Townshend pushed a new series of colonial duties through Parliament and suspended the New York Assembly.

While the merchants instituted another nonimportation campaign, the radicals responded with direct action. They seized and terrorized the king's officers, tarred and feathered customs officials and informers, and burned revenue ships.

Boston was once again the center of conflict. In a tumultuous contest set off by the arrival of John Hancock's sloop, *Liberty*, the townspeople there pushed to the verge of civil war but beat a hasty retreat when two regiments of British regulars landed in October.

The time was not yet ripe for a large-scale armed uprising. The second phase of the struggle was ended by the New York merchants who broke the boycott and jilted the colonial cause in 1770.

This gave a serious setback to the rebels. On the other side, influenced by the returning prosperity of the British merchants, Parliament withdrew the most onerous Townshend duties in 1770.

From 1771 to 1773 there ensued a pronounced respite in the struggle. The masses became passive and their masters felt at ease. This quiet interlude ended in the last months of 1773.

The final phase was unloosed when Parliament, to save the largest monopoly in the empire from ruin, gave the East India Company a monopoly of the American tea market. The Boston Tea Party on the night of December 16, 1773, started a chain reaction of events that led to the Declaration of Independence.

This act of defiance was met by the dictatorial "Five Intolerable Acts," which were designed to throttle Massachusetts, the head of the resistance

forces.

In a mighty surge of solidarity, the colonies answered the coercion acts by sending delegates to the First Continental Congress in September 1774. This was the first national gathering on an independent revolutionary basis: in effect, a constituent assembly. Implemented from below, this congress marked the establishment of the parallel governmental power that asserted its will to fight arms in hand at Lexington and Concord in April of the following year.

This brief review of events from the anti-Stamp Act demonstrations of 1765 to the outbreak of armed insurrection ten years later indicates how the liberation movement mounted through successive stages. It did not march straightaway to its goal, as though preprogrammed, but took a zigzag course in which sharp clashes between the contending sides alternated with interludes of calm.

ing planters both from the right and from the left.

The radical actions of the colonial lower classes were engendered and accompanied by a no less pronounced recourse to reaction by the British rulers.

The British policies that started with intensified economic exploitation and territorial encirclement from 1764 on required increased political repression for enforcement. This led to outright military despotism with Gen. Thomas Gage's occupation and choking of the port of Boston.

London's course from taxation to tyranny upset the old equilibrium and smashed the alliance between the wealthy colonial merchants and planters and their English counterparts that had made possible the previous compromise settlements.

The split between Britain and America became unescapable when the merchant classes on opposite sides of the Atlantic could no longer find common ground. The irate crown would yield no more concessions—even slight ones—to the colonists. The rebels had to be whipped and taught a lasting lesson in submission.

By November 1774 George III declared to Lord North that the New England colonies were "in a state of rebellion" and "blows must decide whether they are to be subject to this country or independent."

By this time the more radical patriots were equally determined not to submit to British tyranny but to resist, come what may. This the Minutemen did at Lexington and Concord the next April.

This sequence of events demonstrated how outright rebellion logically grows out of the preceding period of compromise—or, more precisely, out of its exhaustion.

For ten years the leaders of both sides adhered to a policy of conciliation. It worked—until the deepening of their differences precluded further compromise. By 1775 the ties between England and America that had weathered so many storms had come apart and the issues between them had to be settled by drastically different means.

This outcome was not the product of deliberate design on the part of the colonists or the crown. The Patriots tried to get redress for their grievances through authorized channels until they were driven by forces beyond their control to do it the hard way. The methods of negotiation were superseded by armed combat once the hope of reform within the empire was blasted.

The stern necessity for revolution became manifest, broke through into the consciousness of its major classes, and became an imperative demand only after ten years of inconclusive confrontations. Even after the Boston Tea Party the radicals were in a minority in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Early in 1775 John Adams noted that the congress majority "are fixed against hostilities and rupture, except they become absolutely necessary. And this necessity they do not see."

The battle of Concord and Lexington changed their minds. There two irreconcilable necessities clashed head-on—the reactionary necessity of the British government to reinforce its domination in naked tyrannical form, and the progressive necessity of the American colonists to resist to the end.

The ultimate determinant in the making of a rebellion is the readiness of the masses for action against their oppressors. A letter written by a Maryland clergyman to Lord Dartmouth, Britain's secretary of state for American affairs, on December 20, 1775, gives a firsthand description of the "do-or-die" attitude of the rebels.

"Since the battle of Lexington, I have been twice in eight of the thirteen united colonies, namely, Massachu-



'Indeed, elements of another revolutionary situation are beginning to take shape on American soil. As in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the march of history has piled up and thrust forward a tangle of problems that clamor for solution.'

Dennis Scarla

setts-Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, New-Castle, etc. and Maryland, all which, except New-York, are almost unanimous in the voice of liberty. Indeed none (save a few officers under the crown) are willing to be bound by the British parliament. . . . The congresses and committees have so raised and regulated the militia and minute-men, whom they have raised in almost every county, that they make, in every city and town, the most warlike appearance. . . .

"Where government can produce one thousand on the continent, America, with as much ease and expense, can produce ten thousand in opposition: for men, women and children are against the proceedings of administration throughout the united colonies to a wonderful majority. The women, both old and young, being greatly irritated at the inflexibility of administration, are not only willing their sons and brothers should turn out in the field, but also declare that they will give them up and themselves likewise as a sacrifice before they will bow to Pharaoh's taskmasters; this makes the raising of troops on the continent very easy. Let a person go into any province, city, town, or county, and ask the females, 'Are you willing your sons or brothers should go for soldiers and defend their liberties?' they would severally answer, 'Yes, with all my soul, and if they won't go I won't own them as my sons, or brothers; for I'll help myself if there should be any need of mine; if I can't stand in the ranks, I can help forward with powder, balls, and provisions.' . . . This, my lord, is the language of the American women; your lordship knows it is generally the reverse with the English."

The pastor's advice to make peace with the Americans was brushed aside since the British government had already decided they were to be reduced "to a proper constitutional state of obedience."

Thus the developments that gave birth to the First American Revolution were no less lawfully caused than the birth of an infant. They conformed to the historical rule that once the economic and political preconditions for a revolution have matured, nothing and no one can stop its outbreak. Like a match rubbed on a rough surface, the frictions between the contending camps flared into open revolt at the point of maximum intensity in their confrontation. This general pattern prefigures how the next American revolution will develop and arrive through all the ebbs and flows of the struggle.

The First American Revolution was fully necessary and justified by its aims

and has been amply vindicated by its results. To be sure, it did not dispose of all the major difficulties impeding the American people as they advanced under capitalist auspices. Every revolution is limited by the objective realities of its development.

The failure to uproot slavery, which was reinvigorated under the Cotton Kingdom by the expansion of the textile industry and the introduction of the cotton gin, necessitated a second stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution to accomplish its unfinished historical tasks. And even the mighty Civil War and Reconstruction did not give equality to the legally emancipated slaves.

Since the Civil War most Americans have believed that revolution in this land has been done with for all time. What further need could there be for colossal upheavals of this kind? Two were enough—and these are safely interred in historical museums along with colonial muskets and the uniforms of the Blue and the Gray.

This comforting outlook has been solidified by the fact that small changes within the confines of the established capitalist order have set the pattern of national political life over the past hundred years. The bicentennial should remind us that prolonged periods of reformist calm can be succeeded by revolutionary storms.

Many Americans nowadays sense that the political atmosphere is overdue for a change and a different season is on the way.

Indeed, elements of another revolutionary situation are beginning to take shape on American soil. As in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the march of history has piled up and thrust forward a tangle of problems that clamor for solution. These evils have been produced by the remorseless operation of monopoly capitalism, which is no less depraved and outworn than was the rulership of the British monarchy—and is no more capable of eliminating the mess it is responsible for.

The social and political problems of the country are too deepgoing to be disposed of by reformist palliatives; they require revolutionary measures and methods. The prime objective of the coming American revolution is to emancipate the working people as a whole by uprooting the power, property, and privileges of the profiteers. It also has to end the inequalities suffered by the Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities and give them the right to self-determination.

The social transformation must likewise lift the disabilities inflicted upon such segments of our society as women,

prisoners, gays, and the aged. The national home will have to be cleansed of capitalist filth and reconstructed from foundation to rooftop by the creative work of the insurgent masses to make it a fit place to inhabit.

This set of tasks and objectives is inscribed in the social structure of the United States and prescribed by the dynamics of its class relations. They await fulfillment regardless of the current state of awareness among the American people of their existence and of the necessity to undertake and achieve them. That is the essential and objective social, political, and historical necessity of our day and age.

The tasks ahead are more thoroughgoing and ambitious and will be harder to realize than those in the comparable period of the eighteenth century. The socialist revolutionary movement confronts a far more formidable antagonist in the giant imperialist corporations and their political, military, and police defenders than the Patriots faced in the overseas rulers and their local henchmen.

Jefferson wrote in his *Autobiography* about the inherited wealth of the aristocratic families of his time: "The transmission of this property from generation to generation, in the same name, raised up a distinct set of families, who, being privileged by law in the perpetuation of their wealth, were thus transformed into a Patrician order, distinguished by the splendor and luxury of their establishments. From this order, too, the king habitually selected his counsellors of State; the hope of which distinction devoted the whole corps to the interests and will of the crown."

These specifications fit the Rockefellers, Mellons, Morgans, and other ruling families of our own day who are "of more harm and danger, than benefit, to society" and have to be expropriated as the feudal proprietors were.

As the radicalization of the sixties has spread and the deepening economic crisis of world capitalism overshadows the mid-seventies, more individuals are thinking about the prospect of fundamental change in the United States than at any time since the 1930s. Many more see this as desirable than understand how necessary and unavoidable such an eventuality is.

The irremediable rottenness of capitalist imperialism and the intransigence of the ruthless plutocrats who control the country along with much of the planet can be depended upon to goad the masses further and further along the road of opposition in the period ahead, regardless of their will or present state of consciousness.

The decade from 1765 to 1775 de-

serves attention because its political evolution exemplifies how the confrontation of contending forces mounts from a starting point of low intensity and awareness to higher levels of antagonisms and consciousness until the hopes and illusions of a peaceful transition from the intolerable and outworn institutions to a new and better order are gradually shed. The hammer blows of the reactionary adversary willy-nilly bring the masses up against the great decision—whether to go forward at all costs or to lie down and submit to tyranny and stagnation.

Twice before in America's history when its people were forced to cope with this dilemma, they realized what they had to do and resolutely went ahead and did it. That's one important lesson to be derived from "the spirit of '76."

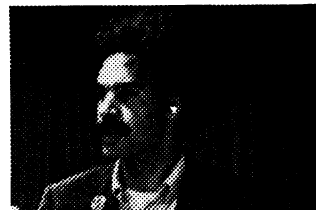
Another has to do with the problem of leadership. The leaders of the First American Revolution were sifted out, selected, and trained in the contests with the British authorities in the streets, courts, and legislative assemblies in the years before the outbreak of armed struggle. They had established firm ties with the populace who were ready to follow them.

More farsighted and unyielding figures such as Sam Adams and Patrick Henry grasped the necessity for the break with Britain before the others and prepared the people through propaganda and practical action for that eventuality. They were sure that their countrymen could take on and beat the cohorts of the crown.

Marxism teaches that a socialist revolution of the working masses is the only way capitalism can be overturned and replaced by a superior system. The revolutionary contingents and their leaders must be thoroughly imbued with this realistic conviction.

Those who are not convinced of the necessity as well as the desirability of such a revolution and its appropriate modes of action and organization will not be capable of sustaining the burdens and brunt of the harsh struggles required to bring it into being and carry it through to its consummation.

The revolutionary potential of the American people has not been exhausted by the efforts expended in the bourgeois-democratic era of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the contrary, the workers, with the oppressed minorities and their other allies, have more than enough energy and capacities to fend off the assaults of capitalist reaction and go forward to abolish the misrule of the possessing classes. They can also forge a leadership from their midst that can show them the way to do so.



steps and provide the bound volumes to work with. If you can help, please contact Mary Jo Hendrickson at the *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.]

Walter Daley

I learned recently that Walter Daley, twenty, had committed suicide. Walter joined the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party in 1969 when he was an antiwar activist in Shaker Heights High School.

Walter was part of a high school YSA of five students who helped to organize a chapter of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War. The high school SMC mobilized students to demonstrate against the war through teach-ins in the school and by organizing buses of students to attend antiwar demonstrations in other cities.

When the Kent State massacre occurred in May 1970, the SMC at Shaker Heights High successfully shut down the school in sympathy with the dead and wounded students.

Walter had a fertile imagination, which he put to use to outmaneuver the pseudoliberal school administration. I regret now that I did not tape-record the humorous anecdotes told by Walter about the administration's stupid attempts to prevent SMC leaflets from being distributed to the student body, or his mimicry of the assistant principal's childish behavior when he discovered that the news media had been called to report the students' protest against the atrocities at Kent State.

Walter was one of the many dedicated students who worked hundreds of hours doing whatever was necessary in the office of the Cleveland Peace Action Coalition.

He was talented in many ways. Walter was a writer of jazz and had an active mind. He was also well known for his impersonations of Peter Camejo, Andrew Pulley, and Richard Nixon. This was a natural talent that he put to use during the cabaret evening entertainment sessions at SWP conventions.

For those who knew Walter and were fortunate enough to work with him, his death comes as a shock and a tragic loss.

Herman Kirsch
Cleveland, Ohio

Correction

In my article on the July 19 Socialist Workers campaign rally in Washington, D.C. [August 8 *Militant*], I mistakenly reported that Abe Bloom, of the Committee for the Bill of Rights, had endorsed the Camejo-Reid ticket in his greetings to the rally. Please correct this error.

Cathy Love
Washington, D.C.

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.

'Deterioration on every corner'

The Black mini-rebellions in cities such as Riverside, California; Elyria, Ohio; and Detroit this summer bring to mind the August 1965 major rebellion in Watts, Los Angeles.

I'll never forget those eleven o'clock television film clips. There was a man wobbling out of a store with a newly claimed sofa on his shoulders. And there was a teen-ager running down a street. Maybe to catch a bus. Maybe to get home to get the last of the Kool-Aid or to see the Dodgers on TV. But he was Black and he was running at the wrong time, so—kapow!—a white cop's bullet made him another victim of that rebellion. A double victim.

Thirty-three others were also made double victims. They were killed, mostly by police. More than one thousand Blacks were made double victims through injuries. Some four thousand Blacks were made double victims through arrests.

Then there were just the victims. Just the ordinary Black residents of Watts. Victims long before the revolt began. And three hundred years of oppression, of "unemployment, police brutality, white supremacy, poor housing, over-all white oppression," produced those victims, one man told the *Militant* back then.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, in a study of the ghetto revolts of the 1960s, concluded:

"What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto.

"White institutions created it. White institutions maintain it and white society condones it."

Watts made some white Americans sit up and listen. Before the smoke had cleared federal monies began flowing into Watts to cool off the anger. Federal planners brewed an alphabet soup of antipoverty programs—OEO, NYC, CEP, EYOA, EOP.

But what is Watts like today?

"Some Black people have got businesses; some professionals have gotten into significant jobs," Rev. H.H. Brookins said not too long ago. "But if you talk about the masses or that guy who was in trouble in '65, it is more difficult now. The majority of people are worse off today than they were in '65. In South-Central Los Angeles deterioration is on every corner. Education has become a nightmare. People are afraid everywhere for their very lives."

"Half of Watts is not there anymore, but the conditions still exist: unemployment, welfare lines, food-stamp lines, muggings, robberies," a Black teacher told the *Los Angeles Times*. "Nothing has changed."

Watts does have a new hospital, however—King Hospital. But it hasn't made a dent in the health statistics.

"I have never seen so many sick people. We never catch up," reported one doctor at King. "They come in 25 percent sicker than patients in most hospitals."

Eighty percent of the patients admitted on an average day arrive as emergencies. Watts residents also die of strokes at a rate 30 percent higher than the rest of the country. Cirrhosis of the liver, high blood pressure, and diabetes are common.

Police brutality, the catalyst of the rebellion ten years ago, is today even worse.

Ten years. Ten long years. I wonder how that sofa-carrying man is doing these days.

Odds are he's unemployed, in bad health, and in trouble with the law.

But at least he's not wobbling around under that big sofa. Instead, like the rest of the victims, he's shouldering a lot of frustration, helplessness, and despair. And that's an awful heavy load, too.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Mexicans demand legal abortion

During the last two weeks of June, thousands of women from around the world poured into Mexico City for the United Nations-sponsored International Women's Conference. The conference proceedings were reported by the daily press in dozens of countries.

About the same time and not far away, a less publicized but equally significant event occurred. One thousand Mexicans gathered to demand the legalization of abortion in Mexico.

Banners on the stage at the rally site read, "For Legalization of Abortion," "We are Fighting for Abortion Paid for by the State," and "For the Liberation of Women and all the Oppressed."

Speakers at the rally also denounced the undemocratic character of the United Nations conference, in particular the presence of the delegation sent by the Chilean junta. They demanded freedom for the thousands of women political prisoners in Chile and around the world.

An article by Frances Sánchez about the abortion-rights rally appears in the July 16-31 *El Socialista*, newspaper of the Mexican Liga Socialista. The Liga Socialista is a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

In addition to the Liga Socialista, the action was sponsored by the Movimiento de Liberación de la Mujer [MLM—Movement for Women's Liberation]; Grupo de Liberación Femenina [GLF—Feminist Liberation Group]; and Grupo Comunista Internacionalista [GCI—Communist Internationalist Group, also a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International].

"The sister from the GLF," reports Sánchez, "called upon women to fight for the legalization of abortion, a demand she called elementary for the liberation of women, and she said that in this fight there must be a broad united front of women that involves all women who agree to fight for these demands through mass action."

The article reports that there are more than one-and-

a-half million illegal abortions performed in Mexico each year and that thousands of women are mutilated or killed because of the unsanitary conditions under which they are performed.

The cost of an illegal abortion under decent medical conditions runs between 2,000 and 3,000 pesos (the equivalent of \$160-\$240) during the first month of pregnancy. After the first month the cost rises.

The article also discusses some other issues of importance to Mexican women, such as forced sterilization and discrimination on the job.

"It is also necessary," Sánchez says, "to repudiate forced sterilization, denouncing it for what it is: a criminal act that keeps women from deciding when and how many children we want to have."

"This decision should be exclusively that of the woman. . . . Nor can forced sterilization be justified with excuses like 'population explosion' or 'food shortages.' We remind those who still believe in these arguments that the real problem is the wrong distribution of wealth."

The arguments used in Mexico to justify discrimination in pay for women are the universal ones. "They say they don't pay women the same as men because, if they are single, they will get married soon," writes Sánchez. "And if they are married, they say they will get pregnant soon. . . . And they say, anyway, women don't work to provide for their families."

"These gentlemen conveniently forget that there are hundreds of thousands of women who work so that their families can exist, so that they can eat. In Mexico, many women are the sole providers for their children."

A united fight for legal abortion in Mexico, writes Sánchez, would be a step in fighting the oppression of women, which touches all aspects of social life.

"We believe that the right of women to control their own bodies is inalienable," concludes Sánchez, "and we are ready to fight for that right."

Victory for all of us

Joanne Little: 'The people set me free'

By Cindy Jaquith

"It was not the system that set me free, it was the people," declared Joanne Little the day of her victory.

On August 15, after deliberating only seventy-eight minutes, a Raleigh, North Carolina, jury found Little innocent of second-degree murder in the slaying of jailer Clarence Alligood. Six of the jurors were Black, and seven were women.

As she emerged from the courthouse minutes later, Little was swept up by supporters who chanted, "Joanne is free! Joanne is free!"

"I feel good," she told reporters. "I've seen more unity in this case than I've seen in the rest of my life, and I hope it continues."

"I've never doubted that I would be set free. I've never been pessimistic about the power of the people. I knew that if the people stood together, we would win."

The people who stood together with the young Black woman through her year-long ordeal came from every walk of life. There were the prisoners, who fasted in solidarity with her struggle and donated their meager funds to aid her defense. There were the millions of Black people, who saw her case as a symbol of the double standard of justice in this racist society. There were the women, who were inspired by Little's decision to stand up and assert her right as a woman to self-defense.

Through the massive efforts of these forces, organized into action by women's liberation groups, Black student organizations, civil rights groups, and radical organizations, the tables were turned against the racist, sexist authorities of North Carolina.

Victim, not criminal

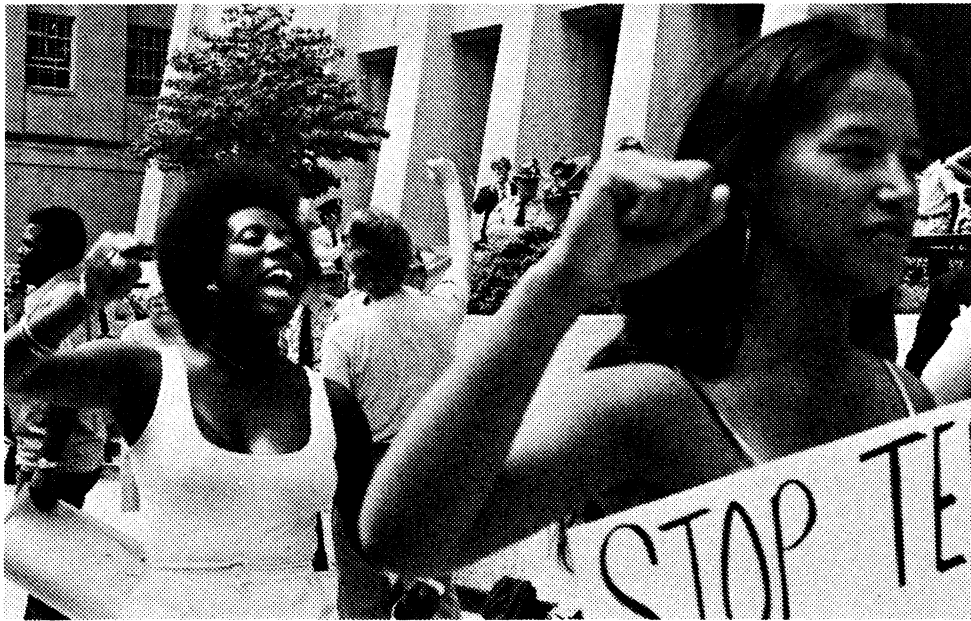
Picket lines, demonstrations, news conferences, and rallies helped spread the truth about this monstrous frame-up and convinced millions that Little was the victim, not the criminal, in this case.

Then, on August 11, Little herself took the witness stand, and told the hushed courtroom what happened early on the morning of August 27, 1974, when Alligood attacked her.

Little was in her cell in Washington, North Carolina, where she was awaiting appeal on a breaking-and-entering conviction. The sixty-two-year-old white jailer entered her cell, grabbed her, and demanded that she have sex with him.

"He said he had been nice to me, now I should be nice to him," she testified.

When she refused, Alligood wielded an ice pick and forced her down on the floor, and into an act of oral sex. "He was gripping the ice pick right in my



Supporters cheer outside Raleigh courthouse.



... as Joanne Little emerges victorious

face . . . I was looking at that ice pick because I didn't know what he was going to do, whether he was going to kill me or not," Little said.

As the ice pick loosened in his grip, she grabbed it and fought the rapist off. When he fell during the fight, she ran out and escaped from the jail.

Testimony unshaken

Little stuck unflinchingly to her story as prosecutor William Griffin sought to provoke her through charges that she was a prostitute and by sadistically insisting that she repeat the details of Alligood's attack over and over again.

When he asked her why she had not reported previous sexual threats by Alligood, Little replied firmly, "In Washington, North Carolina, coming up as a Black woman, it's different saying what you did and having your word go up against a white person."

Griffin even had the gall to ask Little why she didn't report Alligood's rape attack to his fellow cops after she had escaped. "I didn't go to the police because I felt at that point they would have shot me down," Little replied.

Her testimony brought tears to the eyes of many in the jury. Cornelia Howell, a young waitress, told the *Militant* that Little's story had a profound effect on her. "I believe what she said. And believing that, I do not believe she committed a crime. I think she acted in self-defense," said Howell.

"I know damn well that it's happen-

ing all over the nation," said juror Donnell Livingston, "that young women, Black and white, are being taken advantage of by jailers and police." Livingston, a young Black water department worker, told reporters: "I have a little girl, two years old. I wouldn't want her to be put in jail and have the same thing happen to her."

Livingston added that he hasn't forgotten the history of racist oppression in the South. "I don't remember the water fountains with 'colored' signs on them," he said, "but I remember my mama telling me to move to the back of the bus when I was four."

A Black juror of another generation, fifty-seven-year-old Hazel Lee, also recalled the Jim Crow period and the importance of the gains Blacks have won since then. "Ten, twenty years ago, I don't think she would have had a chance," Lee told the *Militant*.

If the prosecution and the courts had had their way, she would not have had a chance in 1975. From the start, the state of North Carolina did everything possible to thwart Little's rights.

Although she should never have been tried in the first place, Little was indicted for first-degree murder, a capital offense in North Carolina. Coupled with the indictment was a vicious press campaign, orchestrated by the prosecution, to spread the slander that Little had lured Alligood into her cell to murder him and escape.

Slapped with an outrageous \$115,000

bail, Little was forced to sit in jail for months while supporters worked to raise the money.

When her trial finally began, the state added the insult of assigning Assistant Attorney General Lester Chalmers to the prosecution. Chalmers is notorious as an attorney for the Ku Klux Klan.

Double standard

Repeatedly throughout the trial, Judge Hamilton Hobgood refused to censure Chalmers and his colleagues for their racist remarks to Black witnesses. But at the end of the trial, he promptly sentenced chief defense attorney Jerry Paul to fourteen days in jail for contempt of court.

Earlier in the trial, Hobgood banned another of Little's attorneys, Morris Dees, from the case on a trumped-up charge that he tried to get a witness to lie on the stand.

But despite the efforts of the capitalist system of "justice," Little proved that Blacks, poor people, and women can take on the abuses of this society and win. "If my sisters are ever faced with a similar situation," she said after the trial, "... maybe now there is a law that says a Black woman has a right to defend herself."

"For a long time, Black women have been at the bottom of everybody's scale," explained defense attorney Karen Galloway, the only Black lawyer in the case. "We've had a hard road to climb because we've had two strikes against us—we are not only women, but we are also Black," she said in a *Militant* interview before the trial ended.

"The white male is always at the top and the Black woman is always at the bottom. For once, we're trying to eliminate all the stereotypes about Black women."

Struggle continues

Little's struggle is far from over, however. At the time of Alligood's attack, she was serving a seven-to-ten-year sentence for breaking and entering. Her attorneys are now appealing that sentence, which came about when Little's brother turned state's evidence against her in order to win a suspended sentence for himself. Like many poor defendants, Little had only a court-appointed lawyer to represent her.

Oral arguments in the appeal will be heard in Raleigh on September 23. Little, who remains free on bond, will need more of the same support to ensure that this conviction is overturned.

A victory against these remaining charges for Joanne Little will strike another blow against the abuses suffered by women, Blacks, prisoners, and all working people.

1,500 at rally for Little

OAKLAND, Calif.—Fifteen hundred people turned out here for a rally featuring Joanne Little on August 24. It was the first public meeting addressed by Little since her acquittal.

In addition to speaking about her own case, Little urged support for the San Quentin Six, who are now on trial.

Elaine Brown of the Black Panther party and Alfonso Galloway, executive director of the Oakland NAACP, also spoke. The rally was sponsored by the Black Panther party.



Militant/Lou Howort

Protests across country helped spread truth about racist frame-up against Little.

Detroit police 'subversive' files disclosed

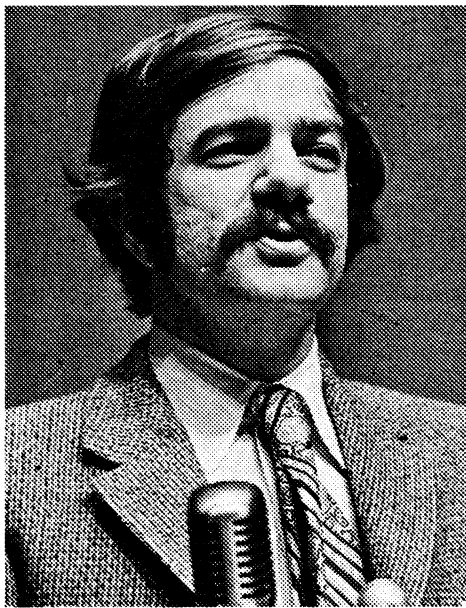
By Ruth Getts

DETROIT—Under court order, the Detroit Police Department has released files revealing how its intelligence unit spies on political activists, and in doing so, exchanges information with police in at least three other cities, with the Michigan state police, and with federal agencies.

The files were forced into the open as a result of a class-action lawsuit charging that both the city and state police violate the constitutional rights of thousands of Michigan citizens through the operation of "subversive units."

The lawsuit was originally filed against the state police and Gov. William Milliken by the Michigan Association for Consumer Protection in July 1974. The association contended that it had been illegally investigated by the state police at the prompting of two state legislators whom it had criticized.

This brought an admission from the state attorney general that the state police had exceeded their authority in conducting the investigation and a later disclosure that political files were kept by the state on more than 50,000 Michigan residents.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

ABDEEN JABARA: Detroit police had copy of his passport photo that he believes could only have come from a federal agency.

The lawsuit now includes the Detroit city police and Mayor Coleman Young as defendants. Other individuals and groups joined as plaintiffs this spring, including attorneys Abdeen Jabara

and James Lafferty and the alternative newspaper *Fifth Estate*.

The plaintiffs want the political investigation files destroyed after each victim has viewed his or her own file. In addition, they want political spying ruled unconstitutional under the United States and Michigan constitutions.

The files recently released by the city police detail a spy operation that encompasses compiling "letters to the editor" expressing dissident views, monitoring hundreds of political meetings, following political activists, infiltrating political organizations, and stealing the subscription lists of the *Fifth Estate*.

The file on James Jacobs, a professor at Macomb County Community College who is one of the plaintiffs, says in part, "information received that above is a member of SDS at Macomb County College, this subject is very bad, has an eastern accent. . . ."

The police report says that Jacobs's home address was obtained from Detroit Edison Company, that he had attended a rally against police brutality, and that his name appeared in a notebook belonging to a prominent political activist.

Jabara's file includes a passport photo taken in Rome in 1969. He believes that only an agency of the federal government could have provided the Detroit police with the photo.

Former mayors and police chiefs are now telling reporters that they never knew the police intelligence unit existed. Current Police Chief Philip Tannian at first denied the existence of the files, and then later discovered "much to my surprise that we had them."

Mayor Young's office has stated that the files were only coincidentally brought to the mayor's attention during discussions on reorganizing the police department. Young claims to have ordered a halt to the spying.

At a news conference July 31, plaintiffs and attorneys in the suit commented on their reactions to the files. One attorney noted that the number of references and cross-references in the files indicated an intelligence system so complicated that it could only be coordinated through the use of computers.

Plaintiff James Lafferty, who was a leader of the antiwar movement, pointed out that not a single criminal arrest had ever been made as a result of the

Continued on page 30

ACLU will sue

Portland cops remain silent on SWP records

By Stacey Seigle

PORTLAND, Ore.—"If the city government really feels threatened by this group of young socialists, perhaps the voters should take a closer look at the SWP [Socialist Workers party] platform."

That is the conclusion reached by Portland's Black community newspaper, the *Portland Observer*, in response to the city police department's refusal to release its files on members and supporters of the SWP. The Oregon chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union will file suit to gain access to any secret police files on the socialists.

The controversy around the files was sparked by the release of a police file on ACLU executive director Stevie Remington that contained references to other files, including one on "militants."

The ACLU's decision to sue on

behalf of the SWP came after Police Chief Bruce Baker refused to state whether or not files were kept on the socialists. In a July 3 letter to SWP mayoral candidate George Kontanis, Baker reasoned, "To state publicly, or privately, that a specific person or particular organization was, or is, the subject of a file could only serve to cast suspicion upon that subject or organization."

On the other hand, Baker asserted, "to state publicly that a person or organization was not, or is not, the subject of a file could be construed as some form of official approval."

Kontanis labeled this cover-up of secret files as a threat to civil liberties in Portland. "Baker claims that the 'mission' of the intelligence division is 'to provide the members of the bureau with the intelligence necessary to maintain the public order.'" But,

Kontanis pointed out, "the FBI 'Disruption Program' documents, forced into public view by a national suit filed by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance, demonstrate that this is *not* the function of government spying. Its function is to prepare, organize, and execute 'dirty tricks' against dissident political activists."

When Kontanis repeated his request for the files to Portland Mayor Neil Goldschmidt, the mayor only said that the police department's answer was "satisfactory."

The socialists also contend that the police files are relevant to their legal battle to be exempted from disclosing the identities of their campaign contributors under Oregon's campaign "reform" law. One of the arguments in the SWP campaign's suit against this law is that public disclosure could lead to intimidation and harassment of social-

ist supporters, including the illegal maintenance of political files on them.

The socialists' attempts to obtain their police files have received widespread media coverage. Reporters for Portland's two daily newspapers, the *Oregonian* and the *Journal*, made daily inquiries of the police prior to Police Chief Baker's response. KXL radio is preparing an in-depth report on the secret files.

In addition to the editorial already quoted, the *Portland Observer* ran a front-page article. "During the past year a group of young people have become increasingly prominent in the civil rights struggles in Portland," the article began. "Nearly every demonstration has been organized or spearheaded by the Socialist Workers Party. . . ."

The ACLU will first ask the court to order the police department not to destroy any files kept on the SWP.

Gov't gets deadline for material on Rosenbergs

On August 22 a federal judge in Washington, D.C., ordered the U.S. Justice Department to turn over its files on Julius and Ethel Rosenberg by November 15 to the Rosenbergs' sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol. The Rosenbergs were executed in 1953 after being tried on the charge of passing atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. The Meeropols are trying to reopen the case to expose the government frame-up of their parents.

The August 22 hearing was set after the government failed to meet an August 14 court-ordered deadline for producing a timetable for an inventory of all records in their possession.

"Contrary to recent statements by Attorneys General [Harold] Tyler and [Edward] Levi about ordering the release of information," an August 19 news release from the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case said, "the Meeropols say they have not received a 'single piece of paper.'"

At the hearing Jeffrey Axelrad, chief of the Justice Department's

information and privacy unit, proposed a 235-day timetable for producing the documents. He argued that any time before that was impossible because it was a "very, very, very massive request."

U.S. District Court Judge June Green rejected the government's timetable, but Axelrad says they will ask for extensions as the deadlines approach.

The government also objected without success to Green's order that the Justice Department issue indexes of the material before it is reviewed for exemptions under the Freedom of Information Act. The Meeropols had asked for the indexes to guard against destruction of the files.

At a news conference after the hearing, Robert Meeropol called the court order a "small but important step forward." He said the delay by the government is "continuing proof that the climate of secrecy of this government has not changed since Watergate."



Robert (left) and Michael Meeropol plan to prove their parents' innocence with government files.

'Militant' interview

Doctor exposes forced sterilization

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The number of women sterilized by tubal ligation—having their “tubes tied”—increased by 470 percent between 1968 and 1970 at the University of Southern California (USC) Medical Center here.

Now, eleven Chicanas have filed a class-action suit against the hospital, charging they were victims of forced sterilization. The hospital, run by Los Angeles County, is near East Los Angeles and is used mainly by the Chicano community.

Earlier, in November 1974, three women sued the hospital for \$6 million, charging they had been permanently sterilized without their knowledge.

The two suits were accompanied by revelations that forced sterilization—particularly of Chicanas and Black women—is a widespread practice at the county hospital, as it is at hospitals across the country.

Bared scandal

The key figure in baring this scandal was Dr. Bernard Rosenfeld, until recently an obstetrician/gynecologist at the county hospital. His revelations received wide media coverage in the Los Angeles area and elsewhere.

Recently I had the opportunity to interview Dr. Rosenfeld.

In his early thirties, Rosenfeld has worked at three major hospitals—Highland General in Oakland, California; a Baltimore city hospital connected with Johns Hopkins University; and finally at the USC Medical Center.

He first became aware of the problem of forced sterilization when he was in Oakland. In Baltimore he began documenting specific cases and later collaborated with two other doctors in a study on the question published by Ralph Nader's organization.

Then, at Los Angeles County Hospital, he began interviewing residents and interns on sterilization practices at other hospitals where they had worked or studied.

The survey established that at hospitals throughout the country, staff members consciously promoted a program of sterilization of poor women, particularly Blacks, Chicanas, and other oppressed nationalities.

Misrepresentation

Rosenfeld found that “consent” for sterilization operations was often obtained fraudulently.

Most commonly, doctors misrepresented the procedure to suggest that the sterilization was temporary.

In many cases they got women to



Los Angeles protest against racist sterilization policies

Militant/Miguel Pendás

sign consent forms while they were still in pain from labor. In some cases, women literally didn't realize they had agreed to be sterilized. One Los Angeles Chicana, a plaintiff in one of the suits, went back to be fitted for an IUD after having been sterilized, and was given one!

Rosenfeld views the fight to end sterilization abuses as being as important as the right to abortion. “Essentially,” he commented, “the Supreme Court decision on abortion said a woman has the right to control her own body. This certainly means the right to have children, as well as not to have them. And the problem of forced sterilization, of course, falls heaviest on low-income women, Third World women.”

Furthermore, he added, sterilization is strictly a social issue, not a medical one. “It's one hundred percent the patient's decision as to whether or not they want it. They have a right to know what's going on,” he said.

Rosenfeld came out of medical school with no particular awareness of social ills. Working in public hospitals, used mainly by the poor, quickly made him aware of the special medical problems poor people face. But it was the issue of

forced sterilization that fueled his anger over the injustices faced by the poor.

He said it was a matter of seeing “this horrendous abuse of human beings, based on the prejudice of someone from a different class, from a different society.”

He described his first experience in the matter. It was at Highland General.

“I was working with a resident,” he said, “who was delivering a Black woman he felt had had too many babies. Right after the delivery, he turned to her and said, ‘Well, what do you think about getting your tubes tied now?’”

“I had already seen medical abuses,” Rosenfeld continued, “but this was where an abuse became an atrocity.”

“Here was a doctor, on the basis of his own prejudice, deciding that this woman had had enough babies. I just couldn't believe it!”

“I just said to the woman, ‘Forget he said it. If you want to get sterilized you can decide later on. You don't have to decide right after you've delivered.’”

“She had been screaming throughout the delivery,” Rosenfeld recalled. “You know it can be very painful, especially in county hospitals where

women don't get the same amount of pain medicine or of anesthesia as they usually get in private hospitals.

“Anyway,” he continued, “this resident got real upset. As we left, [the woman's] husband asked how his wife was doing. The resident said, ‘Well, you better tell her to get her tubes tied.’”

“But the husband was pretty knowledgeable. He said, ‘What about the pill or the IUD?’ The resident told him, ‘With the pill she'll wind up getting a blood clot, and with the IUD she'll wind up with a pregnancy in her tubes. The only thing is to get her tubes tied.’”

“The main problem,” Rosenfeld observed, “is that doctors use their position of power to sales-talk women. The whole operation is misnamed. It's called a tubal ligation. A ligation is something that's bound, tied. But the tubes aren't tied. They're cut. A piece of tube is removed.”

Doctors don't explain

Rosenfeld said, “Many women who consent to the operation have the impression their tubes can later be ‘untied.’ Some doctors deliberately promote that impression. The others simply don't explain. They go right along with it. ‘We'll just tie your tubes, OK?’”

“We just interviewed a doctor the other day. He said that if a patient asked him if it was permanent, he told them. If they didn't ask, he didn't tell them.”

“Then,” he added, “they also put pressure on the husband to get him to help get the woman's consent. They'll indicate to him that there's a medical reason why he should persuade his wife to agree, when in fact there isn't.”

“It's mainly a question of the doctor's prejudice,” Rosenfeld said. “Or their feeling that they have a social right to determine how many children a woman should have.”

“You know,” he commented, “they sell it as a kind of band-aid surgery, minor surgery. But it's a major operation into the abdominal cavity that has a death rate of between one in a thousand and one in four thousand.”

“I'm not saying,” he emphasized, “that it's a dangerous operation and that someone who wants it shouldn't have it. But it's like any major surgery. There's always an element of risk.”

The problem is mainly in the public hospitals, he said, but not exclusively.

“In private practice,” he observed, “it's a money-maker. They get \$250 or \$300 for a fifteen- or twenty-minute operation, while they get nothing for putting a woman on the pill and maybe \$25 for fitting an IUD.”

“They'll argue that you can't trust people to take the pill or use the IUD,” he added. “There's a general disrespect for women. Particularly if they don't speak the language. You'll hear a comment like, ‘She probably has an IQ between a geranium and a crowbar.’”

One study, he said, showed that 94 percent of gynecologists felt that any woman on welfare with two or more children should be sterilized or taken off welfare.

When they talk about developing “better human beings” through population control, Rosenfeld observed, what they're really talking about is white, prosperous ones.

Hostility to women

Another problem indicated by his experience is an often scarcely repressed hostility toward women.

“Among themselves,” he said, “they call it zapping, or smashing, the tubes.”

“I remember one doctor who came back late at night from handling a

Nature's form of birth control?

In investigating the problem of forced sterilization, Dr. Bernard Rosenfeld has come across another medical abuse related to the treatment of gonorrhea. In the past decade this disease has been increasing at the rate of 15 percent.

“What most people don't realize,” Rosenfeld said, “is that when a woman gets gonorrhea, if it enters her tubes, she is likely to become sterile.”

He said that according to one of the most widely used gynecological textbooks, there are areas in Latin America where half the women, by the time they reach thirty, are sterile because of this.

Essentially the same thing is happening in the ghettos and barrios of the United States. Rosenfeld reported that tests have shown that

one woman in ten in the inner cities—mostly between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five—has gonorrhea but doesn't know it because it shows no symptoms in 90 percent of women—until it is too late.

They may have it for a few months without knowing it, until it enters the fallopian tubes. Then they begin having pains and fever. Up to 40 percent of such women will be made chronically infertile.

The terrible thing about this, Rosenfeld explained, is that an extremely simple test made during a gynecological examination will determine whether or not a woman has gonorrhea.

“It's a routine culture,” he said, “that takes one second and there's no pain involved.”

He said that when he was at Johns Hopkins, he proposed that as

a matter of routine this test be done on women coming in for other gynecological reasons.

The doctor he raised it with replied: “I hope all these niggers' tubes rot off.”

At Los Angeles County Hospital he made the same proposal to the doctor in charge of the family-planning section. They had a long discussion. Finally the other doctor said, “Well, gonorrhea is nature's form of birth control.”

Routine gonorrhea tests are recommended by the Center for Disease Control, Rosenfeld said. But a lot of clinics still won't do it.

“That's because essentially they're more concerned with population control,” he said, “than they are with reproductive freedom and real family planning.”

in L.A.

woman with more kids than he thought she should have. It was late and I guess he was letting his unconscious get the best of him. He said, 'I felt like reaching my hand up there and ripping out her uterus.'

Package deal

Another abuse he described was that of doctors selling abortion and sterilization as a package. To get the abortion, the women must agree to be sterilized afterward. "This is a very tough time for a woman," he said. "She's already under the stress of an unwanted pregnancy. And there's someone trying to sell her a package deal."

Returning to the situation he helped expose at the county hospital here, Rosenfeld said that the surrounding publicity had already done some good. For the first time the hospital is following federal guidelines, which include minimum standards for at least partially ensuring that a woman's consent is an informed one.

The hospital's consent forms are now printed in English and Spanish and the language is somewhat more understandable. A seventy-two-hour period is now required before the consent form is actually signed.

"This at least curbs some of the worst abuses," Rosenfeld said. "But the guidelines are insufficient. Hospitals should routinely offer a thirty-day cooling-off period. A woman should be able to turn it down. But it should be routinely offered."

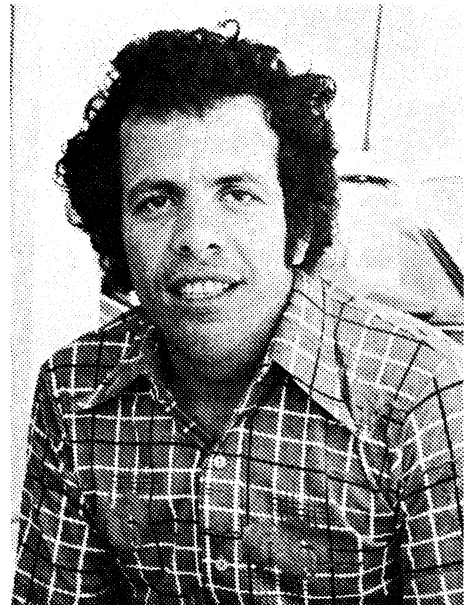
He said that the consent forms are still written in complicated language and should be simplified. The fact that they are so complicated, he commented, shows a complete lack of concern for informed consent.

Rosenfeld noted that while the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare does have minimum guidelines, it does nothing to make them known, much less enforce them.

"Since the government isn't checking on these hospitals," he said, "it's up to the people in the community to check on them."

The hospital, he said, "is not there to serve population-control organizations. It's not there to serve the doctors, or their need to learn surgery, or to let out their hostilities, or to practice their philosophy of zero population growth."

"It was put there to serve the community," he reiterated. "And it's up to the community to make sure it's serving them. They have to have a voice. Unless they have a voice in determining what's going on, it's simply going to serve the needs of doctors living in the suburbs."



Militant/Harry Ring

ROSENFELD: 'Women have right to have children, as well as not to have them.'

Women steelworkers confront union on discriminatory layoffs

By Sue Em Davenport

PITTSBURGH—A few weeks ago I and three other unemployed women steelworkers from the Homestead mill in Pittsburgh met with local officials of the United Steelworkers union to enlist their help in getting our jobs back. It was an instructive experience.

We realized that as part of the "last hired, first fired" category of American workers, we were going to have an uphill battle with U.S. Steel. But we came away from the meeting with a flavor for what we're up against in our own union as well.

Production at the Homestead mill has been cut back nearly 17 percent, but almost 95 percent of the women who were employed in non-traditional-female jobs have been laid off.

The four of us who attended this meeting, plus several others who were unable to come, feel that these layoffs are discriminatory to women. The steel industry has been one of the most reluctant to open its doors to women, and most of the women at Homestead were hired only after the so-called consent decree went into effect in April 1974. Some of the women had persistently applied at area steel mills for up to seven years before then.

The first step toward retrieving our jobs was to file a grievance with the union, but it was refused. Under the contract and the consent decree, they said, we had no legitimate grievance.

So we moved on to file a complaint with the union's Civil Rights Committee. We set up a meeting with the head of that committee, and he in turn invited the entire committee, the local president, and our staff representative. Everyone chose to attend except the staff representative.

We hoped that the meeting would produce a commitment from the local to back us up in our fight to regain our jobs.

We explained how gains that women had made through affirmative-action programs were now being wiped out. Our position, we said, is that under no

circumstances should the percentage of women at the mill be reduced during layoffs. We didn't insist on exactly how that demand should be implemented. But we did offer some alternatives that are being considered elsewhere, such as dual seniority.

Dual seniority provides for two seniority lists: one for workers hired under affirmative-action programs and one list for other workers. During a cutback, layoffs would be made in equal percentages from both lists.

Our discussion with the union officials revolved around the question of seniority. They maintained that seniority is not only a principle of trade unionism, but a sacred institution. Without seniority, they said, the bosses could "cherry pick" to their hearts' content, and no one would have any protection against the whims of the employer.

While we agreed that seniority does protect some workers, it wasn't protecting us. In fact, it was maintaining past discrimination.

They said layoffs were the company's prerogative under the Basic Steel Contract, and that the union has no power to fight the layoffs unless they violate plant-wide seniority.

How did we think male steelworkers who had also been laid off would feel, they asked us, if the union helped us get our jobs back while they were still on the streets? We answered that the men would expect the union to get their jobs back too. Wasn't that a reasonable thing for them to expect? They appeared uneasy about that response.

They just couldn't help, they told us, but maybe we could set up a meeting with a representative from the union's international office. After all, they argued, it is the international that makes all the decisions, not the locals.

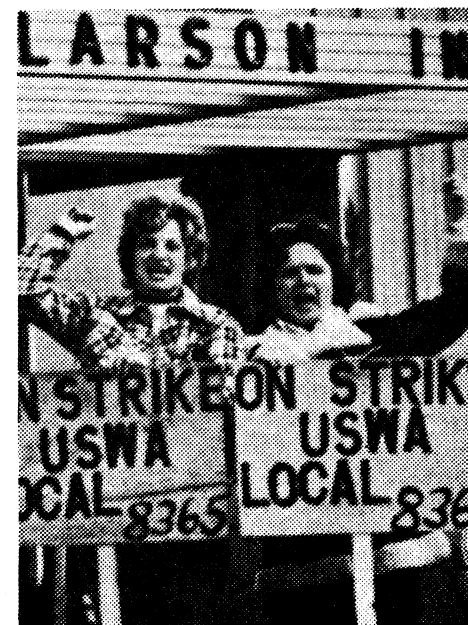
Throughout the meeting they indicated that they did not consider women to be a minority with special problems within the union. This was particularly apparent when we raised

our desire to become more active in the local.

Could we have a woman representative on the Civil Rights Committee or elsewhere? No, committee appointments were made on the basis of support for the "right" people during the last local election. And there were no vacancies on any committees. Besides, there are 5,000 men in the local who would like to be on committees; why should they appoint a woman?

The next local elections will be in April 1976. There will be no woman in the entire local eligible to run under the present requirements that candidates have two years' service plus a record of attendance at two-thirds of the local meetings.

We have already filed complaints with both the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Pennsylvania Human Relations Committee. We have until mid-September to add our union as a party to the suit. With or without them, we're going to fight.



Attacks on female steelworkers through discriminatory layoffs weaken union as a whole.

Party Building Fund

Supporters donate over \$34,000

By Barbara Matson

Last April we offered *Militant* readers a chance to help the socialist movement expand. We asked that you consider donating to the Socialist Workers party all or part of your tax rebate—that fraud cooked up by Ford to make you think he was doing something about the depression.

Our proposal for an SWP Party Building Fund met with a hearty response, and we want to thank all our supporters for making a total collection of \$34,337.58 possible. It was a generous response from those least able to consider contributions lightly. Donations ranging from one dollar to two hundred dollars have added up to a considerable boost for the Socialist Workers party.

We want especially to thank the eighty-four *Militant* readers who responded directly to appeals in the paper and donated a total of \$2,884.25.

Not everyone could give the full rebate; some didn't have a rebate to give. Almost all contributors accompanied their checks with notes saying they wished they could give more. Several supporters on Social Security gave part of their \$50 "bonus." One

supporter worked overtime to send a contribution, and another with an annual income of less than \$2,000 sent money twice.

The goal we set in April was \$40,000. We came close. The very last check received included the message: "Better late than never! I wish I could do more and someday I will."

Throughout the spring we appealed for funds by explaining what kind of party the Socialist Workers party is. The SWP is a party that the FBI, CIA, and countless other federal agencies have felt compelled to persecute out of fear of our ideas and influence.

The SWP is a party that has consistently fought for democratic rights, most recently in our history-making lawsuit against the federal government. The SWP is a party with an internationalist outlook, without which no revolutionary party could survive. The SWP is a party that fights on the side of the oppressed and exploited.

And the SWP is a party that is growing. That's where the Party Building Fund came in. We want to share with *Militant* readers just a few of the things the fund helped make possible.

The Houston SWP branch was able to finance a team of young socialists that visited Louisiana and helped to break ground for the New Orleans SWP branch.

The Cleveland SWP moved to a new, expanded headquarters. The Milwaukee branch paid for a substantial literature order, providing the stock for a new socialist bookstore there. Other branches of the SWP bought needed equipment, such as tape recorders, typewriters, and mimeograph machines.

For some SWP branches and for the national office, it made available funds to send party members to lend their solidarity and active support to struggles where there are no SWP branches yet, such as the Pine Ridge Indian reservation in South Dakota and the farm workers' unionizing drive in South Texas.

And the response to the fund has given us added confidence that the five new SWP branches setting up shop this fall—Baltimore, Newark, New Orleans, San Antonio, and San Jose—are only the beginning of a new stage of growth for the SWP.

Economic assault on the Black worker



Urban League reports on racist effects of the depression

By John Hawkins

ATLANTA—Battered by discriminatory layoffs, hardest hit by soaring prices, often denied unemployment compensation or welfare, millions of Blacks are today being driven into abject poverty. The slim job and income gains of the 1960s were halted by the 1969-71 recession. They have now been reversed by the 1974-75 depression. The standard of living of Blacks is fast going from bad to worse.

These conclusions—the grim economic reality of racist discrimination—are thoroughly documented by two studies recently issued by the research department of the National Urban League, one of the country's oldest civil rights organizations. The reports were released during the league's sixty-fifth annual convention, held here in July.

The league's third "Quarterly Economic Report on the Black Worker" gives the lie to government claims that economic recovery is in sight. It found that during the second quarter of 1975, while white unemployment did level off and even declined somewhat, *Black unemployment continued to rise.*

According to the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), the white jobless rate fell from 8.4 percent to 8.0 percent in this period and the Black rate held steady at 14.2 percent

Hidden unemployment

The Urban League researchers, however, arrive at a more accurate figure, based on what they call the "Hidden Unemployment Index," by taking into account so-called discouraged workers (those who "want a job now" but are no longer actively seeking work) and part-time workers who want full-time jobs. All of these workers, who are obviously unemployed or partially unemployed, are left out of the official jobless statistics.

Applying these corrections, the Urban League found that total unemployment dropped slightly, from 15.4 million to 15.3 million, during the second quarter of 1975. This total is still almost double the official figure. Real Black unemployment rose, however, by 106,000 to 3,061,000. Thus the gap between white and Black employment is widening, and fully 26 percent of Black workers, one out of every four, are out of a job.

As the Urban League reports, "Actual unemployment among blacks in many inner-city areas today is certainly as pervasive as it was during the Great Depression of the 1930's." Among Black teen-agers in the ghetto, unemployment may well be 65 percent or even higher.

In two of the most depressed sectors of the economy, auto and construction, unemployment declined in the second quarter among both Black and white workers. But the jobless rates that persist (see table) are still far higher for Blacks than whites, and hardly signs of an economic upturn.

Moreover, *long-term unemployment*, defined as fifteen weeks or more without a job, is increasing sharply. By this time, chances are that savings have been spent, bills have been put off as long as they can be, and the jobless worker's situation is becoming truly desperate. Fifty percent of all jobless adult Black men are now long-term unemployed, up from 31 percent in the previous quarter, and 37 percent of Black women, up from 27 percent.

Permanent recession

The effects of the present economic crisis are even more devastating for Blacks because *Blacks never recovered from the 1969-71 recession.* This is shown in the Urban League report on "Black Families in the 1974-75 Depression."

In fact, the report notes, there have been five recessions in the past twenty years, and "before blacks had a chance to recover from one of them they were subjected to another. While white unemployment has only recently begun to go over 6 percent, black unemployment has not been under 6 percent at any time during the past two decades." From 1955 to 1974, "blacks had an average unemployment rate of 9.2 percent!"

The depression has affected all categories of Black wage-earners, but in different ways. Black adult men are most likely to be laid off, while women and youth are being pushed out of the labor market altogether. "One of the key factors for the sharp withdrawal of poor working women from the labor force," the report states, "has been the unavailability of child care facilities and the spiraling costs for those that are available. Another has been the poor health conditions of many poor black women."

One result is that from 1967 to 1973, while the proportion of white families with more than one wage-earner rose from 52 to 54 percent, the proportion among Black families fell from 58 to 50 percent. Thus, with fewer wage-earners, the decline in Black family income is even steeper.

And even though Blacks are the hardest hit by unemployment, they are *less likely* than whites to be getting unemployment compensation. The Urban League report explains why:

"(1) Their jobs are less likely to be covered, (2) they are less likely to accumulate a sufficient number of continuous weeks of work to establish eligibility and (3) the black unemployed are more likely than whites to fall into the ineligible categories of new entrants, re-entrants and job leavers.

"But even among those that have been laid off their job—the primary criterion for unemployment compensation—blacks are still less likely to receive it. In 1974, for example, while 99 percent of the white job losers received unemployment compensation, only two-thirds of the blacks who had been laid off their jobs received it."

As of the second quarter of 1975, more than four-fifths of unemployed Black teen-agers and half of unemployed adult Black women were ineligible for unemployment compensation. Of the total officially unemployed workers, 3.5 million or 44 percent are not eligible for any compensation whatsoever.

The report also dispels a number of myths and stereotypes about Blacks and welfare. It shows, for example, that even among Black families below the official poverty line—which is more accurately a starvation line—43 percent do not receive one penny from welfare.

"It is also important to note," the report adds, "that while only one of every four black families receive some public assistance, only 7 percent of all black families . . . are completely dependent on public assistance. . . . Contrary to public misconception, most of these [poor] families primarily rely on earnings, not public assistance."

A growing number of Black families, statistics show, are able to survive only through "doubling up"—living with the family of another relative so as to share out a meager income. And fully one-third of all Black children under 18 are living in families whose heads do not have jobs.

What has the cumulative effect of these factors meant for the Black standard of living? One way to judge is to compare Black incomes to the budgets set by the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics for three different living standards. The intermediate budget, whose cost rose from \$11,446 in 1972 to \$12,626 in 1973 because of inflation, reflects a modest working-class standard of living.

From 1972 to 1973, the proportion of Black families above this level dropped from 26 to 24 percent. In 1974 the cost of the intermediate budget rose to \$14,333 and, according to Urban League estimates, the proportion of Black families achieving it further declined to 21 percent.

At the same time, 58 percent of Black families are living *below the lowest BLS budget level*—one that is admitted to be based on a nutritionally inadequate food plan.

'Preferential mistreatment'

Despite all the government proclamations of equality and promises of progress, racist discrimination is still the norm in every facet of economic and social life: hiring, firing, education, housing, all the way down to welfare and unemployment compensation. Under the blows of the economic crisis, these Urban League studies prove, *the effects of discrimination are worsening.*

"Since 1969 there has been a steady widening in the income gap between black and white families—both in absolute and relative terms," the report states. Blacks earned 61 percent of a white family's income in 1969, at the peak of prosperity. That was the all-time high point, and in just five years the income ratio has fallen to 56 percent.

"This 'preferential mistreatment' of blacks and other minorities," the report concludes, "must not be permitted to continue." How to fight it is the decisive test before every Black and labor organization today.

BLACK AND WHITE UNEMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED INDUSTRIES

Industry	White	Black
Construction	14.4%	25.7%
Auto	16.0	22.2
Primary metals	8.8	17.4
Food	9.6	16.2
Textiles	14.3	22.5
Apparel	15.9	14.6
Retail trade	7.8	14.5
Personal service	6.4	14.4
Federal gov't	3.0	6.2
Local gov't	3.4	10.0

(Bureau of Labor Statistics figures for second quarter 1975, not seasonally adjusted. "Blacks" includes other nonwhites.)

What is FBI hiding?

Atlanta official charges King murder cover-up

By Joel Aber

ATLANTA—New leads point to a conspiracy in the 1968 assassination of civil rights leader Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., but the FBI and Justice Department have refused to pursue the evidence. So admitted Atlanta's public safety commissioner, Reginald Eaves, at a July 30 news conference.

A twenty-one-year-old Black Atlantan, Robert Watson, says he overheard two white men in Atlanta plotting to murder the civil rights leader one week before his assassination.

In 1971, Watson informed federal authorities of the incident. They failed to do anything.

In 1972, Watson was convicted on a drug charge that he asserts was part of a government frame-up to silence him.

Since that time, James Earl Ray, who originally confessed to being the sole plotter, demanded a new trial based on his contention that he actually acted in conspiracy with white Southerners. He was denied a new trial by a federal judge last February.

Recently, Eaves initiated an investigation into the assassination plot,

after comedian Dick Gregory relayed Watson's story to him.

During the investigation, Eaves issued a statement complaining that the FBI was impeding the investigation. "Our intelligence detectives to date have been denied access to the information the FBI now has in their files," he said. He noted that "local FBI officials here in Atlanta who normally cooperate with us seemed unwilling to share information concerning the case."

Eaves said his detectives had been able to gather information that proved Watson's story "to be about 95 percent accurate."

At the news conference Eaves toned down his criticism of the FBI and said that his investigation had "not substantiated" Watson's contention that the plot was based in Atlanta. But he admitted that Atlanta detectives have turned up unspecified "leads," apparently in Memphis.

Eaves said he would call on the Justice Department, Memphis authorities, and Representative Andrew Young (D-Ga.) to continue the investigation.

Meanwhile the FBI has been forced to admit, for the first time, that it had been told Watson's story in 1971. FBI director Clarence Kelley said the story was groundless, but offered no explanation as to how the agency arrived at that conclusion, or why it then decided to keep its conclusion secret.

Clearly the FBI and other government agencies have a stake in impeding further investigation into King's murder. It might lead to embarrassing questions.

According to information released last March by *New York Times* reporter Nicholas Horrock, King was under continual harassment and surveillance by the FBI until the moment of his death. Horrock quotes one agent as saying the surveillance was so tight that King "couldn't wiggle."

It is now known, through the court-ordered release of secret FBI memos, that the harassment of King was part of the FBI's Cointelpro plot to destroy the Black movement. The questions arise: What is the FBI trying to cover up? Was it behind the plot to kill King?



Eli Finer

FBI says they heard story of plot to murder Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1971 but dismissed it as groundless.

NAACP prisoners demand halt to harassment

Harassment by prison officials against the NAACP branch inside the state prison at Napanoch, New York, continues to run rampant, according to a press release from the branch's executive committee.

The latest in a series of discriminatory actions was the denial of permission to the branch to hold an official Charter and Installation Banquet, a request that has been routinely granted to other inmate organizations at the prison.

The denial by Superintendent Jerome Patterson was based on the argument that the NAACP branch already held such an event in January of this year, and that only one such event per year is permitted. This rule was enacted in March, around the time of the branch's request to hold the second event.

One white prisoners' organization had three such affairs in a year. Moreover, although the NAACP was denied permission to invite family



At least thirty-five guards and administrators at Napanoch, N.Y., state prison are members of Ku Klux Klan.

members to last January's banquet, other groups have been permitted to do this. When Deputy Superintendent of Program Services Paul Kimmelman was questioned about this discrimination, he flatly refused even to discuss the matter.

Officers of the NAACP branch have appealed to Benjamin Ward, commissioner of the New York State Department of Corrections.

This is only the latest in a long series of incidents that has led the Napanoch NAACP to initiate legal action charging the prison with discrimination against the branch and accusing at least five high administrative figures of being members or sympathizers of the Ku Klux Klan.

Napanoch is an "experimental prison" whose 700 inmates are predominantly Black and Latino. It has been the site of the fire bombing of several inmate cells; the discriminatory "keep-lock" of prisoner organizers; refusal to admit visitors, including attorneys;

harassment of college professors who teach at the prison; and threats, attempted burglaries, and attempts to destroy the car of a civilian employee.

At least thirty-five guards and administrators of the prison are registered members of the Ku Klux Klan. Until last December, the highest state officer of the KKK was a teacher at the prison.

Commenting on the latest incident, a member of the branch's executive board said, "It's a clear case of discrimination, cut-and-dry."

"Frankly, I'm astounded that Superintendent Patterson could act so imprudently at such a delicate point," the NAACP leader concluded. "But I guess it's hard for a leopard to change its spots."

Officers of the NAACP at Napanoch believe that the capriciousness of the superintendent in summarily denying their recent request for a banquet will help prove their charge of discrimination by prison authorities against the NAACP in federal court.

Dan Murphy, YSAer, dies after long illness

By Fred Feldman

Dan Murphy, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, died in Philadelphia on July 6, after many years of suffering from Hodgkins Disease. He was twenty-six years old.

Dan first came around the Trotskyist movement at the end of 1965, while he was in high school. He came from a white working-class family in Northeast Philadelphia. He hated the war in Vietnam and even more the pervasive racism of this society, which was strongly reflected in his own neighborhood.

When Dan began to look into the idea of a new society he did it in a characteristic way. He began reading *Capital* and other Marxist works. Since he didn't know anything about the existing organizations calling themselves socialist, he looked up "socialists" in the phone book.

First he contacted the Socialist

Labor party and then the Socialist Workers party, through which he came in contact with the YSA. He joined the YSA in early 1966.

Dan continued studying and questioning after he joined the revolutionary movement. He was a voracious reader with an interest in a wide range of subjects. For a time Dan was influenced by arguments of the Spartacist League, a sectarian, ultraleft group. As was his way, he studied the questions involved independently and came to the conclusion that the politics of the Spartacist League were dead wrong.

In addition he thought through the question of loyalty to the revolutionary movement and recognized its importance. He read the writings of James P. Cannon on this subject. He became definitively committed to the politics of the YSA and in 1967 he joined the Socialist Workers party.

Dan's good judgment, loyalty, and obvious intelligence made him look, to most of us who worked with him, like a potential leader of our movement. And for a time he was able to maintain a high level of activity. He was elected to the YSA executive committee and was the *Militant* sales director.

However, Dan was not able to be consistently active because of his illness. Since Dan did not talk about the nature of his physical problems, and he didn't look sick most of the time, many of us couldn't understand what was keeping him from doing political work up to the level of his talents.

In retrospect, I suspect that Dan was often being very patient with us on occasions when we thought that we were being patient with him. Only when he went to the hospital for several weeks did many of us realize just how ill Dan really was.

Dan dropped out of the movement in 1970, but he never gave up the basic revolutionary perspective he had adopted. In 1973, when Dan was attending Temple University, he met YSA members there and almost immediately joined again. For a time he was able to participate in political activity, until his condition again deteriorated.

Dan was a victim of a system that puts profits above human beings—a system of priorities that spends infinitely more to develop nuclear weapons than to cure disease.

He knew for a long time, of course, that he was living on borrowed time. The commitment he made in 1965 and stuck to for the rest of his life takes on all the more significance in this light.

On July 12, Dan's comrades in Philadelphia held a memorial meeting for him. YSA organizer Susie Berman paid tribute to his life and the example he set.

Calendar

PHILADELPHIA

THE CRISIS OF U.S. CITIES: WHY IS NEW YORK GOING BROKE? Speaker: Dick Roberts, *Militant* staff writer. Fri., Sept. 5, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call: (215) WA5-4316.

ST. LOUIS

THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE: HOW TO FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT, INFLATION, RACISM, SEXISM . . . AND WIN! Speaker: Peter Seidman, St. Louis SWP organizer. Fri., Sept. 5, 7:30 p.m. Mallinckrodt room 303, Washington Univ. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum and Washington Univ. YSA. For more information call: (314) 367-2520.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

HOW THE STRUGGLE FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CAN BE WON. Panel discussion. Speakers: Sylvester Vaughns, president, Prince George's County NAACP; Toba Singer, D.C. SCAR coordinator; and Brenda Brdar, SWP candidate for D.C. school board. Fri., Sept. 12, 8 p.m. 1345 E St., N.W., Fourth Floor. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call: (202) 783-2391.

...panel

Continued from page 6

"boasted about not complying with the court except on direct orders" in their efforts to block desegregation. He warned that the school committee's attitude of "minimal compliance" with the court order "must be replaced by an attitude of affirmative compliance which the Constitution of the United States requires."

Last fall, as Phase One of school desegregation was going into effect amidst a campaign of racist violence against Black students, President Ford incited the bigots by announcing that he too was opposed to busing.

The civil rights commission's report condemned Ford's remarks along with the "lack of initiative by most Federal agencies" and "the absence of a coordinated Federal strategy" as serving to "bolster the opponents of school desegregation."

In a repeat preformance just one day before the commission's report was issued, Ford told a news conference in Peoria, Illinois, "I don't think forced busing to achieve racial balance is the proper way to get quality education." According to the August 20 *New York Times*, Ford added "that he had been an opponent of busing for the sake of

integration for more than a decade."

Ford's latest attack on school desegregation comes at a time when racists have stepped up their attacks on Boston's Black community and have threatened chaos and violence at the opening of school.

An August 21 editorial in the *Boston Globe* accused Ford of giving "hope to the opponents of a Federal court order," and said that his remarks would "only make the tasks of Bostonians working for a peaceful September more difficult."

In a related development, the right of Blacks to desegregated education received a blow in Detroit.

On August 16, Federal District Judge Robert DeMascio rejected an NAACP plan that would have desegregated all of Detroit's schools. He also rejected a counter plan put forward by the Detroit Board of Education that would have provided for minimal desegregation.

DeMascio ruled that the board of education must come up with a plan involving even *less* busing and *less* desegregation. He set no deadline on when the plan must be submitted.

Detroit's school population is 71.5 percent Black and 26.4 percent white.

In 1971 a federal district court ruled that Detroit's schools were illegally segregated and proposed that because of their predominantly Black composition, the city schools should be paired with the predominantly white suburban schools to bring about desegregation.

In a setback to Black civil rights, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down this city/suburban approach, but did rule that within the city of Detroit the schools had to be desegregated. The case then went before DeMascio.

A particularly reactionary aspect of DeMascio's decision is that *only* those schools that are all-white or predominantly white will be forced to desegregate. Furthermore, those schools need not accept a Black enrollment of more than 30 percent. By DeMascio's definition, all-Black schools are not considered segregated.

The Detroit decision was hailed by Boston's leading racist, Louis Day Hicks. "Judge DeMascio faced reality and was not swayed by sociological hogwash," she proclaimed.

Lawrence Washington and Jesse Goodwin, officers of the Detroit NAACP, accused DeMascio of "catering to the fears and apprehensions of

the white power structure in Detroit and their preoccupation with white flight."

Nathaniel Jones, general counsel for the NAACP, called the decision "an abomination" that would leave masses of Black children in all-Black schools. "This is not what the Constitution permits," he said.

Jones announced that the NAACP will appeal DeMascio's decision.

...files

Continued from page 25

information compiled in these files. "I am convinced," Lafferty said, "that the only reason for the existence of this file on myself is because I was engaged in political activity the government didn't like."

"It is erroneous to think that the suborning of the liberties of Americans is merely a Watergate phenomenon," Jabara told reporters. "While it took Watergate to open up the media and the courts on these issues, illegal activity on the part of numerous government agencies has existed considerably before the Nixon administration and in numerous cases continues today."

The state police have resisted revealing their files on the plaintiffs in the lawsuit. They are appealing the court order, as well as the class-action status of the suit, because it would mean disclosure of their files on 50,000 individuals.

...UFW

Continued from back page

rigged. The growers and Teamster officials will use every means at their disposal to block the *campesinos* from expressing their true sympathies.

As UAW President Leonard Woodcock pointed out at the convention, a fair election means that UFW organizers and Teamsters must have equal access to the fields. "If some notion of the sanctity of private property is used to prevent this," he said, ". . . the law becomes a fraud."

Even after winning the elections there is another step in the fight. Having been recognized as the legitimate representative of the workers on

any given farm, the UFW must then bring the grower to the bargaining table.

In order to compel the *rancheros* to sign on the dotted line it will still be necessary to build broad, popular support for *la causa* among unionists, the Chicano community, churches, students, and other potential allies. Mass picket lines, marches, and demonstrations in support of the boycott of scab grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wine are as important now as they have ever been.

UFW attorney Jerry Cohen told reporters at the convention that the union's strategy will be to overturn Teamster contracts on "dozens, maybe hundreds" of California farms as soon as the new law goes into effect.

He added that UFW organizers are in the fields right now gathering signatures on petition cards. They have faced harassment from growers and Teamster goons. Police had already arrested thirty-five UFW organizers for trespassing.

Tens of thousands of signatures will be filed August 28, Cohen reported. According to the law, an election must follow within one week of the filing of a valid petition.

This fall promises to be crucial in the battle to organize California agriculture. UFW supporters must now prepare for a major campaign to back up the organizing in the fields. Their efforts can have a big impact on the outcome of the farm workers' struggle for justice.

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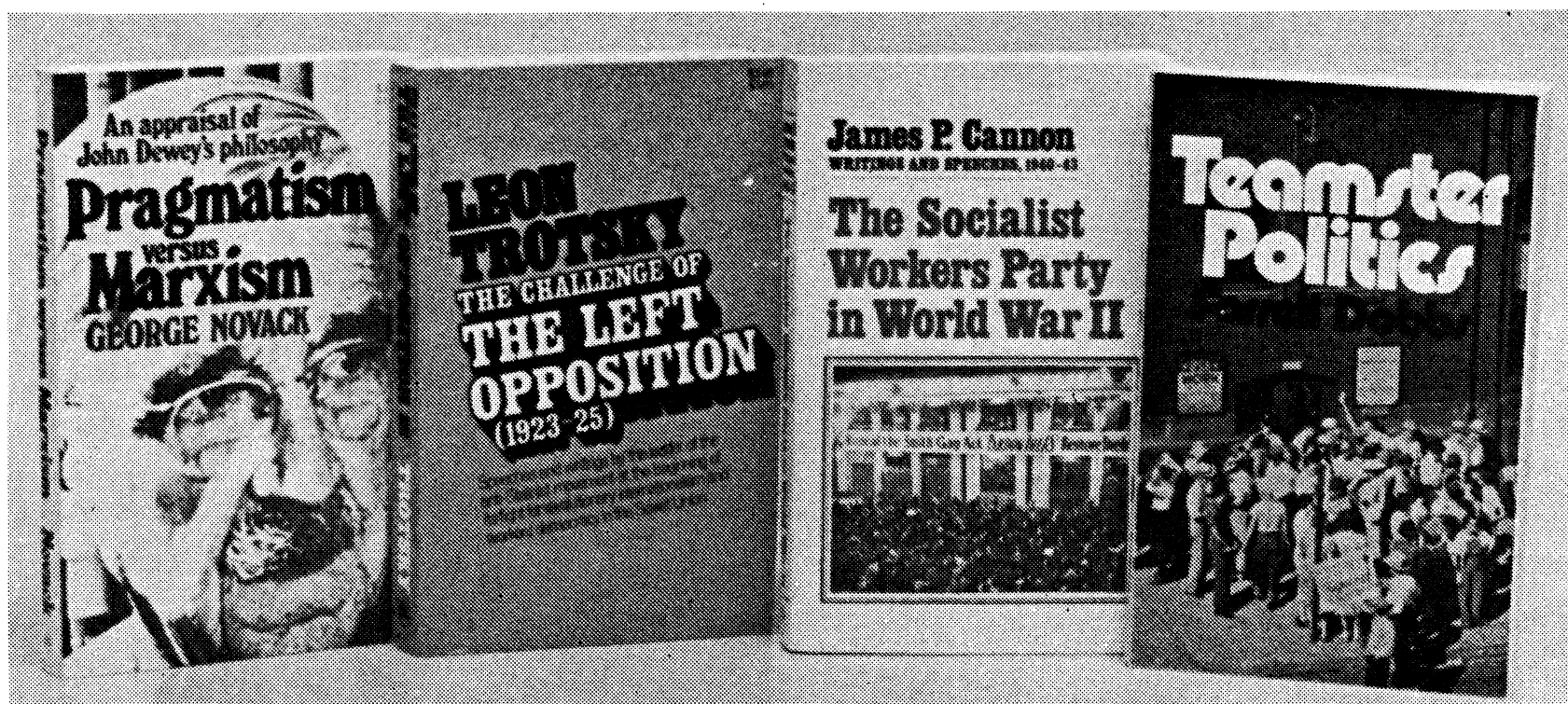
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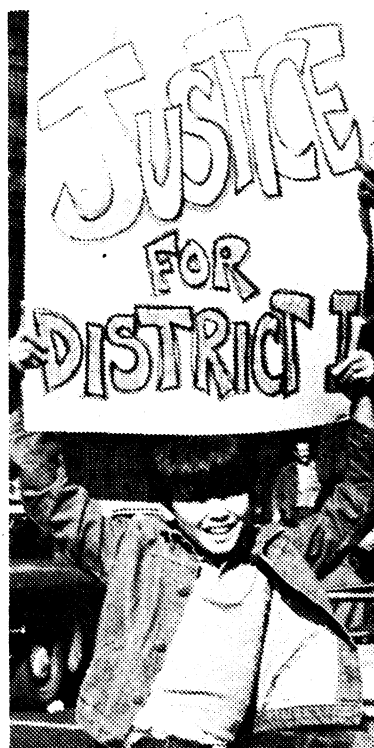
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UFW convention maps fall farm worker drive

By Miguel Pendás

FRESNO, Calif.—More than 2,000 delegates, members, and supporters gathered here for the second biannual convention of the United Farm Workers of America, August 15-17.

It was not a typical union convention. A festive, rally atmosphere marked the proceedings. Farm workers and their supporters assembled here were enthusiastic about the big fight shaping up in the fields this fall. California's new law providing for farm union elections goes into effect August 28.

The convention came at the peak of a new upsurge in UFW activity, which began with a demonstration of 10,000 in Modesto, home of Gallo, the scab wine company. The UFW organized a "1,000-mile march" this summer from the Mexican border north through California's agricultural centers. Led by UFW Director César Chávez, the marchers have talked with field hands along the route, explaining the terms of the new law. In several key farm worker centers the marchers have stopped to hold rallies, some of them quite large.

The convention drew many *campesino* families. There were also hundreds of young boycott activists, whose presence reflected an increase in the activity in support of the boycott of non-UFW products in the cities.

Most of the boycott activists seemed to be of high school age. Many were Chicanos. The majority were from California, but a sizable delegation came from other states, some as far away as Florida.

A delegation of 100 farm worker supporters came from Canada. United Auto Workers official Dennis McDermott led the group, which promised to remain in California through the fall organizing drive.

It was a real farm worker gathering, in stark contrast to the meeting called by the Teamsters union in Salinas

only a few weeks before. On paper the Teamsters have tens of thousands of farm worker members as a result of the sweetheart contracts the union has signed with the growers.

But Teamster organizers, upon entering the meeting they had called, were greeted by more than 1,000 farm workers shouting, "Chávez Sí, Teamsters No!" It was a stunning display of where farm worker sympathies really lie.

Broad support

At the UFW convention, dozens of unions, religious groups, and others pledged to back the UFW until victory in the fields. The most prominent labor support came from the United Auto Workers, as UAW President Leonard Woodcock addressed the gathering. Also present were representatives of the California AFL-CIO, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

A message was read from the National Council of Churches, and Msgr. George Higgins promised the support of the U.S. Catholic Bishops Conference.

In one of the most significant aspects of the convention, UFW officials indicated they have dropped their attacks against undocumented workers from Mexico. The union leadership in the past has called for the deportation of *mexicanos* without immigration papers and accused them of bearing responsibility for unemployment, low wages, and strikebreaking in the fields. This position seriously hurt the union's ability to reach *mexicano* workers. Union leaders had also come under heavy criticism in the Chicano community for their previous stand.

The issue came up somewhat unexpectedly at the convention during a plenary session concerning on-the-job organizing problems. A *campesino* delegate from San Diego took the floor and asked, "What do we do about the 'illegal' aliens?"

"Organize them!" César Chávez replied. "If they are workers, they have the right to organize. They are not illegal aliens; they are visitors."

Several delegates added their support to this view. One farm worker said that all of *la raza* is oppressed, whether from the United States or Latin America, and that it is the capitalist system that pits one against the other. He received a standing ovation.

The next day the executive board drew up a resolution that stated, "This organization urges the enactment of legislation granting amnesty to all illegal workers. If growers can bring illegal workers to this country for the purpose of exploiting them, then we can organize illegal workers to liberate them."

Constitution

However, the leadership refused to codify this position by adding it to the union constitution.

Union leader Marshall Ganz, reporting for the constitution committee, said



Militant/Miguel Pendás

Delegates at UFW convention. New California farm labor law sets stage for showdown in fields as UFW fights to regain contracts stolen by Teamsters union.

that a recommendation had come before the committee to add the words "legal status" to the section of the constitution that says there will be no discrimination in union membership because of race, sex, or creed.

Before he could finish his sentence, a wave of applause swept the hall. But Ganz went on to say that his committee had rejected the proposal. The legal wording of the amendment was unclear, and there wasn't enough time to deal with the issue, Ganz told the delegates.

In another development, the convention served notice on the Coca-Cola Company that it too will be hit with a boycott of its products if it doesn't renew its contracts with Florida orange pickers. Coca-Cola owns Minute Maid, the orange juice processor.

Political prisoners

A representative of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Claudio Tavarez, was invited by Chávez to address the convention. Tavarez brought a request for solidarity from leaders of the Central General de Trabajadores (CGT), the trade-union federation in the Dominican Republic. The union officials were jailed in a wave of repression aimed at critics of the Joaquín Balaguer regime.

Tavarez, who was himself arrested during a recent visit to the Dominican Republic, is now coordinating a defense campaign in the United States on behalf of the CGT leaders. Tavarez also mentioned the case of Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco, exiled by the military regime in Peru because of his political views. His remarks were met by sustained applause, and Chávez commented, "Wherever there is repression, it must be fought."

Gilbert Padilla, a member of the UFW executive board, submitted a resolution demanding the immediate release of all political prisoners in the Dominican Republic.

Perspectives for UFW

The UFW is now at an important point in its history. It is in a position to win some long-overdue victories. Under the new California law, it is possible for farm workers to vote for the union of their choice. This is the first time agricultural workers have been covered by such legislation.

To force elections, the UFW must file petitions with signatures of more than 50 percent of a given work force.

But winning the right to elections is only one step. A fight will be necessary to make sure that the elections are not

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César Chávez talks to press. At left is UAW President Leonard Woodcock. Support of labor and other allies is key to UFW victory.