

# THE MILITANT

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

# Unite to defeat racist drive!

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## THE MILITANT

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# In Brief

**FBI REFUSES FILES TO S. AFRICA GROUP:** When the Southern African Committee, headquartered in New York City, requested that the FBI turn over any files maintained on the committee, FBI Director Clarence Kelley refused, claiming it would "interfere with [law] enforcement proceedings." The committee publishes *Southern Africa*, a monthly magazine devoted to analyzing political and economic events in Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Namibia, and South Africa.

"We believe this investigation by the FBI is illegal," says committee spokesperson Gail Morlan. "It constitutes yet one more sorry chapter in the history of FBI harassment of organizations who have a constitutional right to dissent from government policy." The FBI refusal has been appealed under the Freedom of Information Act. Should the appeal be rejected, the committee is considering legal action against the FBI.

**L.A. PICKETS PROTEST REPRESSION IN SPAIN:** Protesting the recent wave of repression in Spain, thirty-five people picketed the Iberia Airlines office in downtown Los Angeles October 2. The action was called by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and cosponsored by other groups, including the Los Angeles Group for Latin American Solidarity, La Raza Unida party, the Pasadena Community Information Center, Local 535 of the Social Services Union, Socialist Workers party, and members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

**NEWARK SOCIALISTS OPEN CAMPAIGN OFFICES:** The Newark Socialist Workers party officially opens its campaign headquarters Saturday, October 18, with a rally featuring SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid. The fete begins at 8:00 p.m. at 11A Central Avenue, near Broad Street, in downtown Newark.

Also speaking will be Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Recently released FBI documents show that political harassment of Newark socialists has been carried out in the past. The PRDF and SWP plan to serve notice on the FBI that if such harassment is continued against the new SWP branch, it will be met with a vigorous campaign to expose and halt such illegal activity.

For more information on the October 18 rally, call (201) 624-7434.

**MILWAUKEE UFW BENEFIT:** The new California farm labor law, Rev. Gene Boutilier told a Milwaukee rally September 28, "recognizes the power of the striking farm workers in California and the power of the grape and lettuce boycott . . . all across the country. It is a result of that struggle, and only by continuing that fight will the law be enforced." Boutilier is chairperson of the Wisconsin Migrant Mission and recently returned from a visit to California. The benefit concert and rally for the United Farm Workers was attended by 150 people.

Marc Pitt, coordinator of the Chicago UFW boycott support committee, also spoke, and stressed the continued importance of the boycott "until the ink is dry on the contract." He urged support for the campaign against Jewel Foods, a large midwest buyer of scab produce. A demonstration is planned in Chicago for November 8.

**CLEVELAND FORUM ON FARM LABOR DRIVES:** The Cleveland Militant Forum sponsored a discussion September 26 on the drive to organize farm workers. Rich

Seckel, a United Farm Workers boycott organizer, reported on the recent UFW convention and described a local campaign to force Fisher-Fazio, a large grocery chain in the Cleveland area, to stop selling scab grapes.

Baldemar Velasquez, a leader of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, explained the origins and current campaigns of FLOC, which began organizing farm laborers in northwestern Ohio and Michigan in 1967.

**IVAN GETS AROUND:** The September 20 *Milwaukee Courier*, a Black paper, ran the Ivan cartoon first published in the September 12 *Militant*. Depicting two thugs from the racist group ROAR about to blow up a school bus filled with Black children, the cartoon's caption reads, "This'll give 'em a KKKwality education."

**PUBLIC WANTS ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION:** The pollution profiteers have been laying down a heavy barrage of propaganda claiming that environmental protection is "too expensive." But a recent survey by the Opinion Research Corporation shows most Americans still demand cleaner air and water. Sixty percent of those polled favor paying the alleged "costs" of a clean environment, while only 21 percent call for keeping prices and taxes down "at the risk of increasing pollution." By a margin of 48 percent to 38 percent, people would rather have pollution-control devices on cars than pay less for cars without them. And there are more people who favor tougher strip-mining regulations than who want to hold down the price of coal at the expense of the environment.

These results are all the more significant because of the loaded "choices" presented to those questioned. The pollsters apparently didn't ask how many people would favor taxing corporate profits to pay for pollution controls, or nationalizing companies that dirty our environment and putting them under workers' control.

**COURT HEARING FOR RAY MENDOZA:** Arguments were heard in Milwaukee circuit court September 30 for a new trial for Ray Mendoza, a young Chicano convicted last fall of killing two drunken, off-duty cops. During the hearing, defense attorney James Shellows was denied permission to use a blackboard to demonstrate how a polygraph test used as incriminating evidence in the trial had been incorrectly analysed.

Attorney Steve Glynn argued that the imposition of a change of venue had resulted in Mendoza being tried in a rural, all-white community, thus denying him his constitutional right to a jury of his peers. A decision on the request for a new trial is expected by November 3.

**CODEL FILES BRIEF WITH SUPREME COURT:** The Committee for Democratic Election Laws has filed a "friend of the court" brief in support of the challenge to the federal election law now before the U.S. Supreme Court. The challenge was brought by a coalition of groups and individuals, including presidential candidate Eugene McCarthy, Sen. James Buckley, and the New York Civil Liberties Union.

The Supreme Court agreed October 6 to a full review of the law. In August the U.S. Court of Appeals had upheld its constitutionality, dismissing any violation of First Amendment rights as "incidental."

—Nancy Cole

## Special offer for new readers



School desegregation. Cutbacks. Affirmative action. Racist frame-ups. Police brutality. On every front of the antiracist struggle, the *Militant* gets out the truth, with on-the-spot coverage written by activists. You'll also find valuable news analysis in the *Militant*, and discussion of program and strategy in the fight against racism. Don't miss a single issue. Subscribe today.

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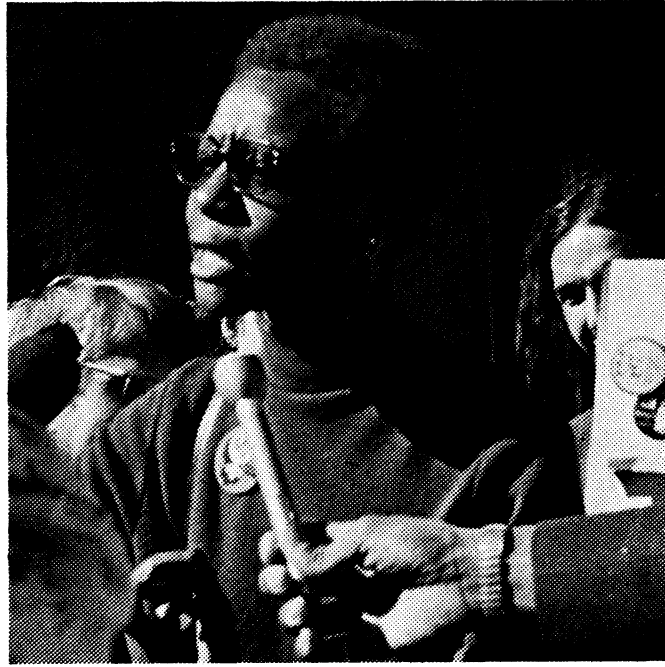
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## Speak out for Black rights

# Camejo, Reid open national tours



Militant/David Salner



Militant/Debby Woodrooffe

Socialist presidential candidate Peter Camejo talks with St. Louis steelworkers, while running mate Willie Mae Reid addresses Minneapolis news conference.

## St. Louis: 'If that's socialism, I'll vote for it'

By David Salner

ST. LOUIS—As workers left the Scullin Steel plant here for their 3:00 p.m. shift change October 2, they were somewhat surprised to be greeted by a CBS-TV news crew.

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, had brought his campaign to this sprawling, dilapidated steel foundry on the first day of his four-day swing through St. Louis. The camera crew, several other media photographers, and a reporter from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* were on hand to gauge the response of this predominantly Black work force to the socialist campaign.

"He's telling the truth. I mean all this stuff is going on now. Racism and unemployment—he's fighting all of this, and I hope he makes it." This is how one Black steelworker put it for the viewers of KMOX-TV's six o'clock CBS news.

The camera then panned to another Black steelworker who said, "If that's socialism, I'll vote for it."

The media coverage Camejo received during the first two days in St. Louis had an impact on the rest of the tour.

"I caught you on the news last night," a middle-aged white auto worker told Camejo. He agreed that working people needed their own party independent of the Democrats and Republicans and said he would study the proposals contained in "A Bill of Rights for Working People," the socialist campaign platform.

On Thursday, October 2, Camejo spoke to an outdoor rally of 150 at the University of Missouri in St. Louis. Forty UMSL students stayed afterward to find out more about the socialist campaign.

Camejo's campaign committee scored a victory when police protection was provided for Camejo during his tour. The committee had repeatedly requested this protection from Mayor John Poelker after a series of threats by Nazis, who regularly picket the campaign offices.

More than 130 campaign supporters

crowded into a meeting hall at St. Stephens church on the near South Side October 3, for a rally featuring Camejo and local candidates of the Missouri Socialist Workers party.

The Missouri campaign committee had announced its statewide slate earlier that week. They are Barbara Bowman for U.S. Senate; Helen Savio, governor; Ed Warren, U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.; Jim Levitt, 2nd C.D.; Elizabeth Jayko, 3rd C.D.; and Paul Schmittlein, 5th C.D.

At a party after the rally, several activists in the J.B. Johnson defense committee talked about the case of this young Black frame-up victim.

They all pointed to the wide support that exists for Johnson in the Black community. "The people I represent all support J.B.," said Eddie Mae Binion, chairperson of the South Side Welfare Rights Organization.

During his tour, Camejo campaigned for support for J.B. Johnson. And he talked about the latest developments in the case with Mary Watkins, Johnson's mother and a central figure in the National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson.

Johnson was recently released on \$25,000 bail pending a new trial. He spent more than three years in jail on the charge of being an accomplice to the shooting of a cop in 1970.

Watkins outlined the campaign to get national support for a suit scheduled to be heard in federal court here October 16. The suit, which will be presented by civil liberties attorney William Kunstler, seeks to win Johnson's freedom with an injunction against a new trial. It also asks for \$1 million in damages.

Some Democrats and Republicans

are trying to ride into public office on a conviction for Johnson. For example, John Danforth, the Ralston-Purina heir, spearheaded the frame-up as state attorney general. Now he's running for U.S. Senate on his record as the man who put J.B. Johnson behind bars.

"But J.B. is not going back into prison," Watkins told Camejo with certainty.

"They found out they couldn't railroad Angela Davis or Joanne Little," Camejo said. "We can show them it will be politically impossible for them to lock up J.B. too."

## Minneapolis: 'Reid is fighting for same things I am'

By Debby Woodrooffe

MINNEAPOLIS—"After looking over the crop of presidential candidates, one woman was heard to remark, 'Wouldn't it be satisfying to see just one woman among them?' If you have been thinking the same thing, you will want to meet Willie Mae Reid, Black feminist and vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party."

This note, signed by the chairperson

of the Hennepin County (Minnesota) Women's Political Caucus, accompanied an invitation urging caucus members to attend a reception for Reid while she was in the Twin Cities last week. (The HCWPC has endorsed two local SWP candidates—Mary Hillery for mayor of Minneapolis, and Holly Harkness for school board.)

More than sixty women, many of them Black, turned out to meet Reid and to learn more about her campaign platform.

As Reid entered the reception, a student at the University of Minnesota rushed over to tell Reid that she saw her campaign posters on the walls of a local feminist collective. The collective members reportedly said: "We saw a photograph of this strong-looking woman running for office, so we put it up."

The women at the reception were similarly excited about Reid's campaign. Marie Warren, a member of the HCWPC, told me, "I like to see Black women moving ahead. And I can relate to her as a person." Citing agreement with Reid's positions in favor of school desegregation and an end to discrimination in housing, Warren added, "She's struggling for the same things I am."

Although the caucus has not yet discussed its stance toward the 1976 elections, several members indicated they plan to vote for Reid.

Caucus member Enid Griffin, who is a registered Republican, said she would like to see Betty Ford run for office in 1976. But she said she would also consider voting for Reid.

"It's very important to have candidates like her, so people are aware there are alternatives to the Democrats and Republicans," Griffin said. "We need people to keep the system upset—to ask, why so many billions for war and not for jobs?"

While in the Twin Cities, Reid also addressed two student audiences. Forty-five attended a meeting at the University of Minnesota, and another forty-two attended a meeting at Carleton College, set up by the Black Students Union.

In her talks, Reid blasted the racist violence in Boston and Louisville, Kentucky, and announced that she will be traveling to Boston October 10-12 to attend the Second National Student Conference Against Racism. She urged students to join her there.

"The racists have to be challenged wherever they exist," Reid told her audiences. "We must build a counterforce to their violence and beat back their resistance to the desegregation order."

Continued on page 26

## Join the socialist campaign!

- ( ) I want to come to a campaign meeting to help plan activities.
- ( ) Send me a free copy of the campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People" ( ) in English, ( ) in Spanish.
- ( ) I want to join the Socialist Workers party.
- ( ) Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_

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

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

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

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## Social Democrats hail new gov't

# Portuguese junta demands 'discipline'

By David Frankel

Authority, discipline, and order; under these watchwords the government of Premier José Pinheiro de Azevedo is stepping up its attempts to curb the deepgoing radicalization in Portugal.

"Admiral Azevedo's top priority is clearly the reimposition of discipline throughout the military and the setting out of clear lines of authority, especially in the volatile Lisbon area," noted an approving editorial in the October 5 *New York Times*.

The latest events broke on September 29, when Azevedo declared a "de facto state of emergency" throughout Portugal. Military units were put on alert, leaves were canceled, and bases were isolated from the public. At the same time, troops were ordered to occupy the radio and television stations in the Lisbon area.

The justification given for this action was that the media had been obstructing the stabilization of the country. According to a September 30 dispatch in the *New York Times*, Azevedo denounced a "provocative campaign of seditious attitudes that endanger the revolution."

### Call for 'discipline'

This crude attack on freedom of the press was wholeheartedly supported by the Portuguese Socialist party. SP leader Mário Soares led a demonstration in Lisbon September 30 in order to back what he hailed as "a government of the left and a government of hope."

Azevedo set the theme of the action, calling out "Discipline, discipline."

"It is necessary to reestablish discipline to overcome the anarchy which this country has lived through," he told the crowd, estimated at 20,000 to 30,000.

The immediate target of the call for discipline was the radicalized soldiers who had disobeyed the government's orders to keep its critics off the air. After two days Azevedo ordered the occupying troops withdrawn, turning his attention to the restoration of discipline in the armed forces.

Indeed, there is some evidence that the occupation of the radio and television stations was carried out with the intent of provoking a showdown that could be used as a justification for a crackdown in the military. "Every serious political and military figure here agrees that restoring order in everyday life and discipline in the military is the first and biggest problem to be solved," *Washington Post* reporter Bernard Nossiter cabled from Lisbon September 26.

On that day the Portuguese military announced the creation of a new "Military Intervention Force" that was first used against dissidents in the armed forces on October 4. The occasion came when 120 men of the new unit took over a regimental barracks in Oporto.

A day earlier the regiment's mem-



PREMIER AZEVEDO: Denounces 'seditious attitudes.'

bers had voted to reject the transfer of two leftist officers and five enlisted men. The northern regional commander, Brig. António Pires Veloso, then ordered the regiment disbanded. About thirty soldiers were expelled from the barracks, and 700 of the unit's weapons were confiscated and distributed to what the *New York Times* described as "reliable forces."

### Regime's long-term aim

The long term aim of the military regime was spelled out by the government's labor minister, Capt. Tomas Rosa, in an interview with Flora Lewis in the October 6 *New York Times*. "A major problem, Captain Rosa said, is the belief of many workers that 'the revolution means higher wages and shorter hours.'"

"The people will have to understand that there must be sacrifices, that there must be austerity so as to rebuild for the future," Captain Rosa said. "But those are unpopular moves, and they can't be taken without political stability."

In attempting to stabilize its rule, the military junta is depending on the collaboration of both the SP and the Portuguese Communist party. Between them, these two reformist workers parties command the allegiance of the majority of the Portuguese people. It has been their support over the last year-and-a-half that has enabled the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) to maintain the governmental power in its hands and preserve capitalism in Portugal.

At first the Stalinist CP gained the inside track in the competition to determine which party could best serve the capitalist government. It was able to build a powerful centralized appara-

tus, which it used in behalf of the military regime. With the help of the MFA it gained domination of the trade-union federation and most of the positions in the country's mass media.

However, the CP's leading role in the government's antistrike campaign and its attacks on the democratic rights of its opponents produced widespread resentment. The attacks on the SP finally forced the SP into opposition. In June and July the SP led massive street demonstrations in defense of its democratic rights.

The CP's bureaucratic and antidemocratic policies played into the hands of right-wing forces, who mounted a wave of attacks against CP headquarters in the northern two-thirds of the country. It became too discredited to be used as the sole mass organizer and propagandist for the MFA.

### CP zigs and zags

Since the defeat early in September of the wing of the MFA identified with the CP, the Social Democrats have been in the ascendancy as the chief flag bearers for the military junta. The Stalinists, although relegated to a distinctly subordinate position, still remain in the new cabinet.

The CP's strategy has been to straddle the fence, maintaining its links with the government while using militant rhetoric and the pressure of demonstrations in the streets to push for a greater role. However, the government's campaign for order and discipline has made this tactic increasingly dangerous, and there are signs that the Stalinists are once again moving toward a position of complete support to the military regime.

Although the occupation of the radio and television stations was clearly the first step in reducing the role of the Stalinists and their sympathizers in this area, the CP's response was muted. A CP statement criticized Azevedo for not consulting it before the take-over of the stations.

*New York Times* reporter Flora Lewis noted that "it gave only vague support to the protesters, and the statement was printed on inside pages by pro-Communist newspapers."

"It was also clear," she continued, "that the Communists had not directly participated in yesterday's effort by the far left to organize action against the Government and this apparently was an important reason for the scantiness of the crowds that took part."

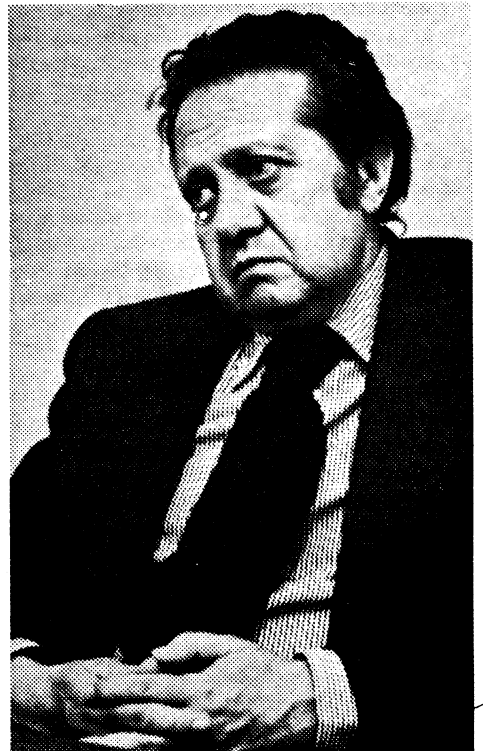
It could have hardly been accidental that the regime's move was timed to coincide with President Francisco da Costa Gomes's visit to Moscow. On his return Costa Gomes said, "I met veterans of socialist revolutions there who consider it indispensable that we perfect a political platform in which the progressive parties are in agreement."

Costa Gomes, who was also in Poland, "commented with admiration on the 'discipline and order' among the military in those countries of 'veteran revolutionaries.'"

The real direction of Moscow's policy was reflected most immediately and most crudely in the American CP's *Daily World*. An article by Tom Foley in its October 1 issue said:

"On Sunday Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, urged the tight consolidation of 'authority and discipline' in the government and in the armed forces to deal with the present political situation."

According to Foley, the Portuguese CP endorsed the right of the government to control the media. It insisted that "the correct orientation of the



SP's SOARES: Hailed 'government of hope' as troops occupied radio and television stations.

mass information media on the part of the authorities is the necessary condition for carrying out the policy genuinely aimed at fighting reaction and in defense of the Portuguese revolution."

Foley also justified the occupation of the media centers by referring to the burning of the Spanish embassy in Lisbon by demonstrators protesting the judicial murder of five political prisoners.

"The attack on the Spanish Embassy," according to Foley, "had the gravest consequences for Portugal and posed a threat to the revolution: Spain's diplomatic personnel were recalled, a step short of actually severing relations with Portugal."

As the Stalinists see it, Portugal must remain in the good graces of the Franco dictatorship because "more than 80 percent of Portugal's foreign trade goes overland through Spain. . . . If Spain actually had severed relations with Portugal it would have cut off Portugal from all direct land contact with the rest of Europe and would have been a crushing blow to the Portuguese economy."

According to this logic Cuba, 80 percent of whose trade was with the United States, should have never embarked on a socialist revolution.

Although the class-collaborationist policies of its Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders have led the Portuguese working class into a dead end, the combativity and radicalism of the workers remains high. This is reflected in the rhetoric of the military chiefs, who continue to talk about revolution and socialism while preparing the reaction.

For example, Azevedo, while pressing for acceptance of stronger government authority in September, argued that this was needed to fight "counterrevolutionary forces that seek, through violence and terrorism, a return to fascism."

Washington too has recognized the continuing danger posed by the Portuguese revolution. Recent disclosures have revealed some of the activities of the CIA in that country (see article on page 20).

Furthermore, Washington's refusal to criticize the Franco dictatorship for its brutal execution of five revolutionaries September 27 was doubtless motivated as much by events in Portugal as by concern over U.S. bases in Spain. The Franco regime is viewed by U.S. imperialism as one of its main bul-

Continued on page 26



Demonstration against government take-over of media. CP abstained.



# Documents from socialist suit show FBI 'Cointelpro' still in operation

By Nelson Blackstock

Cointelpro continues. That fact is affirmed by new evidence of FBI Cointelpro activity occurring after the alleged 1971 cutoff date for the program. It is contained in FBI files released to the media on October 6 by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Also released were additional previously secret files on Cointelpro conspiracies during the 1960s.

"Cointelpro" is the FBI's jargon for its "counterintelligence program" created to harass and disrupt opponents of government policies.

When the existence of this top-secret program came to light in 1971, the late J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director at the time, announced the termination of the program.

The PRDF has maintained that the operations continued. Only the name of the program was changed. To back up the charge, PRDF amassed a record of scores of incidents resembling Cointelpro-style harassment against the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Now, the FBI has publicly admitted that at least thirty of these instances of harassment, occurring after the alleged April 1971 cutoff date, were indeed the work of its agents.

The FBI turned the files over to the PRDF under a court order stemming from a suit by the SWP and the YSA against political harassment and surveillance by government agencies. The PRDF is sponsoring the suit.

Sometime after the Cointelpro scandal became public, the Justice Department conducted a special investigation into this aspect of FBI work. The result was the "Peterson Report." This study described one form of Cointelpro harassment against targeted groups called "Interviewing or Contacting Members." The purpose was to let "members know that the FBI was aware of their activity."

An internal FBI newsletter that surfaced in 1971 says that these "interviews" will "enhance the paranoia endemic in these circles and will further serve to get the point across there is an FBI Agent behind every mailbox."

PRDF National Secretary Syd Stapleton thinks the episodes admitted by the FBI that occurred after April 1971 are clearly identical to Cointelpro harassment as described by the Peterson Report. "These FBI activities have nothing to do with 'investigations' or 'internal security,'" he said. "It's a systematic attempt at intimidation. And it's illegal political harassment no matter what the FBI calls it."

The PRDF released thirty separate post-April 1971 examples of incidents where the FBI contacted people on the pretext of gathering information about the individual or about the SWP or YSA.



The bulk of the files just released involve earlier FBI operations carried out under the division of Cointelpro aimed at the Communist party. This first Cointelpro was initiated in 1956. The program directed specifically at the SWP was begun in 1961.

Some of these anti-SWP plots were carried out under the anti-CP Cointelpro heading because they involved disruption of both the CP and the SWP. In other instances, the SWP seems to have been placed under this heading merely because FBI agents considered the SWP and YSA to be "a form of communist organizations." This suggests that similar operations may have been aimed at a variety of groups thought to be "communist" by the FBI.

Significantly, the chief victim of one plot executed in Detroit in 1965 was the Democratic Party.

## New revelations

It was also revealed in this set of documents that:

- The FBI tried to get an SWP candidate thrown off the ballot in San Francisco in 1961 and attempted to blame this on a CP member running for the same office.
- The FBI conspired at American University in Washington, D.C., in 1966 to block the YSA from getting official recognition as a campus group.

- The FBI got a Cleveland school-teacher fired because her husband signed a letter soliciting support for the SWP's 1964 presidential slate.
- The FBI worked hand in glove with vicious ultrarightists to harass both the SWP and the CP.

## Detroit episode

According to the FBI files, in Detroit in the fall of 1965 the Wayne State University campus newspaper reported that after a heated dispute, the Young Democrats (YD) at the school voted to endorse a Black liberal Democrat running for Detroit Common Council.

The YD's vice-chairman, according to the paper, thought that most of those who voted to endorse the candidate were not active members of the YD. He also "suggested that one or two might be members of the Young Socialist Alliance."

YSA member Jan Garrett told the paper that this notion was "completely ridiculous" because the YSA would never favor backing a candidate running in the capitalist Democratic party.

About the same time, the YD chapter voted for a rather mild antiwar resolution. This heightened the FBI's concern.

Then the group voted to back campus recognition for the W.E.B. DuBois Club. A predecessor of the Young Workers Liberation League, the DuBois Club was the youth group at that time associated with the CP. The YSA had earlier come out strongly against an administration move to keep the group off campus.

The FBI sent a letter bearing a "fictitious name and a non-existent address" to a number of official Democratic party organizations, including the state central committee. It warned that the Wayne State YD had been taken over by the YSA—a "subversive organization." The only effect of this utterly false charge could have been a disruption of the Democratic party.

## Ballot conspiracy

Another FBI conspiracy unfolded in San Francisco in 1961. Members of both the SWP and the CP were running for the same office in city elections.

The FBI got a copy of the CP candidate's official stationery and forged a letter to the registrar of voters charging that Hayden Perry, the SWP's candidate, did not meet the residency requirement for the office and should be thrown off the ballot.

The plot fell apart after the registrar told Perry about the letter. Perry immediately contacted the CP campaign headquarters. An official there exposed the letter as a fake, and the registrar refused to take Perry's name off the ballot.

There is also information in the files showing that the FBI conspired with the right-wing Young Americans for Freedom in a vicious drive to red-bait and harass the CP member's campaign.

This and another episode uncovered in the files provided further proof of the FBI's willingness to use all sorts of dangerous right-wing fanatics to harass its victims.

In August 1961, the FBI noticed that the SWP was planning a West Coast gathering at Big Bear Lake, California. It appears that the editors of the *Grizzly*, an ultraright rag, were also aware of this and were planning their own "anticommunist" conference for the same time and place.

The *Grizzly's* editors seemed to be ill-informed about the politics of the SWP, the FBI observed. To remedy the situation, agents anonymously mailed them a batch of publications, including an SWP discussion bulletin and copies of the *Militant*.

"This counterintelligence move is an excellent opportunity to cause disruption against the SWP and promote anticommunist feeling in the Los Angeles area," the FBI wrote.

These latest examples of FBI treachery reinforce the already voluminous evidence of illegal Cointelpro plotting uncovered through the socialist suit.

Added to this are new revelations of FBI dirty work, such as burglaries, coming out in current congressional investigations.

The SWP suit calls for an immediate halt to all Cointelpro-type harassment and illegal surveillance. It deserves the full backing of all supporters of democratic rights.

## Help PRDF

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

That was what the *New York Times* had to say in a front-page story after the release of these latest files on October 6. Help the work of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the civil liberties group that finances and publicizes the suit filed by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance against government surveillance and harassment.

Clip and mail to PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

( ) Enclosed is a contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_.

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State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

## 'Jury duty' and 'lotteries'

Material in the recently released FBI files gives a revealing picture of how the agency operates to harass or obtain information about socialists.

In four instances the FBI agents did not identify themselves but used the guise of a "jury-duty pretext" telephone call. On another occasion the agent pretended to be from the New York State lottery.

When the agents identified themselves, in the great majority of cases socialists refused to be interviewed. That's the best policy, according to civil liberties groups. Others offered limited information.

A Bloomington, Indiana, YSAer

was interviewed in a "Bureau automobile outside his place of employment"—a transparent attempt to get him fired.

David Salner was contacted by the FBI on the pretext of "a NY lottery inquiry." He refused to give more than his name, the files note.

"They told me I might have won a lottery, but they needed to verify my address," Salner told the *Militant*. "At first I thought, 'Great. I never won anything in my life.' Then I realized I'd never bought a lottery ticket, either. So I figured it was the FBI."

"It's obviously just a crude form of harassment," Salner added.

# What role for whites in antiracist struggle?



Los Angeles, May 17. Blacks and whites march in support of school desegregation. Militant/Miguel Pendás

By Tony Thomas

(Last of a series)

BOSTON—The role of whites in the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) has been a controversial question that will likely come up for discussion at the October 10-12 antiracist conference here.

At the founding conference of the student coalition, held last February, a group that tried to disrupt the gathering attempted to play upon the fact that white people were members of NSCAR. It soon became clear, however, that this group was opposed to fighting for desegregation and was using this issue only as a ploy to try to stop the conference from mobilizing support behind the May 17 probusing demonstration called by the NAACP.

However, some Black activists committed to the fight have questioned whether NSCAR should include whites. They claim that this may stand in the way of the right of Blacks to control their own movement. They wonder whether whites can be trusted in an antiracist organization.

To get to the bottom of this discussion we should briefly look at where NSCAR came from and what its purpose is.

When school opened in Boston last year, the city was shaken by racist mobs who attacked Black students, stoned buses, and nearly lynched several Blacks who passed through South Boston.

The racists claimed that they represented all of the whites in Boston, and they also claimed that even Blacks were opposed to busing.

The racists used physical violence and mass mobilizations to further their objectives.

## 'Crushing majority'

The racists were trying to rely upon the minority status of Blacks. They wanted to present themselves as representatives of a crushing majority against which Black people, and white supporters of equal rights for Blacks, had no recourse.

What was needed—and still is—was a countermobilization against the racists. When a march against racism was called for December 14 by some leaders in the Black community, students in the Boston area, Black and white, organized to support the action. They called a highly successful teach-in for December 13 and played a key role in the demonstration the next day.

Recognizing the need to continue to build up a mobilization against the racists, student and youth leaders met after the December 14 march and issued the call for the February confer-

ence that was to found NSCAR.

From the beginning, NSCAR has been a coalition whose purpose is to organize people in concrete actions—to help mobilize the Black community against the racists, which is necessary to have any kind of effective action, and also to mobilize whites in support of Black rights.

## Isolate racists

NSCAR recognized that the way to beat back the bigots is for the antiracist movement to show that it is capable of moving masses. It is fighting to show that racists are not the only mass force organized around the busing issue and to isolate and politically defeat them. That means that whites have to be won to support Black rights and counter the racists.

To whip the racists in Boston and elsewhere, Black people have to be mobilized in defense of their own demands. They have to develop confidence in their power to struggle for their own rights and in their ability to chart their own struggle.

That's why NSCAR places a special emphasis on involving Black students and youth, as well as working in support of actions called by Black student and community groups.

This has drawn criticism from groups such as the Young Workers Liberation League, a youth group in solidarity with the Communist party. They claim that NSCAR's emphasis on the Black community stands in the way of reaching "progressive white youth."

What the YWLL means by this was shown in Boston this fall where their only activity has been handing out pamphlets and placing newspaper ads explaining why whites shouldn't be racists.

The logic of their approach is to wait for whites to figure out that they should be opposed to racism before pressing forward the struggle for Black rights.

While there is nothing wrong with trying to explain to whites what is wrong with racism, the YWLL's strategy is not the key to winning whites.

## How to win whites

The most effective way to win whites is to provide a focus of activity around clear political demands that whites can more and more see as just and that in actuality are in their interest too.

So rather than waiting on whites to be persuaded verbally, NSCAR has helped organize Blacks and those whites who are willing to defend Black

rights now in a struggle to implement busing.

This was what the May 17 demonstration for desegregation in Boston was all about. There, thousands of whites marched with Blacks in support of the concrete demands of protecting Black children and implementing busing.

This demonstration showed that the Black community and its supporters, including the thousands of whites who marched, were already a powerful force.

It encouraged groups in the Black community to feel that they could take action around this issue. It also encouraged whites who had been intimidated by the racists to speak out for busing and against the bigots.

The action even forced splits and divisions among the racists over whether their attempts to out mobilize and terrorize the Black community were correct.

## Racists not majority

In order to carry out the strategy of building the largest possible countermobilization against the racists, NSCAR has also understood the importance of involving whites who are willing to struggle against the racists.

It is important that Blacks not be taken in by the racists' claim that they represent all the whites or even a majority. The rise of the civil rights movement, the Black power movement, and other Black struggles, coming in a time of general ferment and radicalization, has won support from millions of whites and has changed attitudes in the majority of whites, although this struggle is far from over. Whites have marched for civil rights, fought for Black studies, and defended Black political victims such as the Panthers, Angela Davis, and Joanne Little.

The campus and high school students and youth NSCAR is trying to organize have been among the first and most militant layers to respond to the demands of the Black movement.

NSCAR has been able to mobilize thousands of young whites around the busing struggle and other antiracist actions.

Black students and youth should understand that mobilizing whites around Black demands is also key to defeating the racists.

The thousands of whites who marched May 17 helped provide a powerful political component of the struggle. By their numbers and support they broadened the base of the movement beyond the Black community, demonstrated that Black people

were not isolated, and put additional pressure on the government to implement desegregation.

The fact that whites were won to take action around the busing struggle helped clarify the issue. The issue is not Blacks against whites in the abstract. The issue is between those who believe Blacks have the democratic right to an equal education and protection against mob violence, and those who are trying to push back Black rights.

This kind of mobilization prepares the ground for splitting and even winning over some of the current supporters of the antibusing groups.

## Black interests

One activist at a recent NSCAR Steering Committee meeting pointed out that Black students on his campus wanted to know if they could trust the whites in NSCAR.

After centuries of oppression, Blacks are not at all unjustified in wanting to clear this question up.

During the civil rights movement, moderate civil rights groups tried to slow down the struggle by claiming that Black demands interfered with winning over whites. Black people moved to form their own groups to prevent whites from blocking Black people from organizing their own fight.

However, if we look at NSCAR's aims and character we can see that these problems don't exist.

The basis for being in NSCAR is willingness to take action in defense of the Black community. There is no better test of defending Black people's interests than moving in action in support of Black rights.

You don't have to personally trust someone, you have to see how and whether they're going to move to take concrete action against racism.

NSCAR includes and is winning more and more support, not only from Black students and youth but from all-Black student, high school, and community groups and from leaders of the Black nationalist movement such as Robert F. Williams.

Black youth and students who want to organize the most massive defense of the rights of Black people and other oppressed nationalities—whether it is around fight for school desegregation in Boston and across the country, winning community control struggles in places like District One in New York City, or freeing Black victims of racist frame-ups like Joanne Little—have an easy way to make sure that NSCAR meets their interests. That is to get involved in and build NSCAR.



## Racists continue campaign

# Buses on the move again in Boston

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—More than 100 screaming, taunting South Boston bigots were repulsed by police October 3 after a major attempt to test the strength of law enforcement cordons around desegregated schools here.

The melee broke out in the wake of a refusal by the racists to disperse their "prayer march" against busing as it neared the Gavin Middle School. A federal court order prohibits crowds of more than three within 100 yards of the schools. The police, light on the bigots as usual, arrested six.

The first week of school after the return to classes by striking Boston teachers saw attendance rise. White attendance hovers around 63 percent of projected enrollment, while Black attendance is around 75 percent. Puerto Rican and Chinese attendance is near 80 percent.

On October 2, Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity issued an order that expands Puerto Rican and Chinese parent and community involvement in desegregation. His ruling came as a result of demands by groups of parents and educators in each community that stressed bilingual and bicultural needs.

The Boston NAACP had backed the demands.

On the same day as Garrity's ruling, an empty school bus was stoned in Charlestown, where resistance to desegregation remains fierce.

On September 30 and October 3, fifty white students staged walkouts at Charlestown High School, protesting that they had no "channels" to air "white grievances." On October 2 a delegation of racists was prevented by police from entering the high school to challenge headmaster Frank Power's



Black students entering South Boston High School. Large police presence due to Black community pressure has prevented physical attacks on students.

suspension of nineteen white students for their walkout.

Also on October 2, eighteen members of the Committee Against Racism, a small confrontationist organization, were found innocent of disorderly conduct charges they faced for trying to stage a "welcome back" demonstration for Black students in South Boston on the first day of school. Seventy-four CAR and Progressive Labor party members had been arrested altogether. Thirty-one failed to show on October 2.

On October 3 five members of PLP and CAR announced a \$1 million suit against city and state officials and antibusing leaders for harassment.

The "mothers' marches" and "prayer vigils" against desegregation continue in Charlestown, South Boston, and the North End, keeping resistance visible. But however intransigent and vigorous

the racists are, they have been held at bay in areas where violence against bused-in Black students had been the order of the day.

In 1974, when desegregation began, small armies of rock-heaving hooligans drove Black students to the floors of the buses and turned the schools into jungles. Weekly racist actions averaging 3,000 protested desegregation for three months. And in December of that year, South Boston High was closed for several weeks after more than 100 Black students narrowly escaped with their lives from a lynch mob that held them trapped in the school for several hours.

Throughout all this, federal and local authorities refused to provide anything nearing the force necessary to protect Black students and enforce desegregation.

When school opened this fall they were forced to provide a massive police presence and 100 federal marshals. In response, gangs of roaming racists engaged in guerrilla-like forays against the police for two weeks. Police cars were shot at by snipers. Mobs upwards of 200 waged four-hour skirmishes with police guarding Charlestown High School. An attempt was made to set a bridge to South Boston afire to stop the buses, and a Black city bus driver was hospitalized by rock throwers in South Boston.

The racists are continuing their campaign, but the massive police presence here has allowed school desegregation to proceed, and mobs that have tried to gather near the schools have been dispersed. This has been a victory for the Black community—but it is a tenuous victory.

Against the backdrop of antibusing tirades by President Ford and Vice-president Rockefeller, and the congressional slaps at school desegregation, enforcement of court-ordered busing remains in jeopardy.

Pressure is mounting from the bigots for withdrawal of the police. Any serious breach in the police lines means that the buses carrying Black students will be attacked.

The massive public pressure that demanded desegregation in the first place must continue to compel the courts and the government to maintain the big, all-important show of force that can keep the racists dispersed.

The bigots, if anything, remain on the offensive nationally, and now their battle line runs from the streets of South Boston to the corridors of power in Washington.

# Mass. protests blast cutbacks, layoffs

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—For the past several weeks, hardly a day has gone by here without a demonstration at the Massachusetts Statehouse. And for good reason—the Massachusetts legislature is debating a state budget that—if it passes—will eliminate \$678 million from welfare expenditures, \$22 million from mental health services, \$6.2 million from youth services, and \$9.5 million from public health facilities.

One effect of these cuts will be to deprive 100,000 working poor and 28,000 disabled people on welfare of all medical care. And that's not all.

Five hundred state employees have already been laid off, and hundreds more stand to lose their jobs. Those that aren't fired will be denied the cost-of-living wage increase due them.

Students attending state colleges and universities may have to pay more

tuition than they are currently paying. Already at the University of Massachusetts at Boston, 2,500 class slots have been eliminated.

If the proposed budget cuts for public higher education are made, UMB will lose at least eighty faculty positions, 1,000 work-study jobs for students will be cut, summer school will be eliminated, and fifty to seventy class sections will be dropped. The special admissions program that provides auxiliary help for Black and Puerto Rican students is already being phased out.

The community colleges throughout Massachusetts will face even bigger problems. Many will lose accreditation, and some may even have to close.

On Tuesday, September 30, 2,000 of the many thousands who will be affected by the cutbacks in human services held a rally and march that ended at the statehouse.

Welfare mothers and their children, workers from mental health facilities, handicapped children, people from alcoholic halfway houses, representatives from state-funded child-care centers, Medicaid recipients, social workers, and people from nursing homes came from all around the state to bring their message to the legislature. That message came through loud and clear: "No cutbacks!"

Later in the afternoon, 3,000 members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Service Employees International Union demonstrated to demand an end to government layoffs and restoration of their promised cost-of-living wage increase.

On Wednesday, October 1, several hundred senior citizens who stand to lose Medicaid benefits if the budget passes came to protest.

And students from nineteen state colleges and universities will rally October 8 to demand an end to the cutbacks in higher education.

The background to the current budget crisis lies in the state legislature's attempt to "balance the budget" at the expense of working people, the elderly, the handicapped, and the sick, hitting hardest at the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

In June 1975 Gov. Michael Dukakis introduced the first budget proposal. This involved a 10 percent across-the-board cut in state expenditures and a new \$700 million tax package. (Dukakis was elected on the promise that there would be no new taxes!) This budget was proudly dubbed the "meat cleaver" by Dukakis.

Later in the summer he proposed—and the legislature approved—

throwing 18,000 people off welfare. These welfare recipients were arbitrarily termed "employable"—in a state where the unemployment rate is more than 12 percent.

The house of representatives then further slashed expenditures for social services and higher education by \$400 million. Now the budget has been sent on to the senate.

The demonstrations that have taken place during the past month have been a big step forward. Notice has been served on the state legislature that those affected by the proposed cutbacks will not take them lying down. But more and bigger actions are needed to stop Dukakis's "meat cleaver" from coming down even harder.

Speaking at the October 3 Militant Forum in Boston, Hubie Jones, head of the Human Services Alert, the coalition that organized one of the September 30 demonstrations, talked about the kind of united action that is needed.

"I hope the students and student leaders will get together with us, also the state employees and the radical groups. Collectively we will force the government to meet its responsibilities to the people. What we need is more action, to focus the energies and anger of the people."

The National Student Coalition Against Racism, which has supported all the demonstrations against cutbacks, will be hosting a workshop on cutbacks during its national conference here October 10-12. This will be one place where students and all others affected by the cutbacks can get together and discuss out plans for further actions.



Three thousand government employees marched September 30 to demand end to layoffs.

## 250 at Detroit meeting

# NSCAR chapters hold teach-ins, rallies

By Baxter Smith

Uncowed by an assault by twenty pipe-swinging Progressive Labor party members, the Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism on October 2 managed to carry on a prodesegregation teach-in of 250 people that featured Detroit NAACP Executive Secretary Joseph Madison.

The teach-in, originally slated as a debate between two desegregation supporters and two antibusing leaders, was transformed when the antibusing speakers failed to attend.

Madison and John Hawkins of the student coalition were to debate Irene McCabe, president of the National Action Group, and Carmen Roberts of Mothers Alert Detroit, a Northeast Detroit antibusing group. Both women are white.

Earlier in the week, members of the student coalition who were distributing literature on the debate were attacked by members of the PLP, an ultraleftist grouping that has a history of using violence to try to settle political differences. At that time the PLPers threatened to disrupt the debate, and the student coalition decided to bar the PLP from attending.

In a statement, the student coalition explained that the PLP is "welcome to speak their ideas but not when they intend to break up a public meeting we all want to hear."

Before the meeting began, twenty PLP members picketed outside shouting "No free speech for fascists or racists" and "Irene McCabe won't speak tonight." When student coalition marshals refused them admittance, the PLPers tried to battle their way in, using lead pipes, but were repulsed—and discredited in the eyes of individuals at the teach-in.

At the meeting's introduction, Hawkins explained, "Although we disagree with Irene McCabe, we want her to speak so we can more easily refute her arguments. The PLP's action did not expose McCabe, but make her out to be a martyr who is being denied freedom of speech."

### Major public meeting

The meeting—which attracted TV crews from four stations and had gotten sizable prior publicity—was about half-Black, standing-room only, and very enthusiastic in support of



Racism in education was subject of student coalition-sponsored meeting at Temple University in Philadelphia.

desegregation, according to *Militant* correspondent Lee Artz.

It was the first major public meeting since a federal court ruled in August against an NAACP busing plan and a board of education plan.

The NAACP has appealed the ruling and is now reassessing their "courtroom only" strategy. Madison expressed this at the debate: "We've been a little too quiet a little too long. We have to get out of the Rip Van Winkle syndrome . . . and not be sleeping as events go by."

Hawkins got a good response when he added:

"We have to support desegregation and demand that the law be enforced. All necessary force must be applied to achieve desegregation and stop the violence. In Boston and Louisville the violence slowed when the national guard was called in. We must demand that the government enforce the law. If they won't do it we should think about doing it ourselves."

In response to a question about what high school students can do, Madison replied:

"Well, one thing is you don't want to wait for your parents. We desegregated restaurants and buses with young people. There are three things you should do. First, let me say there are two things you should do—join the

NAACP and the Student Coalition Against Racism—then there are three things.

"You have to be mobile, agile, and hostile to eliminate segregation. Mobile by getting our support out there. Agile to do it in all different ways. And hostile—not like those racists who throw rocks and bricks at eight-year-old Black students—but hostile with your own determination."

### Other activities

While defense of school desegregation has received major attention by the student coalition in cities like Detroit and Boston, student coalition work in other cities has centered on defense of Black and other frame-up victims, union-support activities, and campaigns against police brutality and other racist practices against Blacks.

Student coalition activists in Los Angeles are gearing toward an October 24 speak-out against police killings and in defense of Michael Zinzun and Philip Allen. In less than two years there have been more than seventy killings by cops in Los Angeles, and most of the victims have been Blacks or Chicanos. Zinzun and Allen are Blacks who are involved in separate frame-up cases.

Various groups are helping to publicize the speak-out, including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Black Student Alliance at the University of California at Los Angeles, CASA, Compton College MESA, the Southern California Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and the student coalition.

A speak-out against racism in education in Philadelphia drew more than 100 people to the Temple University campus on September 26. Speakers there included Earl Trent of the North Philadelphia Action Branch of the NAACP, Tony Austin and Chris Robinson of the student coalition, and representatives from Operation PUSH and the National Organization for Women.

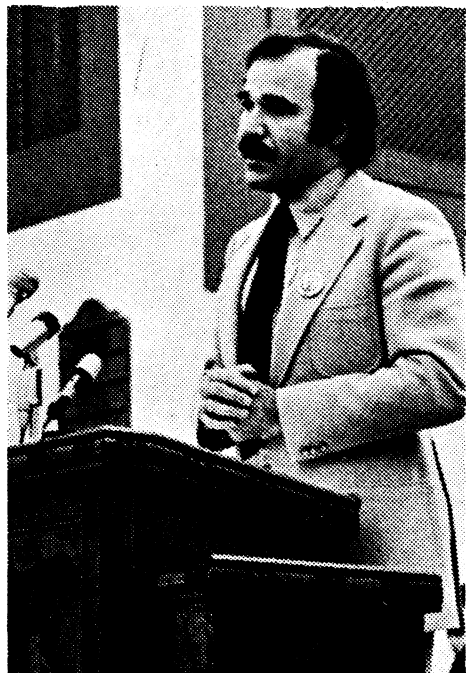
Robert F. Williams, the longtime civil rights activist who is still under extradition orders for a trumped-up kidnapping incident in 1961 in North Carolina, toured St. Louis recently, speaking at four college campuses. Most of the meetings were cosponsored by Black student groups and the student coalition. Black students, eager to hear this veteran rights fighter, comprised the bulk of his audiences.

Black students turned out in good numbers for a student coalition rally at Cleveland's Cuyahoga Community College October 2. A leader of the fight to stop cutbacks on that campus spoke, as well as the publisher of Cleveland's Black newspaper, the *Call & Post*.

Black students in Atlanta are also finding the student coalition to be just what the doctor ordered. There are coalition chapters on all of the campuses in the giant, predominantly Black Atlanta University complex; and Black campus leaders such as the student body president at Morehouse College and the editor of the Spelman College newspaper have joined the student coalition.

A recent antiracist symposium in San Francisco sponsored by the student coalition brought out close to 100 people. Willie Tate, one of the San Quentin Six, spoke, and Rashaad Ali spoke for the student coalition. A United Farm Workers representative also spoke, as did Elayne Jones, a Black percussionist who was driven out of the San Francisco symphony orchestra under flagrantly discriminatory circumstances.

# Hundreds rally in Atlanta to defend Edelin



EDELIN: 'It is society's obligation to provide safe and legal abortions.'

By Julie Scott

ATLANTA—Four hundred people rallied here September 26 in defense of Dr. Kenneth Edelin and women's right to abortion.

The rally was held at Atlanta University, the largest Black campus in the city, and drew women from across Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina.

The rally and an educational conference the next day were sponsored by the Georgia Committee to Defend Abortion Rights, Atlanta National Organization for Women, a number of family-planning clinics, Georgia State University Black Alliance, and more than fifty individuals.

Edelin is a Black doctor from Boston who was convicted last February of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion. As a result of his conviction, major hospitals have cut back on abortions, and many doctors, fearing harassment, will no longer perform the operation.

Edelin addressed the rally briefly, expressing his strong belief in a woman's right to choose an abortion. He pointed out that a majority of the women who die from illegal abortions are Black. Edelin said it is society's obligation to provide safe and legal abortions for women who choose to have them.

The widespread support for Edelin was demonstrated by the broad representation of speakers at the rally. Archie Williams of the Black Women's Coalition and Eva Chertov of the Georgia Committee to Defend Abortion Rights cochaired the event.

"The women's movement began a national campaign to win abortion rights and that is the fundamental reason why the Supreme Court voted for abortion rights in 1973," Chertov said. "We must continue to build this movement and rely on our own support if we are to protect rights we have won and extend them."

Susan Perry, a representative of the

National Conference of Black Lawyers, warned that if Edelin's conviction is upheld, a legal precedent could be set that would nullify the Supreme Court's proabortion ruling.

Carol Cohen, secretary of the Edelin Defense Committee, said that to bring Edelin's case before the Supreme Court will take another two years of defense work and at least \$200,000.

Also speaking were Miesa Patterson, representing the Atlanta Student Coalition Against Racism; Dr. Elizabeth Farians, a national director of Catholics for a Free Choice; Cheryl Pence, president of Atlanta NOW; and Myrian Richmond, a well-known Black media figure and community-affairs director for WAOK radio.

The next day's conference drew 130 people, most of them Black women. Out of these events a commitment was made by Black and white women to continue working together to defend Dr. Edelin and the right to abortion.



# YSA: socialist activists in thick of the struggle

By John Linder

"These people are out there doing something—not miles and miles removed from the struggle—but on top of what is happening."

That's how Chris Robinson, Black activist and leader of last spring's student strike against cutbacks at Brown University, explained his decision to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

The YSA is a different kind of organization. It is constructed around the idea that change comes not from

*John Linder is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance National Committee.*

wishing, waiting, or trusting our "friends" in Washington but through mass struggle. And we act on that belief.

The YSA was on the scene in some of the most important battles of the 1960s and 1970s.

Young Socialists took part in the movement that abolished the Jim Crow segregation system in the South.

When Malcolm X was alive he faced hostility from almost all sides. But the YSA cooperated with Malcolm and supported his uncompromising call for freedom "by any means necessary."

We've been in the fight for school desegregation in cities all around the country. The YSA is also working to defend Joanne Little, J.B. Johnson, "Hurricane" Carter, Delbert Tibbs, Ray Mendoza, and other victims of racist "justice."

The YSA is a multinational youth organization, uniting Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, whites, and others in the fight for a just society.

Members are active daily on many fronts—from farm worker support, to organizing against cutbacks in the schools, to the battle to pass the Equal Rights Amendment and defend abortion rights.

The YSA is based on the conviction that the problems we face all have their roots in the kind of economic system we live under. A handful of bankers and billionaires hold economic and political power in the United States. They are the ones who create inflation, unemployment, war, and racism.

We want a society where these problems don't exist—where there's the fullest democracy. In a word—socialism.

Unfortunately, that word is sometimes misused in today's world. While we support the unquestionable ad-



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

YSA has played leading role in organizing mass response to racist attacks on Blacks

When Malcolm's ideas were put into practice by Black students in the 1960s, we championed their demands for Black studies and open admissions.

In Detroit and other cities YSA members took the lead in organizing broad-based actions to get rid of the special cop terror squads turned loose on the Black community.

You might have been part of the mass movement against the Vietnam War. If so, chances are pretty good that you ran into the YSA. We were there—through thick and thin—organizing the mass demonstrations, the rallies, the teach-ins.

These experiences were particularly useful when we looked at the racist attacks that began in Boston one year ago. Not many knew what to do about the situation.

The YSA decided what was going on in Boston was the opening battle in a new nationwide frontal assault on Black rights.

The YSA went all-out campaigning for massive street actions to defend the students under attack. We got out the message in our newspaper—the *Young Socialist*. In the high schools and colleges where we go to school and on our jobs we spread the word.

When a march on Boston was called for December 14 last year, YSA members moved into action.

At our convention after the march, we voted to throw all of our energies into helping to mobilize masses of people to defeat the racist mobs in Boston.

vances made possible by the overthrow of capitalism in countries like the Soviet Union and China, the YSA thinks the dictatorial regimes existing there have nothing to do with socialism. We back the efforts of forces there trying to establish a true socialist democracy.

A few years ago when YSA members would discuss the kind of society they believe is possible and necessary, they would hear an objection: "Everything you say sounds nice, but who's going to listen? Everybody is satisfied."

Today we don't hear that argument very much. The mounting problems in this society are convincing more and more people that there must be a better way of doing things. And many are giving a serious hearing to the ideas of socialism.

One of the ways we help to spread socialist ideas is by supporting the Socialist Workers party campaigns of Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president.

On December 28 through January 1 we will be holding our fifteenth national convention in Milwaukee. At that time leaders of struggles around the country will get together to map out a plan of action for 1976.

Come to our convention. And join the YSA in the fight for the kind of society that will get rid of racism once and for all.

To join the YSA—or to receive more information—just write: YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

# Chicago socialist suit hits police, army plots

CHICAGO—Speaking at a news conference in the federal building here on October 8, Patricia Grogan of the Socialist Workers party announced the launching of a major legal counteroffensive to combat terrorist attacks directed against SWP and Young Socialist Alliance members, their offices, and socialist campaign supporters.

The occasion for the news conference was the filing in federal district court of a \$7.9 million lawsuit against Mayor Richard Daley, former state's attorney Edward Hanrahan, top officials of the Chicago Police Department, agents of the 113th Military Intelligence Group of the U.S. Army, and members of the Legion of Justice, a defunct paramilitary fascist-like gang.

The suit seeks general damages for injuries and destruction of property caused by Legion terrorists in 1969 and 1970. Punitive damages for violations of the civil rights of individual SWP and YSA members are also sought.

The suit also asks the court for an injunction prohibiting the Chicago police from destroying evidence of their complicity in the activities of the Legion and from supporting future illegal operations against the SWP and YSA.

On November 1, 1969, the Legion raided the Chicago offices of the SWP and YSA, clubbed and maced the occupants, and stole a number of files.

On December 4, 1969, the same day that Chicago police murdered Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, thirty cops—some with guns drawn—burst into the SWP headquarters claiming they had received a report of a gunfight. Just prior to the cops' arrival, SWP officials around the country received phone calls from persons pretending to be Chicago party leaders claiming that people had been "tommy gunned" at the Chicago SWP headquarters.

On December 6, 1969, the Legion raided the apartment of YSA members in DeKalb, Illinois. They clubbed and maced the occupants of the apartment.

On December 10, 1969, the Legion pinned a death threat to the door of Chicago SWP organizer Richard Hill.

And on June 27, 1970, the Chicago SWP and YSA offices were again burglarized.

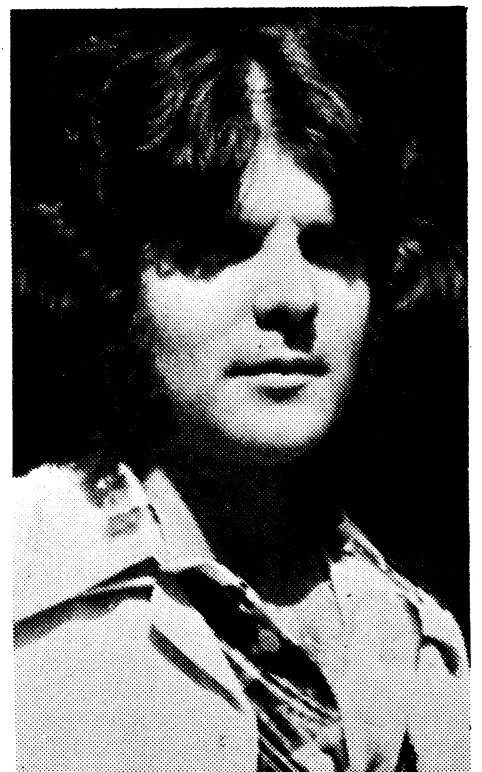
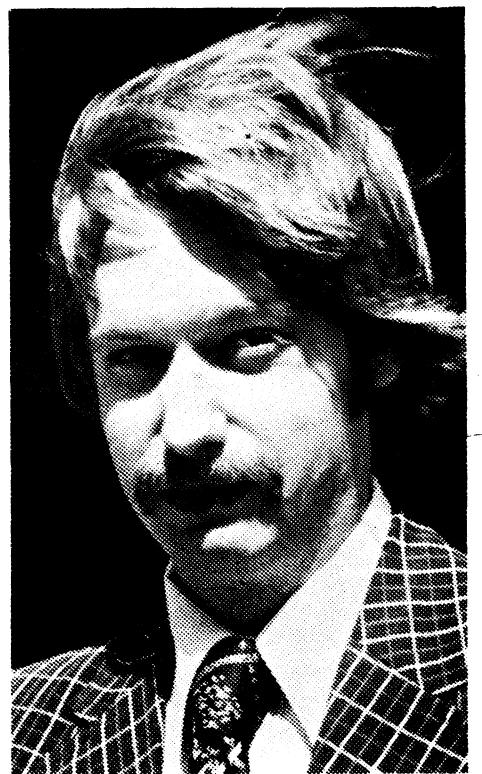
Recent confessions of Legion gangsters Thomas Stewart and Stephen Sedlacko—made on television and in court under oath—revealed that these terrorist activities of the Legion of Justice were financed, supported, and directed by the Chicago Police Department and the army.

As Stewart insisted: "All the way along the line I had complete confidence in the fact that I was working for a number of government agencies and the police and I had nothing at all to worry about. . . . Information came from Hanrahan's office. . . . we were aware of everything they were doing."

Since everyone involved conspired to keep their illegal activities secret, the statute of limitations does not prevent civil or criminal actions from being brought against them for five years from the time their involvement came to light.

According to Grogan, "The disclosure that these vicious attacks were police and government inspired requires us to look at them from another angle—as part of a national campaign by the government to disrupt the activities of Black, antiwar, and socialist groups, terrorize activists, and drive away potential supporters."

Joining Grogan was Dr. Morris Starsky, speaking for the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks. Starsky announced the DATA commit-



Militant/Joel Britton

Legion of Justice thugs Thomas Stewart (top) and Stephen Sedlacko have testified that police and government officials helped plan and carry out armed raids against left-wing groups.

tee's support for the SWP and YSA's lawsuit.

In his statement, Starsky explained the origin of the DATA committee, its accomplishments, and the need for its present reactivation. He pointed out that the DATA committee played a major role when the attacks took place in the "campaign to expose the Legion and the protection it was receiving from city hall," and vowed "to continue our efforts now that part of the truth about the terrorist attacks has come to light."

These efforts, according to Starsky, include publicity, fund raising, and building support for the SWP and YSA lawsuit "in order to get the whole truth out about who is responsible for the terrorist attacks and to force the authorities to bring everyone responsible for them to justice."

A similar suit was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union on October 3 on behalf of twenty-eight organizations and individuals who have been the targets of police spying in Chicago. Among the groups involved are Operation PUSH, the American Friends Service Committee, the Independent Voters of Illinois, the Medical Committee for Human Rights, and the Better Government Association.

## Portuguese rebels

The rank and file of the Portuguese army, the sons of workers and peasants, were among the victims of the old regime's bloody colonial wars in Africa. Like the rest of the Portuguese population, they enthusiastically supported the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship on April 25, 1974.

Since then, these soldiers have gone through a year-and-a-half of experience. Many of them, who at first shared the popular illusions in the Armed Forces Movement leadership, have begun to question the leadership of the generals. They have taken part in the struggles outside the barracks; they have shown that they are willing to struggle for their own democratic rights. And by the thousands they have become determined to fight for socialism.

These revolutionary-minded soldiers consider themselves the heirs of the Russian soldiers who helped overthrow the tsar, rallied to the Bolsheviks by the millions, and defeated the imperialist-backed attempt to restore capitalism.

They see themselves in the tradition of the German sailors who revolted in Kiel in 1918, leading to the destruction of the German monarchy and the first attempt to establish a socialist republic in Germany. If they had their way, these Portuguese soldiers would follow the example of Fidel Castro and the Cuban rebel army, establishing a new society in Portugal.

The existence of thousands of these soldiers and sailors in the Portuguese armed forces who are willing and eager to struggle for socialism has set the stage for a confrontation between them and the old imperialist officer corps that is running the government.

The militant soldiers and sailors are today the number-one target of the Portuguese government. This includes not only the officers of the Armed Forces Movement and the capitalist politicians of the Popular Democratic party, but also the treacherous leaders of the Portuguese Socialist and Communist parties.

Betrayed by the Stalinists and Social Democrats, the Portuguese rebels on the firing line need a new leadership. They need—and deserve—a leadership that can combine their struggle with that of the workers and all the oppressed, not lead it to isolation and defeat.

Such a leadership is not to be found among the ultraleft groups outside of the government who have abandoned any idea of winning the Portuguese masses to a revolutionary program. However, whatever the outcome of the struggle for the leadership of these rebel fighters, they deserve the support and solidarity of every revolutionary. Their courage and militancy is an inspiring example.

## Double standard

Hugo Blanco is a revolutionary socialist. As a student activist in his native Peru, a trade unionist in Argentina, an internationally known peasant leader, and a defender of political prisoners, Blanco has stood up for the rights of the oppressed and exploited throughout his life. According to the State Department, his political views make him ineligible to set foot in the United States.

Also banned from the United States last month was Sergio Segre, a leading member of the Italian Communist party, who had been invited to a conference sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations.

Apparently the State Department found the outlook of the most prominent leader of the neofascist movement in Italy, Giorgio Almirante, more to their liking. Almirante's red-carpet treatment here included a meeting in the Executive Office Building with staff members of Ford's National Security Council. In addition, several members of Congress met with this avowed fascist.

Almirante told the press that he had "reported on the threat of communism in Italy." He noted that one of the National Security Council officials had "expressed esteem for our type of mission and appreciated the information we brought him."

Almirante, in turn, expressed appreciation for the fact that "witch-hunts toward people like us do not exist in the United States."

The government's double standard in these contrasting cases is not only a revealing indication of the ideas and values defended by Washington. It should also be a spur to further protests against the exclusion of Blanco and Segre, and to demands that the government allow *all* points of view to be heard.

### Death row grows

The statistics in your editorial on the death penalty [*Militant*, October 10] are a little out of date, and I thought *Militant* readers might want to know the current facts. According to Tom Wicker's column in the October 3 *New York Times*, there are now 361 convicted persons on death row in the thirty-four states that have reinstituted capital punishment. Of these, 201 are Black, or about 56 percent.

G.A.

*New York, New York*

### 'Most biased'

I have not renewed my subscription and do not intend to because I have realized that the *Militant* is one of the most biased and poorly written pieces of garbage that I have ever read.

While I will admit that you do occasionally present a necessary second side to a news story, I have found that in general the policy of this newspaper is to delete the second or third side of the story and present only what is most favorable to your cause.

In short, the *Militant* is worth neither the time it takes me to read it nor the effort it takes me to throw it out.

Mark A. Lipowicz

*Clayton, Missouri*

### More, please

Enclosed is my renewal to your fine and informative newspaper. Please give more "unbiased" reporting to the Palestinians' struggle to regain their equality and rights. Also, keep us informed in the struggle of the Irish people to throw off imperialism.

D.C.

*Bridgeton, Missouri*

### Nuclear power plants

The current rush to nuclear power is a good example of how decisions affecting all of society are not made democratically but by a small minority. The ruling class in this country would have people believe that nuclear power is safe and nonpolluting. In reality, an economy based on hundreds or thousands of fission reactors will lead to ecological disaster.

The objections to nuclear power are fourfold. First, there is the very real possibility of major catastrophes involving nuclear reactors. There have been a number of near catastrophes already.

Second is the problem of routine release of radiation at all stages of the nuclear fuel cycle. Various estimates have been made that such release in a full-scale nuclear economy would result in an increase on the order of many tens of thousands in the number of deaths per year due to cancer and genetic disease.

Third is the problem of guarding the many thousands of tons of radioactive wastes that will be produced every year. Already many thousands of gallons of liquid waste have leaked into the ground from corroding metal tanks at the storage facility at Hanford, Washington.

Fourth is the certainty that, despite the most extreme police-state measures, fissile and radioactive substances will be possessed by terrorists, criminals, psychotics, and governments—all extremely irresponsible.

On the other hand, solar and wind power are safe, nonpolluting, and nondepletable. Large-scale solar and

wind-power systems could be a reality in ten years if some of the same billions that the government spends on nuclear power and weapons were diverted to building pilot solar and wind-power plants.

Environmentalists must recognize that stopping nuclear power will be extremely difficult so long as decision making power rests with the ruling class. Ultimately it is only by building socialism that the currently occurring ecological disaster can be prevented from reaching its conclusion.

Edward Gogol

*Chicago, Illinois*

### That's fair

A friend showed me the Socialist Workers party and the *Militant*. It might just be the answer! Give me a chance and I'll give you a chance. It looks great!

Enclosed is one dollar for a trial subscription.

F.Z.

*Abilene, Texas*

### Giant step backward

In September, General Electric and International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761 in Louisville, Kentucky, formulated an agreement that puts labor arbitration a giant step backward.

They negotiated a pay raise of \$0.39 an hour for a select few for "superior knowledge" for maintenance men whose wages were already \$1.33 below the other leading industries in the community.

The company was allowed to pick the men to receive the raise without any reference to seniority, ability, or testing knowledge, allowing scabs and pets to get a raise while men with years of experience and knowledge were passed by.

S.R.

*Louisville, Kentucky*

### Trials a 'shambles'

Your readers should be interested in disclosures in a recent *New York Times* article about the Attica frame-ups.

Four years after state troopers and guards murdered thirty-nine prisoners and prison employees, and after four years of grand juries and indictments and prosecutions, the state's case apparently is coming apart from within.

Several months ago an Attica prosecutor resigned and said that the prosecutor's office was covering up crimes by law enforcement personnel. So, right now there is a hearing going on to determine why the state has never prosecuted any troopers or state officials.

"It's a shambles here," an Attica prosecutor told a *Times* reporter in regard to the possible outcome of the hearing. "Everyone is running for the hills. It's every man for himself on a sinking boat. We've basically given up on the cases."

The *Times* said that only the murder indictments and cases involving leaders of the rebellion are expected to go to trial. "Everything else will go out the window," one of the prosecutors disclosed.

But of the central frame-up—involving five rebellion leaders—the man whose conviction the prosecution thought would be the easiest was acquitted in June.

If they can dismiss indictments at this stage—which they should, all of





them—after spending millions of dollars to get them, it shows how corrupt and ruthless state officials have been all along, from former governor Rockefeller on down.  
K.N.

New York, New York

## Latino census

Statistics recently issued by the U.S. Census Bureau indicate that Chicanos and Puerto Ricans are among the poorest sectors of the population of the United States.

According to a recent issue of the bureau's *Current Population Survey*, out of nearly 6.7 million Chicanos in the United States, 23 percent live below the official government poverty level.

For Puerto Ricans it is even worse—out of 1.7 million, 33 percent live under the official poverty level. The percentage for the population of the country as a whole is a little under 12.

The same pattern is confirmed by average family income statistics given in the report. For the United States as a whole, it is \$12,800. For Chicanos and Mexicans it is \$9,500 and for Puerto Ricans, \$7,600.

It should be noted that the bureau is notoriously incompetent at counting Latinos, especially those who speak no English and would be worse off economically.

Also, the figures presumably don't include most of the several million undocumented workers, primarily Mexicans, who are the most economically exploited group in the country.

J.G.

New York, New York

## The issue is Palestine

On the evening of October 1, some 125 people gathered on the campus of the University of Tennessee to protest against Moshe Dayan and Zionism. The picket, held outside the gymnasium where Dayan was speaking, included members of the Young Socialist Alliance, the Organization of Arab Students, the Friends of Palestine, and others from the Arab-American community.

The main issue was Palestine, and much publicity was given to the problems of the Palestinian people. An information booth was set up in the student center for two days preceding the demonstration, and a film seminar was run continuously as well.

Dayan had been invited by the Issues Committee of UT, and was paid nearly \$4,000. The OAS and the Friends of Palestine pressured the group into getting a speaker to represent the Palestinian viewpoint. Even then, the committee got Ashram Gorbai, Egyptian dilettante, to represent the "other side."

Not satisfied, these people worked until the committee got Dr. Hatem Hussaini, former spokesperson for the Palestine Liberation Organization at the United Nations, and his speech was held the night after the demonstration.

L.K. and M.L.

Knoxville, Tennessee

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.

# Free the nationalist prisoners!

On November 1, there will a demonstration at the United Nations to demand the release of five Puerto Rican nationalists who have been in jail more than twenty years. The demonstration, which will be at 1:00 p.m., has been called by the Committee for the Freedom of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners.

Lolita Lebrón, Oscar Collazo, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Irving Flores, and Rafael Cancel Miranda are different from many other political prisoners who were sent to jail during the McCathyite repression of the 1950s.

Oscar Collazo took part in an attack on Blair House, the temporary residence of President Harry Truman, on November 1, 1950. The other four carried out an armed protest in the U.S. Congress on March 1, 1954.

To understand their actions, you have to look at the historical background. The United States military had invaded Puerto Rico in 1898 and Washington had dictatorially ruled the island ever since. The result of this imperialist aggression was that by 1950 the island had been reduced to a chronic state of abysmal poverty and degradation.

In 1950, faced with the worldwide upsurge of the colonial revolution, Congress decided to give its domination of the island a democratic face-lift.

Puerto Rico would get self-government in a few nonessential areas, while Washington retained the real power. A big obstacle to this plan was the massive proindependence movement, especially the Nationalist party.

In mid-1950, the party charged it had discovered a U.S. conspiracy to jail or kill its leadership.

Sure enough, there was stepped-up harassment of the party and, on October 30, shooting broke out between nationalists and cops during a police raid.

When the news was carried over the radio, nationalists all over the island revolted. It took six days and several thousand government troops to put down the rebellion.

It was during the middle of the rebellion that Collazo and Griselio Torresola attacked Blair House. Torresola was killed in the attack, and Collazo seriously wounded and apprehended.

After the rebellion, the government carried out massive repression and a sweeping witch-hunt. Then they held a fraudulent plebiscite and set up the new

local government. Washington's representatives at the United Nations quickly got that body to agree that Puerto Rico was now "self-governing." U.S. plans included a similar declaration from the Organization of American States, which was to meet March 1, 1954.

Determined to expose this fraud before the whole world, four nationalists entered the gallery of the U.S. House of Representatives that day shouting, "Viva Puerto Rico Libre." and began shooting.

Collazo was sentenced to be electrocuted, but pressure forced the U.S. government to reduce the sentence to life imprisonment. The three men in the other case were sentenced to up to seventy-five years in prison; Lebrón received fifty.

Since that time, these *independentistas* have been subjected to continual harassment and inhuman treatment. They have been transferred frequently from one prison to another and have been kept in solitary confinement for long periods of time. Figueroa Cordero is suffering from cancer, and Lebrón is seriously ill. Neither of them is being given proper medical treatment.

The four involved in the second incident have been offered parole on conditions that would restrict their political activities. They have refused—they will not yield one millimeter in their unwavering support to Puerto Rican independence.

The five have been in jail longer than any other political prisoners in this country and, as far as is known, the whole western hemisphere. Even the Puerto Rican government amnestied the remaining prisoners from the 1950 rebellion several years ago.

Marxists believe that the tactic of individual terror used by the nationalists was ineffective and actually counterproductive. But one does not have to agree with their methods, or even the idea of independence, to see that the government is keeping them in prison not for what happened more than two decades ago, but for their ideas.

This inhumanity being carried out by the U.S. government is designed to break the nationalists' spirit and to intimidate all *independentistas*.

The real criminals in this situation are not the five nationalists, but the U.S. rulers, whose refusal to grant amnesty to these prisoners exemplifies the brutal determination they have to keep control of the island.

# By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



# Gerry tips his hat to Blacks

Stop all of that bad-mouthing of the president, you cynics out there. Gerry Ford has done something nice. He's paid tribute to the contributions of Blacks in America. It came in a speech at the predominantly Black National Baptist Convention in St. Louis in early September.

"All of us can be proud—despite the imperfections of our country—that we have never reversed the goals of our founding fathers . . .," Gerry said, going into his history bag. "History tells us that Blacks were American pilgrims and pioneers. As many as twenty Blacks came ashore at Jamestown in 1619, just twelve years after the first settlers arrived."

Now, Gerry tried to be well intentioned in his speech, but he was a little off at times, because history tells us that Blacks came ashore at Jamestown as slaves and not as pilgrims and pioneers as his positioning of facts seems to have it.

"As we look back on some of the shortcomings of America," Gerry went on, in his uncomplicated, burger-fries-Coke manner, "slavery leaves a sad and sorry chapter in our history." So he mentioned the accomplishments of outstanding Blacks. He spoke about "Peter Salem and Salem Poor who were singled out for gallantry at the Battle of Bunker Hill."

Turning to education, Gerry said:

"Let me add that the issue in 1837, when Cheyney State College was founded in Pennsylvania as the first Black institution of higher learning, was quality education. . . . I assure you here today that I stand for quality education for every American—not one single

child in this country is excluded."

Turning to the subject of rights, Gerry said:

"The problems of human rights are not so much burdens to carry as they are avenues to achievement. The end of the journey is not so important as the fact that we are on the right road. Every citizen has a right to the means necessary for the development of his material and spiritual life. . . . All Americans must be free. And those who enjoy freedom must give freedom to others."

'Round about here, some of you cynics out there are muttering expletives that are not printable in a family paper like the *Militant*, but take it easy, don't get sore.

You're probably saying that in Boston today, Blacks are involved in a struggle over their education—a struggle for a quality, desegregated education, a goal that Gerry opposes.

Okay, big deal, so Gerry was a little off on some things. But wasn't it nice of him to salute the accomplishments of Blacks like that, in his own way.

And other people are following his example too. In fact, in the Charlestown section of Boston, right up there by Bunker Hill—where Peter Salem and Salem Poor went down because they believed all Americans must be free—the nice citizens are more than willing to help lighten the burdens of Blacks. And they've written tributes to the accomplishments of Blacks in breaking down barriers, too, in short, poignant messages ("Nigger, go home") on abandoned buildings and in the gutters.

# Growers, cops violate law

# Calif. UFW hit by massive arrests

By Harry Ring

DELANO, Calif.—United Farm Workers organizers are suffering massive arrests in Tulare County, where the local sheriff's department is acting as an open agent of the growers.

In jailing the organizers, Sheriff Robert Wiley is deliberately flouting a recent state supreme court ruling establishing the right of union organizers to enter the fields to talk with the workers prior to a union representation election.

Thirty-three arrests have been made in Tulare County, immediately adjacent to the Delano area, since the supreme court access order was issued. Ninety-five arrests have been made since elections began in September. The growers perform a "citizen's arrest" and waiting sheriff's deputies obligingly haul the UFW organizers off to jail. So far those arrested have been released on their own recognizance. They all face trial on trespass charges.

In defying the state court order Sheriff Wiley declared that the right-of-access order violates trespass laws and that he intends to protect the property rights of the owners.

Attorneys for the growers went to Washington, D.C., September 30 seeking a U.S. Supreme Court injunction to nullify the access ruling. The request was denied.

Meanwhile, responding to angry demands by the UFW, the state Agriculture Labor Relations Board is seeking a court injunction enjoining Sheriff Wiley from continuing the illegal arrests. A hearing on this was slated for October 2.

The ALRB acted after receipt of a telegram from Ben Maddock, Delano-area director of organization for the UFW. Maddock demanded that the board act to stop "the orgy of arrests," which, he charged, are part of "a grower-Teamster conspiracy to keep farm workers from organizing."

Maddock also filed an unfair-labor-practices charge against the Pandol & Sons ranch, scene of many of the arrests. He named Sheriff Wiley and his deputies as "agents of the Pandol ranch."

Pandol is one of the area's major growers of grapes and other produce. His ranch was the scene of one of the bitterly fought strikes in the historic initial organizing drive by the UFW here in 1965.

## Pandol arrests

In making the arrests, Pandol and his police collaborators have been playing a cat-and-mouse game.

After a number of arrests at the ranch, UFW leader César Chávez



UFW organizers talk with farm workers in fields at Delano

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

arrived there. He was accompanied by L.D. Porter, a Washington representative of the AFL-CIO, and a group of UFW field organizers. The waiting deputies and company officials declined to make an arrest.

At dawn on October 1, at the beginning of the scheduled workday, UFW board member Richard Chávez led a group of organizers back to the Pandol ranch. I accompanied the group. We passed a parked sheriff's patrol car near the ranch entrance. But the field was empty. The labor contractor had apparently told the workers there would be no work that morning.

Then at lunchtime, a group of UFW organizers returned again. This time there were workers in the field. There were also cops and police vans.

Nine people were arrested, including Joe López, AFL-CIO field representative, and Helen Chávez and Linda Rodríguez, the wife and the daughter of César Chávez.

Also jailed was Bill Ravanese, a freelance photographer doing a book on the farm workers movement. A frequent target of grower violence, Ravanese has filed assault charges against two supervisors.

At the Tex-Cal Ranch September 30, UFW organizer Frank Ortiz, accompanied by AFL-CIO representative Porter, entered the field to talk to the workers. Three Anglo foremen then set upon Ortiz, shoving and kicking him.

A revealing picture of what the grower-police harassment of UFW organizers is like is contained in one of

the routine reports filed with the union here by staff organizer Linda Sourbis. She wrote:

"On Sunday, September 28 at 5 p.m., John Gibson and myself, Linda Sourbis, went to the Christian Brothers camp behind Belridge headquarters. John talked to a man who claimed to be the foreman. . . .

"He told John that we had to leave and shouted to some workers nearby, 'Don't talk to them!'

"I went to a trailer and knocked on the door. Three men came running and hollered out that I had to leave, that they had been told by Dick Meyers to keep us out, that it was private property. Three more men joined in and one of them threatened to bodily throw me out if I didn't leave.

"As John and I were leaving, a security guard, F. Rosales, arrived and stated that it was private property and we would be arrested if we didn't leave. We drove away and turned around to leaflet on the highway. F. Rosales said we would be arrested if we didn't leave. All the time we were on the public road.

"On Monday, September 29 at 7 a.m., myself, David Valles, Bill Ravanese—the photographer—Carol from the legal department, and John Gibson went to the Belridge packing shed. The people in the first car identified themselves and the security guard stood in front of the car to prevent them from entering.

"When he stepped aside we drove in. We leafleted people as they arrived for work. Kern County sheriffs arrived and a citizen's arrest was made by a Belridge official against David, John, and myself.

"Carol and Bill voluntarily left the premises and waited at the gate. Bill was taking pictures of the guards at the gate and one of them got angry and chased him down the highway, threatening him with a club in his hand. Bill got a picture of this.

"John, David, and myself were driven about a half mile from Belridge and given the option of getting a citation rather than a full arrest which we did."

## Statewide

What is happening here in the Delano-Tulare area is only the worst example of what is now clearly established as a statewide pattern.

The growers and their Teamster and police accomplices have made it clear they do not intend to willingly submit to a democratic process in which farm workers will determine by secret-ballot

elections which union they want to represent them.

This is compounded by the slow-motion response of the ALRB to the literally hundreds of complaints by the UFW of illegal practices, including coercion, violence, and ballot stuffing.

After a special meeting with Gov. Edmund Brown on October 2, Walter Kintz, counsel to the ALRB, announced that a special task force has been established to process the backlogged complaints. He said they hoped to get the complaints "unclogged" in two weeks.

Kintz acted in response to mounting demands on Governor Brown that he be fired as the board's counsel. On October 1 more than 700 farm workers massed at the ALRB office in Sacramento demanding that Kintz get out.

Meeting during the AFL-CIO national convention in San Francisco, the executive board of that labor body appointed a three-member panel to probe the harassment of UFW organizers.

The AFL-CIO team consists of Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers' International Union; Joseph Keenan, secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and Paul Jennings, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers.

They will tour farm areas for three to five days, meeting with officials and rank and file members of the UFW. They will also meet with the ALRB and then issue a public report.

Meanwhile, it is impressive to see how the determined UFW continues to press ahead in the face of every obstacle.

Discussing some of the things they have been through, organizer Ben Maddock said, "You know, a lot of people have tried to bury us. And a lot of people thought we were dead. But there's one thing about a movement—about the Farm Workers—they're pretty tough. They just keep coming back."

## Gallo vote hearings open

MERCED, Calif., Oct. 6—A public hearing has begun on the disputed union-representation election held at the nearby Gallo vineyards September 10.

At issue is the move by the Gallo company and the Teamsters union to disqualify the votes cast in the election by United Farm Workers strikers. In the election the UFW won nearly a third of the votes of the workers hired since the 1973 walkout began. If the votes of the 136 strikers are counted, the UFW is virtually assured of victory.

The hearing, which began at the Merced city hall today, will be a lengthy one.

An examiner from the recently created Agricultural Labor Relations Board is hearing testimony from the strikers who cast ballots in

the election. Six of the 136 strikers took the stand today. After being examined by UFW attorney Steve Burton, they were subjected to cross-examination by Gallo and Teamster lawyers. All of the witnesses testified effectively as to their status as Gallo workers who went on strike to win renewal of the UFW contract in 1973. To avoid renewing that agreement, Gallo signed a sweetheart contract with the Teamsters.

If Gallo and the Teamsters insist that each of the remaining 130 strikers be called to the stand, the hearing will take weeks.

On completion of testimony and arguments, the examiner will make a recommendation to the ALRB, which will then make a decision.

Meanwhile, the UFW is continuing to press the Gallo boycott.

## Vote totals

Following are the unofficial results of voting in the California farm elections as of October 7. Challenged ballots are not included in the figures this week.

	Vote Percent	
United Farm Workers	13,410	52.3
Teamsters	8,037	31.4
No union	4,175	16.3
Totals	25,622	100.0



## Interview with Willie Tate

# Behind San Quentin Six frame-up trial

By Michael Schreiber

SAN FRANCISCO—The San Quentin Six are a group of Black and Latino prisoners on trial near San Rafael, California, for murder and conspiracy.

The six men have been deprived of a jury of their peers, and they are bound and slandered in the courtroom.

The defendants, Fleeta Drumgo, Hugo Pinell, Johnny Spain, David Johnson, Luis Talamantez, and Willie Tate, are charged with instigating and participating in the San Quentin prison shoot-out of August 21, 1971, in which five persons lost their lives.

Defense attorneys maintain that the present trial is designed to mask a conspiracy among state officials to assassinate prison leader George Jackson, who also died during the shoot-out.

Tate is the only defendant who is not chained to his chair during courtroom proceedings. Last December he was freed on \$100,000 bail after serving the maximum sentence for assault.

In a recent interview with the *Militant*, Tate discussed the trial and recalled anecdotes of his experiences with Jackson and other prison leaders.

Tate referred to the chaining and shackling of his codefendants as "psychological torture."

"The brothers don't like it," he said, "but they know what justice is. They read our letters to them, and that helps. Of course, it hurts a lot because they know the history of Blacks in chains as slaves."

"Number one," Tate said, "we should not have to go through this trial. The evidence doesn't support a trial. The

district attorney is trying to make all these different pieces fit together to get a conviction. All the guards made statements in the past that damaged his case, so when they go on the stand, they change their story in each instance.

"Take this guard named Adams, who said George Jackson was shot and then fell to the ground. He demonstrated in court how he fell and came to rest on his back. Two hours later, after the recess, he came in and said he had made a mistake—after he gave two demonstrations.

"No one was indicted for the murder of George Jackson. They try to cover it up by saying he was killed in flight. But they made a mistake because this particular guard forgot his story."

Tate has spent half of his thirty years in prison. In 1962 when he entered Tracy prison, he met prison leaders like Jackson. Soon, he began to study philosophy and politics, and he became acquainted with socialist ideas.

"George studied," Tate explained, "and he encouraged other people to study. I heard him express the idea that Blacks should probably leave this country and get control of an island or something and form a nation there. This was in 1962."

Jackson and others helped unite the Black prisoners at Tracy in a struggle against racism.

"In 1962," Tate said, "there was a struggle against both the racism of the institution and the racism of the white inmates against the Blacks. At that time there were only about five Blacks

out of about sixty in the adjustment center. And all you could hear was 'nigger this' and 'nigger that.' That can be very enraging when you're unable to do anything about it. And so a movement developed."

Tate said that prisoners were radicalized through the 1960s by identification with the Vietnamese and Chinese revolutions, and with the antiwar, civil rights, and Black nationalist movements. People especially identified with Malcolm X, he said, who was a former prisoner.

"There wasn't much literature on Malcolm X in those days," he said. "But you'd hear things on the radio. You could relate to Malcolm. The dude refused to kiss anyone's behind, and you could see that in yourself. That was a type of brother you'd like to be."

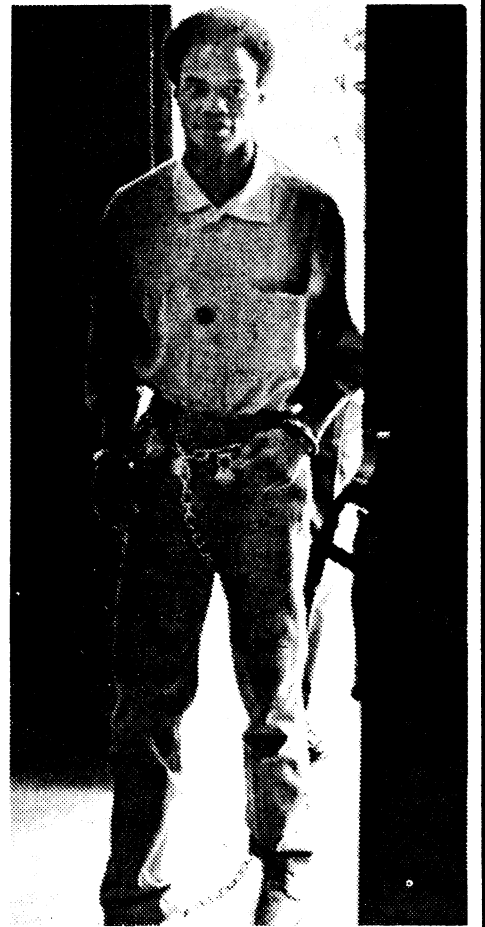
"Also the Muslims had their part to play. They instilled a lot of pride in Black physical features and they gave brothers more feeling about themselves and their history."

"Martin Luther King had an effect," Tate continued. "But in the beginning there was criticism because he taught nonviolence while prison life taught that violence is the only thing that's respected. We saw pictures in magazines of police dogs on civil rights demonstrators in the South. That would infuriate me because I was in prison, as I saw it, doing nothing about it."

"By the time of the death of Martin Luther King I began to believe he was having a positive effect. I felt that his bringing people together of different backgrounds was more of a threat to

the system than isolated acts of violence."

Tate talked of the need for action to defend the San Quentin Six. "Joanne Little's case shows what a mass movement can do," he concluded. "She had support around the nation."



San Quentin Six defendant Fleeta Drumgo bound in chains.

# Texas farm workers begin citrus strike

By Rick Congress

HOUSTON—A strike is now going on at Sharyland Citrus Company, one of the largest citrus growers in Texas's Rio Grande Valley.

On September 29 twenty workers at Sharyland walked out of the citrus groves and sent a delegation to the Texas Farm Workers Union headquarters in San Juan, Texas. They asked the TFWU to represent them and help them in organizing a strike.

Since that time there has been picketing at Sharyland. The union is demanding negotiations with Sharyland owners. Thus far the strike has been solid.

The strikers are all skilled workers—pruners and irrigators—who are year-round employees. The large influx of seasonal workers has not begun.

The strikers want recognition of the TFWU as their bargaining agent, the firing of an abusive foreman, a minimum wage of \$2.10 an hour, and improved working conditions. Sharyland provides no portable bathrooms or water in the fields. The workers must bring their own water with them.

This is the latest round in a Texas farm worker organizing effort that started with a melon strike that broke out in the valley last May.

After that strike, the organizers followed the harvest in a northwest direction through the state, winding up in Muleshoe in the panhandle. On September 5 this reporter attended a reception that drew 300 people to the union's San Juan headquarters, El Cuhamil. It was in honor of Jorge Zaragosa, an organizer who had just returned from Muleshoe.

While no contracts have been won, union leaders rate the campaign a success. This is the first such organizing effort since 1967, when a United Farm Workers drive was brutally

smashed by the Texas Rangers. The mere fact that the union is moving out and trying to organize has been an inspiration to farm workers, the union leaders say. In some instances growers raised wages significantly under the pressure of the drive.

Thousands of *campesinos* from the Rio Grande Valley region migrate annually to California, Ohio, Florida, and elsewhere. Farm workers reached by the union in Texas will carry the spirit of *la causa* with them, TFWU members maintain, and will be quick to join in union drives in other states.

The San Juan-based group, associated for several years with the UFW, constituted itself as the TFWU in August of this year.

José Salazar, editor of the TFWU

paper, told the *Militant* that the union is currently polling farm workers crossing over the international bridge from Mexico about the possibility of a strike.

The response has been positive, he reports. Mexican nationals who live in Mexico and work in Texas played a central role in last May's melon strike in the valley. The citrus crop would be the target of a new strike this fall.

TFWU organizer Lupe Cásares says that many workers who abandoned the melon strike and went back into the fields after the growers raised the pay now feel they made a mistake. They saw wages fall back down once the pressure of the strike receded and now understand that a union contract is the

only way to guarantee any permanent gains.

On September 7 I accompanied TFWU leader Antonio Orendain and several union activists on a trip to Río Bravo, Mexico, about thirty miles south of the border. A regional meeting of the Centro Campesino Independiente (Independent Peasants Center) was being held. The organization fights for land for the landless peasants.

Orendain addressed the meeting of 200, telling them about the struggle of farm workers in the United States. They promised to organize solidarity activity if a citrus strike begins in Texas.

The earlier melon strike received enthusiastic support on the Mexican side of the border.

When the Sharyland strike began on September 29, Orendain was in Houston speaking to a meeting organized by MAYO (Mexican American Youth Organization) and the Young Socialist Alliance at the University of Houston.

The next day there was a Houston news conference at which TFWU representative Narciso Aleman and Professor Ortega of the University of Houston issued an appeal to aid the strikers.

The citrus harvest lasts nearly six months. That opens the possibility of a series of long, drawn-out strikes. The striking farm workers will need help.

Students at the University of Houston have set up a group to aid the TFWU. It will be working with friends of the farm workers in the Chicano community, in the unions, and elsewhere to publicize and assist the current strike and any future strikes.

Those wishing to contribute to the Texas farm workers can send funds to TFWU, Box 1493, San Juan, Texas 78589.



Farm union activists and supporters inside San Juan headquarters, El Cuhamil. At left is TFWU leader Antonio Orendain. Workers at big citrus ranch came to El Cuhamil asking union to represent them and organize strike.

## Lessons of the strike

# Miners under attack: test fo

By Cindy Jaquith

Although coal is flowing freely again from the minefields of Appalachia, the struggle that erupted there in August, culminating in a strike of 80,000 miners, is far from over.

The month-long walkout by United Mine Workers members has renewed speculation over the state of the union and the problems facing its reform leadership, headed by President Arnold Miller.

### August strike

The August strike exploded over the issue of grievances: the bosses' refusal to settle grievances quickly at the mine site, as the contract demands, and their frequent use of court injunctions and fines to halt local strikes.

The miners charge that the companies have deliberately violated the grievance procedure ever since the new contract was signed in December 1974. As a result, thousands of protests lodged by miners—against unsafe working conditions and other problems—have gone unanswered, leaving the workers no other means of defense but to strike.

The August strike began in southern West Virginia, over the firing of a local union president, and quickly spread to seven other states.

For the Miller leadership, this powerful walkout represented a big test. Miller, Mike Trbovich, the vice-president, and Harry Patrick, the secretary-treasurer, were elected to office in 1972 on a program pledged to rank-and-file democracy and struggle for better working conditions in the mines.

They had led the national strike in 1974 that culminated in the signing of a new contract containing substantial gains for the union membership. Now the UMW leadership was confronting a deliberate and open violation of that contract by the mineowners. The UMW membership expected its leaders to come to their defense and support the strike.

But instead of getting support, the miners were told by the international headquarters, and by most district offices, to return to work. The unauthorized strike was a breach of contract, the officials stated. This did not sit well with the rank and file. "You can't break a contract that's already been broke," explained one young miner.

### Miller's pleas unheeded

Despite the pleas from Miller, the walkout widened. Finally, in exasperation, Miller issued a statement August 25 saying he had done everything he could to get the membership to return to work. He called on the coal companies to "make an equal good-faith effort."

"The grievances process was meant to resolve honest differences," he said, "but too many companies are using it to avoid giving miners the rights and benefits they won at the bargaining table."

"When the miners react by going out on strike the companies go to the courts and secure restraining orders and injunctions to bludgeon the men back to work."

"This process has got to end if there is going to be any hope of labor peace in the coalfields," he said.

Miller's appeal for peace did not melt the hearts of any coal operators. They just stepped up their slander campaign against the strikers—hypocritically charging them with violating the contract—and had friendly judges heap heavier and heavier fines on the union. Some of the bosses even began



West Virginia miners demonstrate during August strike

calling for government intervention to smash the strike.

It was only after Labor Day that the miners finally went back to work, pressured by millions of dollars in fines and possible jail sentences, and confused by the unwillingness of the international officials to support the strike.

### Unauthorized strikes?

As the strike drew to a close, the International Executive Board of the union endorsed a ten-point resolution on how "unauthorized work stoppages" would be dealt with in the future. The resolution passed by a vote of 22 to 2, with all three international officers, and all the district presidents present, voting in favor.

The resolution declares null and void the tradition of second and third shifts striking if the first shift has walked out.

It prohibits the use of district or international union funds to pay fines or legal expenses incurred during unauthorized work stoppages. The union may also try members whose activities are deemed to "jeopardize the integrity of the union."

None of these measures, the resolution states, are to intrude on the right to safety as guaranteed in the contract.

It remains to be seen how this resolution will be applied in practice. But it is clear that the resolution does nothing to resolve the problems underlying the leadership's difficulties. The real problem confronting the UMW is not "unauthorized work stoppages," but company defiance of the contract and sabotage of the union.

The bosses have taken a provocative stance ever since the signing of the contract. They are still testing the new reform leadership.

### Old Boyle regime

Until 1972, the coal companies were used to dealing with Miller's predecessor, W.A. "Tony" Boyle. Under Boyle, the miners could not vote on their contracts. Many of their districts were placed under receivership. Sweetheart contracts were the rule of the day.

By the time Miller took over, the union had lost many of its contracts, its pension fund was a shambles, and the working conditions of its members

were twenty years behind those of other unions.

Of the steps taken to reform the union, those introducing democracy have proved most irksome to the bosses, because they can no longer make deals at the top behind the backs of the ranks.

UMW members now vote on all contracts, for the first time in their history.

The union districts placed in receivership have regained the right to elect their own leadership and run their own affairs.

Union institutions, such as the *United Mine Workers Journal*, have been opened up to the membership, becoming a forum for their views, suggestions, and criticisms.

These steps have strengthened the union by restoring self-confidence to the membership and making the leadership accountable to the ranks.

The Miller leadership pledged at the outset to make safety a priority, and important strides forward have been taken. The union has broadly publicized the fact that miners suffer the highest death rate of all workers, while the mineowners—many of them giant oil corporations—are enjoying the

largest profits they have had in years.

The union has also launched an ambitious drive to organize the nonunion mines, with mixed results. There have been some important successes, most notably in the antiunion bastions of eastern Kentucky.

Another campaign initiated by Miller is the improvement of pension funds, retirement benefits, and black-lung compensation.

All these efforts run directly counter to the plans of the coal companies. In their view, the time is ripe to expand the industry, taking advantage of the energy crisis to make superprofits. They key to this expansion is getting the coal out of the ground by the fastest and cheapest means.

This dictates cutting back on the already minimal safety and environmental standards in the industry. Already the effect can be seen: in the first six months of 1975, seventy-six miners were killed, nine more than during the same period last year.

### Housebreaking officials

To accomplish their goals, the coal operators either have to housebreak the UMW leadership or they have to undercut their authority and discredit them in the eyes of the membership. The bosses appear to be employing both strategies at once.

On the one hand, they have put tremendous pressure on Miller to "discipline" his members. The demand that he police the union has come from the companies, the courts, and government mediators, backed up by huge fines and the threat of new legislation to strip the union of its independence.

By bending to this pressure during the August strike, Miller isolated himself from his supporters in the field.

In the meantime, his refusal to champion the demands of the strike permitted enemies of the reform movement—remnants of the Boyle regime—to pose as the "most militant" strikers and attempt to turn the entire struggle around, focusing it on the demand of ousting Miller from office, instead of demands against the companies.

### Red-baiting

Relying on the old Boyle supporters, the bosses have also tried to sow divisions within the union, primarily through red-baiting attacks against Miller and the young staff members he has hired.

Last February, at an International



Miller (right) campaigning for office in 1972. Present UMW leadership won office on a program of union democracy. It was weakened by refusal to support strikers.



Executive Board meeting, Leroy Patterson, president of western Kentucky's District 23, demanded that the UMW staff be cut and that the "house reds" and "radicals" be fired. The people he was referring to are mostly former activists in the Miners for Democracy movement, former VISTA volunteers, and others who helped launch the drive to reform the union.

Like all red-baiting attacks, this one is a smoke screen to cover up the real disagreements people like Patterson have with the Miller leadership. What Patterson really opposes are the democratic reforms and the new, militant image of the UMW.

For example, one target of red-baiting has been Don Stillman, editor of the *United Mine Workers Journal* and the person most responsible for transforming it into an educator and organizer of the miners.

The conservatives in the union have increasingly sought to censor the *Journal*. They have had some success. According to the August 12 *Wall Street Journal*, one article withdrawn from publication was a story tying Alabama Gov. George Wallace to the defeat of UMW-backed legislation in that state.

Stillman is now leaving the United Mine Workers staff, as are several other younger staff members who have been with the reform movement since the beginning, including attorney Joseph "Chip" Yablonski.

## Counteroffensive needed

The offensive of the bosses has had an undeniable effect on the UMW leadership, shaking its confidence and creating divisions among the top three officers. The reason for this success is the failure of the leadership to meet the bosses' attacks head-on, exposing their red-baiting, their hatred for democratic unions, and their utter disregard for the lives of the workers.

The UMW has the power to mount such a counteroffensive. The spontaneous burst of militancy seen in the August strike demonstrated that the rank and file is confident and ready to be mobilized.

Unfortunately, the union officials have failed to recognize this power. Too frequently they have placed greater faith in the courts or "friends of labor" in the government, and hoped that the coal companies would be "reasonable."

The willful breaking of the contract by the companies, with the complicity of the courts and government inspectors, demonstrates clearly enough why there is no "peace in the coalfields" today. The miners can rely on no one but themselves to guarantee decent working conditions.

Genuine peace in the coalfields can only come about when the companies are made to respect the rights of the miners. That will require launching a counteroffensive to scandalize these profit-swollen giants. Because of the deliberate manner in which they are flaunting their violation of the contract, they are particularly vulnerable to such a campaign.

This class-struggle approach, mobilizing the miners and their allies in a showdown with the bosses, is the only way to force the owners to obey the contract.

This counteroffensive cannot be organized overnight. It will take long, patient work, as difficult as or more difficult than the struggle to oust the Boyle bureaucracy. In that struggle, the miners proved they could take over and run their own union. They have the power to accept and meet the new challenge facing them today.

# Milwaukee meeting protests Kissinger ban of Hugo Blanco

By Tom Mauer

MILWAUKEE—Hugo Blanco couldn't speak as scheduled October 1 at this city's University of Wisconsin, but the 150 people who came to hear him stayed for a protest meeting that kicked off a national campaign to force Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to rescind the ban against the Peruvian peasant leader.

Blanco had been scheduled to speak here and in about twenty other major U.S. cities on "Latin America: Continent Without Justice," as part of a tour coordinated by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

The tour was sabotaged, however, by Henry Kissinger and the U.S. government. They've banned Blanco as "ineligible" for a visa under a McCarthyite thought-control law, citing alleged "classified information" as the basis for the denial.

At the protest meeting, Mirta Vidal, a member of USLA's national staff, blasted the government's antidemocratic procedure and said Kissinger was "afraid of exposing himself as the world's number one subversive."

She noted Blanco was an eyewitness to the coup that overthrew the Allende government, a coup masterminded by Kissinger. Obtaining a visa for Blanco, Vidal said, "would be a blow to the government's policy of trampling on our right to know the truth about the United States' dirty tricks abroad."

Vidal said USLA is on an all-out campaign to reverse the Kissinger decision and win support for "the fundamental right to exchange ideas. . . . By the time we're finished, Kissinger is going to wish he had never denied the visa."

Don Timmerman, of the Milwaukee boycott office of the United Farm Workers, told the meeting that the effort to bring Blanco into the United States was linked to obtaining "peace and social justice for our own people."

"The UFW . . . is in support of Hugo Blanco's right to enter the United States," said Timmerman. "It is everyone's duty and responsibility to freedom, justice, and peace."

Similar sentiments were expressed by David Randall Luce, professor of philosophy and congressional liaison for the Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union. "Our right to know is being seriously trampled on by the exclusion of radicals from our shores," he said.

Jack Zipes, of the UWM German Department faculty, said the United States once welcomed radicals and revolutionaries, but now "the people welcomed are the killers, tyrants, and oppressors of the common people."

Tony Baez, Puerto Rican community activist and bilingual coordinator for the Milwaukee School Board, also addressed the protest meeting.

"People of the character of Hugo Blanco are a threat to the government," he said, "because their message



Militant/Ben Atwood

Blanco charges he was barred because Kissinger fears disclosure of U.S. government's role in Latin American repression.

touches on minority groups calling for change."

Baez said the fight for Blanco's visa should be taken into the Chicano and Puerto Rican communities, where potential support is vast.

Blanco himself spoke to the meeting through a tape-recorded message telephoned to the United States from Sweden, where he has been living in exile.

He explained why the U.S. government is trying to keep him out of the country: "It has been my fate to live through, and it has been my fate to know, many of the barbaric actions that the North American government has directed or been complicit with, both in my country and in other Latin American countries, especially Chile."

Blanco then gave an almost country-by-country tour of the "continent without justice," from the Dominican Republic, where trade-union leaders are imprisoned, to Chile, where thousands, and possibly tens of thousands, of people have been murdered by the junta.

He ended by appealing to "all those who are against repression in Latin America and throughout the world" to act together.

"We must make known all the repressive acts that go on in Latin America," he said, "and unite all those who are against repression."

"It was with that method that my life was saved."

Blanco was imprisoned in his native Peru in 1963 for his role as the central leader of a union movement among Quechua Indian peasants. An international protest campaign forced the Peruvian government of that time to spare his life, and later to release him from prison as part of a broad amnesty. A few months later he was forced into exile.

Recently a new military government has come to power in Peru, and has promised to permit those exiled by the former government to return to the country.

Blanco announced during his taped message that he will try to return to Peru in a few days, and will continue to fight for a visa from there. Blanco has pledged to conduct the U.S. tour when the visa fight is won.

While Blanco was prevented from giving an in-person account of right-wing terror and repression in Chile, Amy Congers spoke of her experiences as a political prisoner in Chile.

Congers, a Chicagoan who taught at the University of Chile for two-and-a-half years, was arrested in October 1974, thirteen months after the coup.

She was held without charges for thirteen days. Most of that time, she reported, "I was deprived of food, water, and sleep. They tried to rape me several times."

Nevertheless, Congers said she received "red carpet treatment" compared to Chilean prisoners she saw tortured with electrical shocks, beatings, and near-drownings.

The meeting was the first of many that will be held across the country in cities where Blanco was to have spoken. They are being organized by USLA in cooperation with other groups to protest Kissinger's arbitrary decision and to demand that it be reversed.

Two protest meetings were held in Chicago and one in Madison, Wisconsin, in the days immediately following the Milwaukee protest.

At the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus, seventy-five people attended a noontime protest rally October 2.

Prof. Otto Pikaza, head of the Latin American studies department on the campus, denounced the denial of Blanco's visa as a "violation of academic freedom."

Also speaking were Amy Congers, Mirta Vidal, and Preston Browning, an English professor.

On October 4, another Chicago-area protest also drew seventy-five people at the Blue Gargoyle, a church-community center in the Hyde Park area. Among the speakers were Rev. Gerard Grant, professor of philosophy at Loyola University; Lance Haddix, Chicago civil liberties attorney who was an observer at a trial of three Puerto Rican political prisoners jailed in the Dominican Republic; Carlos Torre, a professor at Northeastern Illinois University; Mirta Vidal; and Amy Congers.

The night before, 125 people had attended a protest meeting at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Among those speaking was Prof. Maurice Zeitlin, who was to have introduced Blanco.

Attendance at the Madison meeting was boosted by an editorial in the October 1 *Daily Cardinal*, which blasted Kissinger's decision as "outrageous" and linked the denial to the cover-up of U.S. involvement in the Chile coup.

Urging involvement in the protest campaign, the *Cardinal* said, "Blanco won't be in Madison on the third, but with some hard work he may be here in the future."



Amy Congers, imprisoned by Chile junta in 1974, described torture of political prisoners.

## Bitter fruits of Shankerism

# NYC teachers' contract ripped up; new layoffs, longer pay freeze seen

By Catarino Garza

NEW YORK—Charging that it “gravely violates” New York City’s plans for fiscal recovery, Gov. Hugh Carey ripped up the United Federation of Teachers contract agreement October 7 and sent UFT President Albert Shanker and the board of education back to “negotiations.” What is left to negotiate is not clear.

This was the first contract to be reviewed by the

*Catarino Garza is a delegate to the United Federation of Teachers Delegate Assembly and a UFT chapter chairperson.*

new bank-dominated Emergency Financial Control Board, which has unlimited powers to oversee New York City’s finances.

Earlier the same day Shanker had called a news conference to threaten legal action if the chaos in the schools caused by contract violations was not ended. That was before he was notified there was no contract to violate.

“Conditions are terrible,” Shanker had told reporters. “In some schools, there is a tremendous



Militant/Lou Howort

SHANKER: Foresees ‘years of great difficulty, loss of every city service.’ Then gains will ‘pop back.’

amount of pressure for the union to take additional actions.” But, he added, if any wildcat walkouts erupt, the union will “urge them to cease.”

When Shanker was trying to sell teachers on this settlement, he told us he was “proud of what was accomplished.” Teachers shared little of that pride.

We could see that the agreement represented an unparalleled setback. Furthermore, it reduced our leaders’ assertion that we were striking for decent education to idle rhetoric.

“In my history class—fifty-five kids. This is what the strike is all about,” a Brooklyn teacher had told reporters on the first day of the strike, September 9.

But the negotiations settled nothing except the five-day strike. And now even that agreement—which gutted our contract and betrayed our supporters—has been dismissed as “too costly.”

Teachers and parents are indignant. Each day heaps new abuses on the already grossly inadequate educational system.

- Hundreds of grievances have been filed by teachers charging classroom sizes as high as forty-five and fifty. Estimates place half the schools’ classrooms above last year’s contractual maximums of thirty-two to thirty-four.

- Not one teacher has been rehired out of the estimated 17,000 positions eliminated in the school system this fall. The agreement promised to rehire 2,400 teachers, using money saved by not paying teachers during the strike and using the Taylor Law fines imposed on individual UFT members.

Now Mayor Abraham Beame has announced a plan to eliminate an additional 20,000 city workers this year, primarily, he says, through attrition. There is little question that teachers will be included in this latest austerity swoop.

- The longevity pay increases and cost-of-living adjustments frozen only “temporarily” at the time of the agreement have now been put off for three years, according to Beame’s October 7 wage-freeze

extension.

- The community school boards have gone to court for an injunction against the plan to shorten students’ classroom time.

This plan supposedly increases teacher “productivity” by scheduling preparation periods during two periods a week when students will be dismissed early. But most parents justifiably consider it an attack on their children’s right to an education.

The UFT contract—the first up for negotiations since the union-busting, service-slashing campaign of the bankers was launched—was a test case. Everyone was watching. A victory on any scale would have sent the ranks of other city unions clamoring to their leaderships for similar action.

So what happened to the largest and most powerful teachers union in the country?

What happened to a strike that union officials and city administrators alike proclaimed almost 100 percent effective?

Since the strike, Shanker has worked overtime peddling his version of the New York crisis and the course this dictated in the UFT contract dispute. His analysis boils down to this:

Unlike contract negotiations of the past, this year’s was with a “boss [that] has no money.” If there were any money to be had, Mayor Beame would have called Shanker to Gracie Mansion, as he and others had done in the past, to work out a deal.

Shanker says he was “almost alone” in realizing the real fiscal problems and in opposing a strike. It was a “no win” situation, UFT leaders privately decided. But without enough time to convince others he was right, Shanker went ahead and gave formal assent to the strike, *knowing in advance what the outcome would be.*

“There’s no doubt that in the minds of many of the people the issue was bringing back the laid-off teachers,” Shanker said.

But they were wrong, he said. Shanker had already agreed there would be no rehiring. The only question was how much of the UFT’s contract was going to be given away as part of the bankers’ productivity drive.

We are in a new period, Shanker has stressed to teachers. “We are going to go through periods of years of great difficulty in this city, involving the loss of every city service.” But, according to the labor prophet, the emergency will be over in three years, and then benefits and gains that have been pried from our contracts will “pop back.”

Meanwhile, Shanker proposes that we hold tight and not do anything rash that might weaken the union. “We can’t use the weapons of the last war to fight the next war,” he told UFT chapter chairpeople September 24.

### New weapons?

So, strikes and confrontations with those who control the city’s finances are declared to be artillery of the past. But for Shanker these weapons never existed to begin with. And his *new* weapons are no different from his old ones. “Decisions still have to be made politically,” he said September 24, meaning teachers should support Democratic and Republican candidates in the next elections.

Shanker is right about one thing. *This is a new period, and new weapons are needed.* Will things get better in a few years, as Shanker promises? I don’t think so. I think the attacks on city unions and social services are going to get worse. Every time the unions give in—on wages, jobs, contract provisions—the bankers come back with another demand.

Shanker’s “don’t rock the boat—the storm will soon be over” attitude can spell nothing but disaster for the UFT. Isn’t it about time we stood up to these attacks, before our unions are destroyed?

Shanker pretends the union has no choice but to go along with Beame and Carey’s austerity plan—we’re too weak to do anything else. But we’re not weak at all. The strike showed that. With the solidarity that was established among teachers, students, and parents, we could have refused to let education be sacrificed for Chase Manhattan’s profits.

The union only *appears* weak because of Shanker’s policy of tailoring his demands to what the Democrats will accept.

Nor is it true that there is “no money.” There is a lot of money in this society, a lot of money available to the government. The question is who will control the money and what it will be used for. That’s where political action becomes so vitally important.

### Political action

Shanker’s old method of bartering union contributions and votes to the capitalist politicians in return for a few small concessions here and there has broken down. The Democratic politicians aren’t bargaining this time around. In the name of the “fiscal crisis,” the very politicians the UFT helped elect are sabotaging the schools and trampling on the union.

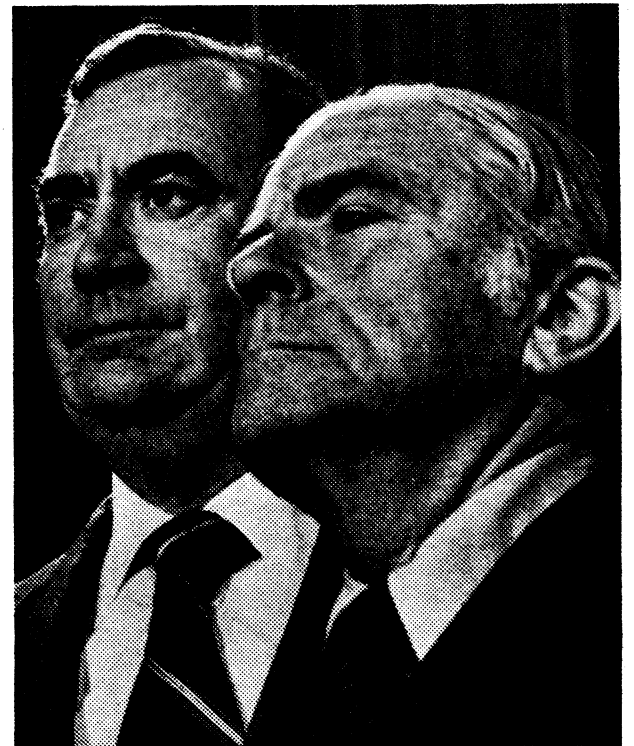
Mayor Beame is not the object of Shanker’s public praise these days, but the UFT endorsed him for election in 1973.

“The mayor knows, far better than the bankers, what the city needs. He knows that budgets must reflect human needs, not bankers’ needs,” wrote Shanker as recently as August 3.

In 1974 the New York State United Teachers contributed more than \$400,000 to Democratic and Republican candidates. The NYSUT backed Carey for governor based on his “labor record in Congress” and his promise to review the state Taylor Law.

If he did review it after his election, Carey must have found this vicious antilabor law to his liking. For it was put to full use during the teachers’ strike, including injunctions, fines, and a possible jail sentence for Shanker.

Mayor Beame boasts that he hasn’t had “any problems” with the city unions. When the unions complained about layoffs, Beame says, he told them



CAREY, BEAME: ‘No problems’ so long as unions roll over and play dead.

to come up with an alternative. “As a result, we got out of their contracts things we’ve been trying to get out—rip-offs—and they went along with that.”

It’s time that Beame’s Democratic party *had* some “problems” when it attacks city workers. And it’s time that we had our own political party—a labor party—to fight these attacks.

If the decisions are made politically—and they are—doesn’t it make sense to have labor representatives making them? Wouldn’t union men and women, elected on a labor party ticket, do better than a Beame who accuses us of “rip-offs” in our contract, or a Carey willing to rip up our contract?

The teachers union is recognized as a force in New York State politics, and its support will be courted by the Democrats and Republicans in the next elections. It’s time that we took our business elsewhere. Better yet, it’s time we set up our own shop.



# New York students strike for smaller classes

By Jane Roland

NEW YORK—"I am a human, not a sardine" is the rallying cry of Brooklyn high school students, who have been walking out of school and boycotting classes in record numbers to protest overcrowded classrooms.

Students report up to 90 in academic classes, more than 100 in hygiene courses. They are forced to perch on radiators and window ledges, and are lined up on the floor.

Strikes have taken place so far in at least nine high schools, all in the southern part of Brooklyn. The *New York Post* estimated that 20,000 students were on strike on Friday, October 3.

The boycott began at Grady High School and Fort Hamilton High School early that week, and quickly spread to Sheepshead Bay High School, where 3,500 out of 3,600 students joined the boycott.

Then the students began reaching out to other schools in the area, leafleting subway stops and sending delegations to other schools. Each day more schools emptied out as students ran through the halls yelling, "Overcrowded classrooms—walk out!"

Students from several schools called a joint demonstration October 6 at New York Gov. Hugh Carey's office. Several hundred turned out and demonstrated for four hours against overcrowding.

The huge numbers in each classroom this fall are the result of thousands of teacher layoffs during the summer. Students from Fort Hamilton explained that thirty-three teachers had been laid off in June, and only six rehired during the summer.

Student demonstrators urged their teachers to support them, and carried signs from the recent United Federation of Teachers strike demanding smaller class sizes.

During the protest, representatives from each school met with one of Carey's aides to present their demands.

The governor's office insisted that the state has no money for education and the city has no money for education. The students were told they should petition New York Senators Jacob Javits and James Buckley to demand that the federal government release funds.

This response was poorly received by the rally. The demonstrators chanted, "Bullshit, bullshit," and demanded to know where the money was going. Why do the banks have money when the schools don't, they asked.

An ad hoc steering committee, made up of four students from each school, will meet to determine what further action to take.

The New York Student Coalition Against Racism passed out thousands of leaflets to publicize the October 6 demonstration and highlight the racist character of the cutbacks. Sixty percent of New York high school students are Black or Puerto Rican.

The student coalition is urging high school students involved in this fight to attend the upcoming National Student Conference Against Racism to discuss these issues further.

# Atlanta AFSCME & teachers map united struggle for union recognition

By Tony Dutrow

ATLANTA, Oct. 6—Four hundred angry teachers and school board workers packed into a board of education meeting here tonight.

They had come to hear School Supt. Alonzo Crim reply to contract proposals by their unions, the Atlanta Association of Educators and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644.

Crim started by rejecting out of hand the key demand for union recognition. "The Atlanta Board of Education will not give any organization of teachers or classified school employees sole, or exclusive, bargaining rights," he stated.

The school superintendent then called on Homer Deakins, the board's sixty-dollar-an-hour special labor attorney, to explain "three areas of confusion."

Deakins told the assembled workers that it would be "illegal" for the board to grant sole recognition to any labor group, to enter into collective bargaining, or to sign a contract.

He then added that "it would be illegal for public employees to strike."

Deakins's words provoked angry chants of "AFSCME-AAE," and "AAE speaks for me."

When Willie Bolden, Local 1644 staff representative, and Jesse Moore, AAE executive director, demanded that the agenda be changed to hear a response from the two unions, the school board adjourned and left the hall.

The assembled workers then turned the board meeting room into a spirited labor rally. One by one, AFSCME and AAE members took the floor mike, their backs to the empty board members' seats, and pledged to continue the struggle for union recognition and a signed contract.

Speakers urged a massive turnout for a joint AFSCME-AAE "Rally for Recognition" scheduled for October 11. The rally will be held in the Fox Theater, which seats some 4,000 people.

The previous Friday night, October 3, leaders of AFSCME and the AAE addressed the Militant Bookstore Forum and explained what their unions are fighting for.

The AAE is the local affiliate of the National Education Association and includes 2,200 of the city's 4,000 teachers. Some 1,200 of the 1,500 maids, cooks, and custodians in the schools have signed up with the school board chapter of AFSCME Local 1644.

AFSCME's Willie Bolden stressed why a show of unity between the two groups was needed.

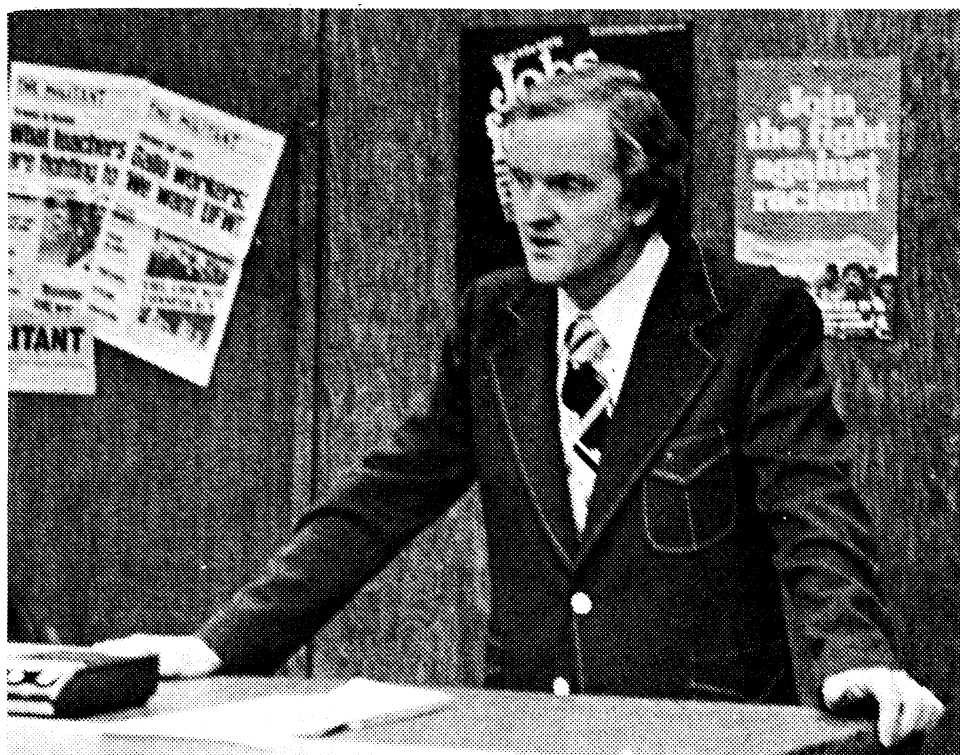
"Dr. Crim used to be able to take the teachers to the side," Bolden said, "point to the maid on her knees, scrubbing, and say to them, 'That's a maid and you're a professional person. You shouldn't be concerned with her problems.'"

## Which Way for Teachers?

Anthology. 22 pp., \$50.

Includes: "A Fighting Program for Teacher Unionists," "In Defense of Quotas: A Reply to Shanker," "Teacher Unity in New York: The Real Record," and "Teachers Discuss the Fight to Defend Jobs, Salaries, and Schools."

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Militant/Harris Freeman

Willie Bolden of AFSCME Local 1644 (top) and Bill Overton, president of Atlanta Association of Educators, tell Militant Bookstore Forum what their unions are fighting for.

"We saw that if we wanted to win against the board, the Ph.D.s and the D.D.s had to get together with the 'no D.s,' and that's what's happened in this city," he added.

Bill Overton, president of the AAE, told the forum about the origins of the coalition. "We sat down with CAPE (Coalition of American Public Employees), NEA, and AFSCME officials and reviewed our common problems," he said.

"We all suffered a salary cut, and 10 to 12 percent inflation, which is a whopping pay cut in itself. We all have inadequate supply of materials: crayons, paper, beakers, and test tubes for teachers; while AFSCME complains about the quality of mops and brooms and uniforms. We're all talking about not having enough supplies to do our jobs, and poor working conditions."

Overton said the problems boiled down to "either pupil load or sweeping load. We've both been given shabby treatment all the way around."

Overton outlined the five proposals teachers have made to the board:

- Recognition of the AAE as sole representative of teachers;
- Collective bargaining rights;
- A fair grievance procedure;
- Reinstatement of dues checkoff, taken away seven years ago; and
- No reprisals against AAE members for their activity in the dispute.

AFSCME has submitted a twenty-nine-page contract proposal covering wages, hours, and working conditions. It asks for an 18 percent wage increase, a thirty-five-hour workweek,

and a cost-of-living escalator clause.

Earlier in the week the school board had distributed the AFSCME and AAE proposals to all school employees for a "vote"—not binding, of course—and held a meeting of administrators October 2 to tally the results.

Overton said the real point of this unannounced poll was to pit different groups of employees against each other in the hope of coming up with negative votes that would embarrass the unions.

Through their building representatives and stewards, both groups urged their members to vote "yes" on all thirty-five proposals, and the AAE organized monitors to oversee the vote tally.

Interestingly enough, the board did not have one word to say at its October 6 meeting about the vote results, and no official report has yet been made public.

Ed Fruit, an AAE building representative, told the *Militant* why. "At the majority of workshops monitored by the AAE October 2, there was unanimous support for the AAE and AFSCME proposals," he said.

"Most of the ballot questionnaires I saw simply read, 'AAE speaks for me,'" Fruit added.

The Militant Bookstore Forum also heard pledges of campus support to the two unions from Steven Marshall, Georgia State University student government representative, and Osborne Hart, an Atlanta Student Coalition Against Racism coordinator from the Atlanta University complex.

# Civil liberties commission finds broad rights violations in Dominican Republic

By José Pérez

A fact-finding commission of representatives of U.S. and Canadian civil liberties and religious organizations recently returned from the Dominican Republic and charged that "there is an extensive and pervasive environment of social and political repression" there.

The Human Rights Ad-Hoc Committee found numerous governmental violations of human rights, including beating, torturing, and killing of prisoners; imprisonment of urban trade-union leaders and killing of peasant organizers; and the curtailment of the right of opposition political parties to hold public rallies and have their views broadcast on radio and television.

The civil liberties group demanded that President Joaquín Balaguer free all political prisoners and "act to put a stop to these flagrant abuses of the basic rights of the Dominican people." The commission's report was made public at a September 22 Capitol Hill news conference sponsored by U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.).

Last June there was a sweeping roundup of opponents of the Balaguer regime and trade-union leaders. Among those arrested were three central leaders of the Central General de Trabajadores (CGT—General Workers Federation) and three members of the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

## Solidarity appeal

In response to this repression, the CGT directed an appeal for solidarity to U.S. organizations and individuals through the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

After receiving this appeal, USLA contacted other groups and the ad hoc committee was put together to visit the Dominican Republic and investigate the charges. The members of this group were:

- Mirta Vidal, of the national office staff of USLA;
- Philip Wheaton, advisor to the Latin American Working Group of the U.S. National Council of Churches;
- Edouard Morin, advisor to the Ad-Hoc Committee on Latin American Problems of the Canadian Council of Churches;
- Ida Langman, a representative of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom;
- William Davis, director of the Office of Social Ministries of the U.S. Jesuit Conference;



Mirta Vidal, USLA representative on Ad-Hoc Human Rights Committee, brought message back from imprisoned trade-union leaders: 'Only international protests can free us.'

- James and Margaret Goff, of *Noticias Aliadas* and *Latin American Press*, two church-related news services.

The commission interviewed high-ranking officials of the Dominican government and the U.S. embassy in that country and found them attempting to cover up violations of human rights.

José Quezada, administrative secretary to Balaguer, according to the commission, "informed us that there were no political prisoners here, but only some politicians who are in prison."

Leonardo Neher, political officer of the U.S. embassy, urged the commission to adopt a philosophical view, claiming that things weren't as bad in the Dominican Republic as in a number of other countries he had worked in.

The commission interviewed lawyers involved in political prisoner defense, and representatives of religious, trade-union, civil liberties, political, and news organizations. They met with, among others, leaders of both union federations in the country and the three major opposition parties. They also spoke with relatives of several prisoners, but were prevented by the

government from seeing any prisoners.

Before returning to their respective countries, the commissioners held a news conference at which they issued a lengthy report outlining their findings. This was prominently covered by most of the major Dominican dailies. The September 12 *La Noticia* published the complete text of the report.

## Repression detailed

The report synthesized into five general categories the most glaring examples of injustices:

- "Obstruction of Urban and Rural Trade-union Organizing."

Among the abuses cited are: blocking the holding of democratic elections within factories and workplaces; intimidation and firing of union leaders; extreme legal and extra legal limitations on the right to strike; and government funding for "yellow" trade unions created expressly to compete with indigenous unions.

In addition to the three CGT leaders—Francisco Antonio Santos, Julio de Peña Váldes, and Eugenio Pérez Cepeda—Juan Francisco Vargas, general secretary of the Telephone Workers Union, has also been arrested on unfounded charges.

- "Absence of Habeas Corpus."

Various legal tricks are used to deny writs of habeas corpus; and even when these are granted by one judge, more charges are fabricated to prevent political prisoners from gaining liberty.

- "Inhumane Treatment of Prisoners."

According to the commission, these included "frequent beatings, scarcity and poor quality of food, and extremely crowded conditions."

At times, prisoners have disappeared and prison officials have falsely claimed they escaped. Others have been openly murdered in prison.

- "Arbitrary Prevention of Freedom of Speech and Assembly."

This includes denial of rally permits to political parties except for a brief period prior to elections every two to four years; and censorship of radio and television programs.

- "Additional Abuses of Human Rights."

Many Dominicans have been forced into exile for political reasons and many others have been refused reentry into the country.

The commission appealed to groups such as Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jur-

ists to "intervene in order to insure that civil liberties and human rights are restored and respected in the Dominican Republic."

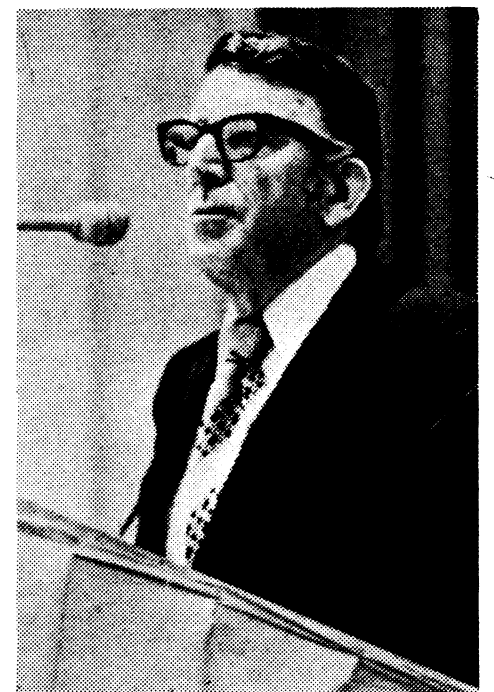
## U.S. complicity

In separate statements to the Washington news conference, various commissioners emphasized the complicity of the U.S. government and U.S. corporations in the denial of human rights in the Dominican Republic.

William Davis pointed to a "similarity between what is happening in the Dominican Republic and what we now know about U.S. involvement in Chile and elsewhere."

Ida Langman scored the U.S. government's history of interference in the country beginning with the 1916-24 occupation by U.S. marines, and asked, "are we now helping to keep Joaquín Balaguer in power while he restricts the liberties of all he thinks are threatening his regime?"

In her statement to the news confer-



UAW President Leonard Woodcock sent protest message to Balaguer demanding freedom for Dominican labor officials.

ence, Mirta Vidal pointed out that the charges against the arrested trade-union leaders are so patently unjust that a national convention of Dominican lawyers called it "the most blatant violation of rights in the last two decades."

Although the committee as a whole was prevented from meeting with the prisoners, Vidal was able to interview two of the CGT officials after the ban was lifted.

Vidal said the CGT leaders told her, "We will not receive justice through the legal process. Only the pressure of international public opinion will free us."

Vidal also released copies of protest messages to Balaguer from several North American trade-union leaders.

Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, called on Balaguer to "give immediate release to the elected leaders of working people" in the Dominican Republic.

Arnold Miller, president of the United Mine Workers, blasted the arrests as "a gross violation of the fundamental democratic right of free association and free speech."

Other statements from Patrick Gorman, international secretary-treasurer, and Leon Schachter, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, and from the second constitutional convention of the United Farm Workers were released. Together the four unions represent 2.3 million workers in the United States and Canada.

## Chicago pickets say: 'Free Victoria Three!'

By Tom O'Brien

CHICAGO—About 100 people picketed the federal building in Chicago in support of Angel Gandía, Johnny Sampson, and Raúl García, three members of the Puerto Rican Socialist party who have been convicted on frame-up charges in the Dominican Republic.

The spirited demonstrators chanted, "Written confessions obtained by repression," "Gandía, Sampson, y García—víctimas de la CIA," and "Free the Victoria Three!" La Victoria is the prison where they are being held.

A rally after the picketing heard Juan Méndez of the PSP denounce the frame-up as part of a conspiracy that involves the U.S. government.

Among the other speakers at the rally was Mirta Vidal of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

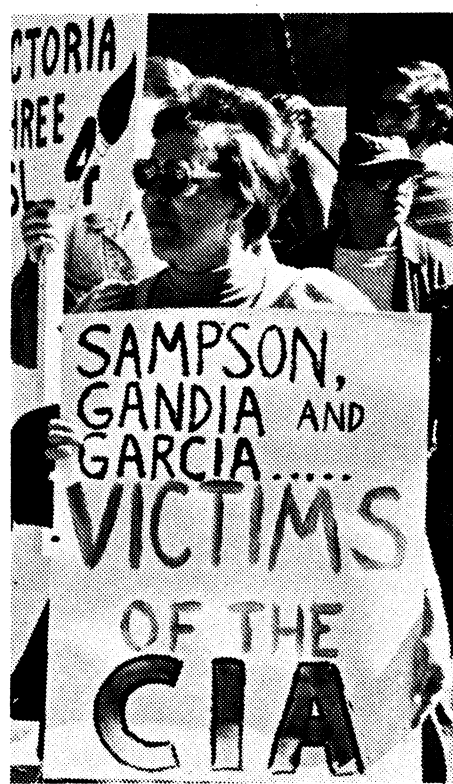
Vidal said, "The prisoners are guilty of no crime—the Balaguer regime is guilty."

The three Puerto Ricans were arrested after landing in the Dominican Republic to refuel their boat, which had gone astray in bad weather.

They were tortured and forced to sign "confessions" admitting they had transported guerrillas to the Dominican Republic from Puerto Rico. On that basis, the three were tried and convicted in July.

An appeal was scheduled to have been heard October 3. But two days before, the government dramatically announced the "capture" of two of the three alleged guerrillas, who supposedly "confessed" to having been transported by the PSPers. They were presented to a news conference, but reporters were not permitted to question them.

At the appeal hearing, a defense motion to call the new prisoners as witnesses was denied. A government motion to postpone the hearing until a later date was granted.





# World Outlook

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

OCTOBER 17, 1975

## Denounce Franco's executions

# Protesters take to streets from Turkey to Argentina

By Judy White

A wave of protest spread throughout the world following Franco's execution of five political prisoners September 27. The actions included a two-day general strike in Euzkadi (the Basque Country), a boycott of Spanish goods by European trade-union organizations, mass demonstrations, and protests by a number of governments. In face of the outcry, Franco ordered a mass rally at which the old fascist denounced the protests as part of a "leftist Masonic conspiracy."

Details on the general strike were scant, owing to strict censorship. However, a *New York Times* dispatch datelined September 30 reported that "the second day of a general strike protesting the executions had even bigger participation than yesterday, when 100,000 responded." The *Washington Post* quoted Basque sources in Madrid as claiming that more than 100,000 persons struck in San Sebastián and its industrial belt, while 20,000 did not report for work in Bilbao.

*Le Monde* reported that most stores and businesses remained shut throughout Euzkadi and workers held prolonged assemblies in the factories to discuss what to do.

On the evening of September 29 a requiem mass in Zarauz for executed ETA<sup>1</sup> member Juan Paredes drew 5,000 of the town's 15,000 inhabitants.

The following day fifty prominent priests from the region were to hold a mass for all five victims in San Sebastián. When police denied permission for the memorial, thousands of persons demonstrated in the streets throughout the city.

The same day a memorial mass for Paredes in Barcelona was broken up by rightists. When the officiating priest left the church with two of

Paredes's attorneys, the three were beaten up by rightists as the police looked on. The priest and one of the lawyers had to be hospitalized.

In an unprecedented action, the champion Spanish soccer team Atlético de Bilbao refused to play as an expression of solidarity with the general strike. Another team followed suit.

The general strike was preceded by what the September 30 *Le Monde* described as "impressive silent demonstrations" in many Basque cities September 28. More than 1,500 persons demonstrated in Azpeitia, and a silent march in Bilbao was attacked by the Civil Guard, who shot and seriously wounded twelve persons.

Internationally, the most widespread protests took place in France.

Between seven and eight thousand persons answered the call of the LCR, OCR, and PSU<sup>2</sup> to demonstrate in Paris September 27, *Le Monde* reported. These groups were joined by trade unionists from the CGT, CFDT, and FEN.<sup>3</sup> Fifty-seven persons were arrested in the demonstration, which lasted twelve hours and was punctuated with burning and looting.

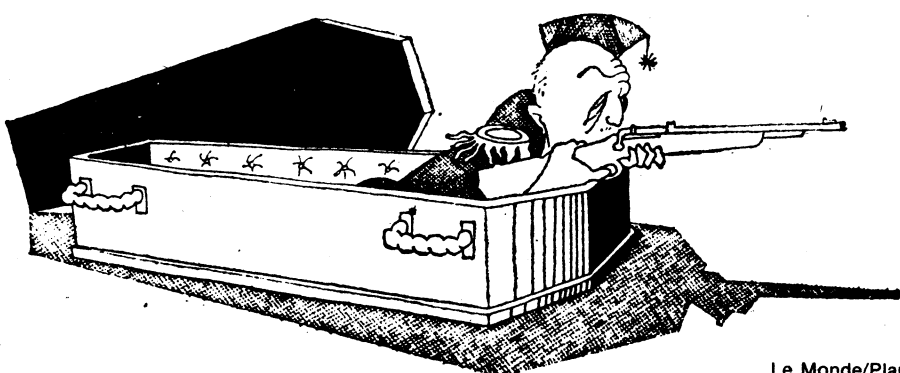
In the days following the executions, demonstrations—many accompanied by violence and arrests—occurred in virtually every city and many towns of the country. The protesters numbered in the tens of thousands.

The Communist party, Socialist party, PSU, Left Radicals, CGT, CFDT, and FEN called national ac-

2. Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League), Organisation Communiste Révolution (Communist Organization Revolution), Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party).

3. Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor), Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail (French Democratic Confederation of Labor), Fédération de l'Éducation Nationale (National Education Federation).

1. Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (Basque Nation and Freedom).



Le Monde/Plantu



Frankfurt

tions for September 29. *Le Monde* reported that in most cities of France large, peaceful demonstrations took place. However, tens of thousands of peaceful marchers in Paris were attacked by police using tear gas during the protest there.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, with fifty-three million members, and the International Federation of Transport Workers called for actions on October 2 by the organized working class. A wave of boycotts and work stoppages was the response.

Scandinavian unions banned Spanish goods and services for up to seventy-two hours.

Air traffic with Spain was also boycotted by workers in Britain, Italy, France, and Belgium.

Port workers in Britain and the Netherlands refused to load or unload Spanish ships, and train service linking Spain with France and Switzerland was suspended.

Protest work stoppages occurred in Athens, Rome, France, and West Germany.

The September 30 issue of *Le Monde* reported street demonstrations in the following places:

- In all major cities of Switzerland, with the largest in Geneva, where 5,000 persons demonstrated. Police attacked the protest, leaving sixty wounded and six imprisoned.

- In Italy, 50,000; Belgium, 2,000; Stockholm, 10,000; Norway, 1,000; Britain, 500; Salonika, several thousand; Athens, several hundred; New York; Columbia; and East and West Germany.

Accounts from other sources reported that actions also took place in:

- Venezuela, where demonstrations continued for three consecutive days and involved thousands.

- Mexico, where thousands were expected to turn out for a march October 3.

- Vienna, where 1,000 marched.

- Ankara and two Argentine cities, where Spanish government offices were targets of bomb attacks.

The London-based human rights organization Amnesty International issued a report September 30 stating that Basque prisoners have been tortured "on a massive scale." The group called on the Spanish government to investigate the findings and put an end to a "veritable rampage of repression, intimidation and torture."

The report from a July fact-finding trip was based on the direct testimony of forty-five Basques and stated that at least 250 prisoners had been systematically tortured between April 25 and July 25.

Thomas Jones, an attorney from Washington, D.C., and Burkhard Wissler, a West German philosophy professor, prepared the report, which listed as torture methods severe beatings, cigarette burns, near drownings, deprivation of sleep, and psychological stress created by mock executions, sexual threats, and threats to relatives.

A total of eighteen governments had withdrawn their official representatives from Spain as of October 5. The latest to do so were Canada, Switzerland, Austria, Luxembourg, Finland, and Hungary.

Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme announced that the Social Democratic party would send \$46,000 to opposition groupings in Spain to help end the rule of "satanic murderers."

The Common Market suspended trade negotiations with the Franco government.

Mexican President Luis Echeverría ordered all unofficial Spanish government offices in Mexico closed, as well as those of the Spanish tourism and news agencies. Mexico has not had diplomatic relations with Spain since the end of the Spanish Civil War. Suspensions were also ordered of all plane flights and financial operations between the two countries.

Continued on page 22

## Congressional leaders knew of plot

# CIA's secret orders: foment civil war in Angola, aid

By Michael Baumann

Sharply reversing Washington's previous policy of maintaining that there has been no clandestine CIA intervention in Portugal, "four official sources" have revealed that the White House secretly ordered the CIA into action against the Portuguese revolution several months ago.

Instead of poison pellets fired from dart guns to dispense with troublesome political figures, this operation reportedly involved channeling millions of dollars to the Portuguese Socialist party and "other parties."

The same sources also said that the CIA has provided material aid, including arms, to the FNLA and UNITA<sup>1</sup> in an effort to influence the outcome of the liberation struggle in Angola.

The first public disclosure of these CIA operations came in a front-page article in the September 25 *New York Times* by Washington correspondent Leslie H. Gelb.

"Millions of dollars are being poured covertly into Portugal and Angola by East and West, according to four official sources in Washington," Gelb wrote. "The funneling of the funds is part of the continuing struggle for control of the Mediterranean and for influence and raw materials in Central Africa."

"United States money for the Portuguese Socialist party and other parties is being funneled by the Central Intelligence Agency through West European Socialist parties and labor unions, the sources said. The C.I.A. involvement, the sources said, amounted to several million dollars a month over the last several months."

### 'Minor' Effort?

Gelb portrayed this effort as minor compared with Soviet and Chinese aid.

"It is also reliably reported that the Soviet Union and its East European allies have poured \$50-million to \$100-million into Portugal since April, 1974, and hundreds of tons of military equipment into Angola since March alone."

"The sources also said that about

200 Chinese military advisers were operating from bases in Zaire to help at least one of the two liberation fronts being supported by Washington."

CIA funding of Portuguese political parties represents a departure in Washington's policy, Gelb claimed.

"Until the spring, most of the Western aid to anti-Communist forces in Portugal was being given secretly by the West German Social Democratic party and the Belgian Socialist party without any American involvement. . . .

"The C.I.A. cash-funneling operations to Portugal were said to have revived dormant but traditional connections between the agency and anti-Communist West European socialist and labor movements. . . .

"The funds going to Portugal from the United States and Western Europe were said to be aimed at keeping non-Communist parties intact, in the streets, and in the business of competing with the Communists for the support of military leaders and soldiers. . . ."

### All Rules Obeyed

To be sure, everything was done in strict accordance with new congressional rules regarding supervision of clandestine CIA operations.

"The sources maintained that William E. Colby, the director of the agency, had notified members of six Congressional subcommittees several months ago of the covert operations, and that no serious objections had been raised. Mr. Colby gave the notifications after the operations were already under way, as he is permitted to do under the law."

The reported CIA operations in Angola and the assessments upon which its course of action was purportedly based were described in unusual detail.

"The sources said that the funds earmarked for two anti-Soviet liberation fronts in Angola had been dispersed mainly through President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire. In order to maintain good relations with Mr. Mobutu, the State Department has been seeking to arrange a refinancing of hundreds of millions of dollars in Zaire's short-term debts and to increase American aid to Zaire to about \$60-million this year, from about \$20-million."

"... the operations in Angola, the

sources said, led to the reactivation of Holden Roberto, head of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola, the man chosen in 1962 by President John F. Kennedy and the C.I.A. to forge a link between the United States and the indigenous groups that were expected to drive Portugal from Angola one day.

"As described by these sources, the main purpose for the covert American effort in Angola was to underline the Administration's support for President Mobutu, the man on whom Secretary of State Kissinger is banking to oppose Moscow's interests in Africa and to further Washington's interests in various international forums."

Part of the bargain, the sources said, was to let the CIA keep its largest African station in Zaire.

Washington's planning for this effort goes back to the early 1960s, Gelb said. At that time the White House concluded that Lisbon could not retain control over its African colonies indefinitely and that contact should be made with some of the leaders of the liberation movements. "In 1962, on the advice of the C.I.A. among others, Mr. Roberto, the brother-in-law of General Mobutu, was selected as a future leader for Angola."

"The sources said that from 1962 to about 1969, the C.I.A. supplied Mr. Roberto with money and arms, but to little avail. At that point, they said, he was deactivated and put on 'retainer.'"

"Mr. Roberto was reactivated this spring, according to the sources, at about the time it became clear that the then Communist-leaning government in Portugal ordered its armed forces in Angola to give active support to the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola headed by Agostinho Neto."

The CIA is also said to have recommended throwing support behind Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the UNITA. Thus, by this account both Washington and Peking were backing the same groups as a counterweight to the MPLA. How far this cooperation is supposed to have gone is left unclear.

"It could not be learned whether Chinese and American officials had ever discussed or sought to coordinate their efforts against Mr. Neto. What was learned was that American funds were being used to buy arms for both Mr. Roberto and Mr. Savimbi, and that the Chinese were providing military advisors for Mr. Roberto and perhaps for Mr. Savimbi as well."

### A Deliberate Leak

There is every indication that these disclosures are a calculated ploy on the part of the White House. For one thing there was no outcry from the CIA, despite the fact that an unchallenged report of this nature would presumably at least reduce the usefulness of alleged CIA agents Soares, Mobutu, Roberto, and Savimbi. For example, how persuasively will Mobutu be able to "further Washington's interests in various international forums" if he remains identified as a pliant tool of the CIA?

Consider by way of contrast the sustained legal battle mounted by the CIA in 1973 and 1974 to suppress the book *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*. After failing to halt publication altogether, the CIA ordered the deletion of 339 passages of varying length



Ceylon Observer/Wijesoma

on the grounds that exposing hitherto secret operations would "result in grave and irreparable injury to the interests of the United States."

The second indicator that the disclosures were decided on by the White House is the fact that Ford himself tried to steer reporters toward the story the week before.

"The President almost blew the whole Portugal thing last week in his interview with *The Chicago Sun-Times*," one of the *Times* sources said. "But nobody picked him up."

Gelb explained: "This was a reference to Mr. Ford's reply to a question about the absence of C.I.A. involvement in Portugal. He noted 'our strong stand' along with NATO allies against a Communist government in Lisbon, then said: 'I don't think the situation required us to have a major C.I.A. involvement, which we have not had.'"

"The source was pointing to the fact that Mr. Ford was not denying that the C.I.A. had an involvement." From this it was a short step to providing sufficient detail to assure major coverage in the main daily newspapers.

A certain overhead cost was involved in making the revelations. In addition to throwing four allegedly loyal CIA foreign agents to the wolves, the disclosures exposed as bald lies earlier White House statements that whatever "excesses" the CIA may have been guilty of in other countries, at least its hands were clean in Portugal.

Only a few weeks previously Mr. Ford had said in an interview: "Some West European governments are 'helping their Social Democratic friends in Portugal."

"I think it's very tragic that, because of the CIA investigation and all the limitations placed on us in the area of covert operations, we aren't able to participate with other Western European countries." (*U.S. News & World Report*, August 11.)

Ford's mouthpieces in the bourgeois press had long played the same lying theme:

- "We learned from Chile what happens when the CIA moves into a country to block a possible Communist take-over."

- "We are about to learn from Portugal what happens when the CIA is no longer able to play such a role." (Columnist Joseph C. Harsch, in the March 20 *Christian Science Monitor*.)

- "There appears little that the United States can do either to block a leftist dictatorship or keep Portugal a useful member of NATO. Our close ties with the old rightist dictatorship, and



Retrieving a body in Angolan capital. Bullets were paid for by CIA.



# Portuguese rightists

the current incapacitation of the CIA's foreign operations branch, ensure a hands-off stand." (The editors of the *Washington Post*, July 22.)

• Kissinger "promised [August 14] that the U.S. would do whatever possible to prevent a Portuguese 'antidemocratic and doctrinaire minority' from seizing power there. Just what form this support might take wasn't stated. Both President Ford and Secretary Kissinger have complained that the Central Intelligence Agency, due to its current political problems, isn't able to conduct covert operations in Portugal on behalf of anti-Communists." (Robert Keatley, in the August 15 *Wall Street Journal*.)

Now that Washington admits having ordered the CIA into action in Portugal, what about the rest of the story? Is there any reason to assume that the operations it has so far acknowledged constitute more than a small part of its actions?

It would be interesting to know, for example, what role CIA provocateurs played in helping whip up the wave of rightist attacks carried out on the headquarters of the Communist party and other workers organizations in the north of Portugal in July and August. An extremely active role would certainly fit the pattern of previous CIA handiwork in Chile, Cuba, Guatemala, and Iran, to name only a few examples.

## Ford's Bid to the Ultraright

Gerald Ford has made no secret of his thirst for the Republican party nomination for president in the 1976 election.

In a party that is at present content to dispense with any pretense of supporting liberal reform so as to hold on to its hard core of conservatives, Ford need not fear a challenge for the nomination from his left.

The far-right wing of the Republican party on the other hand offers potential challengers who must be undercut. An additional threat is a third-party push by racist Alabama Governor George Wallace, who in a general election would be competing with Ford for the same reactionary vote.

It is this context that helps explain why the White House deliberately leaked some aspects of its secret operations in Portugal and Angola. Ford is in effect telling the right wing of the Republican party that although his hands are tied to a certain extent by all the unfavorable publicity the CIA is getting, he is doing the best he can in a difficult situation.

In Ford's view, the importance of his bid for another term in office far outweighs any damage the disclosure may do to the CIA's alleged accomplices in Lisbon, Kinshasa, and Luanda.

In addition, the disclosure is designed to help polish the CIA's badly tarnished image. At a time when there is an outcry in the United States for the CIA to be curbed or even abolished altogether, Washington leaped at the opportunity to defend the CIA by claiming that it was necessary to help uphold democracy in Portugal.

It was not entirely original in this. A few months earlier the reactionary forces in the north of Portugal took advantage of the divisions in the Portuguese working class to mount an assault on the Communist party in the name of democracy.

If the Catholic church and other elements thoroughly discredited by nearly fifty years of Salazarist rule could begin to make a comeback by taking "defense of democracy" as their watchword, what is to stop the CIA—whose difficulties are of a more recent vintage—from adopting the tactic?

How did it happen that the CIA, an organization whose crimes have been so widely exposed, now believes that it can get away with using the issue of democracy as a cover for its open intervention in Portugal?

Responsibility for this must be placed squarely with the Portuguese Communist party and its ultraleft followers. The CP's campaign against bourgeois democracy has once again helped convince millions that socialism is synonymous with the end of democracy. The Portuguese Stalinists could not have done a better job of paving the way for the CIA if they themselves had been paid by Washington.

## CIA Laundry Service

Portuguese Socialist party leader Mário Soares has denied that the SP ever took funds from the CIA. When he learned that the State Department at first refused either to confirm or deny the *Times* report he said, "That's a mean trick of the United States government, because we didn't receive any money. . . . Maybe there has been some diplomatic support, that sort of thing, but no money."

On September 26, however, a State Department official confirmed the *Times* account, saying that the CIA had been sending \$2 million to \$10 million a month to the SP.

The two accounts are not necessarily contradictory. No one has claimed that the CIA simply gave the SP a check each month. The money, it is said, was channeled to the SP through the European Social Democratic parties and unnamed European unions.

Thus, unless one wishes to argue that the Portuguese SP has no right to accept funds from Social Democratic parties and unions in Europe, responsibility for giving the CIA an entry belongs in the first place with the conduits that agreed to "launder" Washington's money.

The fact that the SP, the party that is supported by a majority of the Portuguese working class, may have accepted funds that originated with the CIA does not mean that it is the spearhead of reaction. What it does show is the dangerous consequences of the reformist course being followed by the leadership of this party.

The wrong course followed by the Soares leadership is its continued reliance on the European Social Democratic parties, the same force the CIA looks to in its search for instruments to help stabilize capitalist rule in Europe. The party's real base of strength is the Portuguese masses, who have shown their readiness again and again to go into the streets in defense of the gains of the revolution. It is here that the SP should have turned for support.

The consequence of Soares's reformist course has been to make the SP an inviting target for CIA intrigue.

As of September 28 nothing had been heard from the mysterious unnamed "other parties" referred to in the *Times* account as having also received funds from the CIA. Which parties were they? The PPD,<sup>2</sup> the only probourgeois party with any substan-



Was CIA money a factor in rightist attacks on Portuguese Communist party?

tial following? The ultraright outfit backed by Spínola and currently headquartered in Spain? We aren't told. Such information would not further the CIA's image as Portugal's most stalwart defender of democracy.

Nor are we told anything about the CIA's relationship with the MFA,<sup>3</sup> the political arm of the military hierarchy, the real government in Portugal. How many millions has the CIA poured into its coffers?

When MFA Cabinet ministers Jorge Correia Jesuino and José da Costa Martins visited Washington in May for secret talks with the White House, Costa Martins told the press: "The United States Government has shown real understanding for Portugal. It doesn't intend in any way to become hostile to Portugal. Quite the contrary, the United States intention is to give us help." (Quoted in the *New York Times*, May 18.)

What kind of help? The latest disclosures reveal that this visit immediately preceded Ford and Kissinger's decision to order the CIA into action in Portugal. Is this what was discussed behind the closed doors of the White House and State Department during the MFA ministers' visit?

Costa Martins also met with George Meany, president of the American trade union federation AFL-CIO, who has for decades helped the CIA channel funds to anti-Communist unions abroad.

"Mr. Meany was like a grandfather to me," Costa Martins said, "very friendly and understanding." (*New York Times*, May 18.)

2. Partido Popular Democrático (Democratic People's party).

3. Movimento das Forças Armadas (Armed Forces Movement).

The masses in Portugal have won big gains. Despite some setbacks, they have yet to be defeated. Through détente Washington has combined with Moscow in efforts to derail or crush the revolution. But within this agreement both sides have also retained for themselves the right to jockey for position.

Washington's normal channels are blocked. The Salazarist forces it supported for nearly five decades are of no immediate political use—they are too discredited. Thus it has for the time being chosen to back the Portuguese SP, hoping thereby to gain some leverage in the revolutionary process that is unfolding. When the SP is exhausted or broken, Washington will then go all out in backing formations further to the right.

The CIA's reported course of action in Angola is similar.

The MPLA is at present lined up with Moscow, its major source of material aid. Washington and Peking have given their backing to the two other major groups. This lineup of forces could change, for there are no key differences of program between the three liberation groups.

There is nothing unusual about this situation. Nationalist movements seek to exploit whatever contradictions exist among the world powers. They are forced to seek material aid, including arms, from any available source, and no one can deny them the right to do so.

The test to be put to a national liberation movement is not the source of its arms, but whether or not it has made political concessions—either to imperialism or Stalinism—to obtain them. This is the central question, and only the course of action followed by the contending groups will provide the final answer.

## ...Spanish executions

Continued from page 19

The Ankara city government ordered all electricity and water cut off from the Spanish embassy for one week.

The Franco dictatorship responded quickly to the wave of demonstrations.

The protests from abroad were "an intolerable aggression against Spanish sovereignty," Premier Carlos Arias Navarro said on national television September 30.

The Franco government is not afraid of isolation, Arias continued, asserting that it would continue to act "with the serene and firm certainty of meeting its inescapable obligations without being intimidated."

To back up these assertions, a mass rally was called for the following day in Madrid. The occasion was the thirty-ninth anniversary of Franco's assumption of the title of chief of state.

United Press International described how the celebration was built:

"The streets of the main Spanish cities are full of leaflets criticizing the Western governments and announcing rallies similar to the one planned for Madrid in other, provincial localities. One of the leaflets says:

"Spaniards: Once more world Communism is trying to enslave Spain. Everyone must come to the rally. Long live Spain."

The xenophobic appeal met with some response:

"In isolated incidents occurring in several Spanish cities, rightists stoned consulates and offices of foreign firms," UPI reported.

More than 100,000 persons turned out to hear the general denounce "Communist terrorist subversions."

A dispatch from Madrid in the October 2 *New York Times* described the event:

"His hands trembled and his diction was hard to understand. But the crowd massed in Oriente Square chanted 'Franco! Franco!' and called him back for three more appearances.

"A large number of people had been brought in from the provinces, government employees and other workers had been given the day off, schools were closed and organizations of veterans and other rightists were out in force to lead the crowd in patriotic chants and in the outstretched Fascist salute.

"There were similar demonstrations in other cities."

Following the rally, groups of rightists roamed the streets of Madrid, demonstrating against foreign embassies and attacking individuals believed to have foreign connections.

But the rightist mobilizations are not

primarily directed against foreigners. Like the repressive crackdown of the last few months, their prime target is the domestic critics of the Franco regime.

Ascensión Lopesino Alvarez, a fifty-year-old woman, was one victim of the post-rally frenzy. When she shouted that a roaming group of rightists was "a disturbance of public order," they turned and beat her up, the October 6 *New York Times* reported.

And that was not all. Alvarez was rescued by two policemen who then arrested her. She was ordered held without bail for violating the "antiterrorism" law, one provision of which makes it a crime to defend or encourage Communism, separatism, anarchism, or violence. She was fined \$1,700 and ordered to put up an additional \$500 to cover other fines that might be imposed.

Moreover, there are mounting fears that fifteen to twenty Basques arrested in recent weeks, along with the noted feminist writer and doctor Eva Forest, may be brought rapidly to trial despite official denials.

Among the Basques are two top ETA leaders, José Mugica Arregui and Ignacio Pérez Boetegui. Forest, Mugica, and Boetegui have all been accused of involvement in the December 1973 assassination of Spanish Premier Luis Carrero Blanco.

Under the "antiterrorism" law, which would apply in their trials, the military can arbitrarily set the time of the proceedings once the prisoners have been officially indicted. Defense attorneys then have four hours to read the charges against their clients and prepare their case. If convicted of acts of terrorism leading to death of public officials, the defendants are automatically sentenced to death. No judicial appeal is permitted. This is the law that was used to convict the five prisoners executed September 27.

As Edwin McDowell commented in the October 2 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*:

"The immediate targets of the crackdown are extremist Basque separatists and urban guerrillas who have killed some 15 policemen and 30 civilians this year. But the vigor of the anti-terrorist campaign, and the scope of the law which decrees punishment even for those guilty of showing 'sympathy' for separatists, terrorist groups or illegal political organizations, suggests that the broader target may be to discourage anyone who might harbor thoughts of a Portuguese-style revolution in this part of Iberia."

## World news notes

### Israeli racists demand 'Arabs out!'

The following is from an article in the July 20, 1975, issue of *Maariv*, one of Israel's largest dailies:

"Residents of Upper Nazareth are threatening massively to abandon the town and to move to neighboring cities, if nothing is done to prevent the penetration of Arab families into that section of the city and particularly into the housing projects in which they reside.

"The residents are also threatening to demonstrate and to organize a general strike throughout the town; . . . A few have also stressed that they would not hesitate to use force, if nothing is done to prevent 'the transformation of Upper Nazareth into an Arab town.'"

Although Arabs constitute only 15 percent of the town's population, the report said, "The residents complained that the situation was intolerable and that one Arab family or more existed in almost every house."

### Morgentaler refused parole

The National Parole Board of Canada turned down a request for parole for Dr. Henry Morgentaler September 8. Morgentaler is in prison on charges of having performed illegal abortions, despite the fact that he has twice been acquitted by juries.

Parole board official Claude Bouchard cited Morgentaler's "behavior in jail" as grounds for denying his request for parole. Bouchard also suggested that Morgentaler "could be a danger to society." "Some people consider abortion murder," he said.

Morgentaler is still recovering from a heart attack suffered when he was brutalized by prison guards.

Statements protesting the parole board's decision have been issued by the Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws (CARAL) and by Doctors for Repeal.

CARAL has called a protest rally for October 19 to demand amnesty for Morgentaler and has appealed to groups across Canada to undertake similar actions.

### Free imprisoned Chinese Trotskyists!

Following up his propaganda coup last March when he released 293 Kuomintang war criminals and other reactionary opponents of the Chinese revolution, Mao Tsetung has now freed another 144 prisoners. This time, "95 special agents and 49 crew members of vessels carrying armed agents" captured between 1962 and 1965 were set free, the New China News Agency reported September 22.

The special agents were given the same choice as those released earlier—they would be given jobs and citizens' rights if they chose to remain in China, or they could return to Taiwan. Ten in the first group who chose Taiwan, however, got only as far as Hong Kong. The gang in Taipei would not accept them back.

*Le Monde's* correspondent in Peking speculated that Taiwan will find it a little harder to refuse entry to the latest bunch—their counterrevolutionary credentials are much more recent.

As for the Trotskyists still locked up in Mao's prisons, however, not a hint has been forthcoming that they might benefit from the same generous treatment Mao is now handing out to convicted war criminals and Kuomintang agents. In fact, since 200 Chinese Trotskyists were seized in midnight raids in 1952 and 1953, the regime has not even acknowledged their existence.

Revolutionists like Chen Chao-lin, Chiang Tseng-tung, Ho Chi-sen, Ying Kwan, and others are rotting in Mao's prisons. Their ranks include founders of the Chinese Communist party, veterans of the 1925-27 revolution, and leaders of the struggle against Japanese imperialism.

Mao, bureaucrat that he is, has his own priorities. The Kuomintang butchers can be released; Chiang Kai-shek's secret agents pose no danger; but the voices of the Chinese Trotskyists remain stifled. If elementary proletarian democracy is to be observed in China, these revolutionists must be released.

### Ethiopian unions protest military rule

The Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (CELU), which has 125,000 members throughout the country, released a manifesto September 24 denouncing the policies of the military regime. It threatened a general strike in one month if democratic rights are not restored. The statement by Ethiopia's largest labor federation was the most significant indicator so far of the growing opposition in Addis Ababa to military rule.

The CELU called for the release of CELU President Beyene Solomon, Vice-president Giday Gebre, and General Secretary Fiseha Tsion Tekae, who were arrested by the military regime in September 1974. It also warned that if more CELU leaders were arrested or if the regime interfered with the distribution of the manifesto to workers, "we will stop work immediately and we will not return until our demands are met."

The CELU also demanded freedom of the press and assembly; an end to censorship; the right to strike; the right of civilian organizations to elect their own leaders democratically; the institution of a multiparty system; and the release of all detained students, teachers, and labor leaders. It denounced the extension for a second year of the regime's campaign of sending students to the countryside. The CELU called for the institution of workers councils to administer the nationalized companies and for the firing of state managers who were former owners of the companies.



Paris



## D.C. union weighs endorsements

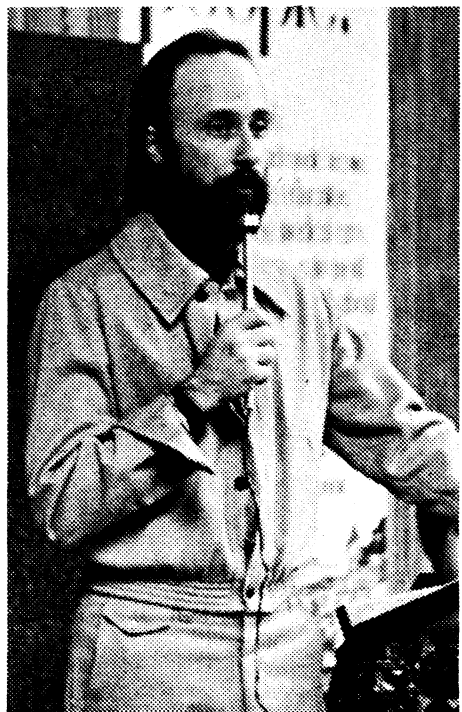
# Socialist teacher in school bd. race

By Craig Landberg

WASHINGTON—Two hundred members of the Washington Teachers Union (WTU) attended their first meeting this school year on September 22. A major topic of discussion was the upcoming campaign for District of Columbia school board.

During the previous week the union's Political Action Committee had interviewed all the candidates and had drawn up a slate, which it proposed to the meeting for endorsement.

The central issue in the campaign is



Militant/Afrodita Constantinidis

ERICH MARTEL: 'Funds for education, not war budget!'

the crisis in education: cutbacks, teacher layoffs, bigger classes, decrepit buildings, and scores of illegal transfers of teachers.

In addition, the school board is trying to extend the teacher workday by forty-five minutes. The union has been bargaining for a new contract since February 1974.

To the astonishment of many teachers, the Political Action Committee recommended a number of antiunion candidates. Prominent among them was Elizabeth Kane, an incumbent who voted last February to cancel the WTU contract in an attempt to force the longer workday on teachers.

Many teachers were angry at being asked to support candidates who have been among the most bitter opponents of the WTU. "Do you mean you want us to support those board members who tried to take away our contract?" asked one teacher.

Members of the Political Action Committee defended their slate by saying that they had received "commitments." Candidates who had tried to break the union in the past were "reconsidering," the committee claimed.

The only teacher in the school board race is Erich Martel, Socialist Workers party candidate for the at-large position. Martel, thirty-one, is a teacher at Cardozo High School and has been an active member of the WTU since 1969.

A leaflet distributed by Martel supporters at the union meeting called for a crash program of funding from Congress to upgrade education.

"We need funds for education, not a

\$107 billion war budget!" the statement by Martel explained. "By using these funds, we could hire every single unemployed teacher, and thereby lower class sizes. Funds could also be provided for badly needed building repairs, adequate supplies, and a substantial cost of living pay increase."

Anne Powers, a Martel supporter in the WTU, told the meeting: "The candidates that the WTU supported in the last school board race gave us the shaft. Rather than working for us, they worked to add forty-five minutes to our workday, and to do away with dues checkoff. . . .

"Erich Martel is the only candidate who stands solidly with teachers in opposition to the cutbacks we are seeing and stands for mobilizing our power as teachers to defend our needs and to defend education in the district."

The remarks by Powers drew a round of applause from the teachers.

Although the meeting eventually voted to support the proposed slate (after long discussion and after more than half the teachers had left), Martel's campaign picked up significant support.

A number of teachers approached Martel to pledge their backing, and some agreed to help distribute campaign literature in their schools. Others stopped at a campaign literature table outside.

Thirty teachers bought copies of the *Militant*, which featured coverage of the New York teachers' strike settlement.

# Strike leader killed by Chicago scab

By John Isenhower and Joe Sanders

MELROSE PARK, Ill.—Despite the killing of their central strike leader, David Watson, the arrest of twelve strikers and supporters, and a threatened injunction against picketing, the more than 200 strikers at Capital Packaging are standing firm.

Watson, thirty-eight, was vice-president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-507 and an activist in the Chicago-based civil rights group Operation PUSH.

He was run down by a scab truck September 9. Watson suffered massive internal injuries and died an agonizing death ten days later. The scab driver, Richard Mitchell, was fined twenty-five dollars for "failure to yield to a pedestrian."

Watson's wife, Gigi, came to the picket lines the night of his death to urge the strikers to remain firm and united.

Watson was singled out, his co-workers maintain, because of his central role in the strike. "The truck was going thirty miles an hour," said one striker, when it struck Watson and dragged him into the middle of the street.

This brutal killing was the second "accident" to result from company strikebreaking. Earlier, Velma Powell was struck by another vehicle and suffered minor injuries.

The Chicago media have virtually blacked out news of Watson's death and the strike.

Human life and human needs are valued as cheap in this boss-run industrial suburb of Chicago, especially for the predominantly female, Black, and Latino work force at Capital Packaging. The workers were receiving \$2.37 to \$3.36 an hour before they went on strike eight weeks ago.

Capital Packaging, a subsidiary of the giant Alberto Culver, claims it cannot find the money to pay the

twenty-five-cents-an-hour raise requested by the union. But W. Clement Stone, who sits on the board of directors of Alberto Culver, "found" \$2 million to give to Richard Nixon in his 1972 campaign.

Rosie Lloyd, one of the strikers, described conditions inside this chemical packaging plant as "rotten."

"With Dave's death," she said, "the low wages and everything else we have to put up with, we're staying out until we get what we want. What we're asking for isn't a heck of a lot, but if we win this one, next time we come out, we'll be even stronger."

In addition to the modest raise, the union is asking for one additional holiday, increased hospitalization, and a cost-of-living clause in the second year of the contract.

Twelve pickets have been arrested; several have been beaten. One striker,

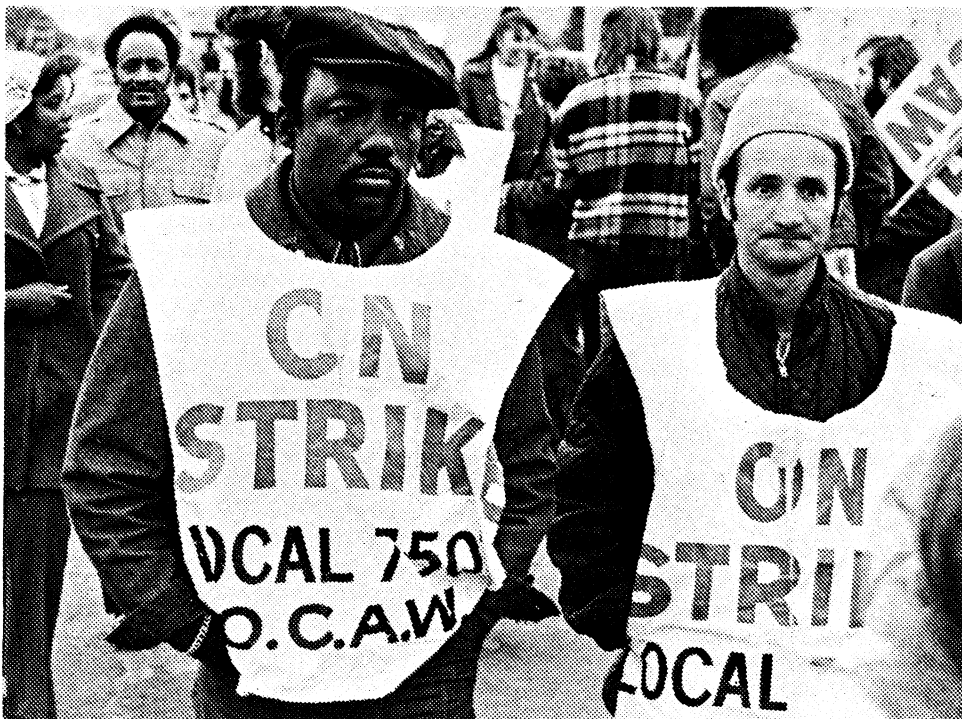
Don McFarren, an epileptic, was thrown to the ground, assaulted by cops, and then arrested. At the station house he was further charged with "illegal possession of drugs" for carrying his prescription medicine.

In the face of harassment and violence, the picket lines remain solid and spirited. Strikebreakers are greeted with jeers and chants of "Scabs go home."

Now the company is seeking an injunction to limit picketing.

At a September 23 meeting at United Auto Workers Local 6 hall, the strikers laid out plans to contact other unionists and prominent individuals for support.

In addition, work has begun to counter the conspiracy of silence in the media about Watson's death and the strike.



Militant/Joe Sanders

Pickets outside Capital Packaging. Company is willing to kill to block twenty-five-cent raise.

# Mpls. nursing assistants fight to save jobs

By Gillian Ronson

MINNEAPOLIS—Under mounting pressure from Black, women's and community groups, the administration of the Pilot City Health Center in North Minneapolis has backed down from its decision to take away the jobs of nine nursing assistants, eight of whom are Black.

The nursing assistants will remain in their present jobs for thirty days while an ad hoc committee of six community residents and six members of the health and social services committee prepares a recommendation.

At the end of June the nine nursing assistants were informed that they were to be replaced with licensed practical nurses.

The administrators ignored the fact that the Pilot City Health Center had been set up specifically to serve the predominantly Black community on the north side of Minneapolis. They pretended to be unaware that the patients, the community, and most of the medical staff wanted to keep the nursing assistants.

They brushed aside the fact that the nursing assistant classification was one of the only ways north side residents had any chance of entry into the health profession. And they stated that the original purpose of Pilot City—to be a community project with community input—no longer applied.

The nursing assistants decided to fight back. Aided by the Urban League, the Minneapolis Student Coalition Against Racism, and other community groups, they petitioned, picketed, held news conferences, and filed a complaint with the state Human Rights Commission charging racial discrimination.

On September 11, 100 people rallied outside Pilot City Health Center chanting and carrying signs: "Give Back Their Jobs NOW" and "Patients Support the Nursing Assistants."

After the rally many of the demonstrators went inside to an administrative ad hoc meeting. Representatives of the NAACP, the Urban League, and others demanded, "We want the nursing assistants to stay."

The fight of the nursing assistants began to draw attention on television and especially in the local Black press. The Twin Cities National Organization for Women, Black Women United, Workers Rights Center, and Coalition of Labor Union Women all declared their support.

The nursing assistants' union, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 977, endorsed their fight and demanded the resignation of the health center's director.

Only after this buildup of pressure and publicity did the administrators agree to temporarily reinstate the nursing assistants. They still face day-to-day harassment from the administration, and their jobs are not yet secure, but they are continuing to struggle not only for their own jobs but for the principle of community participation in running the Pilot City center.

# Calif. socialists launch Senate campaign, nominate veteran Black rights activist

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The California Socialist Workers party launched its 1976 campaign for U.S. Senate with a rally here October 4 and one in San Francisco the night before.

The party's senatorial candidate is Omari Musa, a veteran fighter in the Black liberation movement and a member of the SWP National Committee.

The San Francisco rally drew 250 people from throughout the Bay Area, including San Jose, where a new branch of the SWP has just been launched. To help finance the campaign the audience contributed nearly \$3,000.

In Los Angeles, 200 attended, including campaign activists and supporters from San Diego. The campaign event was combined with a celebration of the opening of the new headquarters of the West Side Los Angeles branch of the SWP. The large, modern storefront headquarters is located in a busy shopping center largely patronized by

advisory board member.

The Southern California rally heard a report on plans for protest meetings against the government's exclusion of Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian revolutionary leader, who had been slated to make a U.S. speaking tour. The report was given by Richard Manriquez of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

The meeting also heard a telegram of greeting from Ellery Allen, mother of Philip Allen, a young Black recently convicted on a frame-up charge of killing a sheriff's deputy. The rally in turn sent a message pledging support by Musa and his campaigners to the fight to win freedom for Allen.

Discussing the array of political forces opposed to the Berkeley teachers' strike, Phyllis Calechman said the SWP has been "the only political group that has given meaningful support and come out and worked to make our strike effort successful."

Calechman also said that reporting on the strike in the commercial media had been "unfavorable and dishonest" and the only paper telling the truth about the strike was the *Militant*.

## Protest government attacks

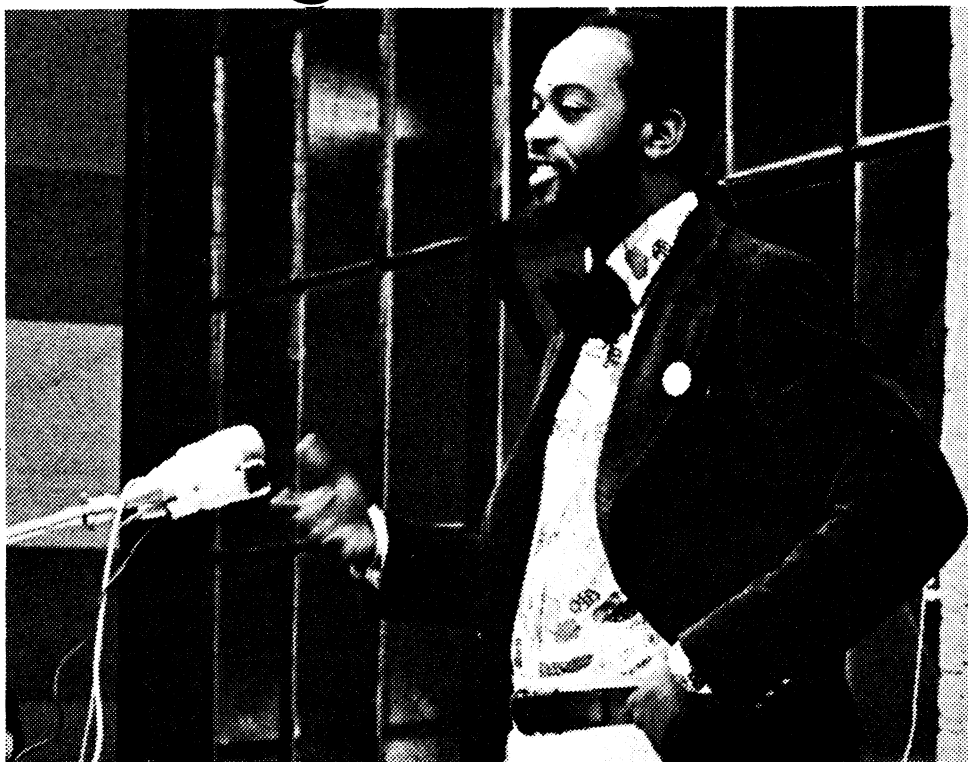
Robert Allen discussed the revelations of illegal government attacks against the Black and radical movements. He explained that the suit initiated by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance had already forced the disclosure of FBI and CIA documents detailing the incredible extent of the government campaign, which, he declared, "makes a mockery of the Bill of Rights."

Allen declared that the SWP and YSA were principal targets of government attacks because "they propound ideas of democracy and socialism, ideas the government wants desperately to suppress at whatever cost, legal or illegal."

"If the government is allowed to suppress militant or radical groups because of their ideas," Allen said, "then it is only a short step to the government attacking you, and you, and you for your ideas."

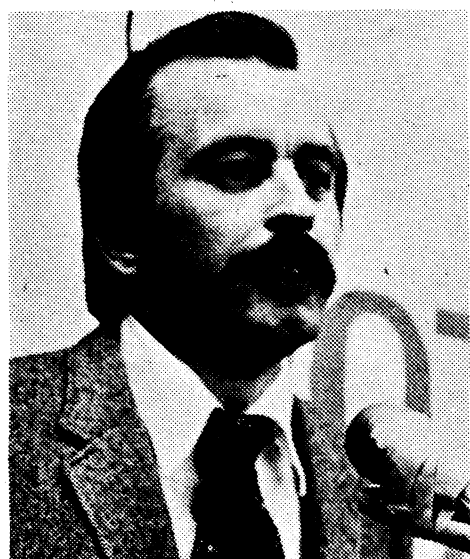
Olga Rodríguez made a sharp attack on California's Gov. Edmund Brown. Noting that he had campaigned for farm worker votes during the election, she declared, "Today this Democratic party politician is sitting on his hands while armed vigilantes and Tulare County sheriff's deputies are terrorizing and jailing United Farm Workers organizers for exercising their legal right to enter the fields to talk to the workers." She expressed confidence that the SWP senatorial campaign would prove an effective means of building support for the embattled farm workers.

Rodríguez also predicted that Musa will be the only candidate in the race



Militant/Harry Ring

Socialist Workers party Senate candidate, Omari Musa, charged racist mobs everywhere are getting aid and comfort from politicians of Democratic and Republican parties.



Militant/Harry Ring

Roland Sheppard, SWP nominee for mayor of San Francisco.

the Black community in the Crenshaw-Washington area.

Even though many of those present had already contributed generously to defray the cost of remodeling the new facilities, the collection for the campaign at the rally totaled nearly \$1,500.

## Broad speakers lists

Both gatherings heard Musa; Olga Rodríguez, a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance and 1974 gubernatorial candidate in California; and Roland Sheppard, SWP candidate for mayor of San Francisco.

The Northern California rally was also addressed by Phyllis Calechman, a Berkeley teacher active in the current strike there, and Robert Allen, managing editor of the *Black Scholar*. Allen spoke on behalf of the Political Rights Defense Fund, of which he is an

to stand unequivocally on the side of the undocumented workers, "who are being made the scapegoat for the economic crisis caused by U.S. capitalism."

## Racist offensive

Musa opened with a denunciation of the racist policies of the Democratic and Republican parties, expressed in particular by the antibusing stance of leaders of both parties. Musa charged that the racist mobs are emboldened everywhere, from Boston to California, by the support they are getting from the capitalist politicians.

He also castigated the trade-union bureaucrats, who, he declared, are selling out the Black, Chicano, and women workers hit by discriminatory layoffs. Musa pledged to support the fight to amend the union seniority system to deal with such layoffs.

Musa blasted the Democratic and Republican parties for being responsible for California's restrictive ballot laws, which prevent smaller parties from attaining ballot status.

The SWP, along with La Raza Unida party and others, is challenging these undemocratic laws so that the people of California will be able to vote for the candidate of their choice in 1976.

Musa also took up the two contenders for the Democratic nomination for senator. These are John Tunney, the incumbent, and Tom Hayden, who had been an antiwar activist and an early leader of Students for a Democratic Society.

Noting that Tunney has been in office for five years, he commented, "There's been no benefit to us. He doesn't support desegregation of the schools. He looks for farm worker votes, but he doesn't support the UFW. He supports Senate Bill 1—the most draconian antiliberties bill yet introduced."

## Tom Hayden's campaign

Musa also assailed Tom Hayden for proposing that people join and work within the Democratic party.

He told his somewhat surprised audience of the view expressed by Hayden in a San Francisco *Bay Guardian* interview in which he criticized the "narrow pacifism" of some radicals. Hayden had asserted that the problem of the military budget was not as simple as some thought, offering the preposterous argument that poorly made cars kill more people than bombs in a period when there is no war.

Socialists, Musa declared, do not counterpose autos to bombs. To the \$100 billion arms budget they counterpose the need for a massive public works program, hospitals in the barrios and ghettos, child-care centers, and mass transportation.

"We're for the abolition of the military budget period," he declared.

On some issues, Musa said, Hayden's stand is noncontroversial, such as his favoring jobs for all.

"But there," Musa said, "the key question is how you're going to get it."

"Are you going to do it by voting in Tom Haydens across the country? Or will it be done by organizing working people to band together in their unions and community organizations, to build a political movement that speaks for them and is counterposed to the Republicans and Democrats?"

Musa cited a recent research poll that showed a majority of the American people think both major parties act in the interests of big business, as well as the fact that a third of those polled think that capitalism has passed its peak.

"These millions of people are beginning to think they don't need the super-rich to govern for them."

"Working people," he declared, "are beginning to see that their interests come in way-back second to the capitalists' when they deal with the Democratic and Republican parties. They are looking around for someone that has solutions to their problems."

In this campaign, Musa said, the SWP will present that alternative.



Militant/Harry Ring

Robert Allen, managing editor of *Black Scholar* magazine, told rally government attacks SWP and YSA because 'they propound ideas of socialism and democracy.'

## Message from Ellery Allen

[The following message was sent to the Southern California SWP campaign rally by Ellery Allen, whose son Philip was recently convicted on a frame-up murder charge.]

I am sorry that I have to be out of town this weekend and cannot attend the opening of the Socialist Workers party campaign headquarters and launching of the campaign of Omari Musa for U.S. Senate.

Philip and I appreciate the work that the Socialist Workers party members have done defending Philip, especially Omari, whose attendance at defense committee meet-

ings and whose participation in carrying out the work have helped the defense committee immeasurably. As a subscriber to the *Militant*, I know the publicity and support you have given to Philip's case, getting out the truth.

Because I know of Omari's past efforts in the fight against racism, whether it be against segregated education, or against police killings, or in the defense of victims of racist frame-ups, I am sure that he will use his campaign to continue to build the antiracist fight. I am confident that Philip's case will get statewide exposure through Omari Musa's campaign.



## 'Militant' circulation drive

# Door-to-door canvassing wins subscribers

By Pat Galligan

We just received forty-four subscriptions from Philadelphia—sold door-to-door in West Philadelphia and Germantown on one Saturday afternoon.

"The response was excellent," comments Jon Flanders. "We also distributed brochures for Socialist Workers mayoral candidate Terry Ann Hardy and the 'Bill of Rights for Working People.'"

Flanders tells us that another subscription canvassing day is planned for later in October.

The Ohio/Kentucky Young Socialist Alliance team signed up thirty-four subscribers in Lexington, Kentucky, and Bowling Green, Ohio, during their travels to campuses last week.

These are two examples of what is

needed to get the subscription drive on schedule. At this point in the drive to win 6,000 new readers by November 30, we should have 1,730 subscriptions. However, only 914 subscriptions have been sent in.

A total of 6,164 copies of the September 26 issue of the *Militant* were sold in the twenty-nine local areas reporting.

The *Militant's* extensive coverage of Chicago cop complicity in terrorist attacks against socialists by the Legion of Justice prompted socialists there to order extra copies. The expanded sales were aimed at spreading the news of these events and at establishing *Militant* sales in new areas of the city.

Bruce Bloy from Chicago's West-North Socialist Workers party branch

tells us that all but two of their bundle of 375 *Militants* were sold. Top salesperson Diana Tasciotti sold fifty-two copies.

"We were successful in introducing the *Militant* into several new locations," Bloy said.

"We sold forty copies in Austin, a Black neighborhood on the far west side. People there were impressed with the *Militant's* reporting on the situation in Boston," he said.

Another thirty *Militants* were sold at Broadway and Belmont on the North Side. Nancy Rosenstock tells us that there was considerable interest in the United Farm Workers struggle in addition to the revelations about the Chicago police.

Members of the new South Side Chicago SWP branch and YSA local sold 363 *Militants*. Marvin Katter took the honors by selling 57 copies.

Markie Wilson reports that fifty-six

visitors to the new South Side Campaign headquarters purchased the *Militant* during a September 19 open house celebration. "Twenty-two *Militants* were sold during the week to people who dropped into the storefront to browse in the bookstore or to find out about activities," she added.

Hyde Park, where the new headquarters is located, promises to be an excellent sales spot. Another 120 copies were sold in the vicinity that week.

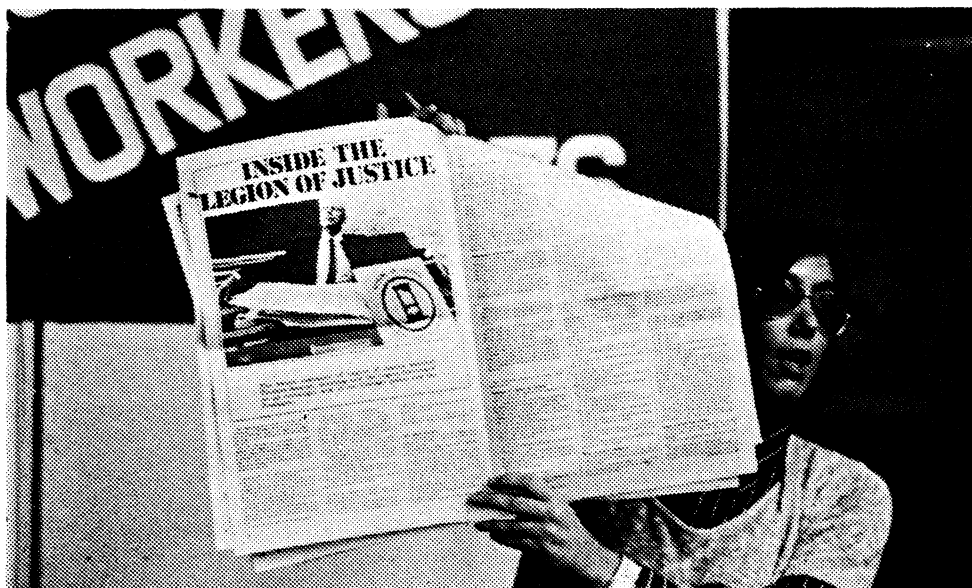
Markie relates an incident that illustrates the reception socialists are receiving in the area.

An older Black man said as he purchased the *Militant*: "I always thought the Democrats were for the people and the Republicans for money. Now, I feel that the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers party are much better and more active."

We couldn't agree more.

## Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold last week	%
West-North Chicago	250	373	149
South Side Chicago	250	363	145
Denver	275	307	112
West Side L.A.	75	84	112
San Jose	100	110	110
Boston	300	320	107
San Francisco	325	340	105
Houston	350	360	103
Pittsburgh	275	279	101
Baltimore, Md.	150	151	101
Norman, Okla.	10	10	100
Albion, Mich.	8	8	100
Oakland/Berkeley	350	347	99
Central-East L.A.	350	325	93
Portland, Ore.	200	184	92
Philadelphia	275	231	84
Seattle	275	217	79
Detroit	375	270	72
Brooklyn, N.Y.	300	215	72
Atlanta	375	266	71
San Diego	200	140	70
Cleveland	350	242	69
Milwaukee	200	136	68
Newark, N.J.	75	50	67
St. Louis	300	185	62
Twin Cities	300	177	59
Lower East Side, N.Y.	250	140	56
Washington, D.C.	325	178	55
Upper West Side, N.Y.	325	156	48
Total	7,500	6,164	82
YSA Teams			
Ohio/Kentucky	90	132	147
Rocky Mountain	90	121	134
Wisconsin	90	112	124
Mid-Atlantic	90	110	122
Southern Calif.	90	106	118
Missouri/Kansas	60	71	118
Illinois	60	66	110
Pacific Northwest	90	90	100
Pennsylvania	90	90	100
New England	90	88	98
Michigan/Indiana	90	82	91
Upper Midwest	90	73	81
N.Y./N.J./Conn.	90	71	79
Northern Calif.	90	65	72
Southeast	90	38	42
Texas	60	20	33
Total	1,350	1,335	99



*Militant*/Charles Ostrofsky  
'Militant' exposé of right-wing conspiracy in Chicago was featured at grand opening of South Side branch of Socialist Workers party. New branch sold 363 copies.

# Bethard denounces death penalty initiative

By Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE—In an attempt to reverse the Supreme Court decision outlawing the death penalty, an initiative has been placed on the November ballot here that, if passed, would restore capital punishment in Washington.

Patricia Bethard, Socialist Workers party member and candidate for Seattle City Council position five, has vowed to make opposition to the death penalty a central part of her campaign.

Bethard took second place in a "nonpartisan" primary in September, qualifying her for the November ballot.

Bethard says: "The issue of capital punishment is of vital importance to Blacks, other minorities, and working people. Initiative 316, which would reinstitute death by hanging, is an attempt to bypass a 1972 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that declared the death penalty a 'cruel and unusual punishment' and discriminatory against Blacks and the poor."

William Rowe, director of community development for the Seattle Urban League, explained the league's opposition to the initiative:

"We are concerned about the welfare of the minority community and we see this initiative as an irrational approach to solving the problem of crime."

Rowe noted that the initiative would establish a mandatory death sentence for those convicted of killing a police officer. He said he feared that Blacks, as frequent victims of cop terror, would be tried under the new law if they were forced to defend themselves.

"We are well aware that minorities are generally the recipients of any death penalty handed down," he

added. "The jails are full of Black men and women, and most of those on death row are Black."

The Urban League recently joined with the American Civil Liberties Union and the State Council of Churches to initiate Citizens Against Hanging, a group opposed to Initiative 316. CAH has also been endorsed by the state NAACP.

Supporters of the reactionary initiative hope to get around the Supreme Court decision by making capital punishment mandatory for killing a police officer or prison guard, killing for hire, or killing to cover up a crime. They claim that making it mandatory will eliminate discrimination.

Bethard disagrees. "The decision of

whether to prosecute someone for a hangable offense or reduce the charge is left up to a prosecutor," she says. "And he is most likely to indict someone who is Black."

As a socialist Bethard says that she rejects the idea that violent crime can be eliminated by capital punishment. "Crime will end when the causes of crime—unemployment, poverty, and discrimination—are eliminated," she argues.

Partisans of the prohanging initiative scored a victory recently when the executive board of Aerospace Industrial District Lodge Number 751 voted to endorse the initiative. This union is affiliated with the International Association of Machinists.

Bethard, secretary of her local of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and a delegate to the King County Labor Council, has sharply criticized the aerospace union officials.

As part of her campaign for city council, Bethard will speak at the business meetings of several AFSCME locals in King County. She said she hopes to persuade union members to oppose Initiative 316. "My own local, AFSCME 1488, is meeting in a couple of weeks, and I will be pressing for a resolution condemning the initiative," she says.

On October 4, socialist campaign supporters fanned out from Bethard's Union Street headquarters in the Central Area, the heart of the Black community. Accompanied by a sound truck, they passed out literature urging voters to oppose Initiative 316 and to support Bethard's campaign for Seattle City Council.

Later, speaking to supporters at campaign headquarters, Bethard said that the death penalty initiative had provided her with one more reason for running against Sam Smith, her Black Democratic opponent. "Sam Smith is president of the city council, but he has failed to use the power of his office to mobilize opposition to this initiative," she said.

She noted that Smith had received much of his support from the Central Area, where Initiative 316 is a matter of vital concern. She said Smith was behaving irresponsibly toward those who had supported him in the past.

"Smith isn't even talking about the issue," the socialist said, "but we are doing something about it."



Patricia Bethard (left), SWP candidate for Seattle City Council, joins United Farm Workers boycott picket line.

# Calendar

## BROOKLYN

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.** Fri., Oct. 17, 8:00 p.m.: **Why Women Need the ERA.** A panel discussion. Sat., Oct. 18, 11:30 a.m.: **The Fight Against Discrimination: The Black Woman's View.** Speaker: Nan Bailey, member, YSA National Executive Committee. 2:30 p.m.: **Will Socialism End Women's Oppression?** Speaker: Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate. 136 Lawrence St. (near A & S). Donation: entire conference and Sat. lunch, \$3.50. Ausp: SWP, YSA. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

## CHICAGO

**PORTUGAL AT THE CROSSROADS.** Speaker: Barry Sheppard, SWP national organizational secretary. Fri., Oct. 17, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: South Side and West-North Militant Forums. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

## CLEVELAND

**PORTUGAL AT THE CROSSROADS.** Speaker: Barry Sheppard, SWP national organizational secretary. Wed., Oct. 15, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne, First Floor. Donation: \$1 Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

## LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

**RACISM IN THE SCHOOLS.** Panel: Manuel Barrera, NSCAR; Willie Petty, SWP; others. Fri., Oct. 17, 8 p.m. 4040 W. Washington. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 735-9801.

## NEWARK

**GRAND OPENING RALLY.** Opening of Newark Socialist Workers campaign headquarters. Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate; Syd Stapleton, PRDF national secretary. Sat.,

Oct. 18, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. (near Broad St.). Donation: rally, \$1; party to follow, \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (201) 624-7434.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS: ERA, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.** Speaker: Ruthann Miller, 1976 candidate for state assembly, 70th A.C. (New York); others. Fri., Oct. 17, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## PHILADELPHIA

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY.** Speakers: Terry Ann Hardy, SWP candidate for mayor; Ed Heisler, cochairperson, Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. Sat., Oct. 18, 6 p.m., refreshments; 7 p.m., dinner; 8 p.m., rally. 2027 Chestnut St. (YWCA), Third Floor. Donation: dinner and rally, \$5.00; rally only, \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee. For reservations please call (215) WA5-4316.

## PITTSBURGH

**MASS TRANSIT IN PITTSBURGH.** Speakers: Kurt Stepling, coauthor of new mass-transit plan; Neil Berns, SWP candidate for Allegheny County commissioner; others. Fri., Oct. 17, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**SUPPORT THE WASHINGTON POST STRIKE.** Speakers: representative of Newspaper and Graphic Communications Union Local 6; representative of Mailers Union Local 29; Cindy Jaquith, *Militant* Washington Bureau chief; others. Fri., Oct. 17, 8:00 p.m. 1345 E. St., N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

# ...Reid

Continued from page 3

On Saturday afternoon, October 4, Reid campaigned among shoppers in downtown Minneapolis. As a crowd gathered, Reid urged a vote for Hillery in the November 4 elections. "The Socialist Workers campaign is your campaign—the campaign of working people in the Twin Cities and throughout the country," Reid said.

Across the street, a handful of uniformed members of the American Nazi party were distributing literature. They had phoned the campaign headquarters earlier, threatening to disrupt the rally.

Ignoring the Nazis, the police persistently harassed Reid's supporters, who were distributing her platform—

"A Bill of Rights for Working People."

They cited a number of ordinances supposedly being violated, including one that has been defunct for ten years—the stipulation that an American flag must be displayed at public rallies.

After Reid had left the rally, and some of her campaign workers were preparing to leave, the police moved in and arrested *eighteen* of them for "obstructing the sidewalk." Hillery was among those seized.

At a news conference held outside the police station where the campaigners were being detained, Reid blasted the arrests as "one more case in a long string of harassments of those with socialist ideas." The wholesale arrests were the main story on the evening news.

The eighteen were released on their

own recognizance in time to attend a campaign rally that evening. Reid, Hillery, and Faith Shaver, candidate for city council, Ward Eight, addressed the 105 people in attendance. Ramona Austin, a member of the HCWPC and the Minority Task Force of the National Organization for Women, gave greetings from the caucus. A fund appeal raised close to \$1,300 for the campaign.

The eighteen arrested were scheduled to appear in court October 8. Hillery told the rally that she is demanding the right to campaign downtown, and will seek support in this fight from her Democratic and Republican opponents, who campaign in that area free from police harassment.

# ...Portugal

Continued from page 4

warks against the Portuguese revolution.

The possibility of a new upsurge of the Portuguese revolution that could regain lost ground and defeat the MFA's repressive plans continues to exist. In this context, the numerous ultraleft groups in Portugal bear a heavy responsibility for the current confusion in the vanguard of the working class there.

To begin with, the ultraleftists have been incapable of educating the working class on the elementary need for independence from the capitalist government. Instead, they have tailed the CP, giving the Stalinists left cover for their various governmental maneuvers.

Almost all of the ultraleft groups joined together August 25 in a bloc called the Frente de Unidade Revolucionária. This grouping was based on support to Vasco Gonçalves, the former premier of the Portuguese government. At that time the CP was energetically campaigning for the retention of the Gonçalves government, and the ultralefts were thus in a bloc with the Stalinists in support of a capitalist government.

The ultraleft groups were open to such a bloc because they did not begin with the concept that it is necessary to win the masses in order to make a socialist revolution. As a minority of the working class, they looked to other

forces outside the working class to attain their ends. When the MFA moved to restrict the rights of the SP, they applauded under the mistaken impression that the attack on a reformist workers organization by a capitalist government would help the revolution.

This approach has been reflected in the Maoist *Guardian* newspaper here in the United States. Thus, the *Guardian's* managing editor, Jack Smith, wrote September 24 of the danger that Soares and the SP would gut "the AFM of its militant, progressive heart."

The answer proposed by revolutionists to the MFA's attempt to impose capitalist law and order is not another set of ruling generals, but a workers and farmers government based directly on the parties of the Portuguese working class.

Currently, the ultraleft groups are continuing their policy of acting as if they have no need of mass support. This has made it easier for the regime to carry out its repressive policies.

One example of this is that the formation of the new Military Intervention Force came less than one week after it was revealed that a sympathetic officer had diverted 1,000 automatic rifles to a small ultraleft group.

Similarly, the left-wing Ralis light artillery regiment on the outskirts of Lisbon has reportedly set up antitank guns and armed guards outside of its barracks.

These examples of "pick-up-the-gunism" may yet lead to tragic consequences. The ultraleftists are isolated from the masses. The demonstrative actions by the ultralefts appear to the masses to be a rearguard defense by the forces supporting the discredited Vasco Gonçalves.

So far, the CP has supported demonstrations by a clandestine soldiers' front called Soldados Unidos Vencerão (SUV—Soldiers United Will Win). These have drawn 10,000 in Oporto, plus a reported 1,500 uniformed military personnel, and at least 25,000 civilians and 3,500 military personnel in Lisbon. The danger is that the further reconciliation between the CP and the MFA indicated by Moscow and the U.S. Stalinists will leave the ultraleftists out on a limb, an easy target for the military junta and an object lesson in the campaign for "discipline."

# Socialist Directory

**ARIZONA: Tucson:** YSA, SUPO Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 881-0712.

**CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland:** SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

**Long Beach:** YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, CSU, 6101 E. 7th St., Long Beach, Calif. 90807.

**Los Angeles, Central-East:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512; YSA—(213) 483-2581.

**Los Angeles, West Side:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4040 W. Washington Blvd. (at Washington Square shopping center). Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

**Los Angeles:** City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

**Riverside:** YSA, c/o U. of Cal. Campus Activities, 234 Commons, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

**San Diego:** SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

**San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

**San Jose:** SWP and YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113.

**San'a Barbara:** YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

**COLORADO: Denver:** SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825; YSA—(303) 893-8360.

**FLORIDA: Tallahassee:** YSA, c/o Dave Bouffard, 754 El Rancho, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

**GEORGIA: Atlanta:** Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

**ILLINOIS: Champaign:** YSA, Room 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

**Chicago, South Side:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books,

1754 E. 55th St., Chicago, Ill. 60615. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

**Chicago, West-North:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

**Chicago:** City-wide SWP and YSA, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0748.

**INDIANA: Bloomington:** YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**Indianapolis:** YSA, 3138 Perkins Ct. #C, Indianapolis, Ind. 46203. Tel: (317) 783-6447.

**KANSAS: Lawrence:** YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-3975 or 842-8658.

**KENTUCKY: Lexington:** YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

**Louisville:** YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

**LOUISIANA: New Orleans:** SWP, P.O. Box 51923, New Orleans, La. 70151. Tel: (504) 899-7684. YSA, P.O. Box 1331 U.N.O., New Orleans, La. 70122.

**MARYLAND: Baltimore:** YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 342-7895.

**MASSACHUSETTS: Boston:** SWP and YSA, Militant Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050; YSA—(617) 482-8051; Viewpoint/New England and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Militant Books—(617) 338-8560.

**Worcester:** YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

**MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor:** YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

**Detroit:** SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, Militant Bookstore, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) 831-6135.

**East Lansing:** YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

**Kalamazoo:** YSA, c/o Gail Altenburg, 3511 Ken-

brooke Ct., Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007. Tel: (616) 375-6370.

**Mt. Pleasant:** YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

**MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul:** SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

**MISSOURI: St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

**NEW JERSEY: Newark:** SWP and YSA, 11 Central Ave. (Central and Broad Streets), Second Floor, Newark, N.J. 07102 Tel: (201) 624-7434.

**NEW YORK: Albany:** YSA, c/o Mary Ann Kellogg, 468 Madison Ave., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 463-5330.

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**New York City:** City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

**Lower Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books (212) 982-5940.

**Upper West Side:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**Ossining:** YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562.

**NORTH CAROLINA: Greenville:** YSA, P.O. Box 1693, Greenville, N.C. 27834. Tel: (919) 752-6439.

**OHIO: Cincinnati:** YSA, c/o Charles R. Mitts, 6830 -Buckingham Pl., Cincinnati, Ohio 45227.

**Cleveland:** SWP and YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

**Columbus:** YSA, Box 3343 Univ. Station (mailing address); 325 Ohio Union, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 422-6287.

**OREGON: Portland:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

**PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro:** YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

**Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

**Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

**State College:** YSA, c/o William Donovan, 260 Toftrees Ave. #320, State College, Pa. 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

**TENNESSEE: Knoxville:** YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

**Nashville:** YSA, c/o Warren Duzak, 3523 Byron Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 37205 Tel: (615) 269-9455.

**TEXAS: Austin:** YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

**Dallas:** YSA, c/o Steve Charles, 3420 Hidalgo #201, Dallas, Tex. 75220. Tel: (214) 352-6031.

**Houston:** SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

**San Antonio:** YSA, 2203 W. Houston, San Antonio, Tex. 78207.

**UTAH: Logan:** YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

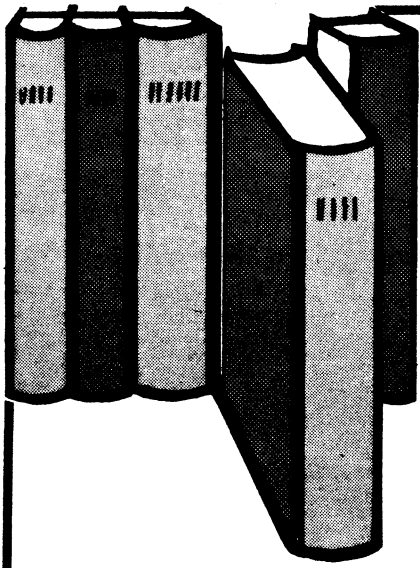
**WASHINGTON: Bellingham:** YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213, Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

**Seattle:** SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

**WISCONSIN: Madison:** YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 238-6224.

**Milwaukee:** SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.





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Officers of the Committee—Chairperson: Tom Kincaid—Treasurer: Priscilla Schenk.

## Black frame-up victim

# Hurricane Carter's long fight for justice

By Michael Smith

NEWARK, N.J.—The chances are improving that New Jersey prisoner No. 45472 may yet walk out the gates of Trenton State Prison, free at last to go on leading his life as Rubin "Hurricane" Carter.

It has been more than eight years since Carter and John Artis, now No. 45473, were framed up, convicted, and sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of three white men in a Paterson, New Jersey, bar.

It has been one year since the only two witnesses to place Carter and Artis at the scene of the crime admitted that they lied on the witness stand.

For all the difference the recantations make to the New Jersey courts, Carter and Artis could stay in jail forever. But a growing public outcry will not let this flagrant injustice rest.

### Pardons considered

Under mounting pressure, on September 29, New Jersey Gov. Brendan Byrne asked the head of the state assembly's judiciary committee, Eldridge Hawkins, to make a recommendation on whether pardons should be granted. Hawkins went on to announce he was planning to investigate possible misconduct by police and prosecutors in the case.

Carter and Artis say they will accept pardons only if there is no requirement that they admit guilt or complicity with the crime. In the meantime, they are pursuing court action to win a new trial, which they are confident would lead to their complete exoneration.

The New Jersey Defense Committee for Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis and the New York-based Hurricane Trust Fund are also continuing their efforts to publicize the case and raise needed funds for the defense.

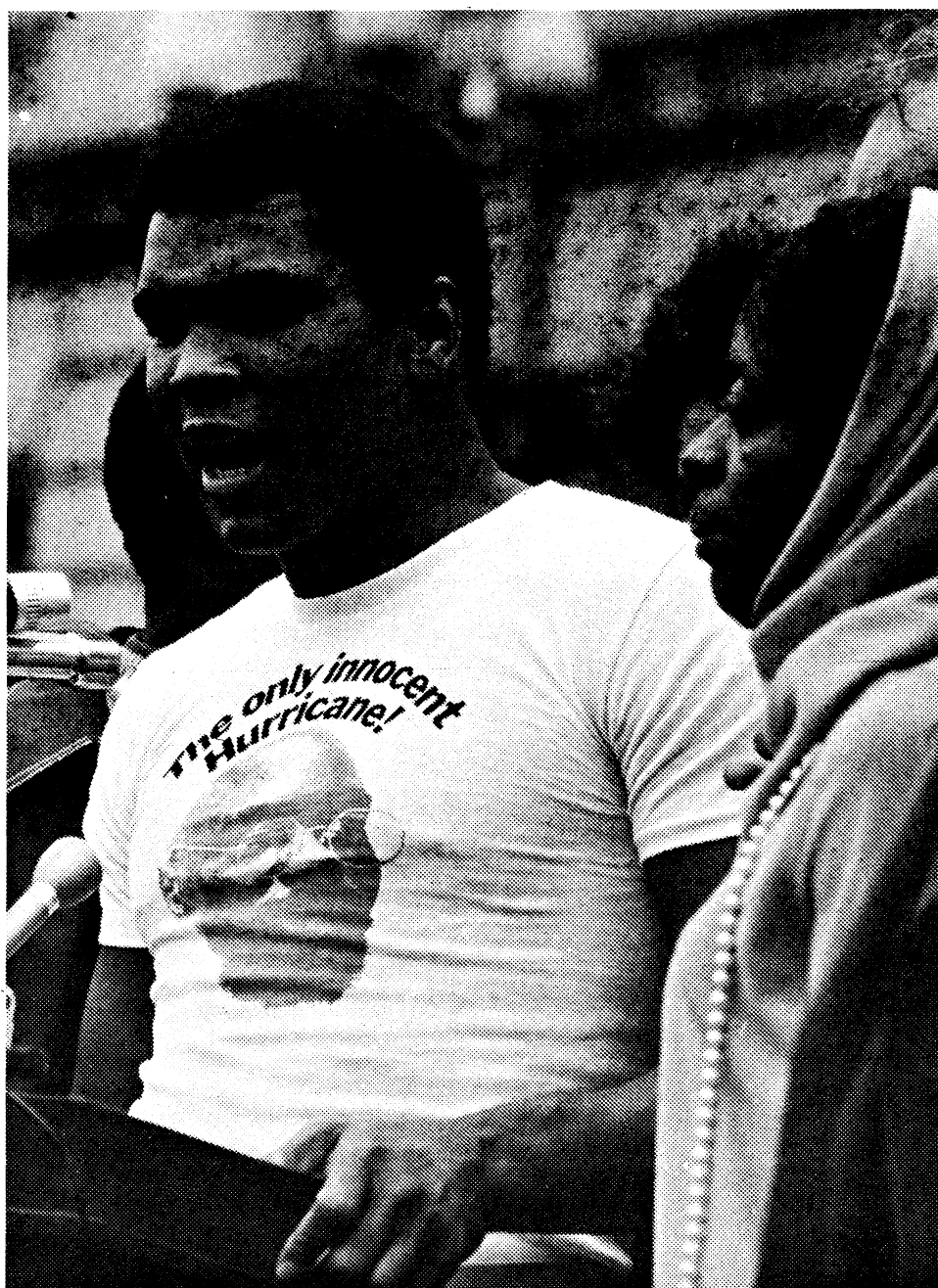
An indication of the broad backing for Carter and Artis was a demonstration of 3,000 people September 6 in Newark. Mayor Kenneth Gibson addressed the rally and declared September 6 "Justice for Rubin Carter Day."

The same day, neighboring East Orange, New Jersey, renamed one of its main thoroughfares "Justice for Rubin Carter Avenue."

### 'A railroad job'

Featured speaker at the rally was Muhammed Ali, world heavyweight boxing champion. Ali had earlier called the case "a New Jersey Watergate," telling reporters, "The man deserves a new trial. It looks like a railroad job to me. It looks to me like the judge was too proud to say he's wrong."

Other powerful forces in New Jersey don't want the state's case exposed as a frame-up, either. Alfred Bello, one of the two witnesses who recanted, was in jail at the time. He said that when the government found out he was going to



Theodore Morrison

Muhammad Ali and Carolyn Kelly, head of New Jersey Defense Committee, at September 6 rally in Newark. Under mounting pressure, Gov. Brendan Byrne is considering pardons for Carter and John Artis.

talk, the prison guards beat him and burned him with cigarettes.

Bello said that Lt. Vincent DeSimone, a detective in the Paterson Police Department, warned him, "If you open your mouth you're going to do 100 years."

A review of how the case against Carter and Artis was put together makes it clear why the cops are worried now.

Back in 1966 Carter was a leading contender for the middleweight boxing crown. He was also an admirer of Malcolm X and an outspoken critic of police brutality against the Black community.

The Paterson cops had been harassing him for some time, and previous frame-up attempts had failed.

About 2:30 in the morning of June 17, 1966, two Black gunmen walked into the Lafayette Grill and fatally

shot three whites.

The cops picked up Carter and Artis, a casual acquaintance of his, that night and questioned them for seventeen hours straight. They were released after they passed lie-detector tests and a survivor of the shooting could not identify them.

It was not until October 1966, months later, that Carter and Artis were indicted for the slayings. Bello and Arthur Bradley, two former convicts who saw the aftermath of the shooting while they were trying to break into a nearby factory, claimed they had seen Carter and Artis leave the scene, guns in hand.

### 'Niggers, Muslims, animals'

Six witnesses, all Black, testified that the defendants were elsewhere at the time of the shootings. But the prosecutor was white, the judge was

white, and the jury was all white.

Bello and Bradley say that the police and prosecutors constantly referred to Carter and Artis as "niggers, Muslims, animals, and murderers." They were convicted in short order.

No one ever explained why Carter, a man at the top of his profession, relatively wealthy and secure, respected, happily married and the father of a young daughter, would want to shoot three people he didn't know in a bar he had never been to. But proof of motive is not necessary for a murder conviction in New Jersey.

Bello and Bradley recanted their testimony seven years after the trial. They waited, they explain, until the statute of limitations had expired so they could not be prosecuted for perjury. The two recanted independently, each without knowledge that the other had done so.

Carter notes that they also had never been given the \$10,500 reward they were promised.

It has since come to light that the prosecution suppressed evidence that Bello and Bradley could not initially identify Carter, Artis, or the car they were driving. Their identifications became "positive" only after they were promised reduced sentences.

Bradley, known as the "motel burglar," had nine indictments pending against him in five New Jersey counties. He ended up serving only three years in jail. Governor Byrne himself was at that time a prosecutor in neighboring Passaic County, where Bradley was about to be sentenced, and helped arrange the light term in return for his perjured testimony.

### 'The ring of truth'

Carter appealed for a new trial last year based on the suppressed evidence and the witnesses' admissions. Judge Samuel Lerner denied the motion, saying the recantations lacked "the ring of truth." Lerner presided over the original trial and had no trouble swallowing the prosecution's flimsy story then.

Recent developments give fresh hope that Carter and Artis may finally get justice, but the New Jersey Defense Committee, led by Carolyn Kelly, is not about to let up in its efforts while the governor and legislators deliberate.

The committee is continuing to obtain signatures on petitions, to be presented to the governor at an October 28 demonstration in Trenton.

The Newark Student Coalition Against Racism is also making the fight to free Carter and Artis a central part of its activity, working closely with the defense committee.

For more information, or to lend support to the defense effort, contact Carolyn Kelly, 22 Green Street, Newark, New Jersey 07102; telephone (201) 643-4843.