

# THE MILITANT

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

## New York crisis

# Working people should not pay!

—PAGES 13-18



Militant/Jon Hillson

**BOSTON**—Black students, here entering South Boston High School, have been demanding police protection against racist assaults. See page 3.

## Blacks say: 'Halt racist attacks'

## ANTIRACIST STRUGGLE

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## THE MILITANT

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# In Brief

**COURT SAYS LORI PATON CAN SUE FBI:** A U.S. Court of Appeals in Philadelphia has reversed the 1974 decision that denied Lori Paton the right to sue the FBI. Paton is the New Jersey high school student who, as part of a school project, wrote the Socialist Workers party in 1973 for information. Because the FBI had a mail cover on the SWP offices, Paton's letter was intercepted and an investigation was begun on her. Paton filed a lawsuit, and the lower court ordered the FBI to destroy records of the investigation. But it ruled in favor of the FBI on all other counts.

The appeals court said October 14 that the FBI can keep its file on Paton but that she can challenge the constitutionality of the investigation and sue for damages of \$65,000. "We now have the opportunity to have a trial of FBI agents and their conduct," says Paton's lawyer, Frank Askin.

## Mo. socialist candidate victim of death threat

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 22—A cardboard silhouette of a woman riddled with more than 100 bullet holes was found on the doorstep of Helen Savio's home last night. Savio is the Missouri Socialist Workers party candidate for governor. The silhouette had the words "Good-bye Helen" scrawled across its face.

In a statement issued today, Savio labeled this "the most vicious escalation in a series of threats and harassment I have been subjected to because of my political activities. This threat follows by less than three weeks the announcement of my candidacy."

Savio noted that a recent death threat had been made in the August 18 St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* by Nazi party leader Michael Allen. Allen said that Nazis here would extend their campaign "to eliminate Marxism" to activities at the homes of Socialist Workers party leaders.

Savio charged police with employing a "double standard" in handling this ominous incident. Officers called to her home refused to search for fingerprints on the silhouette or to conduct an immediate investigation. Savio said that had such a threat been made against President Ford or other candidates of the Democratic or Republican parties, there would have been an immediate response from police. She quoted an officer on the scene who replied to this complaint, "That's like comparing apples and oranges."

Savio demanded that Mayor John Poelker and Gov. Christopher Bond "demonstrate in practice their support to my democratic rights and those of all Missouri voters" by conducting an investigation of the harassment and prosecuting those responsible. She said that such threats constitute a violation of both state and federal laws.

**NEW YORK GAY ACTIVIST CHALLENGES SODOMY LAW:** "It is high time laws like this bit the dust," says Gay Activists Alliance President David Thorstad. "The sooner the New York law is stricken from the books, the better off we all will be." Thorstad has filed suit challenging the constitutionality of the New York State Consensual Sodomy Law, which outlaws "deviate sexual intercourse with another person." Attorneys William Thom and E. Carrington Boggan from the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund are handling the case.

**PHILADELPHIA PROTEST AGAINST COP KILLING:** One hundred people demonstrated at Philadelphia City Hall October 16 demanding prosecution of the cop who murdered a Black seventeen-year-old, Vaughan Avent. The cop, Daniel Rooney, shot Avent six times on August 28 after he claimed he caught him looting a store. The police department has exonerated Rooney and officially ended its investigation, although nine witnesses have testified that Rooney killed Avent in cold blood.

Among those participating in the picket line were the Black United Liberation Front, the Conference on Gangs, Prisoners Rights Council, Student Coalition Against Racism, Socialist Workers party mayoral candidate Terry Ann Hardy, Community Assistance for Prisoners, and the action's initiator, the Coalition Against Police Abuses.

**CHICAGO TRIAL OF CUBAN EXILES POSTPONED:** On October 8 five right-wing Cuban exiles were brought to trial on charges stemming from their violent attack on a University of Chicago meeting last spring for Argentine socialist Juan Carlos Coral. Lawyers for the Cubans tried to dispute the opening testimony of Dr. Neil Dobro, the chairperson of the Coral meeting, who described in court how the meeting was physically attacked by the defendants.

Attorneys for the Cubans also tried a crude red-baiting smear against the organizers of the Coral meeting, which included the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, the University of Chicago student government, and the Latin American studies department at the university.

The Cuban thugs, known as *gusanos* (worms), were posturing as "law-abiding political refugees from Communist Cuba." The trial was continued until December 1 when one defense attorney withdrew from the case. His stated reason for doing so was that the trial was going to take longer than he had anticipated and that other obligations prevented him from representing his clients. The real reason, reportedly, is that the attorney (who doubles as an alderman) heard that columnist Mike Royko was looking into possible conflicts of interest in the case. It seems that the attorney/alderman was the "best man" at the judge's wedding.

Before the case was continued, charges against one defendant were dropped when he could not be "properly identified" by prosecution witnesses.

## LOS ANGELES CUBAN EXILES FACE CHARGES:

Two right-wing Cuban exiles are facing charges in Los Angeles stemming from a bomb threat made against a July 26 celebration sponsored by the Venceremos Brigade. Organizers of the meeting had requested a police presence because of attacks on earlier meetings. Four Cubans were arrested after they were observed making a call from a phone booth at the same time as the bomb threat was received. A .22-caliber rifle was reportedly found in their car.

The four were originally charged with felonies. Charges against two of them have since been dropped. For José Marrero, president of the Los Angeles Cuban Chamber of Commerce, the charge has been reduced to carrying a loaded firearm in a public place or street. Two charges of making a false bomb threat, one of resisting arrest, and one of making an annoying phone call have been filed against Alfredo Santana. All are misdemeanors.

Meanwhile, there have been no arrests in a September 29 tear-gas attack, which forced 800 people to evacuate a Beverley Hills theater. The bomb had a swastika on it. The movie being shown was *The Hiding Place*, produced by Billy Graham's organization. It depicts Dutch christians hiding Dutch Jews during the Nazi occupation of Holland.

**MILITANT REPORTER GETS AROUND:** During a vacation trip to Hamilton, Bermuda, in August, *Militant* staff writer Baxter Smith talked with members of the Bermuda Industrial Union and later did a "By Any Means Necessary" column on labor struggles there (September 26 *Militant*). And now we've received the September 26 *Workers Voice*, paper of the BIU, with a full-page article on Smith. The interviewers were interested in his view of New York's financial crisis: "There must be a creation of an independent labour party," Smith is quoted as saying. "And that's what our paper is advocating—a labour party, with candidates who are responsible to the working force of the country."

—Nancy Cole

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## Demand protection

# Boston Black students stage walkout

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Tension and racist incidents are on the rise inside South Boston High School and Charlestown High.

Three weeks ago Black students formed a Black caucus inside South Boston High and raised demands that ranged from increased police protection to Black studies courses, more Black teachers and administrators, and the right to celebrate the birthdays of Black leaders.

The response of the racist, antibusing movement here has been to mobilize white students to oppose the Black students.

A leaflet was found circulating inside South Boston High on October 17, imploring white students to physically assault Blacks. "Wake up, will you?" the racist handbill said. "Don't be scared by the federal offense threats. A fight in the school isn't a federal offense. . . ."

Three days later, twenty-five white students jumped and beat a lone Black student inside Charlestown High. A Black teacher's aide who went to help him was also pummeled.

On October 21, eighty-five Black students who are bused to Charlestown High refused to get off the buses and go inside, fearing for their safety. That afternoon they went to Freedom House in the Roxbury Black community, where they held a news conference to describe the conditions at the school and to list demands.

Clarence Jefferson, a leader of the Black students, described the situation as "like Vietnam."

Speaking for Chinese students, who along with Puerto Rican students have also been victims in these racist attacks, Robert Chinn said the problems are caused by "a small minority of whites who are coached from outside." The demands of the Charlestown minority students include more police protection, more minority aides and administrators, and the removal of racist graffiti inside the school.



Militant/Jon Hillson

South Boston High School students earlier this fall. Blacks here and at Charlestown High have walked out of school to demand protection from racist assaults.

A near riot erupted in the South Boston High lunchroom October 17, where racist provocations of Black students are common. The day had started with some 200 white students massing outside the school and refusing to enter at first. But once inside, twenty-five of them staged a sit-in in the lobby and others hurled racist epithets at Black students.

As Black students entered the building, three of them were chased down the corridor by a gang of whites in full view of school administrators.

While Black students have been routinely suspended for their protest actions, white students have met with virtually no disciplinary action.

On October 16, 250 white students bolted South Boston High after issuing demands including the scheduling of the reciting of the Pledge of Allegiance in every homeroom, the placing of American flags in every classroom, and the flying of a large American flag on the school's unused flagpole.

This patriotic demagoguery could not

camouflage their central demand calling for the "right" at any time to leave the school if they feel threatened by Black students. The thrust of this demand is to allow the white students to victimize Blacks in the corridors and lunchroom, and disrupt the school and get away with it.

On October 14, 175 white students had walked out of Charlestown High. A Black teacher's aide at the school told the *Militant* that a virtual hit squad of racist toughs physically threatened white students who did not immediately rush to join the walkout. None of the white students were suspended.

Smaller racist walkouts and flare-ups have been reported recently in Hyde Park High School, which, after South Boston and Charlestown, has been a target area of racist organizing.

While the schools are near the boiling point, city officials continue to praise racist resistance to desegregation. The city council held an antibusing hearing October 18, directing its

message to Washington where racists hope to obtain a constitutional amendment prohibiting busing.

Also on October 18 School Supt. Marion Fahey told an impatient audience of Black parents and students at Freedom House that she "could do nothing" to stop racist organizers from entering the schools and inflaming their youthful followers.

Later that night, more than 100 parents and high school and grade school youth held a "prayer march" in South Boston in the rain.

The eerie gathering, which resembled a Ku Klux Klan march, had a woman at the front who carried a burning cross.

The next night there was more action in South Boston as 200 racists battled the police for three hours in the rain. The crowd had massed for an antibusing rally, and rock-and-bottle-throwing youths attacked the police. Three of them were arrested and three police were injured.

## Philadelphia fire bombing

# Racists kill five in Puerto Rican home

By Duncan Williams

PHILADELPHIA—Radamés and Ramona Santiago bought a house in the Feltonville section of Philadelphia about eight months ago. After years of saving, scrimping, and Radamés working two jobs, they finally had their own home, on the 4400 block of North Fourth Street—a reasonably safe, clean area of town.

At about 3:00 a.m. on Sunday, October 5, racists from the predominantly white neighborhood ended that. They poured gasoline in the front and the back of the house and threw a Molotov cocktail.

Then someone called the fire department to report the blaze—and gave officials the wrong address. By the time fire fighters arrived at the Santiago house, it had been almost completely incinerated.

Ramona and three of the Santiago children—Nancy, fourteen; Isradamés, thirteen; and Roberta, six—were burned to death along with Luis Carrucini, a neighbor's child who was spending the night.

Radamés was partially blinded, and his son Carlos suffered burns over 15 percent of his body. Another daughter, Leona, was baby-sitting at the time and was unharmed.

An angry storm of protest has forced

police to make two arrests in connection with the bombing. Robert Wilkinson has been charged with murder for throwing the fire bomb. Ronald Hanley, a city tax collector and Democratic party committeeman from the neighborhood of the killings, was also charged with murder as an accomplice.

On September 25, ten days before the murders, the Santiago's car had been fire bombed. According to Radamés, when he reported the crime to police, the cops turned on him. "They went so far as to threaten me and search my home," he said, "when it was I that was the accuser."

The police did not take any action until after the house was burned. Then they arrested David McGinnis, a young white who was staying at committeeman Hanley's home, and charged him with the car burning.

Radamés also reports that "on one occasion, a neighbor threatened me with a pistol, but my complaint [to the police] did not prosper."

He and his family were trying to live in peace in their two-story house, he says, "but the neighbors were always bothering us. They would complain whenever my children played in the street."

They did it, he said, "because they did not want us in the neighborhood."

The news media have tried to play down the murders, portraying them as the result of "petty disputes" involving the Santiago children and other neighborhood residents. But the bombing

has provoked a wave of angry protests and demonstrations by Puerto Ricans here.

On the Monday night following the

*Continued on page 30*



Radamés Santiago, his eyes injured by the fire, stands outside his burning home. At left talking to fire marshal is Robert Wilkinson, later charged with murder after public outcry.



# 'Black Scholar' editor Robert Allen on lessons of desegregation struggle

[The following are major excerpts of a speech by Black Scholar editor Robert Allen to the October 10 rally at the Second National Student Conference Against Racism, held in Boston.]

It has now been over twenty-one years since the United States Supreme Court ruled that school segregation was, and is, illegal.

The famous Brown decision of 1954 represented an important antiracist step. This decision was not an easy one to obtain. Rather, it represented the culmination of many decades of court battles and other struggles by the NAACP and other organizations in the antiracist movement.

There can be no doubt that this was an important victory, but it is equally clear that it signaled the beginning of a long, hard struggle—a struggle which is continuing to this very day.

In 1954 many people were jubilant when the decision came down because they thought it would bring about instant desegregation of the public schools and public facilities. But this proved not to be the case. There is, after all, a vast difference between a court decision and implementation of that decision.

I think it would be instructive for us at this conference to recall a few of the events that happened in the aftermath of the 1954 decision.

The first thing to remember is that the racists at that time, just as today, refused to accept the court decision as the law of the land. In fact, they immediately began organizing to oppose the court ruling, to oppose its implementation. Just two weeks after the court decision, the first White Citizens Council was organized in Indianola, Mississippi. And others followed very quickly.

The racists found ready support in the federal government. Sen. James Eastland and other political figures aided and abetted the racist organizations. And some 101 members of Congress signed what was then called the "Southern Manifesto," a document that refused to recognize the real issue, blaming the court decision on outside agitators and calling for organized resistance to "forced integration."

Very quickly the racists began devising tactics for defying the law. They came up with the doctrine of interposition, under which they claimed that the states had the right to reject any federal law that the states themselves felt was not in keeping with the Constitution. Some seven Southern states adopted interposition resolutions.

When this interposition doctrine proved ineffective in halting the pace of desegregation, the racists then threatened to close the schools down altogether. This threat was actually carried out in four counties in Virginia.

The school closings failed to halt the progress of desegregation. But they tragically disrupted the educational process, not only for Black children but for white children as well.

All that it proved was that the racists are so depraved that they were willing to harm their own children rather than submit to the law of the land.

## Sophisticated racists

Very soon, some of the more sophisticated racists realized that to get around the law they would have to confuse matters by pretending that racism and race were not really the issue.

The device they came up with was the so-called pupil placement plan. Under these plans, local school boards were empowered to designate a school



In 1954 it was the White Citizens Council. Today it is ROAR. Way to counter racists is to build broader, stronger antiracist movement.

that each pupil would attend, according to certain sociological, psychological, educational, aptitudinal criteria. These sophisticated racists realized that years of unequal education had created certain differences between Black and white students—differences which could be exploited to maintain racial segregation.

These differences could be used as the basis for assigning Black and white students to different schools without using race as a criteria. Thus, segregation could be maintained under a different name.

This tactic was at least partially successful in confusing the issues and slowing down the process of desegregation. In fact, it required more than 200 state and federal lawsuits to bring about the ending of these pupil placement plans.

When the racists saw that their legal maneuvers were not going to be wholly successful in stopping the process of desegregation, they did not hesitate to use illegal means, including cowardly attacks against Black schoolchildren.

Dozens of antiracist workers were attacked in the South and many were lynched and murdered. In cities across the South, racist mobs attacked Black schoolchildren, children who were determined, however, to exercise their rights under the law.

These Black youth were the real heroes and heroines of the struggles for desegregation in the South. Those children certainly had more courage in their little fingers than all these racist mobs put together. And it was the picture of these Black youth courageously stepping forward to meet the hysterical lynch mob to attend school, it was this picture that provoked a massive outpouring of protests from the Black community and from progressive whites around the country.

This massive outpouring of antiracist sentiment finally compelled the

federal government itself to call in troops to protect the Black children and to implement the law of the land.

Today the struggles to desegregate the schools have spread from the South throughout the nation.

Boston and Louisville have become national symbols of that struggle.

All eyes are focused on Boston and Louisville because people realize that what happens in these cities will have a major impact on the struggle for democratic rights for many decades to come. At least I should say most people recognize that. Unfortunately, not everybody is clear on why the struggle in Boston should have the support of all antiracist forces no matter where they may be.

I happen to be from the West Coast. And several times I've run into brothers and sisters who would say, "Well, I don't know why I should be concerned about Boston, it doesn't affect me. Boston is 3,000 miles away."

But I think this is really a mistaken point of view. Because the fact of the matter is, if there is a major setback to the struggle here in Boston it will have an effect in Washington in the federal government. It would have an effect in the statehouse in every state across this land. It will embolden the racists. It will encourage the racists to move against the rights of Black people wherever we may be.

Consequently, I think it is urgent for us to make it very clear to people who are concerned about opposing racism why the focus has to be on the struggle here, now. Why it is important for all of us to support the struggle and to see to it that the struggle here is successful in ending racism.

The centrality of the struggle in Boston has to be put forward to everyone concerned with opposing racism.

Now, of course, it goes without saying that the struggle is not going to

be easy. It's not going to be a short struggle.

Yet when we look at the struggle in the South in the 1950s and the 1960s, I think we can see parallels to the struggle taking place here in Boston, and I think we can draw some important lessons that can help us in meeting today's challenge.

## The real issues

Number one, we must not allow ourselves or the public to become confused as to what is really at stake in the struggle here, what the real issue is. The real issue today, as it was twenty-one years ago, is racism in the public schools, that is, the denial of the right of Black children to receive an equal education.

In the past the racists tried to confuse the issues by conjuring up rhetoric about "forced integration," or "pupil placement plans." Today they try to confuse matters by talking about neighborhood schools, or opposing forced busing. But by their actions the racists have proved that what they really oppose is the right of Black children to have access to an education equal to that of any white child.

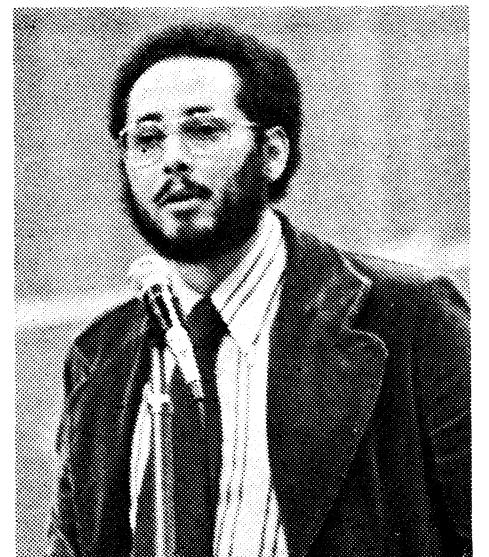
Number two, the racists have organized to oppose desegregation, and the only way to counter this tactic is to build a broader and stronger antiracist movement.

In 1954 it was the White Citizens Council. Today it is ROAR and other racist groups. But we need not be intimidated by these racist groups with their squeaks and howls, for we have stronger, mass-based organizations that have dedicated themselves to combating racism. I'm speaking, of course, of the NAACP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

It is urgent for all of us to support the antiracist work of these two organizations and to help them expand their work in every community across the face of this nation.

Number three, let us have no illusions about the good intentions of the federal government. Yesterday it was James Eastland who aided the racists by vowing to defend segregation to the end. Today it's Gerald Ford, who encourages the racists when he talks about his opposition to "forced busing." Yesterday, it was Congress signing the "Southern Manifesto." Today it is Congress signing antibusing riders and trying to hitch them onto legislation that's going through Congress.

Nevertheless, it is still true that the federal government has both the responsibility and the power to implement the law of the land. But the government will not move to implement the law unless it feels the sustained, organized pressure from the antiracist forces throughout this country.



Robert Allen addressing rally at student conference.



## Elected officials capitulate

# Antibusing bigots rally in Louisville, Ky.

By Amy Husk

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—White racists held a rally of 5,000 people at Freedom Hall here October 19 to protest school busing for desegregation. The rally was hosted by a group calling itself "Union Labor Against Busing," comprised of various local trade-union affiliates.

The rally came as local, state, and county officials have been abandoning their previous "get tough" policy toward Jefferson County racists. Many officials are capitulating to antibusing sentiment to assure their reelection.

Jefferson County Judge Todd Hollenbach, a Democrat, has been using county government funds to promote antibusing activity and to promote himself as a leader of the antibusing movement. Hollenbach has already squandered more than \$2,000 of the taxpayers' money to print and distribute antibusing petitions.

He plans to take these petitions to Washington, D.C., for the October 28-29 Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to prohibit busing of schoolchildren for the purpose of desegregation.

Hollenbach is also using county funds to pay for luncheons with local racist leaders.

Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll, also a Democrat, recently said that the state may provide legal counsel to antibusing parents who want to reopen the

suit that led to the desegregation order in Jefferson County.

Carroll is also using state funds to print antibusing questionnaires to "document harmful effects of busing," which he plans to present at the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings.

In the meantime, Jefferson County school officials have been cracking down on "unruly" students—Black

students, that is. In a school system that is less than 20 percent Black, during the month of September eighty-seven more Black students than whites have been suspended. This is despite the regular walkouts staged by white students in most county high schools.

In the majority of these walkouts no action has been taken against the

white students.

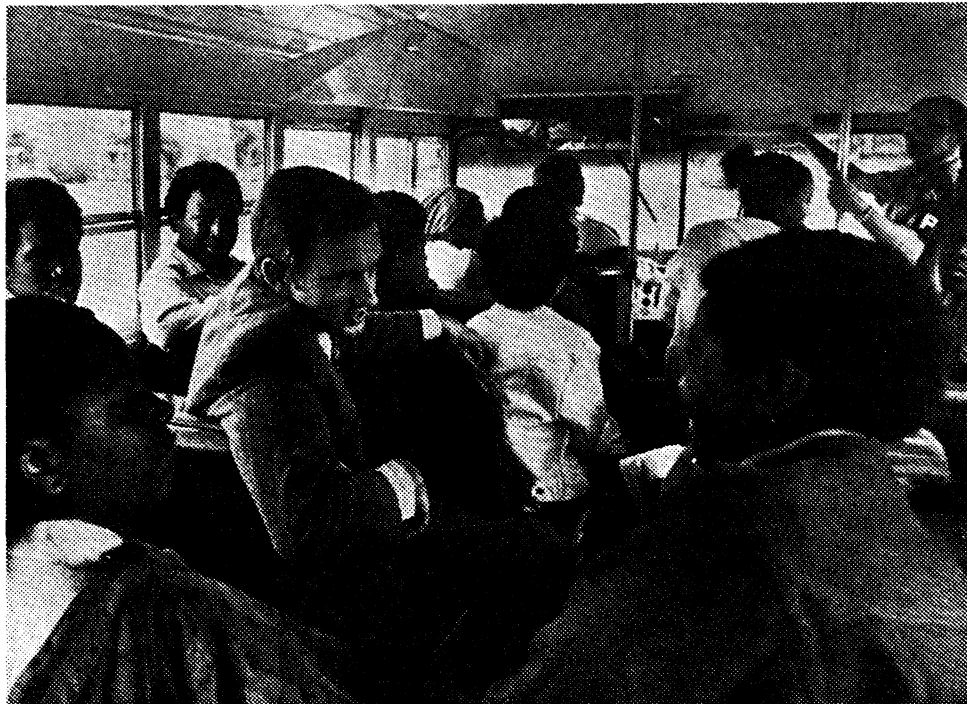
Two prodesegregation organizations have responded to Hollenbach and Carroll's assault on Black students' right to attend any school in Louisville by printing and distributing their own prodesegregation petitions.

The Task Force for Peaceful Desegregation, which represents thirty-nine organizations, called a news conference to announce their plans to circulate a probusing petition and to send a representative to the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings to speak in favor of busing.

Another prodesegregation organization, Progress In Education, is also circulating a petition addressed to Governor Carroll, Judge Hollenbach, and Louisville's Mayor Harvey Sloane. PIE will be discussing at their next meeting sending a representative to the Senate hearing.

PIE, a predominantly white group, has been working closely with three Black organizations: the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference, the Black Workers Coalition, and Save the Black Children. These three groups sponsored an October 13 motorcade to Frankfort, the state capital, and a probusing rally of 200 Blacks and whites on October 19.

The Kentucky Civil Liberties Union is considering filing suit against Hollenbach for his misuse of county funds.



Louisville elected officials have backed off their 'get tough' policy with racists. Earlier, national guardsmen (upper right corner) rode on buses to protect Black students.

# 2,000 rally for 'Hurricane' Carter in N.J.

By Michael Smith

TRENTON, N.J.—On Friday, October 17, 2,000 people marched to the New Jersey Statehouse here to demand that Gov. Brendan Byrne free Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis.

In 1967, Carter and Artis were convicted by an all-white jury of murdering three white men in a Paterson, New Jersey, tavern. At the time of his arrest, Carter was a leading contender for the world middleweight boxing title. Both he and Artis were sentenced to life imprisonment and have already served more than eight years.

Last year the prosecution's two key witnesses, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley, confessed to newsmen that they had lied during the trial because of pressure from the prosecutor and police. Nonetheless, Judge Samuel Lerner, who presided over the original trial, rejected an appeal by Carter and Artis for a retrial, ruling that the two recantations lacked "the ring of truth."

Judge Lerner's widely publicized decision aroused growing public outrage against the frame-up, forcing Democratic Governor Byrne, at the end of September, to ask Black State Assemblyman Eldridge Hawkins to come up with a recommendation on whether a retrial or pardon should be granted.

Organizers of the October 17 march accused the governor of stalling. Marchers carried picket signs reading "Not one more day, not one more minute," "Governor Byrne, the whole world is watching," and "They pardoned Nixon, and he was guilty."

While the demonstrators gathered outside the capitol, a delegation headed by world heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali met with Byrne and presented him with 37,000 signatures on support petitions for Carter and Artis. Emerging from the meeting, Ali appeared optimistic. "When I am in a fight," he told the crowd, "we usually win. I predict that

in a very few days Rubin 'Hurricane' Carter will be out in the streets."

Ali was joined at the rally by Joe Frazier, his foe in the recent world championship bout, and Academy Award-winning actress Ellen Burstyn.

Looking out over the Black and white demonstrators, Ali wound up his speech with the observation, "It means a lot for Blacks to see whites who want freedom and justice for our people."

The demonstration was sponsored by the New Jersey Defense Committee for Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis and by the New York-based Hurricane Trust Fund, of which Ali is national cochairperson.

The Newark, N.J., and Philadelphia chapters of the National Student Coalition Against Racism also helped mobilize participants for the march and rally.

The demonstration received extensive media coverage and was reported by all three network news programs that night.



Muhammad Ali at rally, waving to Carter supporters.

# Minn. Black framed up on rape charges

By Sue Finn

MINNEAPOLIS—After a one-week trial, Lynnard Hill, a twenty-two-year-old Black man, was convicted by an all-white jury on charges of aggravated rape, indecent liberties, kidnapping, and sodomy. He was sentenced to twenty years in prison.

The prosecution based its frame-up case on the grounds that Hill matched the description of "a tall Black man wearing a natural hairstyle."

Because of widespread support for Hill in the Black community, the sentencing, which was postponed twice, had to be moved to a larger room when hundreds of supporters packed the courtroom.

The prosecution's weak case contained many discrepancies, and during

the trial two jurors were even overheard making statements that indicated they had previously judged Hill guilty.

The alleged rape victim, a seventeen-year-old white woman, claimed her attacker wore cranberry pants, a knee-length leather coat, a gold knit cap, and a gold pierced earring. Hill owns no clothes matching those, and he doesn't have a pierced ear.

Seven days after the supposed incident, the woman was unable to identify a photograph of Hill as her assailant. But when she saw him five days later in a police lineup, she picked him out, apparently after remembering the photograph.

Hill was the only man in the lineup with a build similar to what she had

described, and the woman went to the lineup with the understanding that the suspect would be there.

Besides these discrepancies, four members of Hill's family testified that he was home on the evening in question, and they supported their testimony by recalling the events of the night.

The cops based their arrest of Hill on their visit to a Toyota dealer three blocks from where the incident supposedly occurred. They approached the dealer and asked if anyone who fit the description had bought a Toyota. The dealer recalled Hill, and the cops picked him up.

The woman had said that her assailant had a Toyota.

Several Black community groups

have formed a coalition to fight this racist frame-up. Already, the coalition has raised hundreds of dollars for legal expenses and has brought several hundred people to rallies for Hill.

The Minnesota Student Coalition Against Racism has been participating in defense committee meetings. SCAR coordinator Jeff Roy told the *Militant*, "Lynnard Hill is obviously another victim of racist 'justice.' SCAR will help in any way possible to secure Lynnard's freedom."

Yusef Mgeni, a spokesperson for the defense committee, said that a big problem has been inadequate and distorted coverage in the local media.

Hill intends to appeal his conviction and his defense committee will be continuing its activities.

## Camejo tours Denver

# Socialist lends support to local school fight

By David Salner

DENVER—"This may come as a shock to you," Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers party candidate for president, explained, "but according to the polls, whites are more for integrated schools now than ever before."

More than 130 Colorado State University students had turned out to hear Camejo in Fort Collins, Colorado, as he blasted the role of the national news media in giving backhanded support to the highly visible racist movement.

"How do they present the issue to us? They talk about neighborhood schools. Nobody ever cared about neighborhood schools until Blacks wanted to go to white schools to achieve equal education."

"Blacks aren't receiving protection," he continued. "Everybody who stands for human rights should demand that this government provide complete and total protection for Blacks in Boston, Louisville, and anywhere else they are under attack."

"Anybody who stands in front of a school and threatens a Black student should be arrested. Anybody who threatens the life of President Ford gets arrested. And anybody who threatens the life of a Black student should be arrested too. Let's have equal treatment for everybody."

Loud applause greeted Camejo's remarks.

Denver is not Boston. There are no racist mobs threatening the Chicano and Black communities here. But racist educational practices are every bit as real to the students in Denver's schools as they are in the rest of the country.

At an informal reception for Camejo on Friday night, October 17, Everett



Militant/David Salner

SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo campaigning in downtown Denver

Chavez, a leader of the Concerned Citizens for Equal Education and a Chicano studies teacher at the University of Colorado in Denver, discussed an important development in the struggle for equal education.

In 1974 a federal court ordered the desegregation of Denver schools, bilingual-bicultural education, and a program of affirmative action for Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans.

The racist Citizens Association for Neighborhood Schools plans to challenge this court order in the state supreme court on October 24. CANS is the Denver affiliate of ROAR—the organization spearheading the racist movement in Boston.

The Concerned Citizens for Equal Education will be organizing a speak-out October 24 in support of imple-

mentation of the court order. Chavez, the Student Coalition Against Racism, and leaders of the Native American community will be participating.

More than 125 supporters crowded into the Denver Socialist Workers campaign headquarters for a banquet and rally October 18. Among those attending were Mary Fox, chairperson of the Colorado Education Association Women's Caucus (CEA is the Colorado affiliate of the National Education Association), and Mariann Shaw, a leader of the Indian Parent Committee.

Priscilla Schenk announced her campaign for U.S. Congress in the First Congressional District as an SWP candidate and explained why she was running against liberal Democrat Patricia Schroeder. Schenk, twenty-six, is an unemployed teacher and the Young Socialist Alliance organizer for

the Colorado, Utah, and New Mexico region.

She pointed out that Schroeder was offering cover-ups, not solutions, to the problems of inflation, cutbacks, and unemployment.

"These are problems that cannot be eliminated by placing trust in Democrats or Republicans," she stated.

Everett Chavez spoke next, outlining the oppression of Chicanos in the United States since the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. This history, as well as his own experience as a Chicano, he said, had previously made him skeptical of parties and candidates.

"What I look for is actions, not words. . .," Chavez said. "From working with the Denver Socialist Workers party . . . can you believe it, I have finally found a presidential candidate worth supporting in 1976!"

He then introduced Camejo, saying: "I think you will agree that Peter Camejo can provide actions and ideas that do indeed represent and reflect the aspirations of Chicanos as working-class people."

Camejo stressed the crucial role of Blacks, Chicanos, and women in the struggle for socialism in the United States.

"We must begin to fight back against the injustices this system is forcing on us . . . and those great Chicano revolutionaries that Everett Chavez referred to—they are part of our heritage."

After Camejo's talk, the audience responded to Denver campaign supporter Jack Marsh's fund appeal by contributing or pledging more than \$1,600.

## Demands FBI stay away

# Reid opens Newark SWP campaign office

By Debby Woodrooffe

NEWARK, N.J.—On September 30, 1968, the Newark office of the FBI sent a memorandum to J. Edgar Hoover advising him that the Newark branch of the Socialist Workers party had been dissolved. "In view of this startling development," the memo continues, "Newark is closing captioned file, subject to reopening if and when the Branch is reorganized."

This month, the Socialist Workers party returned to Newark. It has opened a campaign headquarters and bookstore, in the middle of the downtown area, to let the people of Newark know that there's a socialist alternative in the 1976 election.

Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate, came to campaign in Newark October 16. The first

thing she did was call a news conference and blast the FBI's threat of renewed disruption of the SWP.

"My New Jersey campaign supporters are determined to exercise their constitutional right of political association," Reid stated. "And I join with them in demanding that the FBI stop its illegal interference into my party's legitimate political activities."

The highlight of Reid's tour was a rally October 18 attended by more than 100 of her supporters. One of the speakers was Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund. The PRDF is the civil liberties committee organizing support and funding for the SWP's lawsuit against government harassment.

The Newark FBI has long been one of the most zealous, Stapleton ex-

plained. "This could be called the dirty tricks capital of the country." In addition to the standard disruption tactics, the FBI here went even further. It tried to get a Boy Scout master removed from his position because his wife was an SWP member, Stapleton said. And last year it opened a file on a young woman, Lori Paton, who wrote the SWP for information for a high school project.

"But," Stapleton pointed out, "the Newark SWP has a long tradition of fighting back, beginning with the James Kutcher case in 1948." Kutcher was a disabled veteran the FBI arranged to have fired because of his membership in the SWP. An eight-year fight won his job back.

"The witch-hunters made a mistake when they went after Kutcher twenty-seven years ago. They learned their lesson the hard way. I'm sure the new Newark branch of the SWP will teach them a few lessons too," Stapleton predicted.

Reid's speech focused on the case of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis—two Blacks who have been in New Jersey prisons for nine years on a frame-up murder charge. On October 17, a march and rally were held in Trenton, demanding that New Jersey Gov. Brendan Byrne release Carter and Artis.

Reid was among the 2,000 who marched that day for their freedom. She had just finished reading Carter's book, *The Sixteenth Round*. She described her feelings of rage as she drove down the New Jersey freeway toward Trenton and saw signs referring to the towns that figure in Carter's book—Paterson, Rahway,



Militant/Debby Woodrooffe

Willie Mae Reid joined October 17 demonstration demanding freedom for Black frame-up victims Rubin 'Hurricane' Carter and John Artis.

Woodbridge—towns where he had been free, and towns where he has been jailed.

Reid went on to talk about John Artis. "He was only twenty-one when he went to jail. He'd never done anything outside of his own city. He'd

Continued on page 30

## Join the socialist campaign!

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

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

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

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

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

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Business address \_\_\_\_\_

School/union local \_\_\_\_\_



## Socialist trade unionist takes to the road

By Debby Woodroffe

NEW YORK—A recent poll commissioned by the People's Bicentennial Commission includes among its findings the fact that 66 percent of the people in this country would like to work for a company owned and controlled by the workers themselves. And 56 percent would support a presidential candidate who favored this.

There is only one 1976 presidential ticket that stands for a society in which working people make the decisions—the Socialist Workers party slate of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. Camejo and Reid are currently touring the United States, trying to win the American people to socialist ideas.

Also on the road for the SWP campaign this fall is Ed Heisler, a national chairperson of the Camejo-Reid campaign committee, and its chief trade-union spokesperson.

Heisler, thirty-three, has been a member of the Socialist Workers party since 1960 and is on its national committee. Before he left on his tour, I spoke with Heisler about how he became involved in the socialist movement, his years as a leader of the United Transportation Union (UTU), and his own experience as a socialist candidate.

Heisler grew up in Wisconsin—Sen. Joseph McCarthy's home state, and an area where the American Legion was a major political force. McCarthy's photograph was posted in the classrooms of the schools Heisler attended. Political dissent was not tolerated.

### Blasted McCarthyism

"I remember in 1959, the American Legion sponsored an oratory contest on 'Why my country is the most democratic in the world,'" Heisler said.

"I blasted McCarthyism and said that the American Civil Liberties Union was the only genuine defender of democracy. Needless to say, I didn't make the semifinals."

From a working-class family, Heisler grew up with a deep hatred for class injustice. "I remember thinking all the politicians had ties with big business, and not the working people who elected them. None of the people I knew were ever consulted about how this country was being run. I thought that was undemocratic."

Heisler says it was the Cuban revolution that made him aware there were alternatives to the capitalist system. Articles in the local press about Fidel Castro and Che Guevara so inspired Heisler that he almost dropped out of high school—which he found "boring and irrelevant"—and ran off to Cuba to join them.

As the July 26 movement began to carry out nationalizations and other sweeping reforms, the American press stepped up its attacks. It claimed Cuba was "going socialist." "I thought," Heisler recalled, "if that's socialism, then I must be a socialist too, because all the changes benefited working people."

### 'Socialist' mayor

Heisler then began checking out different socialist groups. One group he knew he did not want to join was the Socialist party. He had lived in Milwaukee, where SP'er Frank Zeidler was mayor for twelve years. "Although I have to admit we had a good sewer system, nothing was ever done about the real problems, like unemployment and segregation," Heisler said.

He went on to point out that, under Zeidler's direction, a special "red squad" unit within the police force spied on and harassed political activists. (Zeidler is currently running for president on the SP ticket.)

Heisler looked up the Communist

party, but was dissatisfied with their answers to his questions. "They told me that the 1956 invasion of Hungary was necessary because the Hungarian people were about to install a fascist regime. I thought they were either very stupid, or else they were lying to me," he said.

Then he saw an announcement that Farrell Dobbs, 1960 Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, would be speaking in Milwaukee about a recent trip to Cuba.

"I went to the meeting and spoke with Dobbs for hours afterward," Heisler said. "He answered all the questions I had without ever beating around the bush, and I joined the SWP that year."

Unable to afford to go to college, Heisler began work in 1960 as a stock clerk at Milwaukee's Gimbel-Schusters department store. Three unions—Retail Clerks, Service Employees, and Office and Professional Employees—jointly launched a drive to unionize the store's 7,000 employees.

### Union drive

Heisler threw himself into the campaign to sign up enough workers for a union representation election. In recognition of his organizing abilities, the store fired Heisler for smoking in the stockroom—a regulation they had never before enforced.

Heisler was then hired by the union committee to work on the election. "It gave me a good feel for the union bureaucracy, and how out of touch they are with the workers," he commented. "Even though the workers they were trying to organize were predominantly women, only one of the thirty organizers was."

The employers brought in a professional union-busting outfit to convince the workers to vote down unionization. They called the drive "Operation Dues Snatch," implying the unions were only interested in upping their membership to collect more money. "Unfortunately, that's what it was—a business proposition," Heisler said.

"The store called special meetings for the workers to convince them to vote against the union," Heisler said. "After I was fired, my former co-workers outfitted me in a clerk's smock and smuggled me into one of these



Militant/Maceo Dixon  
SWP leader Ed Heisler speaking in Chicago during his 1974 Illinois senatorial campaign. Heisler is beginning tour to win support for 1976 socialist campaign.

meetings. I was able to make a fiery speech and turn it around into a pronoun rally. Unfortunately, however, the weaknesses of the drive led to its defeat."

In 1963, Heisler moved to Chicago and, soon afterwards, became a railroad trainman. "In the railway yards, I found strong opposition to the fact that union members do not get to vote on their own contracts," he said. "They are voted on by top union officials."

### Right-to-vote campaign

In 1969, Heisler and other members of his local decided to begin a campaign around this issue. They formed a Right to Vote Committee (RTVC), which set out to fight for a change in the union constitution, requiring the leadership to submit any national contract to the rank and file for a vote. It gained recognition as an official United Transportation Union committee, and Heisler was elected its secretary.

Work then began in preparation for the 1971 international UTU convention—where constitutional changes could be made.

"The RTVC became a real pole of attraction," Heisler recalled, "both for rebel types who were dissatisfied with the politics of the bureaucracy, and also for those local officials who were more responsive to pressure from the rank and file, and saw the movement

as a way of strengthening the union's power."

"In May 1971 we won our first victory," Heisler said. "At a national conference of Canadian UTU locals, there was a unanimous vote for membership ratification of contracts."

When the UTU bureaucracy realized the RTVC was not going to disappear and might exercise real power at the convention, they began a countercampaign to thwart its growth.

Heisler was the delegate to the convention from his local. While many of the delegates were taking part in the union-organized golf tournaments and weekend excursions to the Bahamas, Heisler and other supporters of the RTVC were fighting to get the proposed constitution change on the floor.

This was finally done on the last day. There were 815 votes for membership ratification and 848 votes against it—a narrow victory for the UTU bureaucracy. Heisler is confident that had the voting been done through a roll call, rather than a hand count, the proposal would have carried. "With a hand count, delegates from locals that supported the RTVC could vote against it, without their local ever finding out," he explained.

### Senatorial candidate

In 1974, Heisler ran for Senate from Illinois on the Socialist Workers party ticket. He toured the strip-mining areas in Illinois, and addressed six locals of the United Mine Workers. "They were very surprised to find a railroad worker running for public office," Heisler said, "and they wanted to listen to what a socialist had to say."

Last spring, Heisler again hit the campaign trail, building support for the Camejo-Reid ticket. "I noticed a real change in the attitudes of workers toward socialism since my senatorial campaign," he said.

"The economic crisis has made more working people willing to consider a socialist plan of action to fight back against attacks on their living standards."

"More and more people see supporting a socialist campaign and voting for us as an effective way of casting an opposition vote against the policies of the ruling rich, and I think more will start seeing the importance of actually joining the Socialist Workers party to advance their own interests."

Last June, Heisler came to New York City and helped organize a united demonstration of unionists, community groups, and others affected by the city crisis, which protested the layoffs and cutbacks. In his meetings this fall, Heisler will speak on the socialist answer to racism and the economic crisis. The cities he will be touring include Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta.



Cuban revolution helped radicalize Heisler. Above, Cuban workers and peasants demonstrating in favor of revolutionary measures carried out by new government.

# Socialist candidates offer solutions

## Bethard confronts Seattle council

By Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE—Socialist Workers party candidate Patricia Bethard's latest support in her bid for city council position five has come from the King County Women's Political Caucus.

Bethard will appear on the November 4 ballot opposite Democratic incumbent Sam Smith. She qualified for the ballot by taking second place in a "nonpartisan" primary in September.

The socialist's campaign has centered on the issues of concern to Blacks, women, and working people in Seattle. On October 15 she spoke out against a proposal by Seattle's Office of Management and the Budget that would abolish the city's Office of Women's Rights by merging it with other civil rights agencies.

Speaking to a public hearing called by the city council, Bethard began by noting, "The question under discussion here tonight is not a new question. Feminists and others came here well over a year ago to demand the autonomy of the Office of Women's Rights."

Bethard charged that the city had failed to fully fund and staff the office. She also said that the Office of Women's Rights lacked the power to adequately enforce the city's laws against sexual discrimination in housing and employment.

"Tonight, not only are you asking what we think of one-thousandth of the city budget going to the Office of Women's Rights, but again you are asking what we think of combining it with the Office on Aging, the Handicapped, and Human Rights."

"What do we think indeed! We think it is irresponsible, outrageous, and a poor application of the real priorities concerning people in Seattle—women, minorities, the elderly, and handicapped in particular."

The OMB's recommendations were also criticized by representatives of the NAACP and the Black Panther party and by elderly and handicapped individuals.

On October 17 Bethard spoke at a second public hearing, this one called by the city council to discuss the proposed new city budget. Bethard opposed the proposed budget.

She noted that it allocates \$32 million for the police, while limiting expenditures for civil rights to a paltry \$1 million. The police allocation is the largest item in the budget, dwarfing expenditures of \$2 million for public health, \$3 million for community renewal, and \$1.24 million for consumer protection.

"That \$32 million is for an agency whose primary task is to protect the private property of big business, not the homes and lives of Blacks and working people," the socialist candidate said. "In fact, the police department is the biggest threat to the lives of Black people."

As an example, she cited the recent police killing of Joe Hebert, a Black youth. Allen Earlywine, the cop responsible, is still a member of the police force and has never been punished for his crime.

"I am demanding that Earlywine be prosecuted for the murder of Joe

Hebert, the latest in a long series of Black youth to be killed by racist cops. Police Chief Hanson should be fired for his complicity in condoning the murder," Bethard said.

Bethard called for a halt to police violence against the Black community. She proposes getting the police out of the Black community and replacing them with a security force democratically elected by the community and responsible to it.

"This budget convinces me of something I thought all along," Bethard told the council. "Our elected officials are out of touch with the basic needs of the people in Seattle."

"Where's the money budgeted for fighting unemployment in this city? We need a massive public works program—a program to build schools, houses, child-care centers, and community health facilities."

"We hear you—the city council—tell us we don't have the money. This budget says differently. This budget says, if your priorities were our priorities, we could find the money."

Bethard's Black Democratic opponent Sam Smith, who is president of the city council, didn't even bother to show up for the council hearings.

Smith has also placed himself in opposition to the just demands of the city's electrical workers.

More than 700 members of Local 77 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers went on strike against Seattle City Light September 17.

The workers, without a contract since April 1, are demanding wage increases to maintain parity with wages paid other private and public utility workers in Washington.

Several weeks ago, Smith and other city council members voted to rescind a 1951 city council resolution requiring pay parity for City Light workers with other utilities.

After the walkout, city council member Tim Hill gave reporters his assessment of the strike: "The demands they [City Light workers] are placing on our budget are too severe. The New York situation adds greater import for the city to hold the line on excessive wage increases." Smith said he agreed with Hill.

Bethard, who is secretary of Local 1488 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and a delegate to the King County Labor Council, condemned the city council's antilabor actions. She offered full support for the union's wage



Militant/Toby Emmerich  
Patricia Bethard (right) says city council budget should be used to satisfy human needs, not to finance a police department that is 'threat to the lives of Black people.'

demands, promising to help them on the picket lines.

"I am opposed to having the city budget balanced at the expense of city workers," she said.

## Issue for Houston candidates is racism

By Tom Vernier

HOUSTON—Socialists in this year's municipal elections here have made racism—in employment and education, in police attacks on the Black and Chicano communities, and in the campaign against undocumented Mexican workers—the central issue of their campaigns.

Running on the Socialist Workers party ticket are Pedro Vázquez for mayor, Dan Fein for school board, and Betsy Farley for city controller.

"In the present economic crisis, the government tries to direct people's anger against 'illegal aliens' who they say are stealing our jobs . . ." explains the SWP's campaign platform. "At the same time the government is deporting Mexican workers, it is trying to break the farm workers' union efforts in the Rio Grande Valley, West Texas and in the Panhandle."

"Just like we won't tolerate the racist attacks against Black schoolchildren in Boston, we won't tolerate the racist attacks by the U.S. government on the undocumented workers from Mexico," Vázquez told a campaign meeting September 27. "These attacks have the same objective—to keep Blacks and Chicanos in their places."

The campaign meeting, a "rally against racism and for school desegregation," was held at the hall of Local 1581 of the International Longshoremen's Association in the Chicano community.

More than 120 attended the rally, including ten high school students and ten campaign supporters who work at the Atlantic Richfield Company oil refinery here.

One of the speakers was José Garza, who described how he first heard of the SWP campaign. He had stopped to listen to one of the socialist campaign street meetings, and then he volunteered to work on the campaign. Later he joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

Another speaker was Narciso Alemán, one of several organizers for the Texas Farm Workers Union who attended the rally and the socialist educational conference that preceded it. He expressed appreciation for the socialist campaign's support for the struggle of the *campesinos* in Texas.

Nearly \$3,500 was contributed or pledged at the meeting to finance the last and busiest month for the municipal campaign.

Dan Fein is focusing on the issue of school desegregation in his campaign for school board. Under federal court order to desegregate, the Houston school board devised a "magnet schools" plan last spring. "Magnet schools" are supposed to attract students from all races and from all over the city because of the special programs they offer. But in reality, the Houston plan affects only a small

percentage of the city's 200,000 students.

The SWP candidates oppose the "magnet schools" plan, charging that it perpetuates the "separate and unequal" school system in Houston. They call for immediate desegregation of the schools, with the decision as to how this is to be implemented left to the Chicano and Black communities.

Farley, Fein, and Vázquez have campaigned with supporters on downtown street corners, in the parks, on the campuses, and at community gatherings.

On September 13, Vázquez joined a downtown parade celebrating the Mexican revolution. Thousands of Chicanos lined the streets to watch the bands and floats, and they frequently cheered when the truck bearing the banners of the Vázquez campaign passed by.



SWP mayoral candidate Pedro Vázquez is campaigning in support of farm workers' struggles and for rights of undocumented workers.

## Pittsburgh socialists: 'Realistic proposals'

By Fred Stanton

PITTSBURGH—Neil Berns, Socialist Workers party candidate for Allegheny County commissioner, is a steelworker at U.S. Steel's Clairton Coke Works and a member of United Steelworkers Local 1557. He and his seven running mates are in the home stretch of what they view as the most successful and spirited socialist campaign to hit Pittsburgh and surrounding areas in some years.

"Allegheny County could be one of the most beautiful spots in this country, with its rivers, hills, and forests," Berns said at a McKeesport street rally October 18. "It could be an area of abundance, with its factories and other resources. But the steel giants in their lust for profits have fouled our air and water and have thrown tens of thousands out of work. And when we demand that they give us jobs and clean up this mess, they threaten to shut down the plants."

"They would rather see us starve than cut out their plunder. No wonder people are glad to see socialist candi-



# to problems facing working people

dates! We have realistic proposals to help working people organize to solve these problems and win a better life."

Besides Berns, the SWP candidates are Stephanie Brooks for county commissioner; Christina Adachi for county controller; and Howard Beck, Susan Beck, Virginia Burke, Paul LeBlanc, and Thomas Twiss for Pittsburgh City Council.

One of the issues in their campaigns has been public transportation. This issue has been a political football in Allegheny County for more than a decade. Politicians have staked their chances for election on their positions on Skybus, a rubber-tired elevated system that would serve only a few white suburbs.

Recently, the old transit shell game got a new pea to play with when Gov. Milton Shapp threw his support to Super-Trolley. This steel-wheeled conveyance would be so much bigger than a normal trolley that it would be inoperative on crowded downtown streets.

As county officials agonize over the plight of the commuting rich, the working people and Black communities have to make do with slow, crowded, stinking General Motors buses, or drive their gas-guzzling autos around potholes as big as bathtubs.

The SWP candidates call for a mass transit system to serve the working people of the entire county. Such a system could use existing rail lines and electric trains and trolleys. It would be free, or low-cost, financed by taxing corporate profits.

With a leaflet outlining this socialist proposal, campaign supporters took to the streets of traffic-snarled Oakland to leaflet drivers caught in a traffic jam October 15.

The socialist candidates have spent more time on picket lines than their Democratic and Republican opponents have put into any kind of campaigning. The socialist candidates and their supporters marched with striking teachers and steelworkers fighting for protection against the rising cost of living.

They protested with Black parents and students of Pittsburgh's Black community in Homewood-Brushton against the racist board of education. They participated in a march for gay rights and in a socialist-feminist conference.

They protested tuition hikes and supported efforts to unionize the University of Pittsburgh faculty.

The SWP slate has logged several hours of TV and radio appearances, and supporters have distributed tens of

thousands of platforms and other literature.

By the end of the campaign on November 4, supporters will be ready for a windup party that night at the campaign headquarters, 3400 Fifth Avenue at 8:00 p.m. For more information, or to volunteer to help in the last days of the campaign, call (412) 682-5019.

## Milwaukee mayoral campaign launched

By Tom Mauer

MILWAUKEE—Bernie Senter announced his candidacy for mayor of Milwaukee at a news conference here recently. Senter, a member of the Socialist Workers party, is a twenty-four-year-old meatcutter. The "nonpartisan" primary election is in February 1976.

Some of the central issues of his campaign, Senter told reporters, will be support of the desegregation of city schools, opposition to an anti-free-speech ordinance being considered by the Milwaukee Common Council, and defense of SWP member Michael Murphy, charged with disorderly conduct for defending himself from a Nazi assault.

Senter also made available to the news media copies of recently released FBI documents detailing bureau attempts to disrupt the Milwaukee SWP in 1963.

Backers of the council ordinance, which would prohibit distribution of certain kinds of literature, say that it will curtail activities of the National Socialist White People's party (Nazis). Nazis have tried to terrorize Black and Jewish communities here through beatings and vandalism.

"In fact," Senter said, "this law would limit the right to free speech of all political groups. The Socialist Workers party opposes such an attack on democratic rights." Rather than passing a law limiting free speech, Senter said, the city should enforce existing laws against assault and



Militant/Linda D'Rand  
1976 Milwaukee mayoral candidate Bernie Senter. Will campaign against anti-free-speech ordinance and for desegregation of city's schools.

battery and vandalism.

Instead, he charged, the police prosecute the victims of Nazi violence, as is the case with Michael Murphy. When Murphy, who is Black, defended himself from a physical attack by a Nazi, both he and the Nazi were arrested. Murphy goes to trial January 7.

A federal judge is expected to rule soon on a ten-year-old desegregation suit brought against the school board by the NAACP and various Black elected officials and parents.

Milwaukee politicians and school board officials are already trying to devise plans to get around a desegregation order by avoiding what they call "forced busing."

"The SWP unequivocally defends the right of Black students to receive equal educational opportunities," Senter stated.

The school superintendent, Senter continued, "while claiming to be in favor of desegregation, has vowed to fight busing. This is the position that Boston's Mayor Kevin White has taken, which has given comfort to the racist mobs for over a year. You can't be for the right of Black students to attend better white schools and oppose their right to be bused."

## Right to campaign defended in Mpls.

By Nanci Kimker

MINNEAPOLIS—"It appears that, ultimately, the American people may have to choose between socialism or a police state. And this in a nation that is supposed to be freedom loving and tolerant of everyone's views."

This comment is from a letter to the editor of the *Minneapolis Tribune*. Its author was an eyewitness to the wholesale arrests of Mary Hillery, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, and seventeen campaign volunteers on October 4. They were exercising their right to campaign on the downtown streets of Minneapolis.

To the police, however, they were "obstructing the sidewalk." And so they were all hauled away to jail and later released on their own recognizance. Arraignment proceedings were postponed October 8 when the city attorney showed up in court without the charges in writing.

Then on October 17, all charges against the eighteen were formally dropped.

This followed substantial publicity about the arrests and several meetings with city officials by the socialists and other supporters of civil liberties.

And it followed a declaration by mayoral candidate Hillery that she did not intend to allow this flagrant harassment to curtail her energetic schedule of campaign activities leading up to the November 4 election.

In fact, the socialists' soapboxing on the Saturday following the arrests produced one of the biggest audiences to date. Three TV cameras filmed Hillery and SWP city council candidates Faith Shaver and Gary Prevost using a bullhorn to tell voters of their answers to the problems confronting working people in Minneapolis and of the illegal police attempt to silence those answers.



Holly Harkness, socialist candidate for Minneapolis school board, has won endorsement of Hennepin County Women's Political Caucus.

Nothing was heard from the police, who, unlike the Saturday before, were scarcely seen at all.

In the short time before the elections, these three socialists and two other SWP candidates in the race—Ralph Schwartz for city council and Holly Harkness for school board—have busy campaign itineraries.

They will speak before high school and university audiences and before older people and neighborhood groups. Two radio debates are scheduled between Hillery and her mayoral opponents, as well as an appearance by mayoral contenders at the Minnesota Press Club.

Hillery and the city council candidates are on the ballot as a result of an ambitious signature-gathering effort. Harkness's 4,000-vote showing in the September 23 school board primary did not qualify her for ballot status. She is now running a write-in campaign.

Both Harkness and Hillery have been endorsed by the Hennepin County Women's Political Caucus. October 28 has been slated as a special outreach day, when teams of WPC members, along with Hillery and Harkness, will go door-to-door in several wards of the city to distribute literature on the two women's socialist campaigns.



Pittsburgh campaign supporter, in midst of traffic jam, hands out leaflet with socialist proposal on mass transit.

## Zionist racism

On October 17 the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee of the UN General Assembly voted 70 to 29 in favor of a resolution declaring "that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination."

The U.S. government denounced the resolution as an "obscene act." Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) said the resolution "brings back echoes of the propaganda machine of Goebbels and his Nazi party colleagues in the nineteen-thirties."

In the House of Representatives, majority leader Thomas O'Neill (D-Mass.) introduced a resolution—rapidly cosponsored by 100 representatives—condemning the UN committee's action.

O'Neill is a leader of the racist antibusing forces in Congress. He and President Ford have refused to speak out against virulent racist attacks on Black students here in the United States. In fact, they encourage these attacks by their demagogic opposition to busing as a means to achieve desegregation. Yet they presume to speak as experts on racism.

However much this chorus of hypocrites would like to cover up the truth, their denials cannot change it. Zionism is indeed "a form of racism and racial discrimination."

Under the banner of Zionism the Israeli colonists drove 750,000 Palestinians out of their homeland. The Zionist vision of a state "as Jewish as England is English" did not allow for the presence of the native Arab population.

Under the banner of Zionism the Israeli state forbids the rental of public land to Arabs; it effectively forbids Arabs to live in most Jewish towns; it prevents them from studying modern Arab literature in school while requiring them to learn Hebrew literature; it discriminates against Arabs in every area of employment and public life; and it determines citizenship rights by the criteria of who is a Jew and who is not. If this is not racism, the word has no meaning.

In defending their exclusive Jewish state against the demand of the Palestinians for a single state in which both peoples could live together, the Israeli propagandists try to equate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism. This is a slander.

In fact, the Zionist state does not represent the interests of the Jewish people. As a bulwark for U.S. imperialism in the Middle East, the Israeli state can offer nothing but the constant threat of war, increasing economic sacrifices, and steadily growing authoritarianism for its Jewish population.

Israel's imperialist backers don't care about the Jewish people any more than they care about Blacks or Arabs. Zionism has led those Jews who subscribe to it into an alliance with the most racist, antihuman forces in the world. This alliance, the ideology that led it, and the state they produced are all equally reactionary.

## End ban on Blanco!

The State Department is feeling the pressure of public anger at its refusal to allow those with "unapproved" views into the United States. Sergio Segre, a leading official of the Italian Communist party, will receive a visa as part of an Italian parliamentary delegation.

Last month, Segre was told he would not be granted a visa. A meeting of the Council on Foreign Relations he was scheduled to speak at had to be canceled as a result.

The reversal of the ban on Segre came after extensive publicity on the case, and on the Ford administration's cordial reception of an Italian neofascist leader.

The State Department's retreat on Segre demonstrates both the effectiveness of public pressure and the spurious nature of the government's excuses about "national security."

Washington explained its about-face with the tortured logic that, while Segre would pose a threat to national security if he visited here as a Communist party official, as a member of an "interparliamentary exchange" he would be perfectly welcome.

The State Department ought to be flooded now with demands that the treatment accorded Segre be extended to Hugo Blanco. Blanco is still being kept out of this country because his views are offensive to Secretary of State Kissinger.

Blanco cannot claim the distinction of being a worthy member of parliament. But that should not diminish his right to speak out, nor the right of the American people to hear what he has to say.

## Tragic consequences

In response to the recent "wage deferral" agreement negotiated by the Municipal Labor Committee [see *Militant*, October 24], only 34.5 percent of the members of my union returned their ballots. And that was Social Service Employees Union Local 371, one of the largest and most militant locals of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

This is indicative of the demoralization, confusion, and apathy among the ranks due to the lack of a fighting leadership in DC 37.

Many of those who voted "yes" stated that "you get screwed either way, but by voting 'yes' it was the lesser evil." Others said it was meaningless since you couldn't trust DC 37 head Victor Gotbaum, while still others voted "yes" with the belief that things had been settled for the time being and that our local was not directly hit.

But most of those who voted "yes" felt intimidated by the DC 37 leadership, who told all the locals that if they voted "no" they would have to negotiate with the mayor by themselves and that would mean being hit by more layoffs, the loss of the cost-of-living adjustment, and the refusal to rehire the members of those locals who refuse to accept the agreement.

For those who consistently voted "no" it was felt that once you start reopening your contract there was no way to go but down, since the city crisis would not vanish overnight.

The city and Big Mac (the Municipal Assistance Corporation) were taking away benefits without any fight, leaving the ranks demoralized. This could only have tragic consequences for the labor movement in New York City.

A.S.  
New York, New York

## New boycott support

I am a subscriber to your excellent newspaper. Here in Lawrence, Kansas, we have formed a natural-foods cooperative with approximately 1,500 members. We have been in operation for nearly a year.

During that time the co-op has been ordering scab lettuce and grapes along with our other produce. I recently decided our co-op must support the United Farm Workers. Several other members shared the same convictions. At our last monthly meeting, 64 percent of those present voted in favor of the boycott.

One of our main tasks now is to educate people in our co-op. Please send information on literature concerning the UFW.

Enclosed is a money order and order blank for prepaid subscription cards and a small weekly bundle. I hope to increase the size of it but want to start small.

J.S.  
Lawrence, Kansas

## Very important people

I read in the *Militant* where teachers are going on strike—and more power to them. People should just realize that if we didn't have school teachers, we would be bad off.

I think teachers are among the most important persons in the world. The people pay the cops to kill our kids but don't want to pay a teacher to try to teach them.

I want to see my child in school, not in a grave. Take a look around you and

see who needs more pay and if you don't agree that the teachers should be the ones.

A prisoner  
Georgia

## Getting out

This is to advise you that I will be discharged from here later this month. I will be in contact with you as soon as I am situated, as I will want to keep getting the *Militant*.

I want to also thank you for your most kind support in my struggle for freedom. And you can look to hear from me as soon as I am able to send the proper contribution.

A prisoner  
Mississippi

## Double Standard

The sad plight of Haitian refugees is continuing.

Recently, seventy-eight of them at Florida's Immokalee Prison held a hunger strike to bring attention to their plight. Not too long ago, one of them tried to hang himself in his cell rather than be deported to Haiti and face certain prison and torture, and possibly the firing squad. One refugee has already hanged himself in jail rather than go back, but the U.S. Immigration Service steadfastly maintains that these Haitians are economic refugees and not political refugees, and therefore are not eligible for asylum.

In this regard I have to concur with the editorial stance of the October 9 *Miami Times*, a Black newspaper, which pointed out that the "double standard implemented here in naturalizing the Haitians grows more obvious. . . .

"It reached a new high last week," the editors wrote, "when Czechoslovakian tennis star, Martina Navratilova, was granted asylum because she says her country was hindering her professional career. What this had to do with politics we don't know, but perhaps if the Haitians were to take up tennis?"

B.S.  
Miami, Florida

## Thanks

Thank you so much for sending us copies of the October 3 *Militant*, which contains Robert Meeropol's speech from the Conspiracy in America conference.

We really appreciate having copies here in the office for people to see when they come in. We also had additional copies to distribute at our national planning conference last weekend.

Margery Rosenthal  
National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case  
New York, New York

## Music to whose ears?

I was glad to see that the *Militant* finally reported on the Broadway musicians' strike in the October 24 issue.

The fact that the minimum size of orchestras at the thirty theaters affected will be frozen for six years is a little misleading, though. True, the producers didn't get all they wanted, which was to eliminate the minimum size provisions altogether. But they did get reductions in the sizes at some theaters, totaling about 10 percent of the required players.





## AFL-CIO 'honors' Debs

The eleventh constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO unanimously adopted without discussion a resolution urging Congress "to honor the memory of Eugene V. Debs and the forward-looking principles for which he stood, by voting to restore formally his rights as a citizen of this nation."

Gene Debs died October 20, 1926. He was the outstanding leader of the socialist movement in the pre-World War I years, and a supporter of the 1917 October revolution in Russia. He served almost three years of a ten-year prison sentence for his opposition to the First World War. In 1920 he campaigned from prison for president and received nearly a million votes.

Most of the delegates to the recent convention are old enough to remember Debs, but few of them know or care about what he stood for. The resolution to "honor" him is out of keeping with his opposition to imperialist war and his struggle for international socialism.

Debs considered himself a citizen of the world and would not consider it an honor to have U.S. citizenship conferred upon him by a Congress that spends \$100 billion annually for a military machine while millions are unemployed and other millions live in dire poverty.

One of the ironies of the AFL-CIO appeal to Congress in behalf of the memory of Debs is that just before passing the Debs resolution they unanimously adopted another for "national defense."

This one endorses the military budget and "opposes cut-backs in military spending without reference to the adequacy of our military forces to meet the real threats to peace."

If Debs could have been present he most certainly would not have let this go by without protest.

Lenin, the organizer of the Russian revolution, was the contemporary of Debs. It was he who wrote that great revolutionaries are slandered in their lifetime and honored after they are dead.

He said, "Attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them . . . and to surround their names with a certain halo for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping [them], while at the same time emasculating the real

essence of [their] revolutionary teaching, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it."

Debs ought to be remembered for what he said and did, not what others say about him. In 1904 he wrote about unionism and socialism. Here is what he said then. "The members of a trades-union should be taught the true import, the whole object of the labor movement and understand its entire program."

"They should know that the labor movement means more, infinitely more, than a paltry increase in wages and the strike necessary to secure it; that while it engages to do all that possibly can be done to better the working conditions of its members, its higher object is to overthrow the capitalist system of private ownership of the tools of labor, abolish wage-slavery and achieve the freedom of the whole working class and, in fact, of all mankind." This is as true now as it was then.

A year later, at the 1905 founding convention of the Industrial Workers on the World, Debs spoke his mind about those leaders in the labor movement who, like the present heads of the AFL-CIO, preached the virtues of capitalism and supported the political parties of the capitalist class. He said that there is "something wrong in that form of unionism whose leaders are the lieutenants of capitalism." He thought the rise of industrial unionism would produce a different kind of leadership, but we know today that the same policies prevail in the CIO unions as in the old AFL craft unions.

What Debs sought to bring about was a new program for the union movement, a class-struggle program that would transform society fundamentally. That is badly needed today.

The tradition and heritage of Debs is an important part of the struggle that is still before us. He belongs to the revolutionary workers of all lands who will one day rule the world.

Those who want to help hasten that glorious day will benefit from a careful reading of *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*, published by Pathfinder Press. There you will meet the real Debs, citizen of the world—the man who sought neither favors nor honors from any government.

The musicians also gave up extra pay for working on Sundays.

Because of the musicians' isolation and the lack of support from the other unions, and because of the tremendous economic pressure on the musicians to settle, they had to make a retreat. The fact that the settlement was not a rout was only due to the determination of the musicians themselves.

One drummer commented after the voting, "I voted no. If you can cut one musician, you just as easily can cut two. Management was able to make the first dent. I would have continued the strike for six more months. This means the end of the Broadway show for musicians."

D.D.  
Queens, New York

### The most promise

I feel your rhetoric is sometimes arrogant. It interferes with the credibility of the facts presented. That space would be better used to provide more information anyway.

The *Militant* is the best newspaper I know of. The coverage is fairly comprehensive. The feature articles and in-depth treatment (World Outlook, the New Economic Policy series) are great.

The Trotskyist perspective seems to hold the most promise for freedom from need, suffering, and oppression. I enjoy reading about it. More articles describing how such a system of mass action could sustain itself would be appreciated.

T.T.  
Point Richmond, California

### Spare the rod . . .

On October 20 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states may allow teachers to spank "misbehaving students," provided that these students are given "procedural safeguards."

This medieval decision is a setback to the growing consensus of students, parents, and teachers that corporal punishment should suffer the same fate as schooltime prayer sessions and McGuffey's *Eclectic Reader*. The National Education Association, the nation's largest teachers' organization, has been on record against corporal punishment for many years.

The radicalization in the high schools, junior high schools, and even the elementary schools, however, will make this a hard ruling to enforce. The resistance of Black students at South Boston High School to physical and verbal abuse by racist students, teachers, and administrators is just one example.

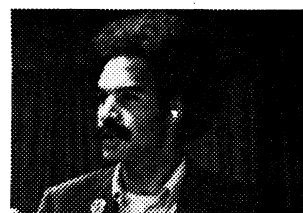
As for the black-robed wise men who handed down the decision, I think the best advice for them is to ponder the saying—what is it? "Spare the rod and spoil the . . . judge."

S.C.  
New York, New York

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

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



## When lightning strikes

Lightning *can* strike the same place more than once. Don't be fooled.

In the Rosedale section of Queens in New York City it struck for the first time with great fire and destruction last December 31 outside the home of Ormistan and Glenda Spencer. But it came from earthly, not heavenly, beings, according to detectives.

It struck again in Rosedale on August 30 at the home of Ruppert Wynder. Again, mortals were involved; an arsonist, detectives said.

In between it has struck and ignited gasoline-soaked crosses on the lawns of various Rosedale residents.

In every instance the Rosedale residents were Black.

"This is a white community. It's going to stay a white community. And we're going to run it," remarked Michael Biggio, one of two men who were acquitted of the attack on the Spencer home.

The police ordered a twenty-four-hour-a-day protection of the Spencer home after the December 31 incident. Meanwhile, there have been racist assaults on the property of other Blacks in the area.

"All I wanted was a nice quiet place," said Edna Knox, a Black nurse who had the windows in her storm door and living room trashed. "But some people think if you're Black, you're bad. I'm getting out the first chance I get."

Over the summer the around-the-clock guard of the Spencer home was lifted. The reason given: police layoffs.

Now, it has come out that whites in the area had campaigned to remove the police. An Episcopal reverend was a leader of that campaign.

The Black *Amsterdam News* on October 15 published a letter by the reverend in which he admitted the campaign and slandered the Spencers and individ-

uals supporting their rights.

The reverend defended the Queens chapter of the racist organization ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), which has surfaced during these incidents, claiming it is "no more a bigot organization than the NAACP."

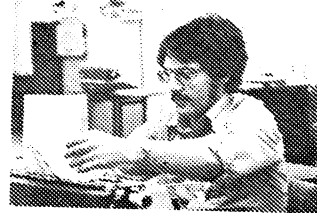
The reverend's letter was addressed to New York Diocese Suffragan Bishop James Stuart Wetmore because of his involvement as vice-chairperson of the Task Force Against Racism, which has done some work in defending the Spencers. The task force is affiliated with the Council of Churches of the city of New York.

The *News* had earlier disclosed that the New York chapter of the Guardians, a Black police organization, was providing substitute protection for the Spencers in the absence of official police protection. The Black cops are reportedly volunteering their off-duty time to serve notice on the city and state that "to wrong a brother or sister is to wrong each of us."

Just the other day the Queens district attorney pledged a full investigation of the racist incidents.

Hopefully, the DA's probe will be a success and will send lightning over the Rosedale skies that will land and do some good this time. Like lightning that recently came down out of the skies over New York's Staten Island.

In a similar case there a U.S. district attorney announced the indictment of four men for the 1972 burning of a newly-purchased home of a Black couple. The four men are white and were the would-be neighbors of the couple. They were a brokerage firm vice-president, a New York City police sergeant, a New York City Housing Authority police sergeant, and a corrections officer.



## Bilingual education: a necessity

LOS ANGELES—How important is a bilingual-bicultural education? There is every indication that it is absolutely crucial to meet the educational needs of most Chicanos.

So reported the Civil Rights Commission in "A Better Chance to Learn: Bilingual-Bicultural Education" (Clearinghouse Publication 51; May 1975).

What now passes for "education" might more accurately be described as a form of psychological torture for the millions of children who suffer language oppression in the schools.

Studies have shown that Spanish is the native language of as many as three-fourths of all *chicanitos* beginning school. For perhaps two-thirds of these, it is the only language.

The racist educational system treats Spanish as if it were an evil that must be exorcised from the children for their own good.

Some argue that it is more "practical" for Chicanos to forget Spanish, which they say is useless in this society, and concentrate on learning only English. The best way to learn English, they

say, is by "total immersion" in the English language and in Anglo culture. In other words, "acculturate." "Assimilate."

This arrogant *gringo* attitude is repulsive enough for its chauvinism. But the bitter irony is that this is no way to learn English either, as the government report points out.

The report marshals evidence from psychological and educational studies to show that the ability to use language effectively is absolutely key to nearly all learning. Educational theory holds that it is best for children to learn in the early years how to think and to understand concepts. Information is then more easily accumulated later on. Unless one learns to use language correctly, especially grammar, it is difficult to grasp abstract concepts.

The report concludes that the best way for children to learn is to deepen their command of their native language to the fullest extent. Then it is easier to learn everything else, including other languages.

The report also points out that children learn best

when teachers and curriculum relate to their background and everyday experiences.

But this is not the way Chicanos are taught. Instead, they and their language are ignored or ridiculed by racist teachers and textbooks. This causes such psychological damage that it becomes almost impossible to learn. Their ability in English is never developed properly. They grow up semiliterate in both languages.

They are condemned to sit in classrooms for years learning nothing, understanding little, until they finally "drop out" in frustration.

This explains the low education levels and high illiteracy rates among Chicanos—even higher than among other oppressed people such as Blacks.

The report concludes that bilingual-bicultural education is a necessity. However, nowhere in the report is it indicated that there exists a single program that measures up to standards the report itself states are necessary.

It is clear that Chicano themselves will have to fight to move the government off dead center to implement its own recommendations.

## Women In Revolt

### Linda Jenness



## A woman for vice-president

The title of the article read "Democratic Women Form an Alliance and Will Seek Woman Vice President." The article, which appeared in the October 14 *New York Times*, reported on a news conference held by a group of prominent Democratic women where they announced plans to pressure the Democratic party to nominate a woman for vice-president.

Gloria Steinem, one of the organizers of the group, told reporters that it wouldn't be practical to try to get a woman nominated for president. But, she said, "it is clearly a practical time, when a woman Vice President can be nominated and could be elected."

If what these women are looking for is an outspoken feminist fighter representing a party that champions full equality and liberation for women, they need look no further. There already is one—Willie Mae Reid, vice-presidential candidate on the Socialist Workers party ticket.

If asked why they don't throw their support behind Reid, the Democratic party women would

probably say it isn't "practical." Practical politics, they say every election year, is supporting someone in either the Democratic or the Republican party.

But if by practical politics is meant *effective* politics, then supporting either of the two capitalist parties is not it.

Is it effective for women to support a party whose fundamental goal is to uphold a system that oppresses women? A system—capitalism—that cannot exist without perpetuating sexism, racism, exploitation, and war? Far from being effective, that's irrational.

Is it practical to think that by just getting the "right" person nominated or elected through the Democratic party things will change? All experience proves the opposite. In 1972 many feminists supported George McGovern for president. But at the Democratic party convention when these feminists proposed that the demand for legal abortions become a plank in the Democratic party platform, the McGovern machine smashed it—all in the name of being "practical." After co-opting the

votes of many women, McGovern did absolutely nothing in the interests of women.

The women's liberation movement has grown in numbers and in strength. How we organize, mobilize, and use that strength will be hotly debated throughout the coming election year.

Willie Mae Reid says that the power of women must be mobilized in visible, mass action around the issues. A mass feminist movement, not tied to the coattails of those who oppose our struggle, is needed to push through the Equal Rights Amendment in 1976, to defend abortion rights, and to defend the affirmative-action gains being wiped out through discriminatory layoffs.

Reid says we must fight for our rights every day, every year. She says we must fight against the system through action, and vote against the system by voting socialist.

Now that's practical politics. That's the kind of uncompromising strategy we need, put forward by a woman vice-presidential candidate. It won't be found in the Democratic or Republican party.

## Their Government

### Cindy Jaquith



## In memory of J. Edgar Hoover

WASHINGTON—The most expensive building ever constructed by the executive branch was dedicated by President Ford recently—dedicated to the most hated secret-police chief in U.S. history.

The J. Edgar Hoover F.B.I. Building hovers over Pennsylvania Avenue like a fortress. It stands eleven stories high and cost us \$126 million.

A lot of cops and FBI agents flew in from around the country for the christening ceremony. Members of Congress attended. The Marine Band also came, and belted out favorite tunes like "Dixie," "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," and, believe it or not, "The J. Edgar Hoover March."

One of the day's big moments was when FBI Director Clarence Kelley told Ford, "Mr. President, we've been looking you over and you appear to be good agent material." He then presented Ford with his own personal FBI badge, making him an honorary "special agent."

Ford grinned and said that it had once been his "great ambition" to be a G-man.

This sickening display was complemented by speeches praising the late Hoover and the current crooks running the bureau.

With a straight face, Ford declared that FBI employees have been "legendary symbols of American justice for decades."

Attorney General Edward Levi approached the question a bit more delicately, noting that "this is a challenging time for the FBI." He said, however, that he is "confident" that the FBI's "dedication to its strong tradition of professionalism and honor will meet the challenge."

The most effusive praise went, of course, to Hoover—"a pioneering public servant," in the words of Ford.

The American people don't quite see it that way, especially the people who were his victims—trade-union militants, antiwar demonstrators, civil rights marchers, and members of the Socialist Workers party, Black Panther party, Communist party, and other groups targeted by him for destruction.

One of his most vicious acts was the frame-up and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in the 1950s, as part of the government effort to terrorize radicals into silence.

Not long ago I went on the official tour of the old FBI building, which still featured a display on how

the FBI "cracked" the Rosenberg case. The display was titled "The Crime of the Century." It had a hammer and sickle in the middle, surrounded by mug shots, with a mushroom cloud exploding in the background.

To the surprise of tourists, our FBI "guide" walked right past this display without explaining it to us. Nor did he stop at the display next to it, titled "The Sinister Hand of Soviet Espionage."

The FBI is apparently eager to erase the record on some of its past activities. Displays like that on the Rosenbergs are reportedly not to be found in the new building.

Tours in the new building are supposed to focus on problems like organized crime instead. If Clarence Kelley and President Ford think we can be fooled that easily, they have a surprise coming.

The very existence of the new FBI building is proof that the government is continuing its illegal spying against the American people. These secret-police agencies should be abolished and their shining headquarters dismantled brick by brick. That would be a truly fitting gesture to the "memory" of J. Edgar Hoover.



# New York crisis

# Why working people should not pay



Militant/Flax Hermes

## Socialist Workers candidates propose conference of unions and community groups to fight layoffs and cutbacks

New York City faces the most serious economic, social, and political crisis in its history.

Budget cutbacks force the closing of schools, hospitals, and day-care centers. Union contracts are ripped up; wages frozen, and thousands of workers laid off. Construction is shut down.

Workers don't know from one week to the next if they have a job or if the bank will honor their paychecks. The whole city seems on the verge of falling apart.

The following are proposals by the New York Socialist Workers party candidates for action to defend the interests of working people and resolve the crisis. These ideas are offered for discussion and consideration by all New Yorkers. We welcome your suggestions, comments, and criticisms.

To map out a response to the present emergency, we propose a **city-wide conference of unions and community groups**—a broadly representative conference that would bring together municipal employee unions and workers in private industry; the unemployed; community and consumer organizations; Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese groups; tenants; students; and parents.

Elected officials of both the Democratic and Republican parties—from city hall to the White House—claim the only way to “save the city” is through

even more drastic cutbacks and layoffs. This is the program demanded by the banks and wealthy individuals who own city bonds.

Working people need an emergency conference to draw up our own plan to save New York—not for the banks, but for the human beings who live and work here. We didn't cause this crisis, and we shouldn't have to pay for it.

The crucial decisions affecting the lives of all New Yorkers are today being made behind the closed doors of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big Mac) and the Emergency Financial Control Board. Their secret meetings exclude the very people who have the most at stake: city workers and residents. Power seems to have been taken over by agencies and boards elected by no one and accountable only to the financiers.

We need an emergency conference that can speak and act for the majority, a conference that unites all those who oppose the cutbacks and layoffs.

We urge you to join with us in working to make this prospect a reality.

**Catarino Garza** for Congress  
18th C.D., Manhattan

**Pat Wright** for Congress,  
14th C.D., Brooklyn

**Robb Wright** for Congress,  
19th C.D., Harlem

**Ruthann Miller** for state assembly,  
70th A.D., Manhattan

## Behind the New York crisis

“There isn't enough money . . . everyone must sacrifice . . . work harder . . . we must tighten our belts. . . .”

That's what we are told every day by Beame, Carey, and Ford, by the city council, the state legislature, and the Congress. The same message is echoed by trade-union officials. By now most people believe it.

*But it is not true.* There is plenty of money to stop the firings, rehire every laid-off worker, and provide the social services people need. The question is who controls the money and what it will be used for.

This crisis is not just a New York problem. Nor is it fundamentally a problem of the budget.

New York represents the opening battle in a war by the ruling rich—the Rockefellers, the Morgans, the biggest banking and corporate powers in the world—to make working people bear the burden of inflation, unemployment, and the entire worldwide economic crisis, while keeping profits high.

Their immediate aim is to balance the New York City budget on the backs of the city's workers and everyone who depends on city services.

But that is only part of the story. Their goal is to deal a major blow to the working class and its organizations, first and foremost the unions. By handing New York workers a defeat, the rulers hope to change the relationship of class forces not just in New York, but across the country.

Ford and other reactionary politicians have embarked on a campaign to blast New York as though it were a modern-day Sodom. The White House compares New York to “a wayward daughter hooked on heroin,” who must be forced to “go cold turkey to break the habit.”

That sick metaphor sums it all up. Ford conjures up the image of New York as a city of junkies and welfare bums. Playing on the fact that our city has a large proportion of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Jews, he seeks to inflame racist prejudices and reactionary attitudes. *Continued on next page*



**"If they can't pay, let 'em walk. They've been getting a free ride for too long."**

*Continued from preceding page*

But what is the disgraceful "habit" of which New York must be purged? Are decent schools, medical care, and clean streets really too much to ask?

The Socialist Workers party candidates don't think so. We believe that every person should have the right to a job, an adequate income, a secure retirement, and such essential social services as education, quality medical care, and free public transportation.

The city faces a budget deficit because its expenses have risen faster than its tax revenues. That much is self-evident. But the reasons for this gap don't have anything to do with the alleged greediness of city unions and residents.

First of all, inflation has pushed up the cost of everything the city buys.

Second, unemployment and the general decline in business activity have cut down the city's tax income.

Neither of these problems originates in New York. They are symptoms of the nationwide and worldwide economic crisis. But the city has been especially hard hit. Why?

### **Last hired, first fired**

New York is increasingly a city made up of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Chinese, and other oppressed minorities. They are condemned by racist job discrimination to lower-paying jobs and permanently higher unemployment than whites. They are last hired and, under the blows of the depression, first fired.

The propaganda about the city being "too generous" is a transparent attempt to cover up the fact that the level of social services provided in the oppressed minority communities is far below that in white areas. It takes some gall to say the city is doing "too much" for Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, the South Bronx, or the Lower East Side.

Just at the time social services for the unemployed and poor are needed the most, they are cut back. The millions of dollars slashed from the City University budget hit hardest at SEEK, College Discovery, and other programs to aid Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other minorities.

The wages of city workers are frozen while prices

continue to rise. And welfare? The payments average out to a paltry \$3.46 a day to cover food, clothing, and rent.

It is not these wages and welfare payments that have driven up city spending. It is the inflation that afflicts the entire economy. And the main cause of this inflation is the federal government's deficit spending to finance the war machine.

This year alone the Pentagon will eat up more than \$100 billion of our tax payments. Ford says he wants to cut government spending, but he only cuts food stamps, welfare, and schools—while weapons appropriations are being increased!

*These gigantic military expenditures are the number one cause of inflation. They are the main reason for the crushing tax burden on working people. And they are a vast drain on resources that could be used to provide jobs and improve life in the cities.*

There is a lot of talk about the federal government "bailing out" New York. But let's see who is bailing out whom.

According to the researchers of the Tax Foundation, Inc., New Yorkers are sending more than \$22 billion to Washington in taxes this year. Only a tiny fraction of this comes back to the city in federal aid. But almost \$11 billion from New York taxes alone goes to the Pentagon, foreign policy, weapons research, and payments for past wars. That's about as much as the entire New York City budget.

Not a single one of the "bail out" schemes proposed by any Democrat or Republican calls for touching one penny of these war appropriations. In fact, they wouldn't provide any money whatsoever for jobs, schools, or housing. They are all plans to bail out the New York banks by guaranteeing the interest and repayment on their bond holdings.

### **The great bond rip-off**

Cities, as well as states and the federal government, sell bonds to raise cash, and then repay them—at interest, of course. The repayment, known as "debt service," comes out of taxes later.

Since the interest payments on the bonds are completely tax free, they are a favorite investment for wealthy individuals looking for tax shelters. The major New York banks have an estimated 10 to 15

percent of their total capital in New York bonds. Debt service on these bonds is a source of fabulous enrichment for the bankers and other bondholders, whose original investments are repaid many times over.

But the expansion of credit was one of the time bombs built into the long period of prosperity following World War II. More and more money is borrowed to repay the old debts; more must be borrowed just to keep up interest payments.

New York's annual interest payments have skyrocketed from \$470 million ten years ago to an estimated \$2 billion for this year.

*The crushing burden of interest payments is today the biggest single cause of the New York budget crisis.* In October, for example, when the city came close to default, it required \$554 million for debt service, compared with \$389 million for payroll. The debt service was more than twice as much as total welfare costs, including Medicaid, that month.

The Wall Street banks, which have reaped billions in profits off New York City taxpayers, demand that the debt service be paid on time, in full, and forever. Every single Democratic and Republican politician agrees that city workers, students, and the needy must sacrifice so that these payments can come first in the budget. We say they should be last.

## **Strategy of the rulers**

The current economic crisis marks a turning point for the entire world capitalist economy. The long era of prosperity that followed World War II has come to an end. The anarchy of production for private profit has brought the world to the brink of another Great Depression.

To increase their profits and improve their competitive position on the world market, the capitalists in each country are trying to drive down workers' wages and living standards. This policy benefits only a tiny—but immensely powerful—group of financiers and monopolists.

That is why the rulers' plans will never be posed openly and honestly, or put to a popular vote. What would happen if they took a vote one day: "Do you want bombers or schools? Should we give \$2 billion to Wall Street or use it to build low-cost housing in the Black community?" They would lose.

The wealthy must rely on deception—and force when necessary—to impose their antilabor plans: To do so, they are using three time-tested weapons:

First, they foment and exploit every possible division among their victims—workers in private industry versus public employees, employed versus the unemployed, whites versus Blacks—to sabotage any united response.

Second, they bring to bear the full power of the government, which they control through the Democratic and Republican parties, against the unions. Strikers are jailed and fined under antilabor laws like New York's Taylor Act. New antistrike laws and harsher enforcement of existing penalties are demanded.

## **What socialists stand for**

To stop the present wave of cutbacks and layoffs, and to provide the vital social services needed by the people of New York, the Socialist Workers party candidates propose a campaign of united action to:

- **Halt all U.S. military spending.** Use the \$100 billion a year now spent for war to meet our pressing social needs: jobs, education, housing, day-care centers, and medical facilities.

- **Halt all government interest payments to the rich.** These giveaways to the banks and wealthy bondholders take up \$36 billion a year in the federal budget and \$2 billion in the New York City budget.

- **Repeal all antilabor laws.** Repeal the union-busting Taylor Act, Taft-Hartley, and all other laws that limit labor's democratic rights, including the right to strike. Abolish Big Mac and the Emergency Financial Control Board, which deny the right to collective bargaining by ripping up union contracts.

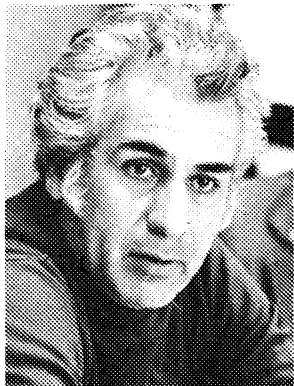
- **For independent labor political action.** Both the Democratic and Republican parties have demonstrated that they place the profits of the banks and corporations ahead of human needs. To answer their attacks, working people need to break with these capitalist parties and form our own independent political party, a labor party based on the unions.



# Vote Socialist Workers in '76!

## Catarino Garza

FOR CONGRESS  
18th C.D.  
MANHATTAN



Catarino Garza was born in 1928 and raised in *el barrio* of New York City. He is a teacher at a bilingual school, Public School 25 in the Bronx, and a chapter chairperson of the United Federation of Teachers. Garza was a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee from 1959 to 1962 and a founder of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) in 1966.

He is a longtime socialist in New York, having run for mayor in 1961, for governor against Nelson Rockefeller in 1962, and for senator against Robert Kennedy in 1964. Garza is also a veteran trade unionist—in the National Maritime Union, the United Auto Workers, and the United Federation of Teachers.

He has been working in the UFT to build teacher support for the struggle for community control of schools in District One on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. He is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party.

## Robb Wright

FOR CONGRESS  
19th C.D.  
HARLEM



Robb Wright, twenty-five, was one of the coordinators of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism in 1975. Born in Harlem, Wright has been a leader of Black student struggles for many years. In 1973 he was a statewide coordinator of the Connecticut African Liberation Support Committee. While a student at Hampton Institute in Virginia, Wright was student coordinator of the Office of Urban Affairs, a member of the National Association of Black Students, and a coordinator of the Hampton Institute Committee to Stop Drugs.

In 1974, he was a delegate from New York State to the National Black Political Convention in Little Rock, Arkansas. Robb Wright is a member of the National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and was the 1974 Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in Brooklyn.

## Pat Wright

FOR CONGRESS  
14th C.D.  
BROOKLYN



Pat Wright, twenty-five, is a day-care worker in Brooklyn and shop steward for Local 205 of District Council 1707 (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees). She was a participant in the founding conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and is an active member of the New York chapter of CLUW. Wright was one of the founding members of the Waterbury (Connecticut) Women's Center in 1972. She was also a participant in the first national conference of the National Black Feminist Organization.

Wright has spoken extensively throughout the East Coast on "Black Liberation" and "The Struggle of Black Women Against Discrimination." She is active in the struggle for desegregation of Brooklyn schools and is a member of the Brooklyn Student Coalition Against Racism. Pat Wright is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance National Committee.

## Ruthann Miller

FOR 70th A.D.  
MANHATTAN



Ruthann Miller, twenty-eight, is a secretary in the history department at Columbia University. She has been involved for the past two and one-half years in the District 65 (Distributive Workers of America) organizing drive to unionize 1,000 clerical workers at Columbia University. She is a member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

In 1969 Ruthann Miller was a staff member of People Against Abortion Laws, the first coalition of women's groups organized to fight for the repeal of New York State anti-abortion laws. She was also a staff member of the Women's Strike Coalition, which organized the historic August 26, 1970, demonstration in New York City.

In the summer of 1974, she worked for the United Farm Workers legal department in California. Ruthann Miller was the Socialist Workers candidate for New York State comptroller in 1970.

## You can help...

I want to:

- ☐ Come to a campaign committee meeting
- ☐ Set up a meeting for a candidate
- ☐ Distribute campaign material at work or school
- ☐ Have a speaker before my union or school
- ☐ Help in the campaign office
- ☐ Organize a fund raiser

- ☐ Send more information
- ☐ I want to join the Socialist Workers party
- ☐ Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_. Funds are urgently needed
- ☐ Send me information about the Young Socialist Alliance

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

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School/union/organization \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Principal place of business \_\_\_\_\_

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706 Broadway, Eighth Floor  
New York, New York 10003  
Telephone: 982-4966

Contact the socialist campaign in your area:  
Lower East Side Socialist Workers Campaign  
706 Broadway, Eighth Floor  
New York, New York 10003  
Telephone: 982-6051

Brooklyn Socialist Workers Campaign  
136 Lawrence St. (At Willoughby)  
Brooklyn, New York 11201  
Telephone: 596-2849

West Side Socialist Workers Campaign  
2726 Broadway, Third Floor  
New York, New York 10025  
Telephone: 663-3000

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. Officers of the New York 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee—chairperson: Michael Lux; treasurer: Phyllis Kittler.

*Continued from preceding page*

the financial books and records of all city and state agencies. It would rip away the shroud of secrecy that covers the wheeling and dealing of the banks, bondholders, and politicians.

Working people have the right to see for ourselves the financial manipulations, bank holdings, hidden payoffs, and profiteering at public expense that led to the current crisis. We have the right to the complete truth about these matters that are vital to our jobs and lives.

### Against discrimination—support struggles of the most oppressed

The kind of conference we are talking about would be a big step toward uniting the unions, the Black and Puerto Rican communities, students, and all others who have a stake in this fight.

In order to promote this unity, such a conference would oppose any special privileges granted at the expense of the most exploited sections of the working class. It would break with the AFSCME leaders' disgraceful attacks on CETA workers.

It would renounce Shanker's policy of conspiring with the board of education to get Black and Puerto Rican teachers laid off in disproportionate numbers because they have low seniority.

The conference should go on record demanding that layoffs not be allowed to reduce by so much as one percentage point the proportion of women and minority workers.

### For independent working-class political action

The attacks being carried out by the Democratic and Republican politicians in the service of the capitalist rulers cannot be met by action on the union or community level alone. What sense does it make to strike for a better contract only to see that contract torn up by a state financial control board?

The central questions of the layoffs, the cutbacks, and the attacks on our rights are all *political* questions. In order to deal with them effectively, we need our own political instrument, a party of our own. We need a new type of party—a party run by and accountable to the workers, not the ruling elite.

A conference of New York unions and community groups could say to the Democrats and Republicans who now run the city administration: "You have betrayed the working people of this city, the very people whose unions spend thousands of dollars to put you in office. But we are not going to be fooled again."

"Both the Democratic and Republican parties have revealed themselves to be parties of, by, and for big business. Workers can rely only on our own organizations and our own independent action."

"Assembled here are representatives of unions and other organizations that embrace hundreds of thousands of New York workers. We can and we will sweep you out of office and replace you with

working men and women running on an independent labor ticket."

Such a move in New York would inspire millions of people across the country who are disgusted with the Democrats and Republicans but who see no alternative. It would deal a crippling blow to the corrupt two-party shell game and would pave the way for the formation of a labor party nationwide.

### The socialist campaign

That sounds like a great idea, you may be saying by now, if only it could be carried out. But the problems are so big, the enemy so powerful, and the union leaderships so inadequate—what can one individual do?

Here's our answer: join with others who are fighting for the same goals. Help build a socialist movement that can lead our class—the working class—to victory.

The Socialist Workers party candidates in New York, and our presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, are campaigning for the proposals described here. We and our supporters are active in struggles against the cutbacks in the unions, in the communities, and on the campuses. We think that action is needed, and we want to work with everyone else who is interested in fighting back.

We believe working people *don't* have to pay for the crisis in New York. If you agree, why not join us?

Third, they rely on the swindle of the two-party system to confuse and defuse any political opposition to their antilabor moves. The Democrats blame the Republicans. The Republicans blame the Democrats. Both blame the workers. The buck is passed from city hall to Albany to Washington and back in a dizzying whirl.

## Union leaders retreat

Unfortunately, these tactics have been largely successful so far. The city's unions have suffered stunning blows, with contracts destroyed, wages frozen, and thousands of members laid off. Worst of all, they have accepted these defeats without a fight.

The central problem is that the municipal union leaders—from Victor Gotbaum of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees to Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers—are tied hand and foot to the Democratic party. They still—to this day!—consider themselves political allies of Beame and Carey.

They thought they had it all figured out about how to deal with the city. At election time, they would deliver the money and votes of union members to whichever Democrat or Republican offered them the best deal—or appeared to. In return they could expect to get modest but regular concessions at the bargaining table. Officials like Gotbaum and Shanker built up quite a reputation this way as shrewd negotiators who could deliver for their memberships.

But now their Democratic "allies" say there is no money, and the union officials are aghast. Their fabled political clout has evaporated overnight. The very people the unions helped elect are kicking them all over the city. All the "great negotiators" can negotiate is what part of their contract to surrender next.

Their response has been to accept Beame's word that the money isn't there. They advise union members to wait until the storm blows over, give up some ground now and get it back when times are better.

But times are not getting better, only worse. And every concession from the unions rapidly emboldens the banks to demand more. Gotbaum called it a "victory" when he negotiated a one-year "wage deferral" in July. He claimed it would avert further layoffs. Beame came back less than three months later with a three-year wage freeze and thousands more firings.

Shanker called it a "victory" when he ended the most solid teachers' strike in New York history in return for a contract that gave up class size, preparation periods, and union benefits. Within weeks, the Emergency Financial Control Board, under Governor Carey, had ripped up even that pitiful deal and demanded more.

A few more "victories" like these and there won't be much left of unionism in New York.

### 'An injury to one. . .'

As for the union officials in private industry, they have either stood silently by or helped knife the public workers in the back. "My members really get bothered when the benefits they are paying for public workers are higher than the benefits they receive," says United Auto Workers Vice-president Douglas Fraser.

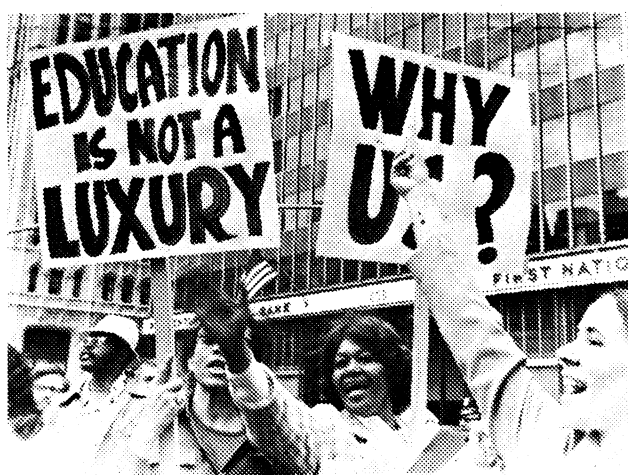
Fraser has it exactly backwards. Smashing public employee unions is not going to lighten the tax burden on auto workers one penny. But if the rulers succeed in driving down wages and working conditions for public workers, the stage will be set for similar assaults against the unions in basic industry. We would all be the losers.

The old union motto "An injury to one is an injury to all" has never been so sorely needed or so much ignored by the union officialdom.

Most despicable of all, each union bureaucrat has been scrabbling around for a special deal to get Beame to cut somebody else. Gotbaum called first for firing all the provisional employees, then for forcing older workers to retire, and now for kicking Black and Puerto Rican workers out of federally funded CETA positions and giving the jobs to permanent civil servants.

These officials have used every demagogic trick in the book to police the unions for Beame's cutback plan, browbeating the ranks into line and threatening any members or locals that propose fighting back.

They have abused the confidence of the members with promises that if they just trust their leaders and wait long enough, some deal will come through. But for more and more unionists, that confidence is ebbing fast. The old policy is a proven failure. It's time for a new policy.



Militant/Martha Harris



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

## What can we do?

So far it is the bankers and corporate executives who have been making all the decisions and calling all the shots in the city crisis.

Can working people do anything about it? The present union leaders say no, there is no way we can force the federal government to provide funds, or force city hall to pay workers instead of the banks.

But the unions only *appear* weak because their present leaders limit their demands to what the Democratic party politicians will accept. They are still looking to backroom deals with Beame and Carey. They tell people to rely on Beame's lobbying efforts to "save the city."

But a million angry demonstrators on Fifth Avenue demanding "Money for jobs, not for war!" would shake loose a lot more from both Washington and Albany than all of Beame's hat-in-hand pleas.

*The real strength of the unions lies in independent actions—strikes, rallies, mass demonstrations—that use their vast numbers and strategic position as the people who keep the city going.*

With a program to stop the cutbacks and layoffs, the unions can rally millions of the city's working people. Just remember the strikes by sanitation workers and teachers. Despite all the antiunion slanders in the news media and by city officials, those actions won overwhelming public support. People recognized the strikers were fighting for a better city for all of us.

Under pressure of the seething anger of the union ranks, some officials have raised the prospect of a general strike of city employees to protest Beame's wage freeze and layoffs. Such a strike would be an effective answer to city hall's union busting. It would demonstrate the power of organized labor, build the workers' confidence in their own ability to act, and inspire all those hurt by the cutbacks.

Already, thousands of high school students have boycotted classes and demonstrated to demand smaller classes. College students have protested the cutbacks in SEEK and other City University programs. Day-care workers, hospital workers, fire fighters, and many others have turned out for their own demonstrations. But so far the actions remain fragmented and sporadic.

### For a conference of unions and community groups

To answer the attacks on our rights and standard of living, working people will need mobilizations that are *massive, independent, and united*. A broadly representative conference of unions and community groups would be a tremendous step toward organizing such mobilizations.

Such a conference would give a voice to the majority of the people of the city. It would challenge the right of the handful of ruling rich and their hired representatives to decide social, economic, and political questions affecting all of us.

To mobilize the masses of people against the antilabor assault, a conference of unions and community groups would have to embrace and champion every movement of the oppressed and exploited, and project a program that can lead the



Militant/Lou Howort

city out of the present crisis. What would such a program look like? Here are some of the central issues we think ought to be taken up.

### Billions for jobs, not for war

The \$100-billion-a-year war budget provides superprofits for the arms manufacturers while children go hungry. This obscene waste of resources must be ended, and those billions of dollars made available to meet the needs of the people of New York and other cities.

A conference of unions and community groups would launch a struggle to eliminate the war budget and use those funds for a massive, emergency program to provide jobs and build the homes, schools, medical facilities, day-care centers, libraries, and parks we need. With even a small share of this huge fund, New York could rehire every laid-off worker and restore the cuts.

Right now the wealth of New York itself is being held hostage by the banking profiteers. A conference of labor would demand that not one penny of city revenues go to exorbitant bond repayments to the rich so long as a single city worker is without a job and vital social services are provided inadequately or not at all.

### Repeal all antilabor laws

Antistrike laws like the Taylor Act are an intolerable infringement on labor's most fundamental right. Now, the very right to collective bargaining has been abrogated by the state law giving the Emergency Financial Control Board the power to override union contracts.

Continuing to accept these violations of democratic rights only ties the hands of the labor movement. A conference of labor would map a fight to repeal the Taylor Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, and all other union-busting laws, and to abolish Big Mac and the Emergency Financial Control Board.

### No secret deals—open the books

All the key decisions about the New York crisis are now being made behind closed doors. A conference of labor would demand full access by representatives of unions and community groups to

*Continued on next page*

## Want to find out more?

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# N.Y. pickets say: 'Don't cut day care'

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—"Day care, not welfare!" shouted more than 1,500 picketers who converged on city hall here October 20.

They were parents, union members, and toddlers protesting cuts totaling almost 25 percent of the funds available for day care in New York City.

They were working mothers and fathers and people on welfare, in job-training programs, and in schools, who need someone to look after—and teach—their children during the day.

They were day-care teachers, teacher's aides, family counselors, cooks and helpers, and maintenance and other workers who don't want to be part of driving New York's double-digit unemployment rate up another notch.

A cross section of New York's working people were there—most of them Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Chinese, but also many whites.

There are some 53,000 children being served by day care in New York. At least another 150,000 more are eligible and could be in the program if there were room.

About 65 percent of those enrolled come from one-parent families where the parent works or two-parent families where both work.

## 'Save Our Children'

"Save Our Children—AFSCME Local 205" said one hand-lettered sign carried by a big, middle-aged Black woman who shouted louder than most



Militant/José Pérez



Militant/José Pérez

More than 1,500 picketed city hall October 20 to protest 25 percent slash in day care

during the picketing. Later, she was sitting on a bench surrounded by co-workers and parents from the Bushwick Neighborhood Community Council day-care center.

"I'm a community person," she told me, "and a worker and a parent there."

"Now you put *this* in the paper. We want money for our children. We want our parents to stay in school. We want our children in the centers. And we want those centers open."

Just four days before, officials had announced a \$29 million slash in the \$151 million day-care budget. That's what was left after an earlier 5.3 percent cut. Also, a recently enacted change in federal laws permits the state government to draw up more restrictive eligibility standards.

The combined effects of these cuts means dozens of centers will be closed, and others crippled. More than 9,000 children will be shoved out of the program even before the new eligibility rules take effect next March.

People at this demonstration were angry.

## 'Jobs, not welfare'

"We don't want no welfare—you can't live on it," one Black woman said. "We would rather work. There are jobs, we want them, and we'd rather work than be on welfare."

She stopped for a moment, and I clicked the switch of the tape recorder's microphone.

"Now don't you go turning that thing off! Turn it back on, hear? 'Cause I'm not finished yet."

"We don't like any cutbacks. Give the money to the poor—they've taken taxes from the poor all these years, they should give it back. That's where the money belongs!"

The response was typical of the crowd, if a little more outspoken.

Carl Spellman and Arthur White are both young workers at the Daughters of African Descent day-care center in Brownsville. "I hope this demonstration helps," Spellman said, "They've cut enough of day care as it is and I may be out of a job."

White added, "I think that day care should be available to everybody. It's like public schools. We're paying for it out of our money, taxpayers are paying for it."

When asked where the money for day care should come from, another person answered, "Cut somewhere else!" That response, too, was typical of many of the protesters.

Mercedes Deler, a Dominican, is learning office skills in a training program. "If they take day care away from me, that would just wreck my studies. I'd have to be home taking care of my girl."

## What can be done?

This was her first demonstration. When asked what she thought should be done if the cuts aren't restored after

this protest, she said, "I don't know." Then she added, fatalistically, "I'll have to go on welfare, I guess."

A Puerto Rican woman who works as a hairdresser saw only the same bleak perspective. "It's not fair," she said. "If you want to be on welfare, it's one thing. If you don't want to be on welfare, you shouldn't be forced to."

A young white woman who works in a Manhattan day-care center reported that the initial cuts have already taken their toll: "We have no materials, no substitute teachers—if someone's sick, the rest of the staff has to handle those children too. It means you're cutting the educational program."

Pat Wright, a shop steward of Local 205, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, at Our Children's Center in Brooklyn, was also at the demonstration. She has just announced her campaign for Congress in the Fourteenth Congressional District in Brooklyn on the Socialist Workers party ticket.

Wright was just as angry as the rest of those in the crowd, but her responses to some questions were different.

"I don't think they should cut somewhere else," she said. "If they've got enough money to pay bankers their interest, to spend more than \$100 billion for war, then they've got enough money for day care and everything else. It's time to put human needs before private profit."

## Unite against cutbacks

Wright explained, "We shouldn't go fighting each other over a few crumbs. All the city unions and all the social services are under attack—and we should all get together against these cutbacks."

While Wright was talking, a small group of people sat in a street that goes by the park in front of city hall. Soon, more demonstrators joined them, and hundreds more drifted over to the sidewalk by them.

Eventually several dozen cops arrived and ordered the street cleared. As protesters were being herded back to the sidewalk, the cops used the opportunity to arrest a half dozen.

Wright commented about the street protest, "You know, these people are angry. People all over the city are ready to act. But they need to see a way of fighting back that can win."

"I think the first step should be to get together a city-wide conference of all the unions, Black and Puerto Rican groups, students—all those affected by the cuts—to plan a united response."

# B'klyn students protest CUNY cutbacks

By Izabella Listopad

NEW YORK—In response to massive cutbacks in the City University of New York system, more than 600 Brooklyn College students held a march at the campus October 15 chanting, "Education is our right!"

After the march an outdoor rally of 1,200 was held. Among those speaking was Belle Zeller, chairperson of the city-wide Professional Staff Congress, the faculty union at CUNY. She told the crowd that the PSC would join students to oppose any further cuts in education.

Other speakers included Jay Hershenson, president of the University Student Senate of the CUNY system; Sam Manuel, coordinator of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism; State Assemblyman Michael Pesce; State Assemblyman Charles Schumer; and John Kneller, Brooklyn College president.

The rally was called by the Brooklyn College student government and other campus organizations in response to recent cutbacks totaling at least \$63 million. The demonstrators were also protesting a proposal from State Education Commissioner Ewald Nyquist to impose tuition in the city university system, of which Brooklyn College is a part.

This college has been severely affected by the recent cuts. Black and Puerto Rican ethnic institutes have been eliminated. Teachers have been fired, class sizes increased, and special programs for minority students drastically cut.

SEEK, a remedial program for Blacks and Puerto Ricans, has been cut in half.

Student participation in the October 15 protest was spurred by a front-page article in that morning's *New York Times* headlined, "Kibbee Proposes

20% Cut In Scope of City University." Robert Kibbee is chancellor of CUNY.

The proposal—submitted "informally" to the board of higher education—calls for reducing student enrollment by 20 percent. Among the details are:

- Abolishing open admissions for students who do not have high school diplomas, but only "graduate equivalency diplomas."

- Abolishing open admissions for all high school graduates except those in the previous June's graduating class.

- Raising fees and abolishing free tuition during the summer session and for students who complete fewer than nine credits during a year.

The plan also involves a 20 percent cut in the faculty and up to 20 percent increases in teachers' work loads.

The overall purpose of the proposal is to make "significant changes" in what Kibbee delicately describes as

"the clientele the university serves," and "the manner in which it delivers its services."

In plain English, not only will fewer students be enrolled, but Blacks and Puerto Ricans will be disproportionately cut back. And all those enrolled will receive an inferior education.

The proposed restrictions on open admissions and undercutting of free tuition are particularly racist. These concessions—won by massive struggles of Black and Puerto Rican students—resulted in great increases in the percentage of minority students at CUNY.

A demonstration has been initiated by the University Student Senate and the Professional Staff Congress to protest budget cuts at CUNY. It will take place Monday, October 27, at 4:00 p.m. at 535 East Eightieth Street, the time and place of the next board of higher education meeting.

## Bailing out the banks

# Congress plans 'Bigger Mac' for NY

By Larry Seigle

NEW YORK—If Big Mac isn't enough for you, Congress is setting up a Bigger Mac. On October 21, a Senate committee took steps to set up a federal board with power to enforce layoffs of city workers and cutbacks in social services.

The proposed legislation is being promoted as a way to "save the city." But the only beneficiaries will be the banks and the rich who hold city bonds. The bill will provide \$6 billion to guarantee city bonds against default.

But it will not provide one dime to rehire laid-off workers or restore services that are being slashed.

In fact, the bill will impose a heavy new tax burden on working people: the state will be required to levy additional taxes of \$420 million.

The legislation would turn the city's finances over to a three-member board, consisting of Treasury Secretary William Simon; Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns; and Housing and Urban Development Secretary Carla Hills.

The function of the board, as described by the October 22 *New York Times*, would be to "assure that the city met the requirements of the Federal law, balanced its budget and kept expenditures in line with income."

The legislation is aimed at strengthening the onslaught against the living standards and democratic rights of the working people of this city.

### Contracts torn up

The right of municipal workers to collective bargaining has already been effectively suspended. Union contracts are being torn up. Wages have been frozen. New layoffs will cost thousands of workers their jobs.

The proposed federal board would be in addition to the already-established state Emergency Financial Control Board, which has dictatorial rule over the city budget.

On October 20, this state board approved a new three-year budget prepared by Mayor Abraham Beame. The plan freezes the wages of all city workers for three years, suspending all provisions in union contracts providing for cost-of-living increases, annual increments, or other pay raises.

The budget also mandates massive cuts in the city payroll. Up to 50,000 jobs will be eliminated over the next three years, on top of the 31,000 already lost in 1975.

Politicians refused to give a figure for what portion of the 50,000 will come from layoffs, claiming that attrition will account for many of the cuts. However, a deputy mayor told reporters that "we would expect a number of thousands of layoffs."

### 'Changing life-style'

"New York," says Felix Rohatyn of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big Mac), "must be perceived as changing its life-style."

That life-style is changing. Not for Rohatyn and his cronies who spend their time in the paneled board rooms of the swank office buildings, or at the country estates owned by those who wail the loudest about "too much spending."

But it is changing for every working person in this city.

Among the latest victims are the city's schoolchildren. Students who ride public buses and subways will lose all or part of their reduced fare privileges. For 35,000 students, the added cost comes to *twenty dollars a month*. For another 323,000, it will cost an extra four dollars a month.

And when they get to school, they'll find still further cuts in the quality of education available to them. Another



New York students face larger classes, school cutbacks, and big hike in transit fares . . .

3,000 teachers are to be dismissed, on top of 4,500 already laid off.

The changing life-style will also see drastic new cuts in the public hospitals, the city university system, and virtually every other area of city life. Some 50,000 public housing units in the planning stages will be shelved.

What's more, the cuts will go deeper each year for the next three years. This year's \$200 million in cutbacks is only the first step toward a total of \$724 million to be slashed by mid-1978.

### Jaws of default

The move in Congress to set up a federal board to rule the city's finances came in the aftermath of the city's narrow escape from the jaws of default. The escape was close enough to give New Yorkers a grim glimpse of the future.

On the afternoon of October 17, when the city's cash on hand was not enough to meet the notes coming due, some banks and stores began refusing to cash city checks. The city controller ordered the sanitation department to halt distribution of paychecks. (The sanitation workers are the only city employees paid weekly.)

The depth of the crisis facing the city's population became chillingly clear.

Would city workers have a job tomorrow? Next week? If they did have a job, would their paychecks bounce? Would essential services come to a dead stop?

The fear of what default would mean was demagogically used by the politicians to justify the need for layoffs and cutbacks. But this was a trick. It was the need to pay debt service on notes held by the banks that brought the city to the crisis point.

As the *New York Times* explained October 18, "The city's need for cash is not directly related to the economies already made by cutting services and implementing layoffs. . . ."

"The cash that the city must raise from outside sources is needed to redeem short-term notes and other obligations previously issued by the city."

As the city came close to defaulting, the country's rulers took a good look at the threat posed by a default to the financial structure of the United States. The president of one of the country's largest brokerage houses declared, "Financial panics were a not infrequent occurrence in centuries and decades past. And no one can say 'it can't happen here.'"

Default, said Big Mac's Felix Rohatyn, would create a "social and cultural catastrophe. I've been telling people we'd probably have to bring the troops home from Germany to keep order."

Michael Jensen wrote in the October 18 *Times*, "The nation's financial market gave investors yesterday a taste of what default by New York City might mean. . . . stock prices on the major exchanges declined sharply in slow trading, and bond trading activity all but evaporated as Wall Street professionals waited for news of the city's fiscal fate."

"Currency trading in Europe was virtually at a standstill, and world gold prices rose significantly."

The specter of unleashing uncontrollable forces gave pause to some of the politicians who had been arguing that default would be a just punishment for the wicked city.

Gerald Ford, the Republican candidate for president, retreated from earlier threats to veto any bill to stave off a default.

At the same time, however, Ford escalated his election oratory denouncing the city for what he said were its lavish spending habits.

The crusade against New York fits perfectly into Ford's campaign to whip up support for cutbacks in social services at all levels of government. The country's rulers are using this reactionary rhetoric to fuel antilabor, racist sentiment, keeping the pressure on the working people of New York to accept the decline in their standard of life.

The halls of Congress were full of such tirades. Sen. John Tower (R-



. . . while Ford campaigns hard against 'Sin City.'

Texas) proclaimed that "New York is in the grip of the trade unions," whose demands have led to "profligate spending."

Utah Sen. Edwin Garn, also a Republican, accused the city of "simple, gutless irresponsibility" for caving in to "labor unions and welfare groups."

This kind of rhetoric will be central to the Republicans' 1976 campaign. But far from challenging them on these terms, the Democratic politicians have been chiming in.

"That this is now a rising theme of the election campaign is a healthy trend," wrote the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* October 20. "It is all the more significant that not just the Republican right is calling for limits on government. California's young articulate Governor [Brown] has led the field in challenging state bureaucracy, but a host of other Democratic liberals are also talking about budget cuts, streamlining of bureaucracies, and reform of welfare programs."

"Liberals have got to show that they can be responsible, efficient, good managers—not big spenders," says presidential aspirant Morris Udall in words reflective of the new mood."

### Frustration & anger

The frustration and anger felt by working people as they see their hopes and plans for the future crumbling have found little organized expression.

But the mood of the ranks of the municipal unions was reflected in some militant-sounding language from union officials.

Victor Gotbaum declared, "If they try to enforce a three-year freeze on pay through legislation, then I'll call a general strike." Gotbaum is the head of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Gotbaum has repeated this threat several times since the latest cuts were announced. On October 15 he declared, "Nobody wants a strike. But if we see the death of our contracts and the end of our unions, then you may force us into a decision nobody wants."

"If there's 20,000 layoffs, forget about Victor Gotbaum. I couldn't hold my troops back," he said.

But the talk remains just talk. The major unions haven't organized even a single demonstration against the latest cuts and firings, let alone made preparations for a city-wide strike. In fact, Gotbaum and the other union officials have not even broken politically with Beame, whom they have supported since they helped put him in office in 1973.

At each crisis, the union leaders have responded to Beame's appeals to "save the city" with major concessions.

But the city hasn't been saved. Nor have the jobs of union members.

Last July, Gotbaum and other union officials agreed to a one-year wage "deferral" in return for what they claimed was a pledge of no further layoffs. The one year has now been extended to three. The layoffs are spreading.

"It is dismaying to us," Gotbaum reportedly said, "that unions who have already given up three-quarters of a billion dollars in layoffs, wages, and other benefits should be put upon once again."

It may be dismaying, but it shouldn't be surprising. So long as the unions retreat without a battle, they will be "put upon" by the city's rulers to give up still more. Only a determined, united struggle can regain rights that have been given up, and halt the antilabor steamroller before the city unions are destroyed.



# World Outlook

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

OCTOBER 31, 1975

## Amnesty International report exposes Franco's torture of Basque prisoners

"... violence against the general Basque population, including the use of torture, was widespread and indiscriminate." This is the conclusion drawn by Amnesty International in its report on the reign of terror Franco conducted in the Basque Country during the three-month state of exception that ended July 25. The state of exception officially suspended the few civil liberties remaining in Euzkadi.

The twenty-four-page report is based on investigations made by a fact-finding team Amnesty International sent to Spain in July. It cited from the testimony of forty-five victims or witnesses of torture, as well as statements of lawyers.

The team was composed of Thomas Jones, an American lawyer, and Burkhard Wisser, a West German professor of philosophy.

Amnesty International found that at least 2,000 persons were arrested during the state of exception. A minimum of 250 of them were systematically tortured. Every victim interviewed underwent at least one torture session a day. Some were tortured as many as five times a day; one recounted thirty sessions in twenty-one days of imprisonment.

The sessions lasted from a half hour to about six hours. Victims ranged from seventeen to seventy-two years of

age. The majority were workers or members of working-class families.

Among the firsthand accounts given to Amnesty International were the following:

- "I was thrown to the floor, kicked, clubbed. They had a wooden rod about a meter long, and a club wrapped in rubber with metal bands around it."

- "They beat my husband in the Civil Guard barracks in Guipúzcoa with hard rubber tubes used for butane gas. He was bruised from the buttocks to his feet."

- "I lost consciousness twice and they woke me by throwing water on my head. On the last day, they ... beat me with a crowbar."

- "The beatings went on for seven days and nights. They put a revolver between by eyes and pulled the trigger. After the eighth day, they left me alone."

"The conditions in the prison were inhuman. Nearly 20 days with the same clothes, without washing, without a towel or a handkerchief. ...

"I would rather die than go through that again. Many feel that way."

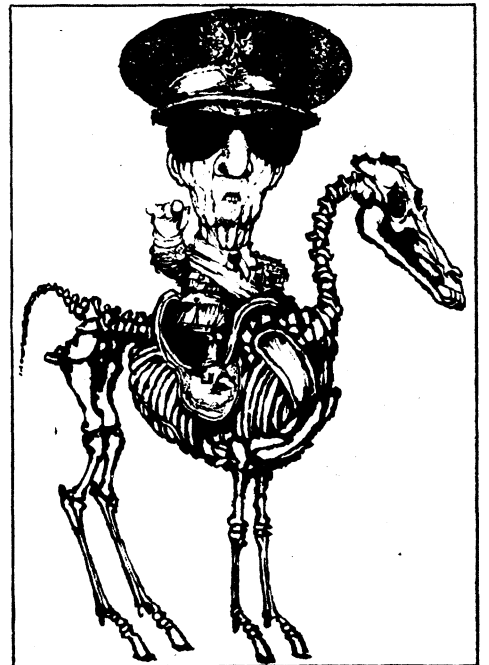
- "They took him out an hour before eating and brought him back what I would guess to be six or seven hours later. All his body was marked, his back, his feet, ankles. He looked like a cadaver. The only thing he said was

that if he had a pistol he would kill himself. They took him again two hours later—he looked half-dead. Two policemen dragged him to another interrogation. They had him an hour or so, then brought him back: his lower lip was cut, his face yellow like a dead man, his body covered with bruises, his clothes torn to shreds.

"They took him again two hours later, dragged him away by his arms, but he was unconscious, and when he collapsed near the door they brought him back to the cell and brought in a cot to lay him on."

The report stated that women victims were "so sadistically beaten and humiliated that it was not easy for them to come forward. ... Some did, however, and they told of sexual threats, including sterilization, of being made to walk naked in the police station, of being manhandled in front of male friends to force information from the men and of insults that are ... so degrading as to be a form of psychological torture."

Right-wing vigilantes aided the campaign of official terror, attacking relatives and sympathizers of Basque separatists, as well as priests and lawyers who dared to defend civil rights. Police did nothing to stop these attacks, which included bombing, burning, and machine-gunning of



homes, offices, and businesses.

In calling for a halt to these practices, Amnesty International said, "The urgency of this appeal is increased by the persistent reports of torture elsewhere in Spain."

Moreover, the organization pointed out, the new "antiterrorism" law decreed in August "increases the likelihood that such abuses as occurred in the Basque provinces during the state of exception will become more frequent throughout Spain."

A copy of the report can be obtained by sending \$.90 or 35 pence to Amnesty International Publications, 53, Theobald's Road, London WC1X 8SP, England.

## Abortion rights march in Germany draws 25,000

Twenty-five thousand persons demonstrated in Bonn September 21 against West Germany's abortion law and against a court decision earlier this year upholding legal restrictions on the right to abortion.

Germany's century-old abortion law—Paragraph 218 of the criminal code—has been under attack by women's organizations for five years. Under this pressure the West German parliament passed a law in June of 1974 legalizing abortion during the first three months of pregnancy. The new law was challenged in the courts, however, and on February 25 of this year the highest court ruled it unconstitutional.

The demonstration September 21 served as an inspiring opening for a major offensive against the abortion law that is planned by women's organizations and political groups for the month of October. A broad spectrum of organizations and prominent individuals have issued an "Appeal for Common Action Against the Prohibition of Abortion." It calls for local protest actions and informational activities in all cities, leading up to a demonstration in Bonn October 26.

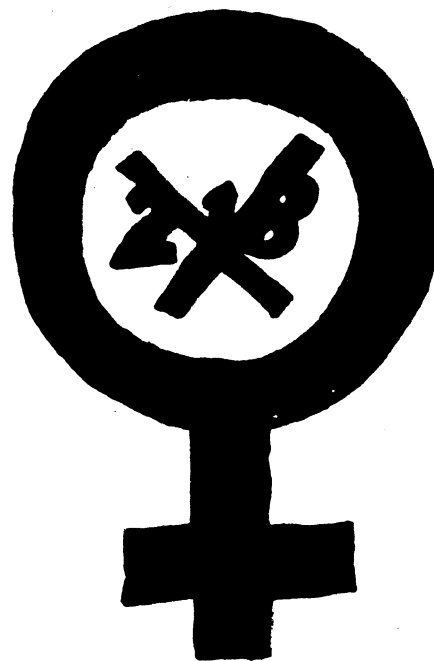
The October actions are planned to coincide with the reconsideration of the abortion question in parliament.

The appeal, signed by women's organizations and women's centers in eighteen cities, calls for free and legal abortion on demand.

The size of the September 21 demonstration was particularly significant in view of the fact that it was initiated on a much narrower basis than are the actions planned for October. Although formally organized by independent "218 Committees," the main group identified with the protest was the Maoist Kommunistischer Bund Westdeutschlands (KBW—Communist League of West Germany).

The official slogans of the demonstration were "Down with Paragraph 218" and "The people themselves should decide—Referendum!" This focus on a call for a referendum is the specific approach of the KBW and does not represent the view of many women's liberation groups and other political organizations.

The Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group, German section of the Fourth International), for example, argues



Symbol of movement to repeal Paragraph 218 of criminal code, Germany's anti-abortion law.

that a mass movement should be built around the demand for the unconditional right of women to abortion, not around any specific procedure for eliminating the antiabortion law.

Despite its disagreement with one of the main slogans of the September 21 protest, the GIM supported the action. It is also supporting the appeal for united actions in October.

Referring to the narrow sponsorship and controversial slogan of the September 21 action, an article in the October 2 issue of *Was Tun* commented: "If in spite of this, 25,000 turned out for the Bonn demonstration, this shows what possibilities still exist for mobilizations against Paragraph 218, regardless of the Karlsruhe decision [the high court ruling], and it shows how wrong was the pessimism of those who thought a broad protest movement on this question was no longer possible. It shows that it is possible to carry out powerful actions at the time of the reconsideration of Paragraph 218 in the Bundestag and to put pressure on the government, to the extent that the necessary breadth of forces is brought to bear."

## Valuable anthology reviewed

# South Korea: Reactionary dictatorship propped up

By Ernest Harsch

More than twenty years after the end of the Korean War, the threat of another holocaust on the Korean peninsula remains. The stakes for American imperialism in the region have not diminished. The Pentagon is determined, particularly after its defeat in Vietnam, to maintain the proimperialist Park dictatorship in South Korea as a bulwark against the advancing Asian revolution.

This determination was recently emphasized by Defense Secretary James Schlesinger. He declared June 20 that Washington's policy was "not

*Without Parallel: The American-Korean Relationship Since 1945.*  
Edited by Frank Baldwin. New York: Random House, 1974. 376 pp. \$3.95, paperback.

to foreclose the possible use of nuclear weapons" if the 42,000 American troops in South Korea were unable to prevent the collapse of the regime in Seoul.

*Without Parallel: The American-Korean Relationship Since 1945* examines the importance of Korea to Washington's overall strategy in Asia. It is one of the few books to critically analyze American imperialism's role in the country over the past quarter of a century.

The seven essays in the anthology, as well as the introduction by editor Frank Baldwin, are carefully documented and researched, providing valuable background information that is difficult to obtain elsewhere. Because the book focuses on the American involvement in Korea, it concentrates almost exclusively on the southern half of the country. Except for a few references, none of the authors attempt to analyze the social overturns in the north that led to the formation of the bureaucratically deformed workers state.

One of the most revealing of the essays is "American Policy and Korean Liberation" by Bruce Cumings. It details the post-World War II nationalist upsurge in Korea and the early years of U.S. intervention.

The defeat of the Imperial Japanese Army left a political vacuum in Korea and opened the way for a massive resurgence of the nationalist movement. The Korean police, army, and bureaucracy, which had served the Japanese throughout the thirty-five years of direct colonial rule, had become totally discredited. After Tokyo's August 1945 surrender, many Korean collaborators were tried or dispossessed. In rural areas, the peasants expropriated the large landholdings of the Japanese and Korean landlords. Committees of workers were formed to manage factories abandoned by their Japanese owners. These workers committees, which controlled almost all the Japanese-owned plants, organized themselves into Chonpyong (Choson Nodong Chohap Chonguk Pyonguihoe—National Council of Korean Labor Unions).

People's Committees, unions, and *chohap* (associations) were formed throughout the country, pressing for land redistribution, labor reform, and punishment of collaborators. The 16,000 political prisoners released by the Japanese under the pressure of the Korean nationalists played a major role in the formation of these groups. According to Cumings, 145 committees were functioning barely two weeks after the Japanese surrender. "The



U.S. rulers failed in their main objective in Korean War—the overthrow of North Korean workers state. War cost the lives of about half a million in the north, one million civilians in the south, and 33,000 American troops.

composition of these organs," he writes, "was highly eclectic; a political vacuum existed in Korea and everyone was scrambling. Committee leaders and members covered the political spectrum from left to right."

On September 6, 1945, committee representatives met in Seoul and formed a new government, the nationalist Korean People's Republic (KPR), under the leadership of Lyuh Woon Hyung.

Washington's response to the Korean national independence struggle was directly linked to its strategy of containing and rolling back the anticolonial upsurges that swept many Asian countries, particularly China and Vietnam, in the late 1940s. While aiding the French efforts to regain control of Vietnam, Washington moved directly into Korea with the aim of crushing the anticolonial struggles there, as well as establishing a strong imperialist base that could be used as a staging area for an offensive against the Chinese revolution. The Pentagon's ultimate goal was the destruction of the workers state in the Soviet Union itself.

American forces landed in Inchon, in southern Korea, in September 1945, the same month as the formation of the nationalist government.

Moscow, which was militarily stronger in Korea than Washington at that time, allowed the White House to strengthen its foothold in the south by agreeing to the "temporary" division of the country at the 38th parallel and by refusing to back the Koreans' demands for independence (Stalin agreed to Roosevelt's proposal for a "trusteeship" for Korea). This betrayal gave American imperialism the opening it needed to move against the nationalists in the south and to prepare for the Korean War.

Although the KPR had the backing of some Korean capitalists and offered to cooperate with Washington, the American imperialists considered it unreliable and refused to recognize its authority. Lyuh was branded a "Communist," and Syngman Rhee, a right-wing nationalist who had been living in exile during the Japanese occupation, was brought back to Seoul and

given full U.S. backing.

Within six weeks of the beginning of the American occupation of the south, the U.S. generals began preparations to organize a new Korean army. Sixty Korean officers, including forty who had served under the Japanese, were taught English. By October 1945, about 85 percent of the Koreans who served in the Japanese police force were reemployed in the newly formed Korean National Police. In January 1946, the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea, which was to rule the country for more than two years, was set up.

To clear the way for its puppet regime, Washington waged a war against the KPR, Chonpyong, and the various committees and *chohap* that exercised control in parts of the country. KPR officials in the provinces who had been chosen by People's Committees were arrested and replaced by American appointees. Strikes were banned and the former Japanese-owned factories occupied by Chonpyong were placed under military control.

The American authorities' campaign of repression was met by a series of revolts, strikes, and insurrections from 1946 to 1950 that touched virtually every town and city in the south. A railroad strike in September 1946

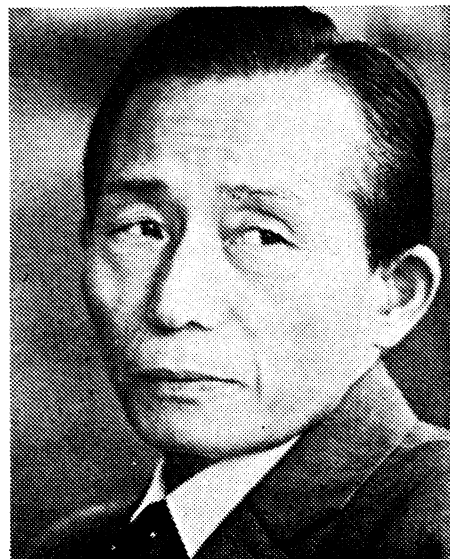
quickly grew into a general strike.

In October 1946 an uprising in which fifty-three police were killed shook the city of Taegu. Martial law was declared and U.S. troops were sent in. Unrest swept North and South Kyongsang provinces the same month. By July 1947 there were more than 20,000 political prisoners in the south, a greater number than at the end of Japanese rule. After a rebellion in Yosu in October 1948, the National Security Law was enacted. It made "disturbing the tranquility of the nation" a crime, and 90,000 persons were arrested. Many leaders of the South Korean Communist party were forced to flee north. During the Korean War, about 500 South Korean political prisoners were executed by Rhee.

To formalize the division of the country and legitimize Washington's puppet regime, separate "elections" were held in the south in May 1948 and the Republic of Korea (ROK) was established. Jon Halliday, in "The United Nations and Korea," examines how Washington used the UN to sanction the "elections" and later to provide a cover for American military intervention in the Korean civil war.

According to Washington's propaganda, the June 25, 1950, North Korean attack against Rhee's forces was stage-managed from Moscow. However, Robert P. Simmons points out in "The Korean Civil War" that the outbreak of the war was the logical result of each side's determination to reunify Korea under its control. It was a civil war and the question of who fired the first shot is only of marginal interest. In fact, Simmons notes, the South Korean regime and its American backers had been preparing for the war since Rhee's installation.

Simmons also exposes Moscow's treacherous role. In the first months of the war, neither Moscow nor Peking provided any significant backing to the Koreans. It was not until after American troops entered North Korea and directly threatened China itself that Peking began to materially aid the Pyongyang regime in October 1950. The following month it committed Chinese troops to the war.



PARK: South Korean dictator runs one of world's most repressive regimes.



# by U.S. for thirty years

Just before the entry of the Chinese troops, the Soviet forces had pulled out. Moscow's abandoning of Korea was a clear signal to Washington that the Soviet Stalinists would make no moves to halt the American offensive as long as the Soviet Union itself was not directly threatened.

Throughout the Korean War, Soviet aid was dispensed with an eyedropper. Simmons writes that "the weapons that the Soviet Union supplied to its allies during the war were inferior and vulnerable to American technology. For example, the North Korean and CPV [Chinese People's Volunteers] tanks were no match for American anti-armor weapons; Soviet heavy tanks, which might have withstood U.S. firepower, were not used. The best Russian anti-tank weapons, e.g., 85 mm and 100 mm M1944, were not used in Korea. The same held true of the Russian anti-aircraft artillery, which was not an equal match for the evasion capability of the American planes." The Soviet Stalinists used similar tactics later in Vietnam to pressure the Vietnamese into compromising with American imperialism and the Thieu regime.

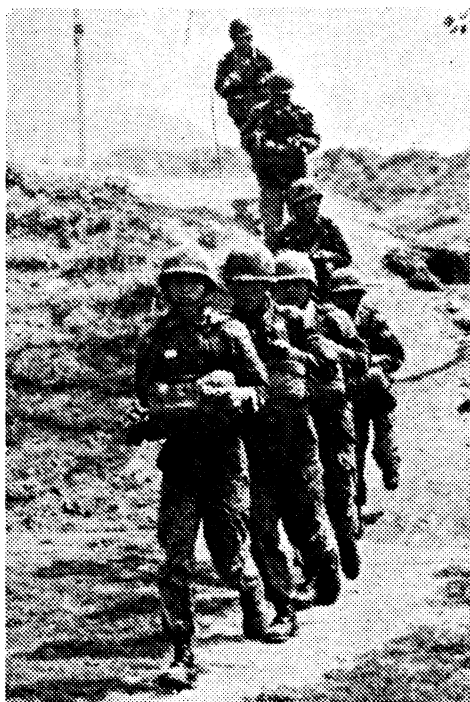
North Korea's military casualties were estimated at half a million, with 1 million civilians missing. The Rhee regime suffered 300,000 military casualties. In the south, about 1 million civilians were killed and 2.5 million were left homeless, with another 5 million on relief. More than 33,000 American troops died in the war.

Despite this massive destruction, the Pentagon failed to achieve its immediate objective: the overthrow of the North Korean workers state. Its next step was to strengthen the dictatorship in the south so as to maintain a firm foothold in the area in anticipation of more favorable circumstances for another attempt against the north.

By 1973, Washington had pumped \$11 billion in military and economic aid into South Korea. Totally trained by U.S. officers, the South Korean army was transformed into one of the largest in the world, with 600,000 troops under arms shortly after the war. Herbert P. Bix, in "Japan and South Korea in America's Asian Policy," writes: "Touted by Pentagon officials as the best 'comparable return militarywise for the equivalent amount of money,' the R.O.K. Army had become by 1953 the primary model for the U.S. military assistance program in Indochina and its expansion, revitalization and support the primary object of all U.S. policies in South Korea."

The South Korean army was useful to Washington not just on the Korean peninsula, but as a counterrevolutionary reserve army that could be used in other parts of Asia as well. From 1964 to 1973, about 312,000 South Korean troops fought with the American forces in Vietnam. For this service, Washington paid an estimated \$10 billion.

In 1968 President Park Chung Hee established a 2.3 million-man Homeland Reserve Force to supplement the standing army. Since Bix wrote his essay, Park has taken further steps to militarize the country. In May 1975 the regime announced the mobilization of all male high school and college students into a "student defense corps." A month later a "civil defense corps" was formed, providing for the conscription of all males between the ages of seventeen and fifty, as well as female "volunteers." A \$3 billion military "improvement" program was



South Korean paratroopers. By 1973 Washington had pumped \$11 billion in military and economic aid into South Korea.

also launched, which would add new American tanks, aircraft, submarines, and other major weapons systems to Seoul's already bulging arsenal.

Bix also examines Tokyo's role in the Pentagon's East Asian military strategy. During the U.S. occupation of Japan after the Second World War, the American administrators quietly encouraged the rebuilding of the Japanese arms industry. Bix estimates that by January 1951, six months after the start of the Korean War, as much as 80 to 90 percent of Japan's remaining war-related industry was engaged in the manufacture and repair of weapons, supplying Washington with napalm, artillery shells, and other arms during the war.

In addition to serving as Washington's Asian arsenal and allowing the presence of American troops and bases in the country, Tokyo began to rebuild its own military with the establishment of the Jieitai (Self Defense Force) in 1954.

Beyond their formal military alliance with Washington, the Japanese imperialists have a vital stake of their own in the preservation of a capitalist South Korea. Bix quotes a Japanese government publication that stated in 1964, "Japan is an indispensable base for the defense of South Korea. Conversely, South Korea controls the entrance to the Japan Sea and is extremely important for the security of Japan. Viewed historically, not allowing South Korea to fall to hostile forces had become the number one goal of Japanese foreign policy."

Washington has encouraged Tokyo to take a more active role in defending their common interests in South Korea. In November 1969, President Nixon and Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato signed a joint communiqué affirming that the defense of South Korea was "essential" to Tokyo's own security.

An editorial in the August 2, 1975, *New York Times* summarized Washington's "triangular" strategy toward Korea: "The United States interest in Korea is directly tied to this country's security obligations to Japan; it is Japan, far more than the United States, that is threatened by political and military unrest in Korea. While the United States must be prepared to maintain defense responsibilities in

South Korea, it would only be an appropriate sharing of responsibility for Japan to assume more of the diplomatic initiative."

By the early 1970s, the Japanese economic penetration of South Korea had begun to challenge that of Wall Street. The amount of investments in South Korea by the two imperialist powers was shifting more and more in Tokyo's favor, underlining another reason for Tokyo's interest in its former colony.

In "Capitalism in South Korea," Gerhard Breidenstein describes the economic policies followed by the Rhee and Park regimes and their effects on the Korean masses.

South Korea's chief economic role for the American, Japanese, and other imperialist interests is that of a cheap labor pool. Wages in South Korea are one-sixth to one-eighth of those in Japan. Foreign investment—which accounts for one-half of all capital invested in South Korea—is encouraged through "free export zones" and other incentives. Moreover, all companies with more than \$100,000 in foreign capital are protected from strikes through compulsory arbitration. This "protection" was extended to all private capital in South Korea in December 1971 when Park assumed emergency powers.

Wages are kept low, although inflation is at least 10 percent a year. Because most private and government investments have been made in the profitable manufacturing sectors, agricultural productivity has not increased, requiring the importation of food grains. (Before the division of the country, the south was the rice supplier for all Korea.) The stagnation in the rural areas has forced many peasants to migrate to the cities, adding to urban unemployment and the depression of wages. (Bernie Wideman focuses on the agricultural conditions in "The Plight of the South Korean Peasant.")

In order to keep a tight lid on this time bomb, the South Korean dictatorship has installed one of the most extensive repressive apparatuses in the colonial world. James B. Palais outlines the development of Seoul's police state in "'Democracy' in South Korea, 1948-72."

Syngman Rhee's crude dictatorial methods, which included arrests of members of parliament and the execution of an opposition presidential candidate, eventually contributed to his downfall. The rigging of the 1960 elections sparked massive student demonstrations that toppled Rhee.

After little more than a year, another dictator came on the scene. Park Chung Hee, a former lieutenant in the Japanese army during World War II, led a military coup in May 1961. He systematized and extended the repressive apparatus inherited from Rhee. One of Park's first acts was to introduce the Political Purification Law of 1961 that banned several thousand persons from political activity. The constitution was revised to give Park greater executive powers and reduce the role of parliament.

In his first year of rule, Park also established the notorious Korean Central Intelligence Agency. Bix notes in his essay, "By the early 1970s the R.O.K. CIA, under Park's loyal assistant, Lee Hu-rak, controlled the nation's press, weekly magazines, radio, television, popular records, public billboards and even advertisements in local theaters and tea houses."

In 1972 Park formalized his dictatorial rule by declaring martial law and pushing through a new constitution giving him power to declare a national emergency and appoint one-third of the representatives of the National Assembly. He recently introduced additional totalitarian methods. According to a June 22, 1975, report in the *Washington Post*, new administrative units were set up on the subblock level in Seoul, with one supervisor responsible for the surveillance of every five families.

Despite Park's army of spies, torturers, and censors, some spontaneous outbursts and organized protests have occurred. A twenty-three-year-old worker burned himself to death in November 1970 to protest the sweatshop conditions in Seoul's garment factories. In August 1971, inhabitants of the slum city of Kwangju rose up, requiring a thousand riot police to crush the demonstrations. Fishermen and peasants also staged protests that year.

Although there was a vicious crackdown on the student movement in 1971 and 1972, South Korean students launched a series of mass protests in Seoul and other cities beginning in October 1973. Their demands included a revision of the constitution that gives Park dictatorial powers, the release of political prisoners, the ouster of CIA agents from the campuses, and freedom of the press.

While the student protests against the dictatorship have not yet spread to other sectors of the population, they have the potential for doing so. Park's continual efforts to destroy the Korean student movement reflect the regime's fear of just such a development.



Police attack October 1973 student protests. Student actions against the dictatorship have potential of spreading to other sectors of population.

## Interview with Giannis Felekis

# Marxist editor tells about developments in Greece

[Giannis Felekis is the editor of *Ergatike Pale*, the weekly newspaper that reflects the views of the International Communist Organization, Greek section of the Fourth International. The following interview was conducted in Athens August 15 by Kristine Owen. It was published in the October 6 issue of the Canadian revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Labor Challenge*, from which we have taken the text.]

**Question.** What is the general situation in Greece today?

**Answer.** The situation today is marked by the consequences of the international economic crisis, which in Greece, given its relative backwardness, has become very acute. The foreign payments deficit is extremely unfavorable for the Greek economy. In the past, this deficit was covered mainly by the incomes of the immigrant workers, seamen, tourists, and internal and foreign loans. All of these sources are now limited because of the international character of the capitalist crisis, which has led to increased unemployment in Western Europe and to a decline in international trade. All of these restrictions are putting the capitalist state in a difficult position that doesn't leave it any room for maneuver.

A few figures will illustrate the situation.

In 1974, industrial production fell 7.8 percent, according to official figures. With the deepening of the economic crisis, an even greater drop is expected in 1975.

Officially, 170,000 workers are unemployed. If we add to this figure the construction workers and other unemployed who don't receive any unemployment benefits, the total surpasses 250,000. In addition, there are 750,000 underemployed (part-time) workers. This means that out of a labor force of three million people, one-third are without full-time jobs. These workers are forced to live at a level inferior to the already low standard of full-time workers.

Last year, the inflation rate was 16 percent, with a rate of 20 percent expected for 1975. Prices are skyrocketing, especially for all services and utilities. In addition, the prices of some basic foods have risen 40 to 70 percent. All this creates a very explosive attitude for the exploited social layers, particularly the working class and peasantry.

**Q.** What are the plans of the ruling class to meet this situation?

**A.** All the economic measures it is taking are very short-term, contradictory, and spasmodic. The ruling class provides no alternative but a twofold policy of terror and illusion. This means that Premier Constantine Caramanlis spreads illusions to the masses that he is the savior, the only solution. Through demagogic means he aims to maintain illusions that things will soon be better. On the other hand, he carries out a broad campaign of intimidation and terror. Through this tactic, the ruling class tries to make the working class and peasantry pay for the crisis of the system.

**Q.** What is the reaction of the working population toward these plans of the bourgeoisie?



Riot police prepare to attack a construction workers' demonstration in Athens on July 23.

**A.** The unchallenged parliamentary majority of Caramanlis makes it easy to give an appearance of stability, but it is a very superficial appearance. Under the surface is a volcano ready to erupt. The working people are not accepting their low living standard and the need to lower it even more, through unemployment and the lowering of real wages, to help the capitalist system.

A strike wave started last fall, and broadened in the beginning of this year. Almost all sectors of the working class have taken some action, ranging from work stoppages to strikes. The strikes are characterized by their long duration, their combativity, and the formation of strike committees in all cases. Recently, a qualitative change has taken place: Strikes have developed into occupations. One case is that of shipyard workers; their strike lasted forty-five days, during which time they had control of the yards.

The peasantry is in a much more serious situation than that of the working class, because only a small part of their production is absorbed by the market and is subject to prices lower than the cost. So when each agricultural product is harvested, the producers of the product are mobilized, and in this manner broad mobilizations of producers of specific products have taken place.

The main defect of all these worker and peasant mobilizations is that they are spontaneous and sporadic. There is no coordination and centralization, because there is not an organized peasant movement and a centralized trade-union movement.

**Q.** What is the situation of the trade-union movement?

**A.** The situation of the Greek trade-union movement is very complex. There is an official Central Confederation of Labor, which is a yellow trade union; that is to say, it is just a part of the state apparatus without any base in the working class. All of the real unions, which number about 750, were expelled from this Confederation of Labor in the period between 1960 and 1967. Officially, they are still outside this apparatus. Even in these real unions elections haven't taken place since 1966.

All these real unions were dissolved in April 1967 by the military dictator-

ship. The Caramanlis government allowed them to operate legally only six months after the fall of the dictatorship, restoring to the leadership of these unions those elected in 1966.

We propose immediate assemblies of workers, the reoperation of the unions, and new elections of the leadership. But the Stalinists, who have hegemony in these unions and have done nothing, have been waiting for Caramanlis to arrange everything for them. And he has every reason for postponing action and thereby gaining time.

The position of our organization is that all these real unions that were expelled represent the entire organized working-class movement and must form a new central apparatus, that is to say, a new Central Confederation of Labor. While the Stalinists, who dominate these unions, are against this, they demand that Caramanlis accept them again into the yellow union from which they were expelled.

In addition, only 12 to 15 percent of the working class is organized into unions. This problem, plus the lack of a centralized trade-union movement, is the reason that all strikes that have taken place until now have been sporadic, uncoordinated, and in many cases spontaneous. The aim, therefore, of our organization in this field is to fight for centralization of the unions

and for an organizational drive to bring the majority of workers into unions.

But this is impossible without a hard struggle against the reformist leaderships which are consciously keeping the trade-union movement in this situation. If this centralization of the trade-union movement does not occur, no effective trade-union struggle can take place. But such a broad organizational drive and this battle for centralization of the existing unions is also impossible without a strong revolutionary organization. So we consider both these struggles directly connected.

**Q.** What are the perspectives for the future?

**A.** Since the margin of maneuver of the ruling class is very narrow; and since the working population has already shown its intention not to pay for the capitalist crisis, it is clear that we're heading to a direct and generalized confrontation. The labor movement, in its political organizations and trade unions, is not yet prepared for this confrontation; so we consider the time we have to become prepared very short given the low level of organization that exists now.

The illusions among the working population that were fostered by the capitalist and reformist parties are evaporating. One of the aims of our policy and propaganda is precisely to eliminate these illusions and give people a clear political perspective. We are trying to make clear to the people that all their economic problems derive from the capitalist system and that their fight must be directed toward the destruction of that system and its replacement by the socialist alternative.

Because the present government was elected through intimidation and illusions, because its constitution is dictatorial, and because its repressive policies include the breaking of strikes and violent, provocative attacks on mass mobilizations, we demand that this government be overthrown and new elections for the constitutional assembly be held. With these demands we aim to give the mobilizations some concrete direction, and through this process, to finally create a workers and peasants government, which we advocate as the only real solution.

## Of Special Interest

### Two Views on Portugal

### In Defense of Portuguese Revolution

By Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, and Ernest Mandel

### For Correct Political Course in Portugal

By Gerry Foley, Joseph Hansen, and George Novack

In the September 8 and October 13 issues of *Intercontinental Press*. Send \$1.50 for both numbers. The address is Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.



# 'Let Blanco in,' demand Minneapolis protesters

By Glen Boatman

MINNEAPOLIS—On the evening of October 10 at the University of Minnesota, 110 people gathered to protest Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's denial of a visa to Peruvian revolutionary Hugo Blanco.

Blanco had been scheduled to speak at this campus on "Latin America: Continent Without Justice" as part of a nationwide tour coordinated by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Among those speaking at the protest meeting were Donald Hill, President of the Minnesota Educational Association; Prof. Ileana Rodríguez, of the university's department of Spanish and Portuguese; Mirta Vidal, member of the national office staff of USLA; Vernon Bellecourt, member of the National Council of the American Indian Movement; and Sister Marian Pahl, a Maryknoll nun. The meeting also heard a taped message from Blanco.

Hill opposed the ban as an attack on academic freedom. "I firmly believe it

Humphrey (D-Minn.), Minnesota Lt. Gov. Rudy Perpich, and Kathy Anderson, president of the Minnesota branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

A letter from University of Minnesota President C. Peter Magrath hit again on the question of academic freedom: "Mr. Blanco is acknowledged to be a very talented writer and spokesman for his cause. His appearance at the University of Minnesota will be in keeping with our tradition of free inquiry."

An October 9 news conference held to announce the rally also reflected the breadth of support for Blanco's right to a visa. Speakers included Prof. Hernán Vidal, of the Spanish and Portuguese department at the University of Minnesota, and Rev. Vincent Hawkinson, of the International Affairs Committee of the Minnesota Council of Churches.

Hawkinson told reporters, "The religious community is always concerned when truth is repressed and when a man such as Hugo Blanco,



USLA leader Mirta Vidal was featured speaker at University of Minnesota meeting in defense of Blanco's right to enter country.

is a transgression of our country's basic beliefs to deny our countrymen the right to hear his views and exchange ideas with Hugo Blanco," he said.

Rodríguez, representing the Committee for Chilean Freedom, local affiliate of the National Coordinating Center in Solidarity with Chile, linked the visa denial to the cover-up of U.S. involvement in the Chile coup:

"It is essential to expose and to protest against this latest effort by American public officials to maintain secrecy about their international war against political dissidents."

Mirta Vidal was the featured speaker. She explained that when the State Department is asked why Blanco has not been allowed to enter the United States, they reply that the information is "classified." Vidal charged that "classified" is a code word for covering up things the government doesn't want the American people to know because they simply wouldn't stand for it."

Vernon Bellecourt expressed solidarity with the struggles of Latin Americans, and in particular with the struggles of Indian people in Latin America. Blanco is well known for his role as the central leader of a unionization movement by Quechua Indian peasants in Peru.

The meeting also heard several messages from prominent individuals as well as portions of protest letters that have been sent to Kissinger. Statements were read from Rep. Donald Fraser (D-Minn.), Sen. Hubert

who is deeply ethical and courageous, is denied a visa to the U.S."

The rally and news conference generated substantial publicity and editorial support from several newspapers.

On October 9, "All Things Considered," a nightly news program of National Public Radio aired on 180 stations across the country, carried an interview with Mirta Vidal on the visa fight. The interview originated with KSJN radio in the Twin Cities.

On October 16, the prestigious Minneapolis *Tribune* published an editorial accusing the State Department of violating the Helsinki agreement, signed by Kissinger last July, by denying visas to Blanco and to Sergio Segre, a leader of the Italian Communist party.

The *Tribune* noted that "Helsinki signatories pledge to facilitate international contacts and communications between authors and publishing houses as well as other cultural institutions."

Blanco's U.S. publisher and world literary agent, Pathfinder Press, has vigorously protested the denial of the visa to him because it was planning to have meetings with him about future publishing projects.

In addition to the *Tribune*, other newspapers have added their protests to the State Department ban on Blanco. They include the University of Minnesota *Daily*, the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, and the Atlanta *Journal*.

# School board agrees to talk with Atlanta unions

By Tony Dutrow

ATLANTA—On October 20, five days before U.S. District Judge Newell Edenfield's back-to-work order was to expire, the Atlanta school board agreed to negotiate with Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Atlanta Association of Educators, the local affiliate of the National Education Association.

The board agreed to discuss wages, hours, and working conditions and set November 20 as the deadline for their final answer. However, these terms exclude collective bargaining for a signed contract for either AFSCME or the AAE.

The board's position remains unchanged, that AFSCME and the AAE can speak only for their membership, not for all school employees.

AFSCME now represents more than 1,300 school board classified employees, an overwhelming majority of those able to join the union.

The AAE has grown in the past several weeks to 2,400 of the 4,000 teachers in the system.

Both AFSCME and the AAE held general membership meetings October 15 to conclude their one-day strike and to assess its impact and the effect of the court injunction.

Five hundred AFSCME school board chapter members listened as Willie Bolden, AFSCME staff spokesperson, explained that "none of the three points we are asking the board to agree to during the injunction have a damn thing to do with your working conditions."

Bolden said that if the board agreed to these minimal points, which amounted simply to formally recognizing the union, discussions could begin on wages, hours, and working conditions.

Discussion at the meeting centered on the impact of the October 14 strike. The action has had the effect of bringing many new members to AFSCME.

Bill O'Kain, secretary-treasurer of Local 1644, received loud applause when he told the meeting, "We showed the board, the city of Atlanta, and the country we could do it. Now we have to prepare for our next action by organizing for it and bringing more members into the union." He went on to propose that the union immediately begin an organizing drive.

Three hundred AAE members met earlier in the day in a similar meeting. Teachers also talked about the importance of the contract and how the one-day strike helped build the AAE.

Robert Johnson, an AFSCME picket leader at Therrell High School, told the

*Militant* that five people had signed up at his school since he went back to work. "Everyone in the kitchen has signed up except the manager," he said.

Johnson also spoke about how teachers and workers at the school felt about the board's decision. "The contract is the thing with us. We feel it could be a trick by the board to keep us off the picket line a few more weeks," explained Johnson.

Working conditions at Therrell are worsening. "A night maid who used to do eight rooms now has a work load of fourteen rooms a night. A woman came up to me today and showed me her work list giving her more jobs than two people could do in one day," explained Johnson.

Working conditions like these in the schools have drawn out community support for the demands of AFSCME and the AAE.

A resolution in support of AFSCME and the AAE, adopted by the Sutton Community Council, was handed to the school board on October 20.

The council went on record saying, "We will not engage in recruitment of parents or volunteers for classroom and nonclassroom workers to take the place of striking employees at Sutton Community School, nor will the council encourage parents to cross any picket lines."

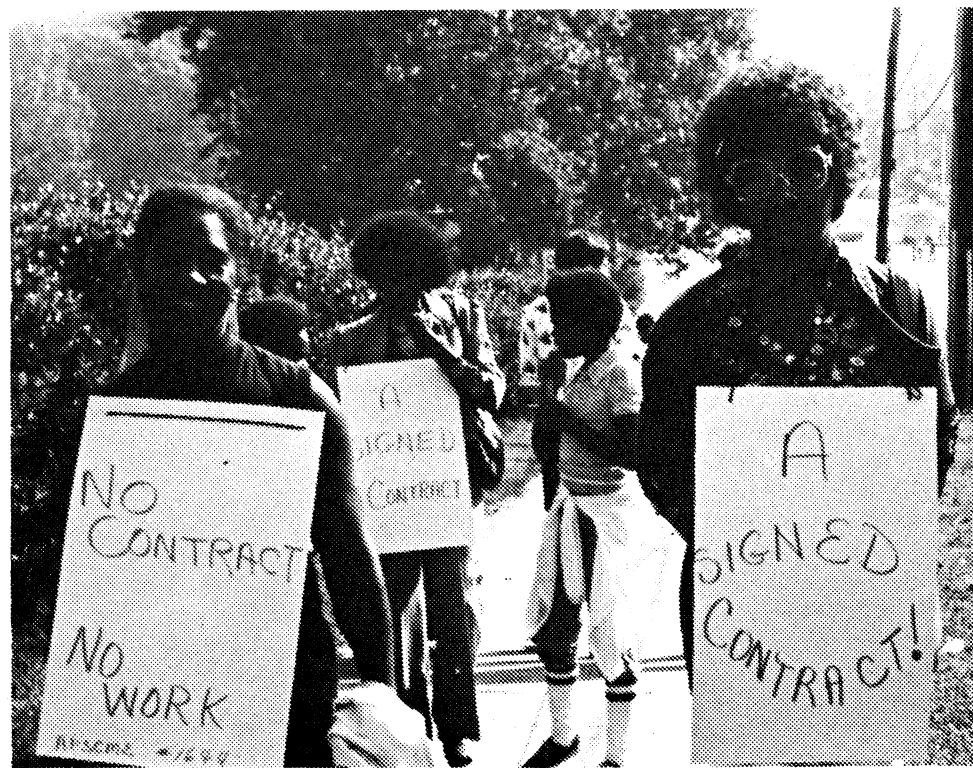
Student leaders here also issued a statement October 20 in support of AFSCME and the AAE.

The students warned the school board against trying to recruit scab teachers from Atlanta University or Georgia State University campuses in the event of another strike.

The statement went on to answer claims that AFSCME and the AAE are not concerned with the education of Atlanta schoolchildren: "The interest and welfare of workers and teachers are an integral part of the better education of Atlanta public schoolchildren and not to the contrary. We see the quest for quality education in Atlanta schools as linked directly to the demands of the school workers and teachers."

The statement was signed by the Georgia State University Black Alliance; Eugene Duffy, president of the Atlanta University Center student government; and the Atlanta Student Coalition Against Racism.

Black high school students held a rally at City Central Park October 21, which the school board tried to prevent. The rally demanded that the school board discuss the grievances of school board workers and teachers and reach agreement.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Atlanta school employees picketing before court order forced them back to work. Students in some schools walked out in support of strike.

# UFW presses Calif. farm board to halt grower threats in voting

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Responding to mounting pressure by the United Farm Workers, the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board said October 16 it would impose more stringent penalties on employers who threaten or coerce farm workers for supporting the union.

The board announcement came the same day as a national AFL-CIO fact-finding team reported it had found "widespread intimidation of workers by growers and Teamsters, inadequate investigation of those charges by the ALRB and incomplete law enforcement."

Since the enactment of California's farm labor act this August, some 200 union representation elections have been held in the fields. These have been marked by widespread illegal practices by the growers and their Teamster allies.

Growers have threatened and fired workers on the eve of elections, the Immigration Service has deported undocumented Mexican workers favorable to the UFW, and there has been at least one case in which a ranch foreman made death threats.

The AFL-CIO team, selected during that body's recent national convention in San Francisco, included Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers' union; Paul Jennings of the International Union of Electrical Workers; and Joseph Keenan of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Traveling in a bus with other AFL-CIO staff members, the union officials visited the Delano, Salinas, and Santa Maria farming areas.

In Delano, the UFW organized a meeting of field hands who described



National AFL-CIO fact-finding team charged growers and Teamsters with widespread coercion and intimidation of farm workers during elections.

Chávez estimates that if the elections had been held in an untainted atmosphere, the UFW vote would be 20 percent to 25 percent higher.

Meanwhile, a federal judge has upheld the right of the United Farm Workers to sue the Teamsters union and Coachella Valley grape growers for \$75 million for violent deprivations of the civil rights of UFW members and supporters during the 1973 strikes.

The suit, filed by Dan Lavery of the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, names the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, various Teamster officials—including union President Frank Fitzsimmons, forty-five Teamster "guards," and twenty-nine Coachella grape growers.

The suit states that the violence by the growers and Teamsters deprived the UFW, whose membership is more than 90 percent nonwhite, of the right to make and enforce contracts and of equal protection under the law.

The UFW complaint documents meetings between growers and Teamster officials aimed at replacing the UFW with a predominantly white

union in order to maintain farm workers as second-class citizens.

The suit also charges that the Teamsters officials and the growers violated the Civil Rights Act of 1871 (the "Ku Klux Klan act") by hiring "guards"—at \$67.50 per day—on the basis of their willingness to engage in anti-UFW violence.

The suit describes many of the violent acts carried out by the "guards." These involve the use of guns, lead pipes, chains, and clubs; death threats against UFW members; the destruction of property of UFW members; and individual and mass assaults.

Teamster officials have already admitted under oath that as many as thirty Teamster agents engaged in violent anti-UFW acts and were later fired.

An ACLU spokesperson told the *Militant* that the federal court decision was unusual, since suits of this type have generally been thrown out of court. She said it would be some time before the suit comes to trial, since the decision simply allows the case to go ahead.

## Vote totals

Following are the unofficial results of voting in the California farm elections as of October 20.

	Vote Percent	
United Farm Workers	15,959	53.9
Teamsters	8,643	29.2
No union	5,019	16.9
Totals	29,621	100.0

the coercion and intimidation, which the ALRB has not moved to stop.

The UFW has charged that a major problem is that the general counsel to the ALRB, Walter Kintz, has refused to use the powers available to him to make the growers and Teamsters obey the law. The union has demanded that Gov. Edmund Brown remove Kintz.

In asserting that the board would now deal sternly with violations of election procedures, Kintz outlined penalties that he said would be invoked.

These include financial compensation for the emotional distress suffered by workers fired or otherwise coerced, payment by the growers for the cost of processing complaints of unfair labor practices, and payments to illegally treated workers for such losses as added travel costs to new jobs.

The ALRB said it would also undertake a major media campaign, which will include radio broadcasts in six languages, to inform field workers of their rights under the new law.

UFW head César Chávez responded to the board's new plan with skepticism. He noted that complaints filed with the ALRB have piled up without being processed, and he asserted, "As long as Kintz is there, there will be no solution."

Despite wholesale violation of the law by growers, the UFW has been able to win a clear lead in the elections.

## UFW: 'Gallo's Vietnam'?

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—While farm workers in California struggle for an end to starvation wages, *Forbes* magazine has published an article in its October 1 issue that reveals the enormous wealth that the big growers control. The article, entitled "Their Cup Runneth Over," was about the Gallo family.

*Forbes* notes that the Gallos are now one of America's richest families. The E & J Gallo Winery probably earned \$40 million last year. Besides its winery, the family also controls 5,000 acres of vineyards, 2,000 acres of apple orchards, one of the state's largest trucking companies, and several big wine distributors. Gallo buys 40 percent of all California wine grapes sold.

It all adds up to an estimated family worth of \$500 million.

The Gallos have so much money, in fact, that they lend it to the Bank

of America (the nation's largest) in \$10 million chunks.

*Forbes* told how Gallo has jacked up its prices during the past few years. One Gallo wine went from \$1.49 per half gallon in 1968 to \$2.79 today. Another line has gone up 20 percent since 1971.

The Gallo empire is running into some harder times, though. Other companies are beginning to cut into its sales. And Gallo is definitely feeling the effect of the United Farm Workers boycott. From a peak of 32.6 percent of the wine market in 1972, Gallo's sales were down to 28.4 percent of the market in 1973 and 1974.

The effect of the boycott is proving increasingly ominous for Gallo. In an astonishing admission, *Forbes*, hardly a friend of the UFW, quotes anonymous "business friends" of Gallo as referring to the fight with the union as "Ernest Gallo's Vietnam."

# American Indians protest treaty violations

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—American Indian activists here picketed the Federal Building October 14 as part of a national protest against the "state of war now existing on Indian reservations across these United States."

Demonstrations were also scheduled in Cleveland, Chicago, Minneapolis, Seattle, and San Francisco. The actions were called by the Survival of American Indians Association. The Los Angeles picket line was also supported by the American Indian Movement and the United Native Americans.

The national protests demanded that: Washington honor all treaties with Indian nations; all FBI and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) agents be removed from Indian land; the United States government recognize all Indian treaty nations as sovereign; President Ford meet with the delegation of Oglala Sioux leaders who have been in Washington, D.C., since August; and that the federal government make restitution to Ida Stuntz-Killright, whose husband was murdered by the FBI on the Pine Ridge reservation in June.

The Survival of American Indians Association says that the current wave of government violence against the Indian people is aimed at discouraging organized protests against the abrogation of treaty rights.

In August, for example, the state of Washington arrested three Indian fishermen, in spite of a 1974 court ruling that Indians are entitled to half of all fish caught in the Pacific Northwest.

The treaty rights of five Arizona tribes in the Fort McDowell reservation are also being violated. The tribes have been told to relocate to make way for a dam and reservoir. The government is also trying to force the Northern Cheyenne off their reservation to allow the mining of coal deposits there.

A focal point of the assault against the Indian people is the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota—the site of Wounded Knee. Although many people believe that the trials that arose out of the 1973 occupation are over, the truth is that more than 130 are still pending in federal courts.

After two FBI agents were shot at Pine Ridge in June, hundreds of G-men terrorized the reservation, allegedly searching for sixteen unidentified suspects. Yet the FBI made no effort to solve the murders of more than forty Native Americans that preceded the June shootings.

To protest the government's actions, a delegation of Oglala Sioux leaders from Pine Ridge journeyed to Washington in August to demand a meeting with President Ford. They want him to live up to U.S. obligations under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. That treaty granted reservation lands to the Indians in perpetuity and recognized the various Sioux tribes as sovereign nations.

Despite the fact that under the U.S. Constitution all treaties have the force of law, the president has refused to meet with the Sioux leaders.



## Unions face repression

# Argentine gov't vows to end 'subversion'

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

President Estela "Isabel" Martínez de Perón returned from a five-week leave of absence to resume command in Argentina October 17. At a rally of her followers she called for "unity of our forces" and expressed "solidarity with the armed forces in their battle against subversion."

The "battle against subversion" has dominated the headlines since the guerrilla operation of October 5 in Formosa, in northern Argentina, which left at least forty-two persons dead.

Between fifty and two hundred members of the left Peronist Montoneros attacked an infantry base, a local airport, and a jail in the city. The guerrillas were repulsed in their efforts to enter the infantry base and to free political prisoners from the jail but they managed to take over the airport, hijacking a plane to evacuate their wounded.

The October 7 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported a number of other incidents during the same weekend, which it also credited to "subversives": an attack on the Army Information Service building in the capital, the theft of an undisclosed quantity of explosives in Río Negro, the theft of bandages and related medical supplies from a Córdoba drugstore, and the bombing of a radio station in Viedma.

An unsigned front-page article in the paper began: "If there was something lacking to corroborate it, the Formosa attack has demonstrated it: the country is at war; the entire country, in the length and breadth of its territory."

*La Opinión's* conclusion was not shared by other Argentine news media or the government. However, the



Police in Buenos Aires rounding up protesters last year. Worsening economic situation promises to provoke continuing unrest in Argentina.

Formosa attack did serve as the pretext for speeding up the process of organizing new repressive bodies, allegedly aimed at strengthening the regime's ability to deal with the guerrillas.

In the past, similar bodies have been used against other political opponents.

On March 20, the regime claimed to have discovered a "terrorist plot of vast proportions" in the industrial belt to the north of Buenos Aires. This was the pretext for a raiding operation by 4,000 police, in which more than 307 trade unionists were arrested. The raids were directed principally against the Villa Constitución Unión Obrera Metalúrgica (UOM—Metalworkers Union), which was in the vanguard of the Argentine working class's fight to maintain its standard of living.

Although no evidence of the "terrorist plot" was ever brought into the courts, the main leaders of the UOM are still in jail as the result of the police operation.

On October 6 the cabinet decreed the establishment of the Consejo Nacional de Seguridad Interna (CNSI—National Council of Internal Security) and the Consejo Nacional de Defensa (CND—National Defense Council).

The CNSI is composed of the eight cabinet ministers and the three commanders in chief of the armed forces, who can be convened "whenever the President of the Nation considers it necessary" to make policy decisions "in the struggle against subversion." The CND is to implement CNSI policy.

What policies will be applied was indicated by Gen. Luciano Menéndez. "In order to be effective, repression must be carried out in all places where there is subversive action," he said. "Measures will have to be taken in the trade unions, universities, etc."

That the real threat to Peronist rule is to be found elsewhere than among

the guerrillas was suggested in a recent statement by Casildo Herreras, the general secretary of the three-million-member CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor). "I would rather have my throat cut by the guerrillas than by members of the Textile Workers Union," he said.

Herreras referred to the fears of the trade-union bureaucracy that they will not be able to control the rank and file in face of their struggles against the steady deterioration in their standard of living.

Massive wage increases granted to some sectors after general strikes that swept Argentina in late June and early July have been more than wiped out by the combined effects of inflation and successive devaluations of the Argentine peso.

A chart in the October 8 issue of *La Opinión* used official statistics to show that an item costing 1,000 pesos on January 1 cost 2,983 pesos at the end of September.

Even more outrageous is the fact

that among several sectors of public workers, the promised wage increases were never paid.

The 200,000 teachers of CTERA (Confederación de Trabajadores de la Educación de la República Argentina—Confederation of Educators of the Argentine Republic) were promised a raise of 205 percent in June but they have not yet received it.

The Supreme Court announced in mid-September that it was unable to pay the 130 percent authorized for court employees. Urging "understanding" from the workers, the court promised to turn over retroactive pay starting in January 1976.

The same treatment was accorded state employees in public health.

A wave of strikes by public workers centering on demands for the promised raises began in September.

Workers in isolated sectors of private industry have begun to join the work stoppages in recent days.

Labor Minister Carlos Ruckauf announced October 9 that he was pressing for a "national trade-union economic truce of support to the Government." The "truce" would consist of a 180-day period when strikes would be illegal and "unjustified dismissals" would not take place. Although the "truce" was proposed by CGT tops, it does not promise to be very popular among labor's ranks.

On October 13 CGT General Secretary Herreras announced that he would meet with Economics Minister Antonio Cafiero to request "a small adjustment" in wages and an increase in state subsidies to poor families.

Cafiero made it clear that he would not "give in to the temptation to grant massive nominal raises, which—being out of line with the country's current economic possibilities—could aggravate the level of unemployment and accelerate the inflationary spiral without concretely benefiting the national economy. . . ."



ISABEL PERON: Returns to office with threats of more repression.

## Argentine socialists in danger

Two members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) have disappeared, according to a report in the October 3 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Trotskyists.

Osvaldo Morales, a former leader at the Alpargatas factory, and Carlos Alberto Barbosa—both of Tucumán—are missing. Morales left his house on an errand and never returned. Attempts by his family, friends, and the PST have failed to locate him. Barbosa was kidnapped

from his home by a masked group.

The disappearances are especially ominous because eight PST members were murdered by rightist death squads in La Plata in early September. These right-wing terrorist bands have been linked to the Peronist government in the past, and have operated with impunity.

Demands for information on the whereabouts of these PST militants should be addressed to Presidente Estela Martínez de Perón, Casa Rosada, Buenos Aires, Argentina or to Argentine embassies and consulates.

## South Korean poet faces death sentence

From Intercontinental Press

Kim Chi Ha, a South Korean poet, was arrested March 14 by Seoul authorities under the notorious anti-Communist laws. He faces a possible death sentence.

To "prove" its charges that Kim is "a Communist who infiltrated the Catholic church," the regime of President Park Chung Hee produced a written "confession" from Kim claiming that he was a "Communist." The dictatorship published a pamphlet entitled *The Case Against Kim Chi Ha*, which contained the "confession" and extracts from Kim's prison writings.

During his first court session on May 19, Kim repudiated the "confession." Later, in a 12,000-word "Declaration of Conscience," which was smuggled from prison and publicly released August 8, Kim described how the

Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) had extracted the "confession."

"It was not a voluntary statement," he said. "I was a powerless individual in an underground interrogation room of the KCIA's Fifth Bureau."

Suffering from anemia and insomnia, Kim resisted his tormentors for six days. Finally, "exhausted and delirious," he wrote the "confession" dictated by the KCIA interrogators. "I scribbled it down like graffiti on a toilet wall and threw it at them," he said.

Kim has been arrested four times since 1970. In July 1974 he was sentenced to death by a military tribunal. The sentence was commuted to life imprisonment after international protests by such figures as Jean-Paul Sartre; French film director Louis Malle; Professor Noam Chomsky of the United States; and Oda Makoto, a

leader of the Japanese anti-Vietnam War movement. In February 1975, Kim was released under conditional amnesty.

Despite threats to reimprison him, Kim published a series of articles describing the methods of torture used by the KCIA and denouncing Park's case against twenty-two alleged members of the outlawed People's Revolutionary party (PRP) as a frame-up. (Eight of the defendants in that case were executed April 9.) The KCIA then rearrested Kim March 14, charging that he had aided the PRP, a "subversive organization."

Kim was kept in prison for six months under pretrial detention, the maximum allowed under South Korean law. When the six months were over, the Park regime reinstated the previous life sentence to keep him in prison until it brings him to trial.

## Two views on Portugal: a debate

In Defense of the Portuguese Revolution by Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, and Ernest Mandel, and For a Correct Political Course in Portugal by Gerry Foley, Joseph Hansen, and George Novack. Articles in the September 8, 1975, and October 13, 1975, issues of *Intercontinental Press*.

For the last year and a half Portugal has been shaken by a massive radicalization of the working class and poor farmers. There has been nothing like it in Western Europe since the end of World War II, with the exception of the mighty general strike that swept France during May 1968. And that prerevolutionary situation in France flared up and died down within three weeks, in contrast to the ongoing upsurge in Portugal.

The response of the Portuguese workers to the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship has dealt a powerful blow to the wishful thinkers who argue that Marxism is an outmoded ideology or is somehow not applicable any longer to Western Europe. At the same time, the events in Portugal have stirred debates among all of the tendencies in the working-class movement over what political course can best advance the Portuguese revolution.

Within the world Trotskyist movement the discussion on Portugal has come on top of an ongoing discussion of various aspects of revolutionary strategy. Two groupings of roughly equal size

### Periodicals

have grown up around this discussion, the International Majority Tendency (IMT) and the Leninist Trotskyist Faction (LTF). *Intercontinental Press*, a weekly Marxist magazine, has printed an exchange reflecting the positions of both sides.

The first article, "In Defense of the Portuguese Revolution," by Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, and Ernest Mandel, all leaders of the IMT, appeared in the September 8 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. A reply by Gerry Foley, Joseph Hansen, and George Novack of the LTF, "For a Correct Political Course in Portugal," appeared in the October 13 issue.

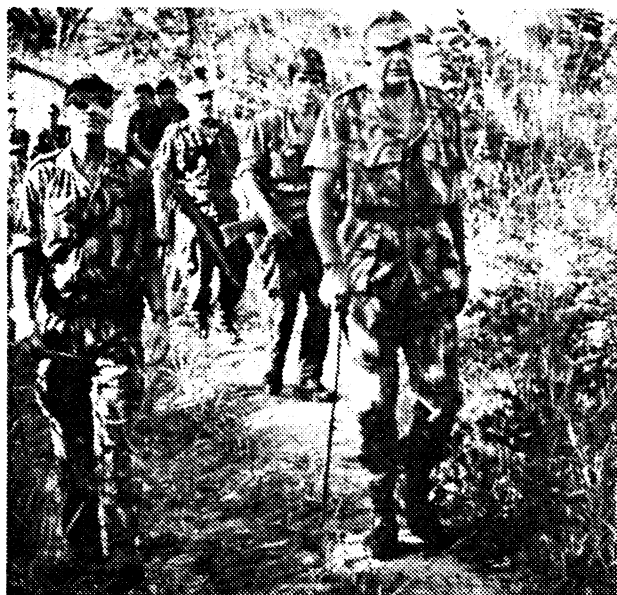
### Areas of agreement

In their article Foley, Hansen, and Novack indicate the areas of agreement of the two sides in the dispute. Among these is agreement that the revolutionary process that has begun in Portugal is proletarian in character and has reached a point where the main immediate obstacle to the socialist revolution there is the lack of a mass revolutionary socialist party.

Agreement also exists on the basic analysis of what led to the outbreak of the revolution, particularly the role of Portugal's colonial wars in Africa.

In addition, write Foley, Hansen, and Novack, "Both the IMT and the LTF are agreed that the main course of the Portuguese revolution points toward the rise of soviet-type formations as the basis for the establishment of a workers state in Portugal. . . .

"Finally, let us note that both sides have



Portuguese troops in Guinea-Bissau. Portugal's colonial wars were one of basic causes for downfall of Caetano.

repeatedly stated their opposition in principle to the class-collaborationist role played by the leadership of the Socialist and Communist parties in Portugal."

The areas of disagreement in general concern use of democratic demands and governmental slogans in advancing the proletarian revolution. This has led to differences over how revolutionists in Portugal should approach the workers there, in particular in regard to the Constituent Assembly elected in April and the *República* affair immediately after that. Along with these are different evaluations of the threat to democratic rights posed by the military government in Portugal.

In taking up the *República* affair, Frank, Maitan, and Mandel argue that ". . . Foley contends that the MFA wants to restrict the Social Democrats in Portugal in order better to defend capitalism. How, then, does he explain the fact that the entire Portuguese bourgeoisie and the whole international big bourgeoisie support the Social Democrats in this conflict? . . .

"What was involved was *not* the issue of freedom of the press (which in any case nobody is in position to deny the powerful Social Democratic party in Portugal today), but rather the question of an offensive to restore both 'law and order' in the factories and the authority of the bourgeois state in society."

In the opinion of Frank, Maitan, and Mandel, "the *República* affair has been deliberately blown up out of all proportion in order to serve the cause of Portuguese and international capital."

They back their argument by pointing to the shaky ground that the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement) government is on. Thus, "in a period of less than eighteen months the Portuguese officer corps has been successively split between supporters and opponents of the Caetano dictatorship, supporters and opponents of Spínola, supporters and opponents of the MFA, supporters of the Gonçalves faction and of the Melo Antunes faction within the MFA, and among supporters of a number of political parties. . . .

"In addition to these horizontal splits, the soldiers themselves are increasingly politicized and politically organized. More and more, they question the orders of the officers. . . .

"Under such conditions," they conclude, "it is illogical to believe that it is in the interest of the bourgeoisie to provoke a head-on confrontation between the shaky state apparatus and the moderate Social Democratic mass party. The course of all proletarian revolutions and bourgeois counterrevolutions teaches us that the bourgeoisie first tries to isolate and crush the most advanced sectors of the working class."

"In so doing, it tries to construct an effective repressive apparatus and to demoralize and divide the working class. Only after succeeding in this does the bourgeoisie take on the heavy battalions of the working class in a head-on confrontation."

### Constituent Assembly & MFA

Frank, Maitan, and Mandel hold that the reality in Portugal today is "a divided and increasingly paralyzed MFA tottering from crisis to crisis and unable to maintain any independent position between the increasingly polarized forces of capital and labor. . . .

Under these circumstances, they argue, the suggestion made by Foley and Hansen that pressure should be placed on the Socialist and Communist parties to break with the MFA and form a workers and farmers government based on their majority in the Constituent Assembly was mistaken. In their view, the Constituent Assembly can be used to halt the revolutionary process.

"In fact," they say, "This has already been done, and under circumstances that were not so different from those prevailing in Portugal today: in Germany in 1918-19, in Spain (with the 'sovereign Cortes') after July 1936, in France and Italy at the end of the second world war."

They insist, "We ought to warn the workers: Don't let the Constituent Assembly legislate on any of your conquests; it will only restrict them!"

In summing up, they write: "We maintain that what is going on in Portugal today is fundamental-

ly a growing confrontation between the impetuous mass movement of the proletariat and poor peasantry on the one hand and all those forces that want to maintain and restabilize the capitalist economy and the bourgeois state on the other hand. . . .

"We therefore conclude that the key problem is to create organs of workers power and to compel all political forces to take positions on that question instead of proceeding by dividing Portugal into those who 'have illusions in the MFA' and those who do not."

### Centrality of democracy

In replying to these arguments, Foley, Hansen, and Novack argued: "The centrality of democratic rights in Portuguese politics since the April 25, 1974, coup stands out with unusual force and clarity."

"This should not have taken anyone by surprise. Once the totalitarian governmental structure was cracked by the coup, the masses surged forward with one main objective. That was to topple the whole thing and sweep it away forever, replacing it with democracy."

In the elections held one year after the coup, the working-class parties claiming to stand for socialism won an absolute majority of the vote. "It should be noted," they continue, "that the working-class victory in the elections occurred in face of government efforts to discourage voting, in face of a bourgeois campaign to minimize the importance of the elections, and in face of a pact signed by the class-collaborationist leaders of the two mass workers parties guaranteeing continued rule by the Armed Forces Movement no matter how the vote turned out."

"In this situation, the Trotskyist movement stood to gain by raising the demands, 'Let the leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties exercise the mandate given them by the voters. Break the pact with the bourgeois MFA government. Oust that government. Set up a workers and peasants government.' . . .

"To be especially noted is the combination in which pressure is put on the reformist leaders to exercise the mandate received by the mass workers parties in the bourgeois electoral process while the workers are urged to place reliance only in *proletarian methods of struggle* that logically point toward the establishment of soviets, the basis for a workers state."

Foley, Hansen, and Novack note that Frank, Maitan, and Mandel consider the working-class victory in the elections to the Constituent Assembly to be not an opening that revolutionists could take advantage of, but a trap. Thus they fell into ultraleftist errors instead of proposing demands and actions based on the actual level of consciousness of the masses, their concern for democratic rights, and the need to win them from the mass reformist parties.



Take-over of newspaper 'República' met with different reactions within revolutionary movement.



# among revolutionists



Portuguese metalworkers meeting. Issues of democracy, workers' control, and their relation to socialist revolution are being debated inside world Trotskyist movement.

In their reaction to the *República* affair, Frank, Maitan, and Mandel deepened these errors, according to Foley, Hansen, and Novack, reflecting the pressure of ultraleft circles. "The ultralefts," they note, "seek to avoid the tasks of educating and convincing the majority of the working class. They rely instead on the determined actions of small but dedicated groups. They have no respect either for the weight of objective fact or for the prevailing opinions of the masses. . . ."

"The *República* case became a textbook example

The articles reviewed here can be obtained by sending \$1.50 to Intercontinental Press, Post Office Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

of the logic of ultraleftism, or vanguardism. The seizure of this paper by a group of printing workers was the answer of the 'vanguardists' to the victory of the SP in the April 25 elections and its attempt to exploit that victory.

"Both the CP and the ultralefts were smarting from the results of that vote. The 'direct action' by at most 150 noneditorial workers seemed to be more powerful than the opinions of millions, including hundreds of thousands of workers, that were expressed at the ballot box."

Foley, Hansen, and Novack point out that "more than four months after the seizure, the Socialist party editors have not yet regained control of the paper." They argue that freedom of the press was indeed the issue, and was seen as that by the Portuguese masses, adding that the Socialist party "was virtually unrepresented in the press after the take-over of *República*, while the Communist party dominated the editorial boards of the great majority of the big daily papers."

The Portuguese Trotskyists, according to Foley, Hansen, and Novack, "could have defended the CP from the mounting wave of anti-Communist attacks most effectively by defending the democratic rights of the SP in action. At the same time, the authority thus gained would increase their weight in opposing any concessions to anti-Communism. It would also help them enormously in promoting a united front between the Communist and Socialist parties against the mounting threat from the counterrevolutionaries."

## Danger of co-optation?

As has already been mentioned, Frank, Maitan, and Mandel deny that the MFA poses a serious danger to the Portuguese revolution. "In Portugal today," they say, "the possible emergence of embryonic workers councils has been expressed by the fact that the workers commissions have begun assuming tasks whose areas of fulfillment spill out of the factories themselves. If the 'progressive' wing of the MFA undertakes a pathetic attempt to 'co-opt'

this development into its own plans, this in no way modifies the origins or direction of development of these councils."

While noting some of the similarities between the situation in Portugal and that in Cuba at the time of the revolution there, particularly the weakening of the bourgeois army, Frank, Maitan, and Mandel agree that Portugal is an imperialist country. "It is therefore overwhelmingly likely," they write, "that the Portuguese revolution will follow the classical pattern and will triumph only through the conquest of power by the proletariat organized in soviets and led by revolutionary Marxists and not at all through the leadership of the MFA."

Foley, Hansen, and Novack agree with this conclusion, but argue that there is widespread confusion among ultraleft groups in Portugal and Europe as a whole as to the nature of the MFA. They insist that it is the duty of revolutionists to strive for clarity on this question instead of dismissing the MFA as unimportant.

"In our opinion," they say, "the main immediate danger in this situation for groups that claim to stand for socialist revolution is not missing a Castroist development but capitulating to a demagogic MFA leadership that has proved adept at manipulating the European 'new mass vanguard' so as to gain leftist cover for reactionary objectives."

## Colonial war

Foley, Hansen, and Novack continue: "One reason why illusions about the MFA and the state it administers are particularly dangerous is the continuing colonial war in Angola."

"Any confusion whatever about what the MFA represents or what its aims are leads inevitably to confusion about the duty of revolutionists toward the national liberation struggle in the main Portuguese colony."

They hold that just as the campaign to get the U.S. forces out of Vietnam strengthened all those forces striving for progressive social change inside the United States, a similar campaign for the withdrawal of the Portuguese imperialists from Angola would strengthen the Portuguese revolution and put the Portuguese rulers on the defensive.

Space does not allow even a summary of all the topics discussed in this exchange. The relation of bourgeois to proletarian democracy, Trotsky's position on freedom of the press and on how to relate to a Constituent Assembly, the role of the peasantry in the Portuguese revolution, and the role of workers' control in a revolution are only a few of the other things taken up. We urge *Militant* readers to examine both sides in the discussion for themselves and make up their own minds about the issues involved. Send for the copies of *Intercontinental Press* advertised on this page, and see how revolutionists carry out a political discussion.

—David Frankel

# State ERA gains wide support in New York

By Debbie Notkin

NEW YORK—"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the state of New York or any subdivision thereof on account of sex."

Eight out of ten New Yorkers are in favor of the above becoming law in New York State, according to a *Daily News* poll. And come November 4, voters will have a chance to make it part of the state constitution.

Campaigning for the bill's passage is the New York Coalition for Equal Rights, which has been endorsed by more than eighty organizations. Among them are labor, religious, feminist, Black, and Puerto Rican groups, including the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Church Women United; Coalition of Labor Union Women; Puerto Rican Women's Leadership Alliance; National Council of Negro Women; United Farm Workers; and Lesbian Feminist Liberation.

According to the coalition, the New York ERA will specifically create equal educational opportunities for females in publicly supported schools, strengthen laws against sex discrimination in employment, and ensure equal treatment with regard to credit, insurance benefits, and control of property.

Two hundred people, mostly women, attended a meeting of the Brooklyn Coalition for Equal Rights October 4. U.S. Rep. Shirley Chisholm emphasized the need to go into the communities to talk to people and convince them to vote in favor of the ERA.

Also speaking was Judge Sybil Hart Kooper of Brooklyn family court, who explained how the amendment would change court decisions concerning divorce.

Several speakers pointed to the myths about the ERA that its opponents have created. Among these is the claim that women would have to share bathroom facilities with men at workplaces if the bill passes. The constitutional right to privacy, Judge Kooper assured the audience, would prevent such an occurrence.

Other speakers included Democratic State Sen. Carol Bellamy and Republican Assemblywoman Rosemary Gunning.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women sponsored a meeting in support of the ERA September 17. The seventy-five women who attended heard State Sen. Karen Burstein; Judy Berek from District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; and a representative from the Communications Workers of America.

Support is growing on the city's campuses for passage of the state ERA. On October 29, a New York University teach-in is scheduled. Speakers will include Betty Friedan; Patricia Carbine, publisher and editor of *Ms.* magazine; attorney Emily Jane Goodman; playwright Myrna Lamb; and a representative from the NAACP.

At Brooklyn College, 100 women signed up to work for passage of the ERA the first day a literature table was set up. A debate is planned for October 27 on campus. Participants will be Dianne Feeley, author of the pamphlet *Why Women Need the Equal Rights Amendment*; and Meg Katz, chairperson of Stop ERA.

An outdoor rally at City College of New York on October 29 will build support for the amendment.



Militant/Randy Furst

## Union militant gets a hearing

# Time to fight for six-hour workday at full wages

[While the recent AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco came up with no plan of action to fight back against the wholesale assault on working people's living standards, there were some concrete proposals circulating there.

[In a special convention issue of Northern California Labor, journal of the San Francisco Labor Council of the AFL-CIO, appeared a guest editorial, reprinted below. Headlined "Member says it's time for 30-for-40," it was written by Karen Schieve, a member of Department Store Employees Union Local 1100.]

I'd like to begin by thanking Walter Johnson, President of Local 1100, for giving me this opportunity to present my views. Mr. Johnson and our union have an excellent reputation when it comes to allowing everyone to express their point of view.

I know that everyone is concerned about the economy today—about layoffs and unemployment. In the richest country, the most productive country in the world there should not be, there need not be, any person who wants a job and cannot find one. But, in January, 1975 the government reported there were 7.5 million workers unemployed in the United States. This is the largest number of jobless since the Great Depression of the 1930's.

**THAT'S WHY** I'm convinced that the solution to unemployment is the need for a shorter work week, the demand 30 for 40. Now, what does this mean?

It means 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. This would put people back to work by increasing the number of jobs available. It would make the lives of employed workers easier to bear by giving them more leisure time.

If a shorter work week were intro-



Jobless line up in Detroit. Shorter workweek is answer to unemployment.

duced throughout the United States all the unemployed could get back to work and the overwhelming majority of people would benefit from the change.

**THIS IDEA** of a shorter work week isn't new to the American labor movement by any means. In fact, the history of the entire labor movement has been the fight for such changes. You know, there was a time, when people had to work 10 to 12 hours a day. The fight for the 8-hour day was a hard-won victory for working people. So, I think, today in the face of rising unemployment that working people and the unions must take up the question of the shorter work week and begin to fight for it just as we have done in the past.

The idea of 30 for 40 isn't a difficult or complicated one. In fact, it strikes me as quite a reasonable and logical idea. Of course, the employers, our bosses are opposed to it because it

would simply mean less profit for them. Their reasons for opposing it are not sound economic reasons, however much they talk that way. It's just that they put their own profits, multi-million dollar profits, above the welfare of the unemployed and working people generally. If they say their profits aren't high enough, we should demand that they open their books and try to prove it.

**WE CAN BET** that the bosses will always fight against 30 for 40. But, unfortunately even trade union leaders seem to be opposed to it. Why? Labor leaders have gotten into the bad habit of looking to the Democratic and Republican Party politicians, the so-called "friends of labor" for the solutions to the problems facing working people.

But, it seems to me, that these are the parties of the rich, of the multi-million dollar corporations, the parties

of the Kennedys and the Rockefellers. These parties protect their own interests not ours. So how can we look to these parties and these politicians to fight for our needs? We can't.

**ORGANIZED LABOR** is really the most powerful political force in this country today. It may not look that way, but that is just because labor officials don't use the power labor has.

If you're not sure labor has that power, just think about the mass demonstration against unemployment called by the unions on April 26 in Washington, D.C. this year. Labor marched, 60,000 strong, and that was just the first step in the right direction. Just think what the organized labor movement 20-million strong, together with all the unemployed and unorganized could do.

But instead, we are told to vote for the Democrats, to rely on the Democrats.

**NO**, working people need their own party—a labor party. There are more working people in this country than anybody else. Right from the start many of them would vote for an independent union-backed labor party that would fight for demands like 30 for 40. It would have a program to solve the problems of all working people, of Blacks and Chicanos and other oppressed minorities, that would fight for women and youth. This would be a giant first step toward a government that places human needs over the employer's profit.

Again, let me say that I appreciate the chance to state my views here. I hope this article will start other people thinking about these ideas and questions. I think it would be very useful if everyone who reads this article goes back to their friends and co-workers, to their jobs and their unions to begin to discuss these important issues facing us.

## Phila. sets pace in 'Militant' subscription drive

By Pat Galligan

We now have 1,705 new subscriptions toward our goal of 6,000 new readers.

While we are still behind schedule, the drive is picking up—407 subscriptions were received this week. Oakland/Berkeley sent in 54.

Harold Vogel tells us that forty of these subs were obtained in a one-day blitz in Black and student neighborhoods.

At the top of the scoreboard is Philadelphia. A special subscription and socialist campaign canvassing Saturday netted forty-four of their current pace-setting total.

Socialists in Washington, D.C., have been working toward their goal of 200 subscriptions by sending teams to housing projects and apartment build-

ings throughout the district each Saturday.

Door-to-door subscription work is also being planned in Atlanta to meet their goal of 200. The Socialist Workers party branch there has been selling hundreds of single copies to American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and Atlanta Association of Educators members for the past several weeks.

These workers have appreciated the *Militant's* coverage of the two unions' fight for recognition and decent working conditions in the schools.

The *Young Socialist* newspaper is also on a subscription drive—the goal is to sign up 3,000 new readers on high school and college campuses across the country. Members of the Young Socialist Alliance are selling subscriptions to the *Militant* and the *YS* this fall. So far, 750 *YS* subscriptions have been sent in.

The Wisconsin and Ohio/Kentucky YSA teams suggest selling combination subscriptions to the two publications. This method works for them—they currently place first and second among the teams in both the *Militant* and *YS* drives.

Another important aspect of the *Militant* subscription drive is introducing the paper to co-workers. A good example has been set by one AFSCME activist in Chicago who has sold twenty subscriptions on the job and to other union members this fall.

"When I have a discussion about the union or another political topic, I always show people the *Militant*," he

writes.

The letter continues: "People in my office follow developments in Boston. They also especially like articles that relate to their own experiences."

"I sold subscriptions to three CETA [Comprehensive Employment and

Training Act] workers in my office because of a *Militant* article on CETA workers in New York."

Wherever you work, don't you think it's about time your co-workers get the chance to read the *Militant* every week?

## Subscription scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sent			Goal	Sent	
		in	%				
Philadelphia	150	92	61	Atlanta	200	32	16
Bloomington, Ind.	20	12	60	Lower East Side, N.Y.	150	24	16
East Lansing, Mich.	10	6	60	Upper West Side, N.Y.	200	25	13
Baltimore, Md.	75	40	53	Portland, Ore.	100	10	10
Denver	125	59	47	Houston	200	18	9
Washington, D.C.	200	84	42	Central-East L.A.	160	12	8
Edinboro, Pa.	40	16	40	Lexington, Ky.	15	1	7
State College, Pa.	15	6	40	San Jose	75	4	5
Oakland/Berkeley	175	69	39	West Side L.A.	150	5	3
South Side Chicago	100	39	39	Santa Barbara, Calif.	15	0	0
Madison, Wis.	50	19	38	Indianapolis	10	0	0
New Orleans	50	19	38	YSA teams			
San Diego	125	43	34	Wisconsin	120	89	74
Ann Arbor, Mich.	15	5	33	Ohio/Kentucky	120	66	55
Boston	150	46	31	Missouri/Kansas	80	42	53
Cincinnati	10	3	30	Illinois	80	37	46
Pittsburgh	150	43	29	Michigan/Indiana	120	29	24
Detroit	175	49	28	Rocky Mountain	120	29	24
Cleveland	200	49	25	Mid-Atlantic	120	28	23
Seattle	150	37	25	Southeast	80	15	19
Brooklyn, N.Y.	150	36	24	New York/New Jersey	120	21	18
St. Louis	125	29	23	Northern Calif.	120	18	15
Newark, N.J.	50	11	22	Texas	80	12	15
Twin Cities	150	32	21	Southern Calif.	120	14	12
West-North Chicago	100	21	21	Upper Midwest	120	10	8
Albany, N.Y.	15	3	20	Pennsylvania	120	8	7
Austin, Tex.	15	3	20	Pacific Northwest	120	6	5
Louisville, Ky.	10	2	20	New England	120	1	1
San Francisco	150	29	19	General		221	
Milwaukee	125	21	17	Total	6,000	1,705	28
Tucson, Ariz.	30	5	17	Should have		2,900	48



Selling the 'Militant' in Pittsburgh



# ...Joanne Little condemns racist injustice

Continued from back page  
off these practices as much as you possibly can?

A. Well, eyes are opening. It wasn't until my case that five other women came forth and told that similar things had happened to them two years prior to all the publicity. They were scared, and people don't move until somebody else makes the first step. Then they move behind them.

So the publicity has helped a lot, because it has uncovered prison conditions. Nobody knew the kinds of things inmates were living under. Nobody knew that jailers were taking advantage of women inmates, until this case.

When those other two women came forward at the trial and told what happened to them, the prosecution thought that nobody other than Black women would speak up. But there were not only Black women, there were white women coming on the stand and telling what had happened to them.

So we showed that these things do actually happen. Nobody at this point can say that they don't.

## Jailers

**Q.** What kind of man was the jailer? Do you think he was capable of really holding a position like that? Should he have been a jailer?

A. After my experience, I think that no man should be in charge of women prisoners. They should have a matron there.

In North Carolina there's a statute that says they have to have a matron in the jail. The prosecution tried to put a jailhouse radio dispatcher on the stand and make her testify that she was a matron. When my attorneys questioned her in court, they found out that she couldn't even operate the door to put someone in a cell.

I read in an editorial two weeks ago that the governor of North Carolina is launching an investigation, because he felt that one of the state's biggest cases had really been messed up. He wanted an investigation throughout the jail system to see whether or not women are being abused. Nothing's ever going to come out of it, though, because the police are doing their own investigation, so that they can cover up as much as they can.

The people out in the community don't know the things that go on in prisons. The authorities are not going to let you come in there and see very much. They'll only let you see what they want you to see. And they're not going to let you bring a camera inside to take pictures.

They'll take you on a little tour and show you all the nice parts. They'll put



Demonstrators outside Raleigh, North Carolina, courthouse. 'Because the eyes of the people were on me, they had no other choice but to let me go.'

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

roses leading from the gate up to the entrance of the prison to make you think, "Oh! They've got roses down here. It's nice. It can't be that bad."

It's just like going into the courtroom. The judge is sitting up there in a swivel chair; there's carpeting on the floor; and there's air conditioning. But when you go downstairs, where the prisoners are, you can hardly stand it because of the filth. Women using toilets and the stuff backing up on them. Dirty sheets, and sometimes no sheets at all.

Right here in Cook County, they have a jail packed with 4,000 inmates, which wasn't built to hold that many people.

They continue to railroad people to jail, and they're not doing anything to help these people out and reorient them.

They'll give a person a high bond, and not give them a chance to get a decent attorney, and push them off the docket for two or three years. They just don't give Black people parole, probation, or reform.

## Prison life

**Q.** What is your concept of prison reform?

A. You can't rehabilitate a drunk on the street if you don't give him some kind of hope.

If you take a sixteen-year-old girl and put her into prison, and make her work in the laundry in 120-degree temperatures, or work in the kitchen fixing food for other inmates, or sew dresses—well, after she spends those twenty years and goes back out on the street, she still doesn't have anything to go on.

The prison has not reformed her in any way at all. The only thing they've done is make her be nice in prison so that she can get out quick. But once she gets out, she doesn't have any thing to do, any kind of job skills, and society is constantly pushing her back.

**Q.** In your biography it says that you've worked as a Sheetrock finisher.

That seems like a very unusual job for a woman.

A. I don't see it as a funny job for a woman to have. I feel that women should have just as much of a chance to better themselves as men do.

You can't really pinpoint any job for a woman to do. I realized that, and I met this guy who had fifteen years' experience as a Sheetrock finisher. He told me that it's going to get harder for people without a high school education or a college degree to get jobs. But if you have a skill or some type of trade, you can always get a job.

So I started working in Greenville, North Carolina, I think it was in September 1973. The first man I worked under was an American Indian. I didn't know anything. I just went in there to help. But out of curiosity I started spotting nails, that is, taking mud and covering up the nails after they hung the Sheetrock. After that, I started learning how to pour angles—you know, the corners. Then I learned how to bend the angles on one side.

Now I know so much about house construction that if I ever have a house built, I can go in there and tell them what they're doing wrong.

## Delbert Tibbs

**Q.** How did you become involved in the Delbert Tibbs case?

A. I read about Delbert Tibbs in an underground newspaper about three months before I was released from prison. I didn't think that I would ever be able to work on the case.

Then, before my trial, I talked to some of the members of his defense committee, and they came to my trial. In the courtroom I made a commitment to them that I would do something for Delbert.

**Q.** How do you think your being here in Chicago can help Delbert Tibbs?

A. I can talk about prison conditions and how they are constantly throwing injustices on Black people and trying

to use us, and poor whites, as scapegoats.

The point is to educate people. People can relate to it when I talk, because I have seen prisons. I spent six months in there behind bars by myself. I spent three months in a county jail by myself. So they can find out what prison is all about.

You won't believe until you see with your own eyes how degrading it is. It makes you feel less than a human being.

**Q.** Ever since you arrived in Chicago, Black people have been talking about how poised, how articulate, and how intelligent you are. Whether you know it or not, you have all the makings of a Black leader. In fact, you are already, in terms of how we establish our leaders. Based on that, how do you feel? Do you feel that you're put in a position you don't want to be in—that you want to live a quiet life with some kids and a husband? Or do you feel that you want to go on in this way?

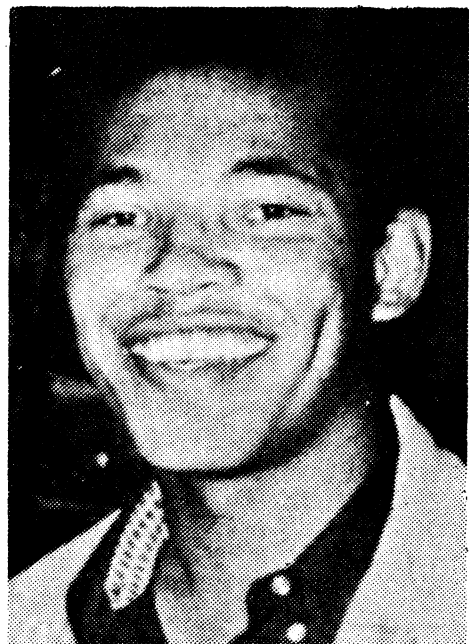
A. If I had my choice, I wouldn't be out here. But you see so many things after you go to jail. When you get into trouble, you say, "I know that they can't convict me, because I didn't do it. I can prove that I didn't do it."

Then, when they come up with a conviction, and you see them doing all kinds of crooked things, you begin to ask yourself, "Why are they asking me to go on the stand and tell the truth when they're not telling the truth themselves?"

Then you see little thirteen-year-old kids being shot down with twenty-five bullet holes in them. You see brothers that are practically murdered in prison.

These kind of things motivate you to say, "Well, I'm going to go on. I can't get out of it now. I can't go back home to look at 'As the World Turns' or get hooked up with all these things that mean nothing."

Our lives as Black people revolve around two or three things: going to work; coming back home; fixing our



Delbert Tibbs, victim of racist frame-up. Little has joined fight to free him.

food—the dinner for the kids and the family; watching TV; going out to the club Friday and Saturday night; going back to work Monday morning; and that's all. This is our routine for all our lives.

When we go to our graves, the only thing that they can say about us is, "He was a good worker. He was very dedicated to our company, and he helped us make a lot of money." And the only thing that they're going to do is take another nigger or a poor white person and replace him to help them make more money.

So I can never go back to being the same Joanne.



A prison cell. 'You won't believe how degrading it is. It makes you feel less than a human being.'

# Calendar

## BERKELEY/OAKLAND

**WHAT COURSE FOR RADICALS IN THE 1976 ELECTION: DEMOCRATIC PARTY (TOM HAYDEN) OR THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE?** Speakers: William Domhoff, author of *Who Rules America?*, supporting Tom Hayden (Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate); and Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., Oct. 31, 8 p.m., 1849 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

## BROOKLYN

**SOCIALIST WORKERS BANQUET AND RALLY.** Speakers: Pat Wright, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 14th C.D., Brooklyn; Ruthann Miller, SWP candidate for state assembly, 70th A.D., Manhattan; Dan Styron, SWP National Committee member. Sat., Nov. 1, Dinner 7:00 p.m. Rally: 8:30 p.m. Party to follow. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation dinner and rally—\$6; rally and party only—\$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 Brooklyn Campaign. For more information call (212) 596-2917.

## MILWAUKEE

**PORTUGAL AT THE CROSSROADS.** Speakers: Jack Zipes, Wisconsin Alliance member, recently returned from Portugal; Bill Hart, Socialist party of Wisconsin; Bob Schwarz, SWP. Fri., Oct. 31, 8 p.m. 207 E. Michigan St., Room 25. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (608) 289-9340.

## NEWARK

**WHY WOMEN NEED THE ERA.** Panel discussion urging a 'yes' vote for the New Jersey ERA. Panelists: Janice Newman, president of Newark NOW; Alice Conner, SWP; others. Fri., Oct. 31, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. (near Broad St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 624-7434.

## NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE

**WHY WOMEN NEED THE ERA.** Panel discussion. Fri., Oct. 31, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**FREE THE DOMINICAN TRADE-UNION LEADERS.** Bilingual forum. Speakers: Rev. Daniel Portes, founder, Dominican CGT (General Workers Federation); Warren Bratter, Adelphi Univ. prof.; Mirta Vidal, USLA national office staff member; Claudio Tavárez, Dominican CGT defense director. Fri., Oct. 31, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (at 104th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## PORTLAND

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speaker: Peter Camejo, 1976 SWP presidential candidate. Sat., Nov. 1, 6:00 p.m.: refreshments; 7:30 p.m.: dinner; 8:30 p.m.: rally. N. Portland YMCA, 5430 N. Moore. Donation: banquet and rally—\$5; rally only—\$1. Ausp: Oregon Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**WHY SAN FRANCISCO NEEDS A SOCIALIST MAYOR.** Campaign rally. Speaker: Roland Sheppard, SWP candidate for mayor. Sat., Nov. 1, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: San Francisco Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## SEATTLE

**END UNEMPLOYMENT, INFLATION, RACISM, SEXISM.** Campaign rally. Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate; Patricia Bethard, SWP candidate for city council position five. Sat., Oct. 25, 7:00 p.m.—social hour; 8:00 p.m.—rally. Immaculate Church auditorium, 820 18th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Washington State Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

**BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM.** Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, 1964 SWP presidential candidate. Fri., Oct. 31, 8 p.m. East Side YWCA, 2820 E. Cherry St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: YSA, Washington State Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## TWIN CITIES

**THE TEACHERS' STRIKE WAVE AND THE FIGHT AGAINST SCHOOL CUTBACKS.** Speakers: Wayne Nelson, teacher and organizer, Bryant J.H. picket action; John Borgen, field organizer for Minnesota Education Association in S. Central Minnesota; Jim Carson, steward for Minneapolis Federation of Teachers; Holly Harkness, SWP candidate for school board. Fri., Oct. 31, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

you become part of the struggle for a new way of life."

By the time Reid left Newark, dozens of people—most of them Black—had signed up to work on her campaign. One of these is Ann Ayres. After raising their families, she and her six sisters entered Essex Community College, where they have been working with the Student Coalition Against Racism for the freedom of Carter and Artis. They too had marched in Trenton. That night, they attended a dinner for Reid.

Ayres explained why she decided to become involved in the Socialist Workers campaign. "I hadn't voted for years. I was fed up. As a Black person, the Republicans let me know a long time ago they didn't represent me. The Democrats said they were for oppressed people, but from what I've seen of them, I don't believe it. But I'm going to work for Reid. She'll do what she thinks is right, not what someone tells her, and as a Black woman, she understands the situation of minority people.

"I'm glad the SWP is in Newark. It's the first time I've been excited about anything in years."

## ...fire bomb

*Continued from page 3*

attack, several hundred people, mostly young, demonstrated near the Santiago home. A reported 200 people participated in a protest in front of a government building October 8.

Several hundred people from Philadelphia and New York attended the funeral for the Santiagos in the Bronx, New York, October 9. During these days, there were also smaller meetings and protests in high schools, on college campuses, and in Puerto Rican neighborhoods in Philadelphia.

Radamés Santiago led a march around Independence Hall here October 10, which had been called by religious figures.

Some 700 people attended the protest, and about half of them continued protesting, holding a spontaneous march and rally at city hall afterwards.

Terry Ann Hardy, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Philadelphia, participated in both protests and explained what happened.

"After the religious ceremony, Mr. Santiago spoke. And there were hundreds of high school students who were tremendously angry. They didn't feel the religious ceremony alone was militant enough, because it didn't express any indication that this was a racist attack.

"So there was a spontaneous surge down Philadelphia's main street, Market, toward city hall. The crowd grew from 300 to about 600 as it went down the street.

"The tremendous anger of the Puerto Ricans and other demonstrators was reflected in slogans like 'Wilkinson, child killer, better not be let free,' and in Radamés Santiago's statement to a reporter: 'Let them be burned in the chair, just as they did to my beloved children and wife.'"

The angry demands for justice were met by mounted police, who provoked several clashes with protesters, Hardy reported.

"It's about time for Spanish people to stand up for our rights," was how one speaker expressed himself at a protest meeting held October 13 in Kingsway Community Church.

The meeting of forty to fifty people also heard Tony Austin, coordinator of the Philadelphia Student Coalition Against Racism. He reported that the student coalition's national conference held the previous weekend had voted unanimously to solidarize with the Santiago family and demand prosecution of those responsible.

An ad hoc committee was formed at the meeting, including representatives of community groups, the Puerto Rican Socialist party, and the student coalition. The committee later called a demonstration and picket line for 12:00 noon, October 30, at the Philadelphia *Inquirer* offices and city hall.

Raúl Serrano, a student at Community College in Philadelphia who initiated the solidarity resolution at the SCAR national conference, is one of the coordinators of the committee. He explained why the *Inquirer* will be picketed:

"The media is trying to make it look like the Santiagos were really at fault, so people will read the papers and say they really deserved what they got.

"We're trying to get the Spanish and Puerto Rican people together and let other people know that we are strong and willing to fight so that racism can be stopped in our community."

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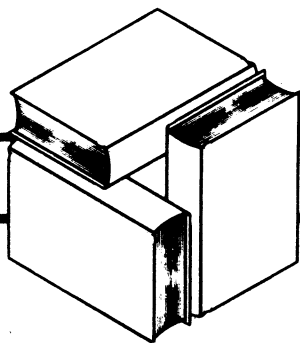
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Univ. of Wisconsin, Milwaukee Dec. 28-Jan. 1



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## LOS ANGELES

# Socialist campaign rally

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8. Meet the socialist candidates. Speakers: Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party 1976 presidential candidate; Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California. Reception: 7:00 p.m.; rally: 8:30 p.m. 4040 W. Washington Blvd., No. 11 (near Crenshaw in Washington Square Shopping Center). Donation: \$2; high school and unemployed, \$1. For more information call (213) 483-4071 or (213) 735-9801.

Ausp: West Side Socialist Workers Campaign Committee (chairperson: Patti Iiyama; treasurer: Betsy Whittaker) and Central-East Socialist Workers Campaign Committee (chairperson: Margaret Mora; treasurer: Marc Bedner).

## BALTIMORE

# MARYLAND SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1 -- SPEAKERS: WILLIE MAE REID, 1976 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, ON "A SOCIALIST ANSWER TO RACISM AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS"; AND LINDA JENNESS, 1972 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, ON "FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM."

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# THE MILITANT

## Interview with Joanne Little

# 'I intend to speak out for the rest of my life'

[Joanne Little, acquitted in August on the charge of murdering a white jail guard who sexually assaulted her, traveled to Chicago in September to speak at a rally in defense of Delbert Tibbs. Tibbs is a thirty-six-year-old Black writer from Chicago who faces death in the electric chair. He was convicted by an all-white Florida jury of raping a white woman and murdering her male companion.

[While in Chicago, Little conducted an informal news conference with several reporters, including Judy Hagans for the Militant, Vernon Jarrett for the Chicago Tribune, and reporters from WGCI radio, the Citizen newspaper chain, and Muhammad Speaks. Below are excerpts from the conference.

[Little's attorneys are now appealing her previous conviction on a breaking-and-entering charge. She was serving time on that charge at the Beaufort County jail in Washington, North Carolina, when she was assaulted in August 1974 by her white jailer, Clarence Alligood. Little is now out on bail, pending the outcome of her appeal.]

*Question. Welcome back to Chicago. Many of us actively supported your defense case here. I can't tell you how we felt when you won. Can you describe how you felt?*

*Answer.* At the beginning of the case I didn't feel too bad. I wasn't really down until the last day of the trial, when I really got up tight.

When the jury came back in, I looked at them and crossed my fingers. When the verdict was not guilty, I just felt relaxed. I could breathe again. I really felt good.

It's hard to do that after being under so much pressure for a whole year.

*Q. How do you feel now?*

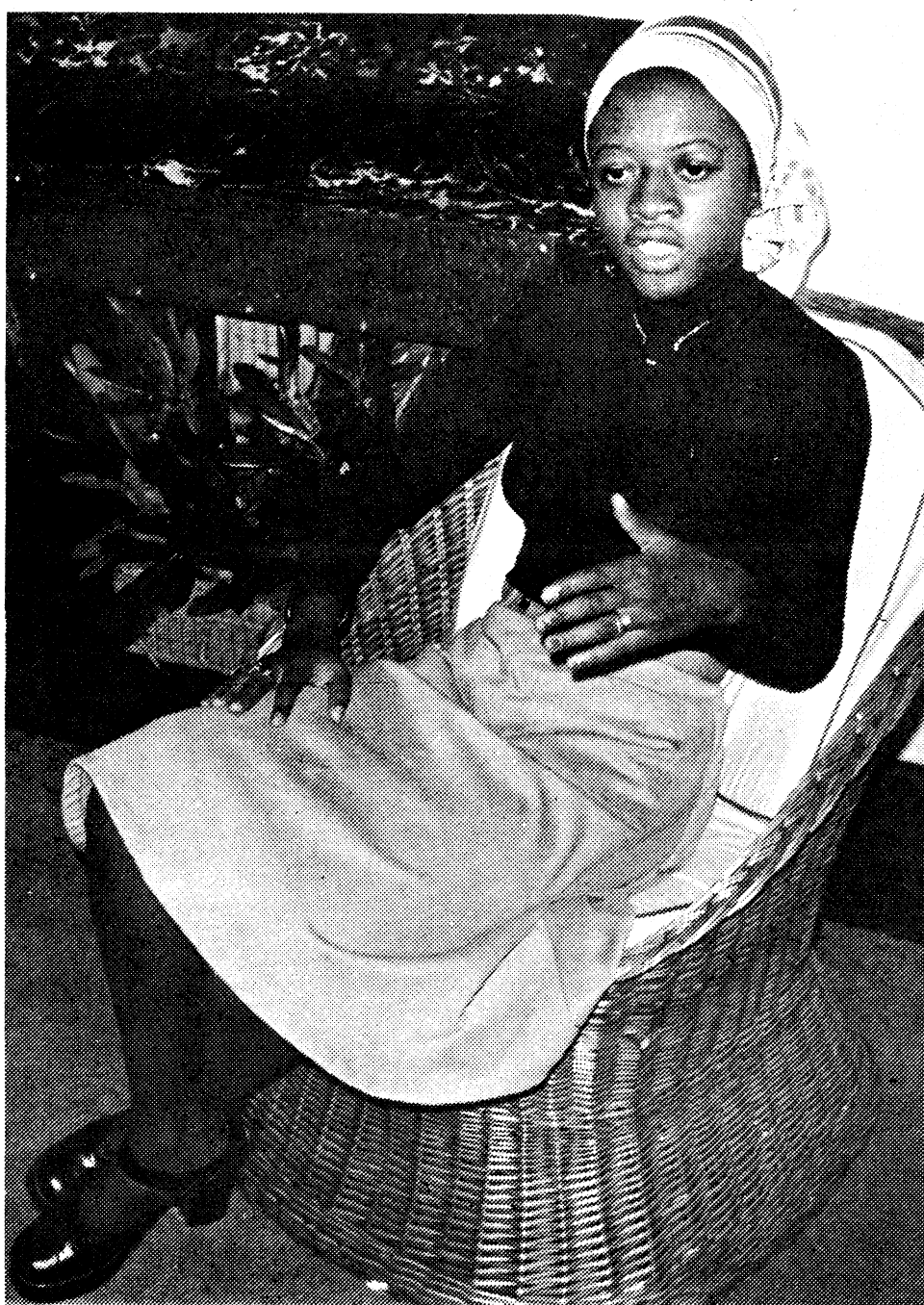
A. I feel a lot better, because the murder charge was what I was really worried about. The other charge is still hanging right now. I think once it gets to the state court, and the judge has a chance to hear all the errors made in the Beaufort County court, the case will eventually be thrown out.

*Q. Are you asking the people who supported you in your other case to send messages or do anything in particular around this charge?*

A. I'd like them to give me the same kind of support they gave me the first time.

*Q. When is your next court date?*

A. It won't be a trial, but a hearing



Militant/Joel Britton

JOANNE LITTLE: 'Have to change whole system around to get real justice.'

on September 23 in the appeals court in Raleigh. It will be presented before a judge there—just the judge and my attorneys. I don't even have to be there.

If the judge decides to overturn the conviction handed down in Beaufort County, another trial date will be set. Then I'll have to go back to trial. [Oral arguments were heard by the court of appeals on September 23 but no decision has yet been handed down—Militant.]

*Q. You have been quoted a number of times as saying that justice in this country is discriminatory. What do you think can be done to equalize the justice system?*

A. That's a complicated question, because the system is based on money.

I think the only way we really stand a better chance at this point is by getting more poor people on the juries.

And it would help if there were more Blacks coming forward that have land or whatever to put up money or float some type of bail bond. That way people that are pushed into jail have a chance, even if they have a very high bond and can't make it themselves.

Or even if someone could come up with some money to hire attorneys to start a free legal program. The state's appointed attorneys work for the state, so they don't try their best to get you off. What they'll do is force you into plea bargaining, and you still have to go to jail. So there are so many things that need to be done that you can't really talk about equalizing. You would have to change the whole system around before you really got any justice.

**'Will speak out'**

*Q. You more or less got a fair shake from the system of justice. You beat the system, and now you are campaigning*

*for Delbert Tibbs. Do you intend to spend the rest of your life agitating for the freedom of other Black people?*

A. Yes, I intend to speak out against the system for the rest of my life.

But I didn't get a fair shake from the system. For example, when I asked them to put it on the record that I was an indigent—that I didn't have any money—and that I wanted them to pay the attorney's fee, they refused.

And this was after the judge had called me an indigent. They still did not help me in any way. So the money that paid for my attorneys came from people—poor people.

Do you know how much it costs for papers to be filed in the court of appeals? It costs \$200 every time you file a brief. The system didn't help with any of it. They had access to criminologists, FBI labs, FBI data, and all kinds of reports, fingerprints, and those kinds of things. They did not lend us any assistance by letting us make use of their labs.

The first couple of days of the trial we actually had to ask the judge three times to order them to let our criminologists into the lab so that they could check the experiments that the police had done.

When they did let us into the lab, they took all the stuff and threw it on a table. They were very nasty.

So the system didn't do anything for me. If anything, they tried to do everything possible to cover up, so that they could gain a conviction.

**'Had to let me go'**

*Q. During your trial, the whole world was watching you, and a great deal of literature about your case was gotten out. What effect do you think this wide exposure had on gaining your release?*

A. That's exactly what did it, I think. Because the eyes of the people were on me, there was no other choice but to let me go. The authorities knew that the people had come together for one cause, and that was freedom for Joanne Little. If they pulled any hanky-panky, they knew that the people in Winston-Salem and those people who were standing outside the courtroom would not let them simply go home and forget about it.

Nobody was asking them to not look at the evidence and weigh it. But the kind of crazy things the judge was doing made us think that we weren't going to come out of there alive.

It was really rough down there. They tried all kinds of things, because they've done them before. And they're still doing them now.

*Q. So now you want to pull the cover*

*Continued on page 29*