

# THE MILITANT

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

**YES  
ON  
14**



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## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 40/NUMBER 34  
SEPTEMBER 10, 1976  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—SEPT. 1

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Managing Editor: LARRY SEIGLE  
Business Manager: ROSE OGDEN  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING  
Washington Bureau: NANCY COLE

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Telephone: (213) 269-1456. Washington Bureau: 2416 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Telephone: (202) 265-6865.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S., \$7.50 a year; outside U.S., \$13.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico, \$35.00. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

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

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

# In Brief

**PICKETS PROTEST MURDERS IN ARGENTINA:** Chanting "Stop the tortures, stop the murders, free the political prisoners now," demonstrators marched in front of the Argentine consulate in New York City August 25. The picket line was called to protest the mass murder of forty-six people in Argentina August 20. The more than thirty picketers demanded a halt to the right-wing death squads that kidnap and assassinate with open support from the Argentine army and police.

The *New York Post* and *El Diario-La Prensa* carried reports on the picket line. Among the groups participating were the New York Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners in Uruguay, the Puerto Rican Socialist party, and the Ad Hoc Committee to Save the Refugees in Argentina.

**100 YEARS IS LONG ENOUGH:** On the occasion of Colorado's one-hundredth anniversary as a state, 200 people protested the treatment of Indians and Chicanos in Denver. The American Indian Movement and the Crusade for Justice sponsored the August 1 demonstration. John Trudell from AIM and Corky Gonzales from the Crusade both focused their remarks on the FBI's attempts to disrupt dissident movements. Speakers also condemned local authorities, who they noted were at that moment photographing participants.

**APTHEKER POLL:** The Organization of American Historians is polling its 12,000 members on whether to investigate the history department at Yale University. The department opposed the appointment of Dr. Herbert Aptheker as a visiting lecturer last year. Aptheker is a well-known member of the Communist party. The issue, according to five prominent historians, is whether the department's action has "damaged the reputation of a member of the profession." Members of Yale's department have refused to say why they gave Aptheker the thumbs-down.

## Swastikas painted on Denver SWP offices

By Ruth Getts

DENVER—Sometime between noon on August 29 and 9:00 a.m. on Monday, August 30, somebody painted red swastikas on the front of the Socialist Workers party campaign headquarters here.

Several pieces of hate mail recently came to the campaign committee. One letter stated in red ink, "Hitler was right. Who needs niggers?" The letter contained a red swastika with a circle around it, exactly like those painted on the headquarters.

Socialists see these developments in the context of the recent history of harassment here. In April, shotgun blasts ripped through the campaign offices. Then on July 7 the headquarters was burglarized by a man later disclosed to be Timothy Redfearn, an FBI informer.

"This reinforces in the strongest possible way the need for a thorough investigation of these attacks," said Priscilla Schenk, SWP candidate in the First Congressional District. "We know the FBI was responsible for the burglary of our headquarters. The government has helped create an atmosphere where right-wing forces think they can take potshots at anyone they disagree with.

"We need to find out the whole story about FBI activity against socialists and others," Schenk said. "That includes uncovering what connections it has with right-wing groups such as the Nazis."

**500 DEMAND PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE:** More than 500 Puerto Ricans demonstrated at the United Nations August 26 in solidarity with the independence movement. The Puerto Rican Socialist party called the action to coincide with hearings by the UN Decolonization Committee on the colonial status of Puerto Rico.

Speakers included Juan Mari Brás, PSP general secretary; José Ristorucci, Communist party; Arthur Kinoy, Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee; and a representative of the Five Nationalist Prisoners Committee.

**CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST HOSTOS FORTY:** On August 30 criminal trespass charges were dropped against forty activists who tried to keep New York City's Hostos Community College open last spring.

The New York Board of Higher Education had threatened to close Hostos, the only public bilingual college in the eastern United States. A struggle by students, faculty, campus workers, and the community forced the board to allocate money for at least the coming school year.

The defendants earlier rejected a "deal" that would have freed those connected with the college, while forcing six community activists to plead guilty to a "violation."

## 'Raza si, migra no'



Militant/Ellard Yow

Fifteen hundred rallied in San Antonio August 29 in an action called by the Mario Cantú Defense Committee. "Raza sí, migra no," chanted the overwhelmingly Chicano participants. *La migra* is the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. As a result of a raid on his restaurant June 18 by *la migra* agents, Cantú faces charges of "conspiracy to harbor and shield illegal aliens." Another Chicano activist, Ignacio Pérez, also is charged with "attempting to shield illegal aliens." Cantú goes to trial September 7. "I have never shielded aliens," Cantú told the August 29 rally. "I have protected and defended my brothers."

**'BLACK SCHOLAR' ON THE ERA:** The July-August issue of the *Black Scholar* carries an article called "Black Women and the Equal Rights Amendment." Its authors are Cathy Sedwick, a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Reba Williams, an activist in the Massachusetts Action Committee for the ERA. Copies may be ordered for \$1.50 from Post Office Box 908, Sausalito, California 94965.

**IMPRESSED:** "The list of those corrupt public officials brought to the bar of justice through federal prosecutions is truly impressive," says Assistant Attorney General Richard Thornburgh.

Speaking to Chicago's Better Government Association, Thornburgh estimated that about 1,000 public officials have been convicted on federal corruption charges since 1970. This is a "conservative" estimate including only "major" abuses.

—Nancy Cole



## Special Offer For New Readers

The fight for union democracy in the United Steelworkers of America will affect the future of the entire labor movement. For coverage of the USWA convention . . . Ed Sadlowski's challenge to the Abel bureaucracy . . . struggles for jobs, decent wages, and safe working conditions—subscribe to the *Militant*.

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## 'Ratify the ERA!'

# Rallies hail women's suffrage anniversary

Rallies, marches, picnics, and concerts in dozens of cities marked "Women's Equality Day" August 26, the fifty-sixth anniversary of women winning the right to vote in this country. The spirited protests zeroed in on the fight to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), a struggle with many parallels to the battle for suffrage a half century ago.

Chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW) initiated the activities in many cities. National NOW urged women to make this year's August 26 theme "Shoulder to Shoulder for the ERA."

Highlights of the actions follow.

## Washington DC

An enthusiastic march of more than 700 demonstrators wound its way around the White House on August 28, the culmination of a fifty-five-day national vigil for the ERA here.

NOW organized the vigil and the August 28 action, modeling the protest after picket lines at the White House gates in 1917 organized by the suffragists. This year's vigil involved a total of 800 ERA activists and distributed 75,000 pieces of pro-ERA literature.

Marchers on August 28 chanted "One, two, three, four; We need four more; Three, four, five, six, Ratify in '76!" The ERA has been ratified by thirty-four states and must be ratified by thirty-eight by 1979.

Speakers included Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine; Eleanor Smeal, chairperson of NOW's National Board; Del Dobbin, former head of NOW's Minority Task Force; Maude Wilkinson, cochairperson of the women's committee of the Fairfax Education Association; and Flora Crater, editor of *Woman Activist*.

Carol Pudliner-Sweeney, coordinator of the ERA vigil, urged women to begin thinking of the next step in the ERA struggle. Her suggestion that ERA supporters march on Washington on Inauguration Day next January met with a warm response from the crowd.

—Brenda Brdar

## Boston

Twelve hundred women poured into the streets of Boston at midday on August 26, answering a call for a "Women Support Women" march.

"Housewives from the suburbs, professional feminists in jeans and t-shirts, and a stream of women office workers joined in the celebration of the 56th anniversary of women getting the vote," wrote the *Boston Globe*.

The action was supported by most feminist organizations in the area. Featured speakers were attorney Florynce Kennedy and feminist writer Betty Friedan.

A large contingent of women marched with banners urging a "yes" vote on "Question 1," a state ERA referendum that will be on the Massachusetts ballot in November. The Action Coalition for the ERA organized the contingent.

—Anne Teesdale

## Philadelphia

"What do we want? ERA! When do we want it? Now!" This was the main chant of the more than 150 people who joined a rally here August 26 organized by the newly formed city-wide coalition, Together for the ERA.

"The ERA is right, it is necessary, and we need it," Charles Simms, of the AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute, told the crowd. "We must be successful in our efforts to win its passage."

"Both racism and sexism are malignancies in this society," declared Rev.



Militant/Ed Mattos

August 28 'Shoulder to Shoulder' march around White House capped national vigil for the Equal Rights Amendment sponsored by National Organization for Women.

William Gray of the Bright Hope Baptist Church. "The cure for both is for people to band together, march together, and to work together."

Nada Chandler, president of Philadelphia NOW; Sylvia Lieberman, president of Philadelphia Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW); C. Delores Tucker, Pennsylvania secretary of state; and Pat Scarcelli, an organizer for Retail Clerks Local 157, also spoke.

Greetings were read from Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president, who attended the rally. Her greetings said, in part, "Just as we saw in the civil rights movement and in the antiwar movement, militant actions, such as this one today, independent of the wiles of the Democratic and Republican politicians, remain the key road to success."

—Terry Hardy

## San Antonio

"Our fight is not confined to getting ratification in four more states," Gloria Johnson, national treasurer of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, told a rally here August 28. "... Those of us from ratified states, such as Texas, cannot afford the luxury of sitting back, telling ourselves that our job is done."

Two hundred people attended the rally, which was endorsed by the San Antonio AFL-CIO; San Antonio NOW; Choco Mesa, state secretary of the Raza Unida party; and local affiliates of the National Council of Negro Women, the National Chicana Foundation, and the Socialist Workers party. International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Local 780 was a sponsor, and a contingent of electrical workers participated in the meeting.

Other speakers included Joan Suarez, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; Barbara Vackar, Texans for the ERA; Lupe Anguiano, Southwest Regional Office for the Spanish-Speaking; Antoinette d'Oronzio, president of San Antonio NOW; and Jill Fein, Socialist Workers party candidate for Harris County commissioner.

—Susan Garry

## Twin Cities

An August 28 "Day in the Park for Women's Rights" drew hundreds of Twin Cities women to cultural events and a series of workshops on the ERA, abortion, minority women, union women, lesbians, and feminism and

socialism.

In the evening, 300 people attended a rally for the ERA sponsored by the University Community Feminists at the University of Minnesota, and Potential of Women, a feminist group at Metropolitan Community College. Twin Cities NOW and Local 1164 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees also endorsed the rally.

—Holly Harkness

## New Orleans

New Orleans NOW, along with local affiliates of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, NAACP Youth Council, ERA Central, National Abortion Rights Action League, American Civil Liberties Union, and Socialist Workers party, cosponsored an ERA rally on August 22. More than 400 people attended.

Speakers included Fran Bussie, community services coordinator for the Louisiana AFL-CIO; Juanita Tyler, the mother of Black frame-up victim Gary Tyler; and Sarah Weddington, the attorney who successfully argued the Supreme Court case that legalized abortion.

—Karen Newton

## Pittsburgh

Three hundred fifty ERA supporters in Pittsburgh ignored a rain storm to join a march and rally for the ERA on August 26. NOW National Board members Eleanor Smeal and Anne

Lang addressed the rally, as did Brenda Fraizer of the NOW Black Caucus.

Pittsburgh NAACP President Leon Howard, Susie Beck of the Committee for the ERA, and Carla Hoag, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in the 14th C.D., also spoke.

—Brett Merkey

## Other cities

Five hundred demonstrators marched on the state capitol of Wisconsin in Madison on August 28, for an ERA rally organized by NOW and the Milwaukee ERA Coalition.

In Louisville, Kentucky, 150 people attended a rally for the ERA on August 26, followed by a march behind banners proclaiming, "Suffrage then, ERA now."

An Atlanta benefit for Georgians for the ERA, held August 29, attracted 300 people.

New York NOW, Women Office Workers, and Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees jointly sponsored an ERA rally on the steps of the New York Public Library at noon on August 27. Two hundred women, many on their lunch hour, participated.

Chicago NOW held a "Women's Town Meeting" on August 26. On August 29, the Illinois Socialist Workers campaign presented a "Women in Herstory" celebration.

Other activities commemorating August 26 took place in Richmond, Virginia; Seattle; Newark; and Cleveland.

## Minority women's speak-out

By Chris Frank

MINNEAPOLIS—"Minority Women Speak Out on Their Rights" was the title of an August 21 teach-in sponsored by the St. Paul chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW). One hundred fifty people attended the event, which was held at the Urban Indian Center here.

Ramona Austin, Black coordinator of Minnesota NOW's Minority Task Force, opened the teach-in. "Minority women must understand, evaluate, and appreciate their own struggle," she said.

Yvonne Wanrow, the Washington State Indian fighting a murder frame-up, spoke on the victimization of women by the racist judicial system.

Cilia Teresa, head of National NOW's Minority Task Force, explained the myths used to justify the special economic oppression of Chicanas: that Chicanas are slow-thinking, lazy "aliens," best suited for menial tasks. She also called for twenty-four-hour child care, with bilingual-bicultural programs.

NOW leader Esther Kaw, also a Chicana, condemned the recent wave of racist attacks against Blacks and other oppressed nationalities here in the Twin Cities. Kaw read a resolution passed by the national board of NOW denouncing the inaction of local authorities who have failed to prosecute those responsible for the racist terror here.

Lorraine Page of the Socialist Workers party, spoke on Black women and socialism.



## Demand release of freedom fighters

# Powerful Black workers' strike hits South

By Tony Thomas  
From Intercontinental Press

Johannesburg, the main industrial center of South Africa, was shaken by a general strike of tens of thousands of Black workers August 23-25. Chief among the demands of the strike was the release of Black political prisoners arrested by the South African government since the Soweto rebellion this June.

Most of the strikers were from Soweto, South Africa's largest Black township, which has a population of more than one million. London *Times* correspondent Nicholas Ashford estimated that between 150,000 and 200,000 of the 250,000 Blacks from Soweto who normally work in Johannesburg observed the first day of the strike.

The next day, the Transvaal Chamber of Industries reported that only 10 percent of Soweto's workers had reported to work.

### 'Eerie quiet'

The city was hit with what one reporter called an "eerie quiet." Nearly all 300 plants in the clothing industry were closed down, as were most construction sites.

Christiane Chombeau described the scene in the August 25 issue of *Le Monde*: "Factories, department stores, delivery services, offices, almost all the businesses of Johannesburg have been strongly affected by the first of the three days of operation 'Azikwelwao' (don't ride). Scores of factories hit by the absence of 70 percent to 100 percent of the Black employees and workers had to close for the day."

Operation *Azikwelwao* grew out of an earlier series of demonstrations and work boycotts. On August 4 and 5, smaller numbers of Soweto workers heeded the call of Black students and stayed away from work. As the arrests of Black community leaders continued, Black organizers began to coordinate plans for the three-day general strike.

Black representatives from Soweto were able to travel across South Africa with "relative freedom" to gain support for the strike, a dispatch in the August 25 *Christian Science Monitor* reported. Thousands of leaflets and pamphlets were handed out in Soweto during the weekend before the strike.

### Support students

The pamphlets appealed to workers to stay at home in support of students and youth who had been among the main victims of the repression following the June rebellion.

"If you go to work," one of the pamphlets said, "you will be inviting [South African Prime Minister] Vorster to slaughter us, your children, as he has done already."

They described the students as "soldiers of liberation who prefer to die from a bullet, rather than swallow a poisonous education which relegates them and their parents to a position of perpetual subordination."

The pamphlets cited the example of government concessions on language and home ownership won as a result of earlier struggles by the youth. One said: "Now for the greater victories: The scrapping of Bantu education, the release of prisoners detained during the demos, and the overthrow of oppression." (Bantu education refers to the inferior, segregated education system for Blacks that is one of the keystones of the apartheid system.)

John F. Burns, writing in the *New York Times* of August 23, reported that *Rapport*, a Johannesburg newspaper, had imputed more limited goals to the strike.

"Rapport," Burns wrote, "said that the people behind the campaign, whom it did not identify, would use it to try and force a meeting with Prime Minis-



Soweto Blacks try to rescue children from police tear-gas attack

ter John Vorster and Justice Minister James T. Kruger."

The Vorster regime apparently hoped that widespread arrests would prevent the general strike from being a success. In the weeks before the strike, more than 170 Black activists, many of them elected leaders of Black organizations, were detained without charges.

The August 21 issue of the weekly Johannesburg *Star* reported there had been "an estimated 60 people detained in the past three days." Among those arrested were all the members of the Soweto Black Parents Association except its chairman, Dr. Manas Buthelezi, a Black religious leader.

The Black Parents Council is an umbrella coalition in Soweto and other cities that includes Black nationalist political groups like the South African Students Organization (SASO) and the Black Peoples Convention (BPC), community leaders, and "nonpolitical" organizations like the Young Women's Christian Association.

Many of the leading activists in the BPC and SASO had already been detained in an earlier series of arrests. According to *Africa* magazine, more than 3,000 persons were arrested following the initial rebellion in June.

In fact, Kruger's response to the demand that he and Vorster meet with Black leaders was to say that "most of them have been detained." Therefore, he said, "There is no one I could see."

### Police mobilized

The government also sent large numbers of police and troops into Black areas to try to intimidate the strikers.

Chombeau reported in the August 25 *Le Monde*: "The forces of order were on a war footing Sunday afternoon [August 22]. Small armored cars patrolled certain streets in Soweto. Shock brigades in camouflage uniforms, armed with automatic weapons, stood guard at the main crossroads and at all the entrances and exits of the 'townships,' as well as at the stations. In the city [Johannesburg], the exits of the stations reserved for Blacks and the main bus stops were also well guarded."

When the strike began on August 23, this force was used to attack the Black community. Chombeau reported that police fired on Blacks in the Orlando district of Soweto, killing one and wounding several others. Blacks were tear-gassed in the Phefeni area. Most of the attacks were against young people, including children.

On August 24, "police fired tear-gas into a Soweto house where five child-

ren, including an infant, had locked themselves after seeing a police car approaching," reported the August 25 London *Financial Times*.

The South African regime tried to divide the Black community and break the strike by using violent vigilante gangs of Black strikebreakers. Publicity over the clashes between Zulu strikebreakers and other Blacks has been used by the apartheid regime to divert attention from the impact of the general strike.

As early as the June rebellion in Soweto, the Vorster government attempted to explain away the upsurge by saying that it was the work of "tsotsis" (a Zulu term for thugs) and agitators, and that "responsible" Blacks should form vigilante units to stop them.

As the general strike approached, the police encouraged Soweto residents to form these gangs. Police officers announced that there would be no prosecution of Blacks who used clubs against the supporters of the strike.

The regime also tried to portray Black workers as having been "intimidated" into striking by radical youths.

### Government provocations

There are indications of deliberate government provocations to encourage such tactics. Ashford of the London *Times* reports that pamphlets threatening the homes of strikebreakers were seen in Johannesburg.

Unlike all other leaflets and pamphlets calling for the strike, which were anonymous, Ashford described the threatening pamphlets as "purportedly coming from the African National

Council (ANC)."

The ANC is a nationalist group that was banned in the early 1960s. The press has not reported any other statements by the ANC, either from within South Africa or from its leadership in exile, taking credit for such actions in the current upsurge.

In fact, it would be highly unusual for any banned organization to take that type of step in its own name, given the repressive nature of South African laws.

### Intimidation fraud

Ashford added that "there were few outward signs of intimidation and that many blacks had not seen the threatening pamphlets."

Most reports from Black sources inside Soweto indicate that stories of intimidation were false or exaggerated. In the August 25 *Washington Post*, David Ottaway reported that a Black journalist "who lives in Soweto, denied there was much intimidation used to keep Africans away from their jobs and spoke of 'white police intimidation' instead."

South African English-language white newspapers called the strike an "intimidatory stay-away campaign," while the Black Johannesburg newspaper, *The World*, called the strike a "non-violent stay-at-home."

### No violence

"On the whole," Ashford commented in the August 25 London *Times*, "the mass protest has been noteworthy for its lack of violence. . . ."

On the first day of the strike, he reported, "One black journalist who spent the morning and early afternoon in Soweto saw no attempts to dissuade people from going to work. Unlike the previous outbreak of unrest earlier this month, no road blocks were set up and the students who were then out on the streets were today absent."

Graham Hatton of the London *Financial Times* indicated the extent of "intimidation" on the opening day of the strike: "At railway stations, groups of children were telling isolated groups of people who were going to the stations not to board trains."

The police were successful in involving over a thousand workers in attacks on supporters of the demonstrations. They were migrant workers from the Zulu Bantustan, housed in barracks-like "hostels" for single men.

The apartheid regime has tried to separate different African nationalities from each other so as to increase "tribal" frictions. Black migrant workers from the Bantustans are housed in separate barracks not only to isolate them from workers from other African peoples, but also to separate them from the permanent, and generally more politically conscious, Black population in areas like Soweto.

Although the South African regime

## Rip Kissinger-Vorster meet

Sept. 1—Peter Camejo responded today to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's announcement last night that he has scheduled a meeting with South African Prime Minister John Vorster.

Camejo, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, charged that the September 4-6 meeting amounted to "approval of the murder of hundreds of young Blacks by Vorster's cops."

"While Kissinger claims to favor majority rule in South Africa," Camejo said, "last night he said Vorster had made 'unmistakable progress' toward that goal."

"That is a clear signal to Vorster," Camejo said, "to go ahead with his

racist policies, to go ahead with the jailing and killing of Black protesters, to go ahead with white minority rule."

Camejo noted that American corporations give South Africa tremendous aid by investing there, and that the U.S. government encourages this investment through tax credits.

The socialist candidate said Kissinger's meeting underscored the need for Americans to show their support for the South African struggle for justice by staging protests to demand that the U.S. government and corporations end their complicity with the Vorster regime.



# Africa

has tried to create the impression that the fighting was between Zulus and other Blacks, in reality the strife was between a relatively small number of Zulu workers and the general Soweto population, a large part of which is of Zulu origin.

## Zulu attacks

The fighting began on the evening of August 24, when club-wielding vigilantes escorting the strikebreakers back into Soweto were surrounded by angry crowds of demonstrators. John F. Burns reported in the August 25 *New York Times* that these Zulu workers then returned to their hostel, "collected weapons, and set out after the demonstrators, killing at least four and possibly seven" that evening.

Although, the government and press tried to make the vigilante groups appear to be a spontaneous response to the burning of their hostel (an incident that took place *after* the first killings), it quickly became clear that they were organized and prompted by the South African police.

## Role of police

One reporter said he heard a Black cop tell these workers to eat and drink well so they could "kill on a full stomach," a dispatch in the August 27 *Christian Science Monitor* reported.

Nat Serache, a reporter for the *Rand Daily Mail* of Johannesburg, hid in a coal bin in the Zulu hostel and overheard a policeman giving the following orders to the strikebreakers: "If you damage houses, you will force us to take action to prevent you. . . . You have been ordered to kill only the troublemakers."

By their own actions, the police-organized gangs showed that it was the working masses of Soweto who were seen as the "troublemakers." The gangs launched a general attack against the mass of the township's population.

A dispatch in the *New York Daily News* of August 26, reported that Black witnesses, "said the Zulus charged through the dusty streets of Soweto, kicking down doors of private homes, hacking at residents and their guests with knives and in some cases dragging young women off to hostels."

John Burns reported in the August 25 *New York Times*, "A resident of the area, Moffat Mokaga, was quoted as having said that mothers clutching infants were struck down as they ran from their homes trying to escape the Zulu attackers."

## Twenty-one killed

The Zulus were so violent that the South African police turned on them toward the end of the strike. Twenty-one people were killed in fighting between them and other Blacks, according to officials.

As during the June rebellion, the only thing that the Vorster regime has offered is to meet with a small group of leaders deemed "responsible" because of their positions in the apartheid system's "Bantu councils." The government rejected the demands of even these "responsible" Blacks to include arrested Black leaders such as ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who has been imprisoned since the early 1960s.

The regime may grant a few more concessions as it did following the initial rebellion. It may also try to minimize the problem by blaming a small handful of "troublemakers." But the Soweto strike was a major step forward for the oppressed Black majority in South Africa.

The power of the Black proletariat shown in the Soweto general strike, on a South Africa-wide level, can be used to overthrow the whole system of apartheid.

# Young socialists call for actions against U.S. aid to apartheid

[The following statement was released August 27 by Cathy Sedwick on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. Sedwick is an activist in the Black liberation and feminist movements and was a founding member of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.]

Two months after the massive rebellions in Soweto, thousands of young Black South Africans have again taken to the streets. In the face of government bullets and tear gas, tens of thousands of militant workers and students organized a determined national strike of Black workers, beginning on August 23, to demonstrate their hatred for racist apartheid rule, and to demand the release of political prisoners. This work stoppage was highly organized, despite the previous arrest of scores of Black leaders. Many Johannesburg factories reported 80 percent absentee rates.

The young Black freedom fighters who initiated this strike are the foundation of today's struggle against the racist regime in South Africa. American students can play a crucial role in aiding these brothers and sisters



Militant/Lou Howort

CATHY SEDWICK: "We should have meetings, picket lines, and other protests in support of our brothers and sisters in South Africa."

through our protest activities in this country.

For the past three decades, apartheid South Africa has known no better friend than the U.S. government. More

than \$1.5 billion in American investments help prop up the South African economy. In recent years, Washington has sold millions of dollars worth of planes, helicopters, and other military equipment to the white minority regime.

We in the United States have a particular responsibility to aid the young militants in South Africa. We must protest the brutal policies of the South African government and demand the release of all political prisoners. It will take an international campaign of solidarity to bring an end to the hated apartheid system.

The Young Socialist Alliance supports the demand of the Black South Africans for control over their country through majority rule. The YSA urges students across the country to begin planning meetings, picket lines, and other protests in support of our brothers and sisters in South Africa during the opening days and weeks of the coming school year.

Students should demand that all U.S. political, economic, and military support to South Africa be ended immediately. We should oppose any attempt to send U.S. troops to South Africa to prop up the apartheid regime.

## Protests in U.S. cities

# Blacks to Ford: cut ties to S. Africa

By José G. Pérez

As South African Blacks continued their actions against racist segregation in that country, prominent Black leaders and other activists in several U.S. cities protested the complicity of the U.S. government with the apartheid regime.

At an August 25 news conference, Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton demanded that President Gerald Ford condemn South African "police state" rule over the Black majority of that country.

Sutton released a letter to President Ford at the news conference, held in front of the South African consulate in New York. Sutton said he and other Black leaders were prepared to "mount a campaign of boycotts, demonstrations, and protests" against American companies doing business in South Africa if President Ford did not act on the demands.

Sutton's letter asked President Ford to do the following:

- Announce that the United States would revoke tax credits to 350 U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa unless South Africa responds to the "will of its majority."
- Appoint a team of "non-government-affiliated Americans" to make an "unfettered" fact-finding trip to South Africa.
- Open immigration to Black South African freedom fighters forced to leave their homeland as a result of repression.
- Give full protection to American Blacks traveling in South Africa.

Two days earlier Sutton had joined a delegation of eight Blacks who met with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Jesse Jackson of the Chicago-based Operation PUSH headed the group.

The Black leaders urged Kissinger to "communicate to South Africa in the strongest terms" that the United States is opposed to its racist policies.

Meanwhile, there were protests in several U.S. cities:

**Philadelphia:** More than 100 people picketed the closing events of the Federation Cup tennis tournament, the

women's equivalent of the Davis Cup.

Participating in the tournament were all-white teams from South Africa and Rhodesia, invited by the International Lawn Tennis Federation, which sponsored the event.

Of the thirty-two countries represented in the tournament, four walked out in protest.

There had been picket lines at the opening ceremonies and during the week-long tournament.

The protest was initiated by Dennis Brutus, a professor at Northwestern University, and by the American Friends Service Committee. Brutus is president of South Africa's Non-Racial Olympics Committee and has been living in exile since 1966.

Other groups participating in the protest included the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, Coalition to Boycott Rhodesian and South African Imports, Youth Against War and Fascism, Socialist Workers party, Young Socialist Alliance, and the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR).

**New Orleans:** Chanting "End Apartheid, end racism, end minority rule" and "It's not a matter of Black or white—it's simply a matter of wrong or right," sixty-five people picketed the South African consulate in New Orleans August 28.

The action was called by an August 24 meeting sponsored by the SCAR chapter at the University of New Orleans.

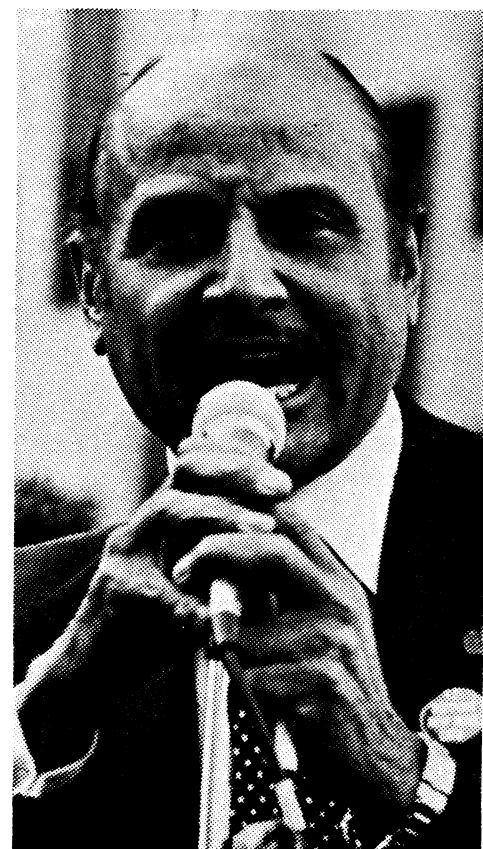
On Friday, August 27, a broad array of groups held a news conference to publicize the next day's protest. Speakers included: Musheer Aktab Fardan, New Orleans SCAR coordinator; Kalimu Ya Salaam, representing Ahidiana, a Black nationalist organization; Kurt Pellerin, president of the New Orleans NAACP Youth Council; Robert Cuiet-tu, representing the Southern University student government; Lloyd Dangerfield, president of the Dillard University student government; and Tim Brooks of the Young Socialist Alliance.

**Washington, D.C.:** One hundred twenty-five people attended an August 25 "Educational Forum on Southern Africa" at St. Stephens Church. The event was cosponsored by the Washington-based June 16 Coalition and the New York-based Patrice Lumumba Coalition.

The meeting heard reports on the liberation struggles in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia (South West Africa), as well as on the Organization of African Unity.

Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) spoke on "Can There Be a New United States Government Policy in Southern Africa?"

In addition, Rev. Muhammad Kenyatta gave a talk harshly criticizing Kissinger's foreign policy and demanding an end to U.S. complicity with the racist regimes in Southern Africa.



Militant/Lou Howort

PERCY SUTTON: Demands President Ford condemn 'police state' rule over Blacks in South Africa.

# Buses to roll again in Boston; racists ponder legal setbacks

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The yellow school buses will roll again here September 8. That day marks the beginning of the third year of court-ordered school desegregation, and the implementation of Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity's "Phase II B" plan.

The racist violence that erupted a few weeks ago has subsided. But no one knows for now long. In contrast to last year's preparations for the opening of school, Mayor Kevin White has said nothing about what he plans to do to see that Black children have a safe ride to school.

Judge Garrity, however, has ordered federal marshals to be present as observers.

There is no question that the anti-busing forces were dealt some setbacks this summer.

On June 14, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear antibusing appeals to the Phase II plan. Then on August 17 the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously upheld Judge Garrity's December 1975 order placing South Boston High School under federal court control.

The Boston School Committee voted August 25 to appeal that circuit court decision.

On top of the legal rebuffs, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights released a report August 24 that lambasted Mayor White for his obstruction of the desegregation order. The report noted

that despite racist resistance, desegregation "is working in the vast majority of schools in Boston."

Judge Garrity announced August 24 that he is reorganizing the Citywide Coordinating Council (CCC), a body entrusted with monitoring the progress of Phase II.

The CCC was considered ineffective by many Black community leaders because it included ardent foes of desegregation. Garrity's new streamlined council eliminates the outspoken antibusing elements, a fact that has embittered racist leaders.

But the desegregation order has yet to encompass the entire city. Major sections of East Boston and affluent West Roxbury are still exempted.

School committee cutbacks have increased class size, reducing the quality of education for all students.

Judge Garrity's order that half the teachers and principals hired be Black is still not implemented. On August 24, Black parents filed suit against the all-white school committee for refusing to hire qualified Black administrators, including applicants for jobs in South Boston and East Boston.

The overall impact of the two-year-old white student boycott has meant that some schools fall outside Garrity's guidelines for "racially balanced" schools.

Last spring Garrity refused to reassign more than 2,000 white students who transferred illegally from Black schools to escape desegregation. He cited a need for "stability" in the school system.

All-white private "segregation academies" function with school committee approval in South Boston, Hyde Park, West Roxbury, and East Boston.

A major schism in ROAR that produced rival organizations last spring remains unresolved. ROAR United is led by East Boston school committee member Elvira "Pixie" Palladino. City council President Louise Day Hicks heads ROAR, Inc. Both groups are mum on fall activities.

The differences between the groups are secondary. Both remain committed to overturning desegregation and both defend supporters who preach anti-Black violence.

## Court upholds Indpls. busing plan

By David Ellis

INDIANAPOLIS—Supporters of desegregation here scored a victory recently when a 1968 cross-district busing plan for the Indianapolis area was upheld. The Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago released the decision July 16.

Unfortunately, the plan won't be in effect this fall. On August 21, U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Stevens agreed to delay implementation of the order until the high court reconvenes October 23. After that the court as a whole will decide whether to hear an appeal of the order.

The plan would bus 6,500 Black students into eight suburban school districts. In addition, about 3,000 Black and white students would be bused within the inner city to balance the racial composition of Indianapolis public schools.

A 1973 Supreme Court decision struck down a cross-district plan in Detroit prohibiting such measures except in cases where deliberate and conscious efforts to segregate could be shown.

When Federal Judge S. Hugh Dillin ordered the Indianapolis plan in 1968, he pointed to such efforts. One was a scheme by then-Mayor Richard Lugar called Uni-Gov. The Uni-Gov plan welded Marion County into a single city unit under a single city administration. As a result, Black voting strength was diluted. Yet the school districts were exempted from the merger, maintaining the all-white character of the outlying districts.

After the July appeals court decision in favor of the busing plan, all eight suburban school boards filed papers with Justice Stevens seeking a delay.

Even Indiana Gov. Otis Bowen announced that he had filed a separate court brief to halt busing this fall.

The Indianapolis Board of School Commissioners has not yet joined this rush to file appeals. But three of the board's seven members called for a delay in the plan. These three were recently elected on a reform slate called CHOICE (Citizens Helping Our Indianapolis Children's Education).

These school board members try to cover their concession to the racists with statements about the "burdens of busing on Blacks."

Elected primarily with the support of Black voters, the CHOICE board members have tried to justify their opposition to busing with arguments similar to those used by racists in other cities.

They say it will cost too much, that inner-city teachers will lose their jobs, and that it may force some deteriorating Indianapolis schools to close unnecessarily.

The Dillin busing plan is limited and inadequate. But supporters of Black rights rightfully view attacks on the plan as attacks on desegregated education.

## Assailant gets off



Remember this picture? The thug about to smash the flagpole into the face of Boston attorney Theodore Landsmark is Joseph Rakes. He was part of an antibusing mob that assaulted Landsmark on April 5 in front of Boston City Hall. It looked like a case of attempted murder to many. But Rakes was merely charged with assault and battery with a dangerous weapon. He was convicted and on August 11 received a two-year suspended sentence and two years on probation. An accomplice got a year's suspended sentence and probation for a lesser charge. In May two others had received juvenile court probation.

## A night at Dorchester's dividing line: if you're Black, stay on 'your' side

By Robb Wright

BOSTON—Geneva Avenue near Topliff Street is the dividing line in the Dorchester community of Boston between east and west, and of late, between Black and white.

I visited the area the night of August 24. For three straight nights, mobs of whites had attacked and stoned cars driven by Blacks on Geneva Avenue.

If you're Black, you stay the hell on the Black side of the street. About forty whites convinced me of that as they began moving in my direction, shouting, "Hey nigger." Several bricks sailed within about two feet of my head.

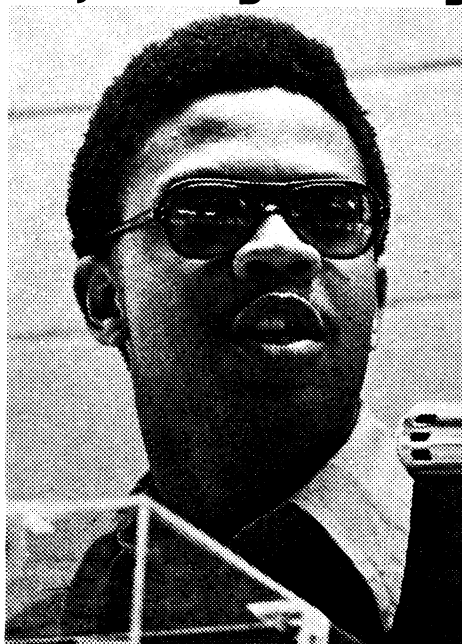
The cops' response was merely to ask me if I was all right.

I watched as the gang inspected every car that passed them. If there were Blacks in the car, the racists let fly with rocks and bottles.

This went on for about thirty minutes before the cops made them disperse. In ten minutes they had reassembled.

"They throw rocks at your car, smash your windshield, and if they get their hands on you, they beat you up," explained a brother sitting on his front porch.

"This is some serious shit, and the



ROBB WRIGHT

Militant/Walter Lippmann

cops don't do a damned thing!"

A sister told how she had seen the brazen racists jump a cop, too. "I saw a bunch of them last night pull a cop off his motorcycle, beat him up, and take his gun.

"They're not playing games. And I'll

tell you something else. A brother was shot last night, but they didn't put it on the news."

Several Blacks in the area with citizens band radios were monitoring the scene on Geneva. I noticed that the cops spent a lot of their time chasing them. They also stopped and picked up three young Blacks.

At one point a force of some 100 police in twenty cars managed to clear the area. But fifteen minutes after they left, the corner filled up with whites again.

I heard what sounded like a shot and saw several brothers down the street duck and run. The cruising cops didn't bother to investigate.

"They're just out here to protect those white boys," someone said.

Things had quieted down, so I thought I'd take a little walk to see what was happening. There were about thirty whites still there talking with police. When they saw me, they began moving toward me in full view of the cops.

"Hey bonehead. Hey nigger. You Black motherfucker. Hey man, don't run, stay and get yours," they yelled as the came after me.

I didn't wait around. And the cops just watched.



## Civil rights panel reports

# NAACP official blasts two parties on busing

By Nancy Cole

NAACP official Clarence Mitchell has labeled the civil rights planks of both the Democratic and Republican party platforms "examples of pussy-footing, mealy-mouthing, hate-mongering, and platitudinizing." They're "not worth the paper they're written on," he added.

Mitchell, director of the Washington, D.C., NAACP, made the remarks at an August 24 news conference on Capitol Hill called by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The commission released a 315-page report on school desegregation.

The report concluded that busing was "working in the vast majority of schools." It laid the blame for violent resistance in some areas squarely on local and national leaders and officials.

The Republican party platform opposes "forced busing" and supports a constitutional amendment to ban it. "Anybody who talks about 'forced busing' is appealing to the basest passions of human nature," Mitchell said.

The Republicans have "gone a step further than the South African government," he charged. "In South Africa if you win a case under law, they'll change the law. The GOP is saying that if you win a case under law, not only will they change the law, but they'll change the Constitution of the United States."

Commenting on the Democratic platform, which mentions busing as "a judicial tool of last resort," Mitchell said, "There's no other resort in these heavily segregated communities."

The Democrats' stand on busing was devised "to satisfy the racists and those who want to maintain segregation," he said.

The commission report is based on ten months of hearings, surveys, and investigation. The study pointed to a number of cities where it found desegregation is proceeding peacefully. Those cities included Tacoma, Washington; Stamford, Connecticut; Minneapolis; and Denver.

Desegregation is also working "in the vast majority of schools in Boston and Louisville, in spite of the determi-

nation of some citizens and their leaders to thwart its progress."

In its analysis of Boston, the commission singled out President Ford and Mayor Kevin White for special criticism. Their "equivocal public comments on the order of the federal district court served to bolster opponents of school desegregation."

While the commission report was in general a favorable one on the progress made in desegregating education, it focused attention on problem areas. It noted evidence of discrimination against Black and other minority

students in disciplinary actions and assignments to "low-ability" classes.

The report also stressed that many school districts have yet to desegregate.

The commission has no enforcement powers, but it did recommend a series of steps that could aid desegregation. They included increased federal funding to desegregating school systems and to low-income housing.

It called on officials at all levels of government to "accept the fact that desegregation of the nation's schools is a constitutional imperative."

## Reid pledges to spread word on Black rights

NEW YORK—Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid has hailed the U.S. Civil Rights Commission desegregation report as "confirmation that the racist assaults on Black schoolchildren can be traced directly to the highest elected officials in this country."

Reid said the report released August 24 "documents the pernicious role of President Ford in his two-year campaign to sabotage the fight for desegregated education in Boston, Louisville, and elsewhere."

"But what of the Democrats? How much better are Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale, who mask their opposition to busing with a transparent 'only as a last resort'?"

"The commission report speaks to

this stance too. It is not only the inflammatory statements by high officials that undermine Black rights, the commission found, but 'the support they give, or fail to give,' to court-ordered desegregation."

"The commission report urges 'a major investment of time and resources' to correct public misconceptions about segregated education, busing, and the real causes of 'white flight' from the inner cities."

"You can be sure that Ford and Carter won't be correcting any misconceptions in their campaigning this fall. They'll only be fostering others."

"My running mate, Peter Camejo, and I, on the other hand, will be speaking out in defense of busing and Black rights."



Militant/Jon Flanders  
Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate.

## Vote 'Yes on 14'

# Calif. UFW pushes for farm labor initiative

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—The United Farm Workers union has launched a massive statewide drive for the passage of a farm labor initiative, known as Proposition 14.

In the short time since the campaign opened, the union has already distributed more than 120,000 "Yes on 14" bumper stickers around the state, UFW press director Marc Grossman told the *Militant*.

Proposition 14 would put teeth into California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act, which went into effect in August 1975.

In January of this year, the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) became the first state agency in California history to become defunct for lack of money.

The board was permitted to go into limbo because the UFW was piling up heavy vote margins against the grower-backed Teamsters.

Finally, after the board had languished for several months, the UFW went out and got a record 800,000 signatures to put the initiative on the ballot.

The growers and politicians then had second thoughts. Funds were voted to revive the ALRB. Gov. Edmund Brown, Jr., nominated Democratic machine hacks to replace previous members of the board, including the two who had supported the UFW.

"A nearly new board has been selected and it has been proceeding in a manner designed to create some confidence," wrote Daryl Arnold, executive vice-president of the Western Growers Association, in the August issue of the *Western Grower & Shipper*.

The growers are mobilizing their resources to defeat Proposition 14. The *Western Grower & Shipper* reported



Proposition 14 would guarantee organizers access to farm workers on the job.

that agribusiness has established "Citizens for a Fair Farm Labor Law" to oppose the measure. The "citizens" plan to raise \$2 million.

One of their major arguments will be that Proposition 14 isn't needed because there already is a farm labor law and a functioning labor board. The argument is expected to have considerable impact.

It is, of course, a phony.

There are good and compelling reasons why the proposition should be passed.

Proposition 14 would replace the present law and is superior to it in several key respects.

The measure would guarantee the right of union organizers to have access to farm workers on the job, a crucial rule for the UFW. Although organizers are now generally permitted on the ranches, the rule is not a law

and could be revoked or whittled down at any time.

In addition, the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, which administers elections for union representation, would be assured by statute of continued funding.

The proposition will also give the ALRB the power to assess growers triple damages in cases of unfair labor practices.

And it will bar amendment to the law by the legislature. Changes can be made only by the voters.

Added proof that Proposition 14 is needed is evident in the way the present ALRB is being put back into "motion."

New funding was voted back in June. According to Gary Queale, ALRB press relations director, the board will not begin holding new elections until mid-November. That will be a good five months after the board was "revived."

And while the board proceeds at a snail's pace, thousands of farm workers are condemned to backbreaking toil without even the benefit of a legitimate union contract.

The UFW will mobilize thousands of its members and supporters for the drive to pass Proposition 14. "We can't match the growers' money," Marc Grossman said, "so we'll run a people-to-people campaign." The campaign will focus on leafleting and canvassing. The union is recruiting 350 full-time workers to spark the drive. A majority will be allocated to the Los Angeles area, where the UFW has set up its state campaign office.

Passing Proposition 14 won't be easy. The forces lined up against it are formidable. But the UFW has a very powerful ally—the voters of California. The collection of 800,000 signatures in

a month and the distribution of 120,000 bumper stickers in a few short weeks indicate the depth of popular support the union enjoys.

To help in the drive, contact the UFW office in your city. Or call the state office at (213) 381-3726.

## Carter's double-talk

LOS ANGELES—During a recent visit here Jimmy Carter engaged in a classic bit of double-talk intended to give supporters of Proposition 14 the idea he was with them—without actually saying so, of course.

Interviewed by the *Los Angeles Times* August 23, Carter was asked if he supported the UFW-sponsored farm labor initiative. "I would have no objection to Prop. 14 being passed," he responded.

The Council of California Growers immediately contacted Carter's office demanding clarification.

Carter was quick to respond. On August 25 he telephoned one of the growers' representatives and assured him: "I think it's not a fair conclusion to say I support Prop. 14, because I'm not that familiar with it."

In the *Times* interview, Carter had ducked the question of whether or not he favored a federal law giving farm workers the right to secret ballot elections.

The peanut farm operator responded to that one: "Well, my own inclination would be to hold off on national farm labor legislation until I see how the California plan works."



## Five convicted in Pa.

# Is leafleting FBI chief illegal?

By May Cramer

When FBI Director Clarence Kelley spoke on law and order in Allentown, Pennsylvania, March 27, fifteen people picketed the meeting. "We thought it ironic to have a criminal speak on crime," Michael Schlosser explained.

As a result of their protest, Schlosser and four others were arrested by the Allentown police. "They pushed some of the women around, put us in a paddy wagon, and sent us down to city hall where they charged us with criminal trespass," Schlosser told the *Militant*.

The group had picketed quietly outside Kelley's meeting. Their signs demanded, "Kelley—release our files," and "Stop the harassment." Their leaflets pointed to newly uncovered FBI crimes.

They were members of an Allentown group called the Lehigh-Pocono Committee of Concern. LEPOCO organized antiwar demonstrations in the 1960s. Today its members support the United Farm Workers and campaign against the repressive Senate Bill S-1.

Schlosser explained LEPOCO's interest in the FBI. "Because other groups had been successful in getting their files—the Socialist Workers party and Jane Fonda lawsuits are good examples—we thought the FBI probably had a file on us and that we'd like to see what it was."

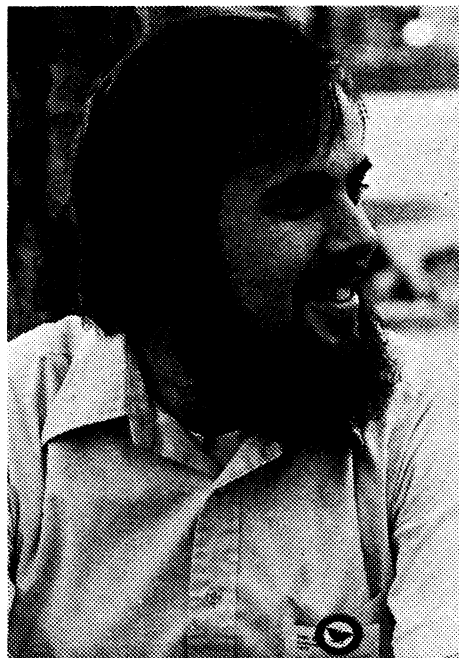
LEPOCO used the Freedom of Information Act to request its FBI files. The

**Has the FBI or any other government agency ever harassed you for your support to or contact with the Socialist Workers party or Young Socialist Alliance? If so, write to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.**

government admitted having a large number of records on the group, Schlosser said. But the FBI turned over only one page. That's one reason the LEPOCO members were picketing Kelley's meeting.

The five LEPOCO members went on trial in a magistrate's court August 7. They called a number of witnesses.

Defense attorney Donald Miles tried to question Allentown's local FBI agent about the bureau's illegal activities in order to show what motivated the group to picket. But the judge declared that line of questioning out of order. The defense did manage, howev-



MICHAEL SCHLOSSER: Accused of 'defiant trespass.'

er, to get the FBI agent to admit that the protest did not pose any threat to Kelley that would justify arrests.

The president of Muhlenberg College, where Kelley had spoken, testified that the meeting had been publicized as a public event.

In summing up the defense case, Miles explained that the five LEPOCO members had been arrested for a legal, peaceful protest. Miles concluded by reading the First Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees "the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

Allentown's chief of police, who was serving as prosecutor in the case, was confused by this talk about the Bill of Rights. "When he summarized his case," Schlosser said, "he read the trespass law and concluded, 'I don't see anything about the First Amendment in this ordinance.'"

On August 11 Barbara Andrews, Tim Laidman, Nancy Tate, Michael Schlosser, and Jeff Vitelli were found guilty of "defiant trespass." The group intends to appeal the decision to the Lehigh County Court.

Messages of support can be sent to LEPOCO, 14 West Broad Street, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania 18018.

This is not the first time Schlosser has been in trouble for passing out leaflets. In 1973 the FBI harassed him

for passing out campaign literature for the Socialist Workers party.

Schlosser was not a member of the SWP. He simply wanted to support the socialist alternative in the 1972 national elections.

Schlosser had met Andrew Pulley [the SWP vice-presidential candidate in 1972] at an antiwar conference. "I was impressed with his stand on several issues and felt he'd be a much better vice-president than either Agnew or Shriver/Eagleton," Schlosser explained.

So Schlosser put up several Pulley campaign posters in the window of the bookstore he ran. He drew up a leaflet urging people to vote for either the SWP or the Peoples party and distributed it at a McGovern rally.

Six months later the FBI visited Schlosser. The G-men cross-examined him about his political views and looked over the books on his shelves.

"Even more frightening was what they told me," Schlosser said.

The FBI agents told Schlosser they knew where he worked and how much money he made. They knew about all his political activities and had records of a \$10 contribution he had made to the SWP election campaign.

The FBI agents finished by telling Schlosser that he was obviously "violence-prone" since he supported socialists and that it was their job to "keep an eye" on him.

"The visit really shook me up," Schlosser recalled. "I decided to get out of politics altogether and keep quiet." Schlosser took a job in another town and avoided all political activity except voting.

After about eighteen months Schlosser decided he could not just bury his head in the sand. When he changed jobs and returned to Allentown in 1974, Schlosser became active in LEPOCO again.

Last year Schlosser read about the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against FBI harassment and remembered what the G-men had done to him. So he wrote to the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group that is organizing support for the lawsuit. Schlosser submitted an affidavit describing his experience for use in the lawsuit.

"The FBI isn't going to scare me away again," Schlosser told the *Militant*. He's decided to join the Socialist Workers party.

## In the papers today: socialist lawsuit

Wherever you pick up a newspaper these days you may find an article about the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against government harassment.

The August 7 *Washington Post*, for example, ran a big front-page article under the headline, "A 38-Year Probe of Marxist Group Backfires on the FBI." The article describes the FBI burglaries and government lies recently uncovered by the lawsuit.

The nation's largest feature news service, Newspaper Enterprise Association, sends out a column by Don Oakley to some 750 newspapers across the country, reaching 30 million readers.

On August 18 Oakley wrote a column about the SWP suit entitled "Threat to Socialists threatens us all."

Oakley points out that after decades of FBI investigation of the SWP, "neither the party nor any of its members has ever been charged with breaking any law. Would that the same could be said of the Democrats and Republicans."

Oakley goes on to say, "In fighting to vindicate its right to exist as a legally constituted, legally behaving political party, free of official intimidation and harassment, the SWP is defending the political liberties of all Americans."

The August 24 *Christian Science Monitor* carried a feature, "Socialists in N.Y. tell why they sued the FBI."

Internationally, too, newspapers have reported the case.

*Claridad*, the newspaper published in San Juan by the Puerto Rican Socialist party (PSP), ran a six-part series about Cointelpro operations that have been revealed by the SWP lawsuit and other cases. The paper also reported developments in the suit when an FBI agent took the Fifth Amendment when called to give testimony for the socialists' lawsuit.

*Claridad's* Alfredo López wrote: "[FBI Director Clarence Kelley] has also made clear that several groups and movements would remain the target of his specially trained 'counter-espionage' squads. These include such 'foreign financed movements' as the Communist Party of the United States, the Socialist Workers' Party (which has, to its credit, led the campaign of revelations against the FBI) and the Puerto Rican independence movement, particularly the PSP."

The daily *Rouge*, newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, French section of the Fourth International, featured the SWP suit on the back covers of the August 19 and 20 issues.

"The FBI taken to court—by the SWP," the *Rouge* headline proclaims. The article says:

"The SWP's campaign has already made it possible to raise a tip of the veil the U.S. bourgeoisie has shamefacedly cast over its activities. Most of all, the SWP presents these revelations in a new light, and for tens of thousands of Americans breaking away from the bourgeois parties it is giving new meaning to terms that gradually have been deprived of reality—freedom, the rule of law, democracy."

*Was Tun*, published by the International Marxist Group of Germany, recently ran an interview with Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the case.

—D.R.

## G-man appeals to 'warrior class'

By May Cramer

Edward Tulley could not stand it any longer. Tulley teaches "behavioral science" to aspiring agents at the FBI training academy. He does not like what the newspapers have been saying about his FBI.

So when he was invited to speak to a group of Louisiana sheriffs on August 12, Tulley decided to "get something off my soul."

Tulley called on the "warrior class" of cops to "cry the battle alarm" against bureaucrats, the "new intelligentsia," and newspaper reporters. He denounced those "who demean our heritage by their mindless control of our lives."

He complained that the FBI is being attacked by "bureaucrats who have been honing their knives for the FBI autopsy for the last twenty years."

The "new intelligentsia," he explained, "wormed their way into all levels of government bureaucracy,"

where they "fed themselves on the tax dollars of us all while they devised programs to cure all social ills."

Tulley had some words about these programs. He was sent by the FBI to speak at a seminar on affirmative-action programs for minorities. But the lawman took the occasion to attack rather than explain the equal-opportunity employment guidelines.

He warned the sheriffs that by accepting federal funds "you have just tied your agency to federal employment standards." This, he bitterly explained, would make them "haul in anybody" when it came time to hire personnel, even women and Blacks.

As for news reporters, Tulley said they "have allowed themselves to be prostituted by the hucksters of social change merely to fill the airways with what they call objective journalism."

Tulley complained that the "new intelligentsia" have also been helped by a series of court decisions that

"were illogical and beyond the scope of the courts." By this he probably meant those "illogical" decisions that said women have a right to control their own bodies or that Black children have a right to an equal education.

The excited warrior declared that the "continued assault on constitutional matters has given them more and more freedom to practice life-styles which make Sodom and Gomorrah pale by comparison."

Tulley had a solution for the problems too. He urged the cops to realize that "we are the ones who must make proper attitudes dominate."

Perhaps Tulley, in the spirit of the political season, was announcing his availability as a candidate for savior of the race and Leader of the "warrior class."

Coming from a government official on a public platform, this poisonous speech is a grave reminder of the threat to democratic rights posed by the FBI.

## Evidence of FBI crimes goes to grand juries

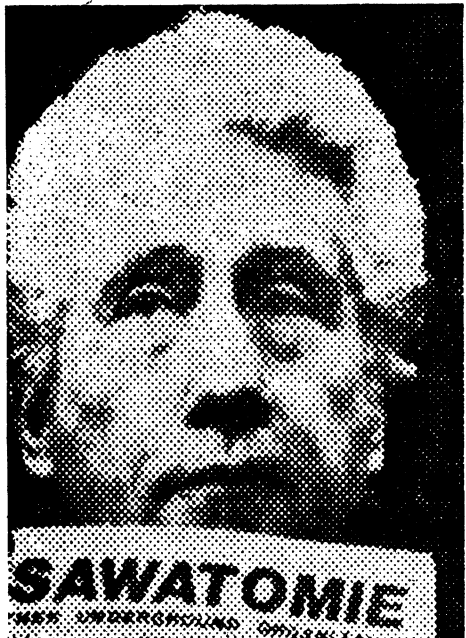
By Diane Rupp

During the last week in August federal grand juries in New York and Washington, D.C., began hearing evidence on FBI crimes.

The Justice Department is presenting material to the grand juries from a five-month investigation of FBI wrongdoing. In March, FBI field offices searching their files under court order for the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against the government found evidence of FBI burglaries done in the early 1970s. The material was turned over to the Justice Department and sparked the probe into illegal FBI activities.

On August 19 a special squad of FBI agents working on the probe suddenly raided FBI offices in New York and Washington, D.C.

One government official told the *New York Times* that the raiding teams took "file cabinet after file



W. MARK FELT: Displays paper of Weather Underground and boasts of his crimes.

cabinet" of material from the bureau headquarters and New York field office. These were added to the mass of evidence the investigation has already compiled.

### 'Doing it anyhow'

More evidence has come from public statements of former top FBI officials. On August 17 W. Mark Felt, former associate director of the FBI, told the *New York Times* he had authorized political burglaries. The next day Edward Miller, retired head of the FBI's intelligence division, made a similar admission.

Moreover, Felt and Miller have said that black-bag jobs had never really stopped, despite a 1966 order from J. Edgar Hoover that supposedly ended the break-ins. Miller admitted that he had ignored Hoover's order and given his personal go-ahead for burglaries.

When Hoover died and L. Patrick Gray took over as FBI director in 1972, Gray also gave his approval to the black-bag jobs.

"We were in my office discussing one of our investigations when he [Gray] told me he had decided to reinstate the surreptitious entry policy," Miller recalled. "I asked him if his authorization specifically included domestic investigations, and he said, 'Yes.'"

Miller passed on this news to a section chief in the general intelligence division, Robert Shackelford. According to Miller, when Shackelford heard about Gray's decision, he said, "That's good, because they're doing it anyhow."

"Then this will put some bureau discipline back into it," Miller answered.

To put "bureau discipline" back into burglaries, FBI Director Gray announced his approval to groups of G-men on two occasions—on August 29,

1972, at the bureau headquarters, and a few weeks later at the bureau's training academy in Quantico, Virginia.

Gray told the agents they could go ahead with illegal break-ins but that they should "make damn sure that none of these are conducted without prior approval," according to Miller.

### 'Weathfug' and Squad 47

Supposedly, the burglaries were done to find clues leading to members of the Weather Underground. The *New York Times* reported August 22 that the FBI had a special "weathfug" squad of agents at work.

And according to the *Washington Post*, one former G-man has told Justice Department investigators about his work on the FBI's "Squad 47," which did break-ins and wiretaps from 1970 to 1973. This unit had about thirty men and was only one of fifty squads that worked out of the New York FBI office.

Some government officials described the burglaries in interviews with the *New York Times*. The agents broke into homes of relatives and friends of suspected Weatherpeople. The FBI men dusted for fingerprints and planted microphones. They even took samples of dirt from the bottom of bathtubs.

The "Weathfug" squad also stole parcels and letters from mailboxes. According to an FBI agent quoted by the *Times*, the squad "had a teakettle going in the back room" to open letters.

Lawyers defending the G-men realize the FBI cannot get away with dirty tricks the way it used to, by just claiming their victims might be "subversive."

So these lawyers have tried to use the excuse that the victims of break-ins had "foreign connections." Top FBI officials even ordered a special report prepared in July to support their claim that the Weather Underground was a terrorist group getting money from Cuba.

But one government official dismissed this "foreign ties" excuse, telling the *New York Times*, "It's too late. The dam has burst."

"Justice Department prosecutors have seen no evidence that the Federal Bureau of Investigation's search for fugitive members of the Weather Underground organization was motivated by the group's purported links to hostile foreign governments," summed up the *New York Times*.

However, even if the FBI could prove that the Weatherpeople had "links" to a foreign government, it would not



'Yes, I would say we have a definite morale problem—I just saw my picture in the post office.'

make legal their vast campaign of warrantless burglaries, wiretaps, and bugging.

The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence made public an FBI memorandum written in 1966 that said burglaries like the ones now being uncovered were "clearly illegal."

And even W. Mark Felt, who authorized illegal break-ins, said that the distinction between dirty tricks done against "domestic" and "foreign-related" political activists is "silly."

### Proud of his work

Felt doesn't think the burglaries were at all wrong. "I'm proud of what I did," he boasted to the *Washington Post*.

Felt defended the political burglaries on the TV show "Face the Nation" August 29. "Somebody has to come forward and stick up for the FBI," he said. "It's chic to criticize the FBI now, and actually the FBI is a wonderful organization."

The former G-man explained to the *Washington Post*, "You've got to remember that we were dealing with murders, terrorists, people who were responsible for mass destruction. . . . The key word is violence."

But none of the G-men's burglaries or wiretaps produced evidence that their targets were doing anything violent or illegal. One burglary that Felt points to with pride shows how phony his talk about violence is.

Felt approved a black-bag job at the Arab Information Center in Dallas in 1972. Felt bragged to the *Washington Post* that the Dallas burglary was "extremely productive" and gave the FBI a list of "suspected Arab terrorists."

But did the FBI take any of this

evidence to a court of law to prove these people were terrorists? No.

"We then went and interviewed each one [of the persons named on the stolen list] and asked each of them to submit to fingerprinting," Felt said. He admitted that this was what "you might call harassment and had the effect of putting them out of circulation."

### Up the ladder

The G-men may not be able to defend themselves successfully by accusing their victims of foreign connections or violence. So they are trying one other defense—passing the blame on up the ladder of the FBI bureaucracy.

When he appeared on "Face the Nation" Felt complained that he is being made a "scapegoat."

Syndicated newspaper columnist Jack Anderson picked up this theme in a column published in the *New York Daily News* August 30 under the title, "FBI field hands getting raw deal." Anderson asks whether the Justice Department "can now prosecute lowly agents for carrying out the orders of its own high muck-a-mucks."

The impending trials of FBI burglars will answer Anderson's question. But at least one lawyer hired by the Society of Former FBI Agents, Edward Morgan, has promised not to let the "street-level agents" take all the blame.

"We may very well find that the authorization goes into the Department of Justice, to the attorney general and perhaps to members of certain congressional committees," Morgan told the *Los Angeles Times*.

"It would not be an uncomplicated trial," Morgan promised. "All the facts would have to hang out."

## Who supports Political Rights Defense Fund

The lawsuit by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI and other spy agencies has not yet gone to trial. But it has already exposed Cointel-



JANE FONDA: PRDF sponsor

pro programs against political activists, ongoing FBI burglaries, and government cover-ups.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support for this historic, legal offensive. The more than four hundred PRDF sponsors include Jane Fonda; Anne Braden; Rev. Ralph Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Don Stillman, editor of the United Auto Workers journal, *Solidarity*; organizations such as Operation Push, the Twin Cities chapter of the National Organization for Women, and the National Alliance against Racist and Political Repression.

If you would like to be a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund, return this coupon to the PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

☐ Please add my name as a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund. I endorse its efforts to publicize, build support, and raise funds for the PRDF lawsuit against illegal government surveillance, harassment, and interference with democratic rights. I understand that sponsorship does not imply agreement with the political views of the plaintiffs.

☐ Enclosed is a contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_.

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Address\_\_\_\_\_

City\_\_\_\_\_

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

Organization (for identification only)\_\_\_\_\_

Signature\_\_\_\_\_

## 'Great Debates'

In ruling favorably on League of Women Voters sponsorship of the Ford-Carter debates, the Federal Election Commission has struck one more blow at the democratic rights of smaller parties.

At issue in this ruling is the campaign reform law, which supposedly prohibits private contributions to campaigns once the campaigns receive government subsidies. The FEC ruled that league fund-raising for the debates would be "nonpartisan," not aiding any candidates.

But this is patently false. The proposed debates are highly partisan. They aid only the Democratic and Republican parties to the exclusion of everyone else.

The League of Women Voters places itself in the position of defending the monopoly of the twin capitalist parties over American politics. Instead of fostering genuine discussion and debate of political views, as the league purports to do, it is cutting off such debate.

The central argument that the TV networks and the league put up to justify this undemocratic procedure is that there are "too many other candidates." There supposedly is not enough time to hear anyone but Democrats and Republicans.

But day in and day out the overwhelming amount of time and space in the media is owned by corporate advertisers who refuse to sponsor any kind of serious discussion of the problems in American society today.

The truth is that there is plenty of time for discussion. People are entitled to hear as many different points of view as they want. The choice of what we hear should not be made by capitalist advertisers, capitalist networks, or the League of Women Voters. It should be made by us.

The "great debates" are all the more fraudulent in an election year where the overwhelming majority of voters have expressed dissatisfaction with the Democrats and Republicans. Ford and Carter together got primary votes from less than 8 percent of registered voters.

In fact, the debates partially grow from the effort of the capitalist parties to reverse this dissatisfaction and to make it seem as though Ford and Carter have answers to the pressing needs of American voters. But if Ford and Carter do have answers, why are they taking so many precautions to make sure they don't have to defend their positions against independent candidates?

The Socialist Workers party is undertaking to exert maximum pressure on the League of Women Voters to get itself out of this 1976 election fraud. The league should broaden the debates to include the views of other political parties.

By reversing its stand the league could truly aid the process of democratic discussion instead of helping to prevent it.

We urge that letters and telegrams supporting this view be sent to the League of Women Voters, 1720 M Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Please send copies of your protests to the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

## N.C. frame-ups

Nine Black men and one white woman known as the Wilmington Ten began serving jail terms in February totaling 282 years.

After nearly four years in prison, the last of three Black men—the Charlotte Three—was released on bail this June. But they are not free. Two await decision on a new trial; one is on parole.

The "crimes" of these young people—only two of the thirteen are over thirty—are their political ideas. The Ten struggled for desegregated education in Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1971. The Three fought against the war in Vietnam and for civil rights in Charlotte in 1968.

In both cases, which involve flimsy charges of arson, the defendants were crudely framed. In the case of the Charlotte Three, federal authorities in league with local officials paid the two "witnesses" \$4,000 and terminated a long probationary sentence of one. Evidence of similar foul play has been discovered in the Wilmington Ten case.

In light of continuing revelations, it is important to demand the release of all files on the defendants held by the FBI and other agencies.

Many will be marching in North Carolina September 6 for the freedom of these thirteen victims. All supporters of civil and human rights must not let up until they are free and the full story of their frame-up is told.

Free the Wilmington Ten! Free the Charlotte Three!

# Letters

## Anna Mae Aquash

In a recent press interview, FBI Director Clarence Kelley released a statement saying that the FBI is in the business, the profession, the occupation, of preventing violence.

Well, I ask you, who is to blame for the death of Anna Mae Aquash? She had been singled out for special attention by the FBI because she knew Dennis Banks and she might have had information about the shootings of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge reservation in the summer of 1975.

Because Anna Mae Aquash refused to sell out her brothers and sisters, the FBI actually told her that she would be killed if she did not cooperate. A week later, on the Pine Ridge reservation, she was found partially decomposed and she had a bullet hole in her head from a .32-caliber gun. The FBI tried to cover this by saying she died of natural causes.

So why should we believe Director Clarence Kelley in his recent press reports?

Native people are being jailed, harassed, and killed every day by his so-called preventers of violence—the FBI.

The death of Anna Mae Aquash will never be forgotten. We wonder who will be next on the FBI's list—our children?

Skouk Psaklazi  
Albany, New York

## Minor parties

When Donald Warren took the stand, he had a very professorial look. He is a political scientist at one of the most respected research centers in the United States. He works at the Institute for Social Research in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Warren is an expert witness in political attitudes and behavior.

He was giving testimony for Ronald Reosti, the American Civil Liberties Union attorney, in a suit against Michigan's new restrictive election law. The state was quick to recognize his credentials.

Here is what Dr. Warren said:

In Michigan there is an alarming decline in voter support for the Democratic and Republican parties. More voters consider themselves independents than either Democrats or Republicans. According to Dr. Warren, 55 percent of Michigan's voters classify themselves as independents.

That makes all parties minor parties in Michigan.

R. Jamgochian  
Detroit, Michigan

## No shelter from real terrorists

Nuclear energy development is finally becoming a subject of public debate in this country. Some have paused to belatedly raise serious questions about the growing commitment to nuclear power production.

One consideration that has received extensive media coverage is the danger that nuclear materials might fall into the hands of terrorists. Editorialists and commentators have speculated on the possibility that we might all be victims of nuclear blackmail.

Early August seems like an appropriate time to examine the record on this matter. Yes, it was thirty-one years ago that humanity witnessed the atomic destruction of several large Japanese cities—an act of international terrorism that stands unequaled in the annals of crime.

So, we know that nuclear materials can fall into the hands of terrorists.

Clearly, there is cause for genuine concern.

Nuclear blackmail? Well, after thirty years of atomic terrorism, I hear that the Pentagon has now discovered a "bomb shelter gap." These extortionists are determined to make humanity pay the ultimate price.

It's them or us.

Dayne Goodwin  
Salt Lake City, Utah

## Prisoners' rights victory

Larry Myers, one of the two prisoners who were put in solitary at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary for organizing the National Prisoners Association, was suddenly released from solitary and returned to the prison compound.

This was a surprise move by the officials. The NPA has received support from all sections of the United States. Without a doubt it was this show of support that won Myers's release.

George Blue is still in solitary, so the fight is still not over. On August 11, the U.S. District Court of Georgia decided a suit in favor of Blue. The court ordered the prison officials to give Blue a complete copy of his central file as a pauper.

The court further ruled that the sixty-eight documents that the officials claim as exempted, classified material are not so, and that fifty of the sixty-eight must be turned over to Blue. This is one of the most significant prisoners' rights rulings to date.

Now prisoners can review and contest every report in their files. This was the first prisoner's suit under the Freedom of Information Act.

George Blue, president  
National Prisoners Association  
Atlanta, Georgia

[The *Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.]

## Social insecurity

A widow with two children had her Social Security check stolen. After going through many months of red tape, the family was finally reimbursed. Then, five months later, she received a summons to appear in court. It seems a commercial check-cashing outfit had lost out by cashing the stolen check. The company decided to sue the widow. She is now awaiting the trial. Talk about making the victim the criminal.

Terry Laino  
Brooklyn, New York

## CP rewriting history

The Communist party likes to play up the fact that their presidential candidate, Gus Hall, is a former steelworker. To hear the Stalinists tell it, Hall built the union almost singlehandedly in the 1930s.

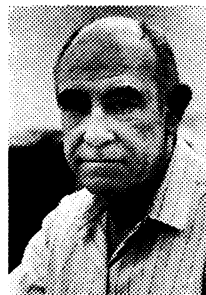
But the rewriting of history in the CP's *Daily World* newspaper took a curious turn August 12. *Daily World* reporter Marc Chagall wrote from Warren, Ohio, "This is the place where, in 1937, Hall headed up the strike committee in the Little Steel Strike against Republic Steel."

Chagall adds, "The Little Steel strike was victorious and Republic Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, and the



# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## Danger signals for UAW

other 'Little Steel' companies were forced to sign a contract with the union."

What is curious about this story is that the Little Steel strike of 1937 was not victorious at all. It went down in bloody defeat.

Betraying the heroism of the steelworker ranks, union officials led the strike to defeat through their reliance on "friendly" Democratic party politicians. The "New Deal" Democrats sent troops to smash the strike, murdering eighteen steelworkers and jailing hundreds.

Stalinists such as Gus Hall in the Steel Workers Organizing Committee backed the pro-Democratic party strategy 100 percent and must share responsibility for the outcome.

*Militant* readers can find the true story of this strike in *Labor's Giant Step* by Art Preis, available from Pathfinder Press.

What sort of Freudian slip is behind the *Daily World's* clumsy error? Is it a subtle hint that Gus Hall considers the bureaucrats' strategy in Little Steel appropriate for today?

Or that the Communist party in 1976 offers the working class more "victories" like this one inflicted by the Democrats in 1937?

G.A.  
*New York, New York*

### Skyhorse-Mohawk case

I am disappointed by the *Militant's* failure to advise the people of a capital court case presently being heard in superior court in Ventura, California, where the trial of our Native American brothers Richard Mohawk and Paul Skyhorse is about to begin.

They stand accused of the October 1974 murder, in Ventura County, of a taxi driver.

Brothers Paul and Richard have been kept in maximum facilities for twenty-two months. They have been harassed, their civil rights have been trampled, their diet is inadequate, they have no access to radio or television, although they act as their own attorneys in court.

These two young Indian men were set up and framed by the FBI and have been wrongly accused of murder in a governmental effort to discredit the American Indian Movement. One must realize that their lives are at stake.

It is my hope that the *Militant* studies and exposes this case to the public and sends some members of its staff to Ventura to sit in court, observe the proceedings, and report its findings in future editions.

Michele Mooney  
*Los Angeles, California*

[Editor's note—A short report on this case appears on page 18 of this week's *Militant*.]

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.

What makes union negotiations in the auto industry different is their established pattern. This has changed little since 1948, but the outcome is not always predictable. The appearance is routine, the reality contradictory.

The present contracts between the United Auto Workers and the major auto corporations expire September 14. In the current round of negotiations, leading up to that deadline, the surface aspects indicate few changes and little likelihood of a strike.

Both sides hew closely to their well-grooved guidelines of labor-management cooperation, which they claim are of benefit to both workers and employers. They proceed as if the economic depression were an incident of the forgotten past and as though the 28,000 auto workers still on layoff status were merely unpleasant reminders of an unavoidable natural catastrophe.

The UAW held a series of regional conferences prior to negotiations, where Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler departments of the union drafted their demands, as they always do. These conferences were climaxed by a special one-day UAW convention, which approved the union's "flexible" bargaining position, as usual.

Top UAW officials are satisfied with the average \$6.57 hourly wage scale. This resulted from the cost-of-living allowance (COLA) won in the sixty-seven-day strike against General Motors in 1970. Many workers are dissatisfied with the COLA formula because it fails to keep wages in line with rising prices, and have demanded a revision to correct the lag. This is given low priority by high union officials.

They have concentrated instead on what they call a reduction in the hours of work, more accurately a scheme to reduce absenteeism. Steady and reliable workers who report faithfully on time every day for several weeks will receive one paid holiday each month.

The corporations are more likely to grant this than a

wage raise, a stepped-up revision of the escalator formula, or a reduction of the standard workweek to thirty hours. Some say the watered-down "shorter work time" demand was drafted in the personnel office of one of the corporations, certainly not in any union membership meeting.

The UAW traditionally selects a "target" company for strike action and a model settlement. This time it is Ford. But the final settlement, whether there is a strike or not and regardless of which company is the "target," must be approved by General Motors, the dominant power in the industry.

This year an important issue has emerged, likely to be suppressed for the present. It is unwillingness on the part of GM to recognize the UAW in seven small nonunion parts plants this corporation operates in the South. This is a danger signal for the UAW, an indication that the auto companies are beginning to chip away at the union structure just as the big corporations in the rubber and electrical industries have done successfully.

This is only one sign that the era of labor-management cooperation in the auto industry is coming to a close, as elsewhere. At the moment the auto giants, led by GM, are enjoying the highest profits in their history, and looking to an even more profitable year ahead.

They underscored their greed when GM announced during these negotiations its whopping 5.9 percent jump in new car prices, which will bring the average cost of GM cars, guaranteed to be worthless in three years, to a staggering \$6,000.

It may be that monopolistic price-fixing in the auto industry will spur the inflationary spiral and shatter the fragile industrial "boom" that the capitalist class hopes will lead to economic recovery.

This is something UAW members ought to be thinking about and preparing for, even if union negotiators at the "top table" are not.

## Their Government

Nancy Cole



## Mineowners' day in court

Nobody can say federal judges don't sacrifice in the interests of justice. In the midst of the recent nationwide miners' strike, I attended a rare Saturday morning court session in Charleston, West Virginia, presided over by Federal District Judge Dennis Knapp. Two weeks earlier Knapp had levied a \$50,000 fine against a small local of the United Mine Workers of America. That sparked the seven-state walkout.

Attorneys for the miners and for the coal company spoke briefly. (Knapp silenced the UMWA lawyer at one point with, "I've heard all that before.") But the judge droned on.

In contrast to his rantings at the first hearing—he had promised any striking miner who would step forward an immediate spot in jail—Knapp's Saturday morning lecture was conciliatory.

In a slow, homey style, he expounded on the role of the courts. He was just doing his duty when he came up with that \$50,000 fine. There was nothing personal in his action, he assured the miners' attorney. Nor did he intend to hold any grudges. He was just trying to enforce the laws.

With all that out of the way, he proceeded to reject the UMWA's motion to drop the fines and criminal contempt charges against Local 1759. Unless, of course, the miners would forget about their grievances, and the 100,000 other miners on strike in sympathy with them, and get back to work.

That's what it means when judges deliver justice to mine workers: fines, jailings, "law and order" lectures. But it's a different story when the coal operators have their day in court—on those rare occasions when it comes to that.

In eastern Kentucky federal courts, 1,300 cases are pending involving mineowners who have refused to pay fines for violating the mine safety law. The federal judges there consider such cases a "low priority."

In order to get rid of some of the nationwide backlog in unpaid fines, government officials say, they are settling for thirty to thirty-five cents on the dollar. Thus, \$34.5 million in fines has been "forgiven" since 1970. And the Interior Department has started fining the coal operators less to begin with. The average fine per violation in January 1974 was \$200; in April 1976, \$90.

This is a drop in the bucket for rich mineowners. The government officials who set the fines and the judges who fail to collect even these, must share responsibility for the deaths of 155 miners in 1975, and the serious injury of 19,860 more.

In case you still think the charges of a judge/government/industry conspiracy against mine workers are exaggerated, consider the judge who forgot his place. When Administrative Law Judge Joseph Kennedy tried to force the Harlan No. 4 Coal Company to pay its fines, he was officially reprimanded by the Interior Department.

Kennedy had levied a \$2,682 fine against the company for twenty-five safety violations—including some for poor ventilation. Under Secretary of the Interior Kent Frizzell's reprimand came six days after faulty ventilation at Kentucky's Soctia mine caused two explosions that killed twenty-six men.

Frizzell charged Kennedy with displaying "a lack of respect for orderly judicial processes."

When UMWA President Arnold Miller protested the reprimand, Frizzell responded that action like Judge Kennedy's "undermines the enforcement of the [Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety] Act by decreasing respect for the fairness of our procedures."

Yes, I can see that. Enforcement of the act undermines enforcement of the act. But if you don't make them pay, at least the mineowners "respect" the law.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**No tripping**—To improve its balance of payments, the Brazilian dictatorship decreed that those going abroad must deposit \$1,000 in the state bank for a year without interest. Travel agents said this would hit hardest at the middle class. "The rich are rich and the poor have no dreams," one observed. Maybe the deposit is just to help insure that people come back.

**Take that**—General Motors at Van Nuys pleaded no contest to two criminal charges of violation of California air pollution laws. A municipal judge put the corporation on probation for two years and imposed a cash fine of \$1,250.



'To life as we know it!'

**The march of civilization**—Fattening the geese that produce France's famed liver spread, *pâté de foie gras*, used to be a tedious process. Each day a funnel had to be forced into the goose's mouth and a stick then used to cram the food down. Then a crank was developed to speed the tamping process. Now an electric needle simply deadens an area of the brain that normally tells the goose when it's had enough.

**Catch 22**—The number of Americans with high school diplomas doubled in the last twenty-five years, says a Census Bureau report, which indicates some problems. Like, employers expect those with more education to

need less training and to be more productive. Also, "some of the workers who have spent twelve years or more in formal schooling may become dissatisfied with jobs which require few skills."

**Our rational society**—California's 1975 cotton crop, valued at \$480 million, suffered \$26.5 million in losses due to smog damage.

**Thought for the week**—"The Democrats are probably going to win in November. But they haven't found the answers to the country's biggest problems, and still less have they captured the hearts and minds of the American people."—Columnist Joseph Kraft.

## iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



### Breaking the language barrier

LOS ANGELES—Some years back Tom Wolfe described how the Black liberation movement made it highly unfashionable for New York society liberals to have Black household servants.

But in the Southwest it remains fashionable in some quarters to have Mexicans as domestic servants. And at the going rates, you don't have to be a millionaire to afford one. An Immigration and Naturalization Service report indicates that the average wage for Mexican domestic workers in the border region is about \$1.70 an hour. That's the average. Some make less.

There is one drawback with the widespread use of Mexican servants by Anglos—the language barrier. However, to bridge this communication gap, an enterprising small publisher has made available a unique little pamphlet entitled *Home Made Spanish*. It provides instructions on how to talk to the maid.

Some, however, might see it as an attempt to promote understanding between the two cultures.

The mistress of the house will surely sleep more soundly knowing that she has made the effort to speak to the maid in her own language. Possible resentments against *gringo* cultural imperialism can thus be avoided. It also helps assure that the work will get done properly.

The book begins with the kind of phrases necessary to initiate mutual understanding—like "Buenos días." After a few formalities, such as telling the maid where to hang her clothes, we get to more substantial matters. The bridge to international cooperation is first paved with phrases like "Dust the furniture" and "Sweep the floor." For more modernized households, there is "Vacuum the rug."

In discussing social events, such as a party the night before, "Empty the ashtray" is quite an icebreaker.

For those interested in theology, we have, "The nearest Catholic church is located at \_\_\_\_\_." This might lead into a conversation about the pope's encyclical stating that it is a Christian duty to pay one's employees a living wage. On the other hand, some employers may be agnostic on this point.

There is some practical advice for the maid as well, such as, "This is very valuable; be careful when you touch it."

One way to express an interest in learning more about Mexican culture is to learn to say, "Will you cook a Mexican dinner for us sometime?"

As former President Nixon pointed out on the occasion of his meetings with Mexican President Echeverría, the U.S. government is interested in promoting mutual understanding between our peoples. This book might well have been what Nixon had in mind.

## The American Way of Life

### Boxes, boats, bucks, and the bicentennial

LOS ANGELES—How many words have been written about the bicentennial? It's like guessing the number of beans in a jar. But I'll bet in all the words, hardly any were spent on one of the greatest contributions of American capitalism: the fast buck.

I submit the following items in an admittedly inadequate attempt to fill a bicentennial void. They were all culled from a single issue of the *Los Angeles Times*, July 8, 1976. I think in their small way they may tell us more about America than President Ford's paean to the Declaration of Independence.

First item. "Avalon Industries, Inc., agreed Wednesday to market toys in well-fitted boxes in California. . . ."

The charge? Avalon was selling dolls and other toys in boxes that were nearly twice as large as the products they contained.

The penalty? Justice was merciless. The firm was stuck with a \$1,750 fine and a like amount in legal fees.

Oh yes. They were also ordered to stop using the oversized boxes. By May 1, 1977. Or whenever they run out of them.

Second. A unit of the Ford Motor Company was hit with \$2,500 in fines and \$1,000 in costs. What brought the mighty industrial giant to its knees?

Ford had offered to auto mechanics an air-conditioning service unit for a mere \$29.50, a bargain price. However, Ford neglected to mention

that in order to take advantage of this offer, the mechanic had to buy \$400 worth of tools.

Third: the case of two similar firms that work out of the same office. One is called American Alarm Systems; the other goes by the title of Community Volunteer Fire Protection Service. Despite any suggestion to the contrary in their corporate titles, both are strictly in the business of selling home fire alarms, smoke detectors, and heat detectors.

The two firms are charged as follows: that their advertising claimed they wanted to demonstrate home fire drills, when in fact they really wanted to sell fire alarms; that they claimed the state fire marshal had approved the "fire drills," when in fact he had not; and "Community Volunteer Fire Protection Service" is accused of using a name aimed at misleading the public into thinking it is some kind of nonprofit, public-service agency.

The city is asking for a total of \$8,500 in penalties.

And fourth, the latest chapter in the continuing saga of Los Angeles city council member Louis Nowell.

Council member Nowell owns a large boat, the fifty-one-foot *Sharolyn*. Now, as all readers of the *Militant* know, docking rates are just too high these days. So council member Nowell looked for relief. His boat wound up moored in Los Angeles harbor at a public landing facility.

Now, the public landing facilities are free, but

only for brief landings, not for mooring. If you want to moor your boat for 120 days, like Nowell did, it will cost you \$7,920. The good councilperson paid zero.

The harbor board sued Nowell for the amount. Nowell claimed he had "permission" to moor there for free.

A judge suggested a settlement for between \$1,000 and \$2,000. The harbor board settled for the higher figure.

Nowell attributed the whole thing to political enemies.

But he moved the boat. It wound up moored in plush Marina del Rey, administered by Los Angeles County. There Nowell was able to tie up his boat at half price, courtesy of the firm of Goldrich and Kest, Inc.

Goldrich and Kest, Inc., besides being a disinterested, public-spirited corporation that likes to help out hapless mariners, also happens to be in real estate.

Goldrich and Kest, Inc., was at that time trying to get a permit from the South Coast Regional Coastline Commission to build condominiums.

And guess who was on that commission? You guessed. Louis Nowell. By an odd coincidence, Nowell voted to allow construction of the condominiums.

And that, readers, is the face of America on its two hundredth birthday. —Arnold Weissberg



REIES LOPEZ TIJERINA: Led struggle to recover stolen land in 1960s

# Raza Unida in New Mexico | Land to those who work it

By Arnold Weissberg

LAS VEGAS, N. Mex.—The country called the United States of America includes millions of acres of land stolen from the Indians and from Mexico. But here, in a nearly forgotten corner of the Southwest, the white man has been held up in his plan to grab every inch of land.

In New Mexico, Indians, *mexicanos*, and Chicanos have fought for nearly 300 years—and are still

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*This is one of several articles written by Arnold Weissberg during a trip he and Harry Ring made to New Mexico for the Militant Southwest Bureau.*

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fighting—to keep the land that they live on and work.

It is not a well-known story. I heard it from Juan José Peña, state chairperson of the New Mexico Raza Unida party and the head of ethnic studies at New Mexico Highlands University here. Peña's family settled 300 years ago in what is now New Mexico. He has made a careful study of the history of struggles for social justice in this state.

The following is based on what Peña told me.

## Spanish colonization

The Spanish first colonized New Mexico in the sixteenth century. Early settlements were established by Juan De Oñate, whose cruelty to the indigenous peoples set a pattern for later times.

When Indians rebelled against his rule, De Oñate ordered one foot cut off each of the rebels.

Spanish rule became intolerable for the Indians and the poor *mexicanos*. They organized a successful revolt against the Spanish rulers in 1680. It took twelve years for the Spanish to reconquer the colony. When they finally got back in the saddle, they ruled harshly.

Anglos began to come from Texas in the 1840s, and in 1846 Stephen Kearney led an expedition that claimed New Mexico for the United States.

## Anglo take-over

The U.S. claim was entirely illegal. The United States forced Mexico to accept this plunder at the point of a gun in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.

But before the treaty was signed, the *mexicanos* and Indians of New Mexico again revolted, this time against the rule of the Anglos.

The uncoordinated revolt was brutally stamped out.

In Taos, 300 rebels sought refuge in a church.

They assumed the Anglos wouldn't attack a house of God.

They had underestimated their opponents' blood thirst. The Anglos leveled the church with cannon fire, killing all 300. Other rebels went to the mountains, but many were captured and hanged.

The town of Mora was also leveled by cannon fire.

Resistance to the take-over continued in the southern part of the state.

## Lincoln County War

One well-known episode in the resistance was the Lincoln County War.

The Lincoln County War was fought by *mexicanos* to keep control of their land.

An American fort was set up after the *mexicanos* had long been on the land. Under protection of the fort, Anglo settlers dammed up streams, denying water to the original inhabitants.

The *mexicanos* destroyed the dams and organized an armed militia to prevent the Anglos from stealing the water.

But the U.S. military intervened on the Anglo side, and a shooting war broke out. Although one group of Anglos was lined up with the *mexicanos*, American military might prevailed.

After the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo "legalized" the American theft of the Southwest, New Mexico saw an influx of Eastern lawyers bent on using their legal skills to further plunder the territory.

## Santa Fe Ring

With the assistance of willing Chicano collaborators, the lawyers set up the "Santa Fe Ring." The ring organized widespread theft of land and politically dominated the state for many years.

It has been said that by 1900 one out of every ten residents of New Mexico was a lawyer.

The newly arrived pirates, seeing a chance to make their fortunes, used all kinds of "legal" and illegal tricks to get the land into their own hands.

*Mexicanos* still owned most of the land under the original grants. The king of Spain and, later, the Mexican government had made the land grants.

Authorities granted a few plots to individuals, who could pass the land on to their heirs or sell it as they chose.

They made other grants to individuals for the purpose of establishing settlements. This land could not be sold, but could only be passed on to heirs.

Finally, the government made many grants to groups that sought to establish villages. Members of these communal grants were given land for a house and a plot to farm for themselves.

People could sell only the land on which the house stood. They could pass down family plots from generation to generation. But they couldn't sell family plots. If a plot was abandoned, it reverted to the village, which could then give it to someone else.

The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was supposed to guarantee that the owners of the land would keep it. But the United States quickly abandoned its obligations under the treaty.

## Stealing the land

The Santa Fe Ring perfected several methods of stealing the land. One commonly used ploy was to get a communal grant re-registered as an individual grant. Anglos would then buy it from its "owner."

Another trick was to marry into a family that was part of a communal grant. The new family member would then fence off the "family share" of the grant. In reality, there was no "share," since aside from the family plot and house, the community owned all the land. Yet the fenced area would often expand until it included most of the land.

With control of the government, the Santa Fe Ring was able to pull off these frauds without serious opposition.

The ring was able to help its friends too. Huge chunks of land were ceded to the railroads for rights-of-way. The railroads would then sell the extra land, raking in a handsome profit and breaking up grants in the process.

The federal government also took large tracts of land and turned them over to the U.S. Forest Service.

Today about one-third of New Mexico is owned by the Forest Service. Much of that land is grazing land.

Truckloads of Colorado cattle are a common sight on New Mexico highways as ranchers bring in their beef to graze on Forest Service land. But the Forest Service charges so much for grazing permits that the small farmers, nearly all Chicanos, are unable to afford them.

The original inhabitants had no protection against this state-run armed robbery of their land until 1890, when they organized to protect their interests.

## Las Gorras Blancas

A secret organization known as Las Gorras Blancas (The White Caps) cut fences and burned barns that belonged to Anglos in San Miguel County, around Las Vegas. Although there is no conclusive proof, it appears that Las Gorras Blancas was organized by Juan José Herrera, who was also an organizer for the Knights of Labor, an early labor union.

Las Gorras Blancas called for social justice. They wanted an end to the stealing of land, and they wanted schools, jobs, and better pay for workers.

Another secret organization called La Mano Negra (The Black Hand) arose simultaneously in Rio Arriba County, in the northernmost part of New Mexico.

## Struggle in 1960s

The popular movements of the late 1800s were unable to stop the onslaught of the Anglos. The struggle died down, but only for a time. It flared up again in the 1960s, when a former migrant worker, Reies López Tijerina, began to organize rural Chicanos to get their land back.

Tijerina's great-grandfather was run off the land, and his grandfather was lynched.

Tijerina's movement met with stiff resistance, especially from the district attorney of Rio Arriba County. Tijerina wanted to hold a convention on public property. The DA tried to block it, and Tijerina led a group to the county courthouse in Tierra Amarilla to make a citizen's arrest of the DA.

Cops began shooting and, fearing for their safety, Tijerina and his people headed for the mountains. They took hostages. The state sent 2,000 armed men after the small group, including the national guard, police, and deputy sheriffs.

This army finally caught Tijerina, but when he was put on trial, the jury acquitted him. However, a judge later sentenced him to two years in prison for the high crime of burning a U.S. Forest Service sign.

Tijerina is now trying to get the land-grant movement's case heard by the United Nations.

The New Mexico Raza Unida party supports the aims of the land-grant movement.

Should the land-grant movement succeed, the real winners will be the poor rural Chicanos whose land has been stolen over the years.

And the movement is very much alive. We visited the Tierra Amarilla ranch of a veteran Chicano activist. I asked him how long he had been in the movement. At first he shrugged, as if he didn't understand my question. Then he smiled softly and said, "Always."



## Authorities still stalling

# Socialists demand Calif. okay petitions

By Bruce Marcus

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 1—The Socialist Workers party campaign wound up the petitioning phase of its California ballot drive this week with a final big push. Petitioners got an additional 28,000 signatures for the SWP presidential and vice-presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and

*Bruce Marcus is chairperson of the Socialist Workers 1976 California Campaign Committee.*

Willie Mae Reid, and for Omari Musa, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California.

This raises the total number of signatures collected to more than 300,000. The state requires 99,284 signatures for the presidential ticket and an additional 99,284 for Musa.

The extra petitioning effort had to be undertaken because of the refusal of California authorities to comply with the law and to certify the socialist candidates for ballot status.

The California law requires county officials to certify signatures within five days of their being turned in.

But the California authorities stalled.

When the five days passed without any response, the SWP asked the state supreme court to intervene. The court was simply asked to force the county officials to comply with their own laws.

Meanwhile, however, supporters of the campaign began additional petitioning to assure a place for the SWP on the ballot.

As of today, the court has refused to act. The county officials in the biggest cities have not completed the validation process.

### 'Personnel problem'

The San Francisco authorities' response to the SWP requests is indicative of the real attitude of these officials to election laws.

Officials there went so far as to admit that the law gave them just five days. But they argued that they shouldn't be obligated to follow the law. They said "it is physically impossible to verify and certify the signatures in that time period."

One of their arguments is that they do not have the personnel to check all the petitions.

They even raised the specter of the county's going bankrupt if they had to hire the personnel to check the socialist petitions!

### 'Checking' signatures

The counties have used highly questionable methods to check signatures. Alameda County officials have revised their validity rate on SWP petition signatures three times.

The validity rate is the number of signatures accepted by the county as compared with the total number submitted. Of the signatures handed in, many are ruled off arbitrarily.

People who have moved, or failed to vote in the last general election, are disqualified. Many registration affidavits are lost or misfiled. In

addition, the law prohibits people from signing more than one petition for the same office.

Ernest Mailhot, the Berkeley campaign manager, checked the signature processing in Alameda County. "In our first visit," he reported, "we were able to prove that more than 30 percent of all the signatures that the county had invalidated were actually good."

Mailhot emphasized, "More than 3,000 people were thereby arbitrarily denied the right to express support for the SWP candidates being on the ballot."

Alameda County officials have admitted that hundreds more signatures were accidentally disqualified by "overzealous" petition checkers.

San Francisco County has also had to recheck signatures. Campaign supporters who spot-checked signatures there were able to get them to boost the validity rate from their original claim of 65 percent to 80 percent.

"The registrar's office in San Francisco is totally disorganized," according to John Studer, the SWP organizer in San Francisco.

"There are at least eight different places that you must search to check each signature," said Studer. "We have unearthed enormous errors in the county's checking procedures."

In Los Angeles, county officials have ordered an unprecedented third recount after campaign supporters there found a 10 percent error in discarded signatures.

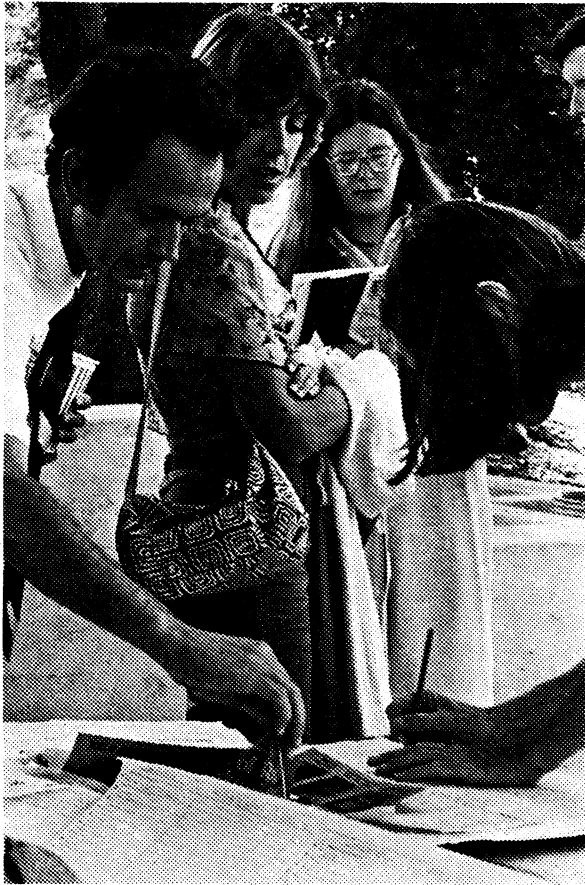
### Ask support

The state's refusal to obey the law and the huge inaccuracies in counting procedures reveal that the state and county officials are hostile to the effort of socialists to get on the California ballot.

It boils down to the fact that the Democrats and Republicans who run this state want to maintain their monopoly on the ballot. They don't want working people to have an alternative.

The deadline for certifying ballot status is September 8. The SWP is urging people who support democratic rights to join in efforts to pressure California officials to obey their own law and certify the Socialist Workers ticket.

Messages of support can be sent to Gov. Edmund Brown and Secretary of State March Fong Eu, State Building, Sacramento, California 95814.



Militant/Harry Ring

Peter Camejo at Los Angeles petitioning table. Socialist supporters collected more than 300,000 signatures.

## SWP to appear on D.C., South Dakota ballots

By Lucy Burton

September 1—In the past week the Socialist Workers party has been certified for the ballot in Washington, D.C., and South Dakota. The Virginia Socialist Workers Campaign Committee filed petitions August 26; this is the first time the SWP has sought ballot status in Virginia.

Petitions were also filed with the Iowa secretary of state, and petitioning was kicked off in Vermont on August 30.

Vermont requires 1,400 signatures. SWP supporters are aiming much higher to assure ballot status. As in all the New England states, Vermont requires that signatures be filed with the town clerks in all of the small towns for signature validation.

Petitioners must then collect the signatures and file them with the secretary of state before September 15. This same onerous requirement was met successfully in Massachusetts.

On the first day of petitioning in Vermont two signers took campaign literature and volunteered to aid the team.

The Indiana Socialist Workers Campaign Committee filed 8,666 signatures that had been validated by counties. This is more than the state's legal requirement, and certification is expected. A news conference announcing the SWP Indiana filing drew reporters from the Associated Press, United Press International, a major TV station, and two newspapers, according to *Militant* correspondent Ann Owens.

A situation is brewing in Delaware that means socialists must fight for ballot status there.

Delaware election officials have a record of hostility toward the efforts of smaller parties to qualify for the ballot. In 1972 the SWP presidential ticket was ruled off the ballot under a law that had been declared unconstitutional.

Last June 7, in an eleventh-hour attempt to keep independent parties off the ballot, a new law was signed into effect raising the number of required signatures. Despite it, several smaller parties tried to qualify. The SWP campaign committee filed 3,900 signatures in August, significantly more than the 2,600 required by law.

Then, on August 14, the Delaware *Morning News* carried the headline, "State checks report of campaign trickery." It said that "the Delaware attorney general's office is investigating complaints that minority party workers are tricking voters into signing petitions to place the parties on the ballot."

The *Morning News* continued, "A statement put out by the elections department yesterday did not identify the persons engaged in misleading activities, but sources said the charges involve at least three of the parties circulating petitions."

This smear campaign was answered by William Jewett of the Delaware Socialist Workers campaign committee. In a letter to the Delaware paper

Jewett said that the allegations "cast doubt upon the honesty and legitimacy of the efforts of the various parties . . . that had petitioned for ballot status in Delaware this year. The allegations of petitioning fraud, made by the New Castle County Department of Elections, were vague, so as to implicate all the independent parties."

### Camejo in Boston

BOSTON—Peter Camejo will open his fall campaign speaking tour here at a socialist rally September 10. Camejo will speak the following day in Providence, Rhode Island.

These are the first appearances on a national speaking tour that will take Camejo to more than twenty cities. The full details will be printed in a future *Militant*.

Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid will also be crossing the country. Reid's first appearances will be in Philadelphia.

Camejo's Boston rally will be at the Paulist Center Auditorium, 5 Park St., Friday, September 10, at 7 p.m. The Providence rally will be at the First Unitarian Church, 1 Benevolent St., at 7:30 p.m. (For more information call 401-783-0731.)

Willie Mae Reid's Philadelphia talks are announced on page 27.

Details about the supposed investigation by the attorney general's office, triggered by anonymous complaints, involving unnamed parties, are not readily available. When contacted by telephone, officials in the office said they knew nothing about it and referred a caller from the Socialist Workers campaign to a "higher up"—who was conveniently out of town on vacation for two weeks.

Whether there actually is such an investigation or whether the news story is simply scandal-mongering on the part of the department of elections remains to be seen.

Another ominous development is the vague and contradictory information that the department of elections has been giving the SWP about the process of checking the signatures filed last month. One official informed the SWP that signatures would be invalidated if they were missing so much as a middle initial, even if the first and last name and address were legible and recognizable as belonging to a duly registered voter.

But this report was contradicted by a different official who said that any signatures that are legible will be counted.

The Delaware campaign committee is circulating a letter among civil libertarians in the state calling for support to the ballot rights of the SWP and other smaller parties. It is also discussing a legal strategy to counter attempts to rule the SWP off the Delaware ballot.

# 55,000 New York petition signatures

By Ed Smith

NEW YORK—In an eleven-day effort Socialist Workers party campaign supporters here have collected more than 55,000 signatures to place the SWP on the November ballot.

The deadline for filing these signatures with the state authorities is September 13. "We plan to file the first day possible, September 7," Jay Ressler explained. Ressler is the director of the New York petition drive.

For all of the positions that the socialists are seeking, well over the legally required number of signatures were collected.

As against the requirement of 20,000 for the presidential, vice-presidential, and senatorial candidates, 34,000 signatures were collected.

Where 3,500 signatures are demanded by New York law for candidates for U.S. Congress, the SWP campaigners got: 7,200 for Patricia Wright in Brooklyn's Fourteenth Congressional District; 6,200 for Catarino Garza in Manhattan's Eighteenth Congressional District; and 5,900 for Keith Jones in Queens's Seventh Congressional District.

For Ruthann Miller, who is running as the SWP candidate in the Seventieth State Assembly District, more than 2,300 signatures were collected. 1,500 are required.

"It was the result of scores of people helping," Ressler said. "Almost 11,000 signatures were gathered by a full-time city-wide team of volunteers. Thirty-nine individuals volunteered a day or more to this team."

According to Ressler, most of the signatures came from New York City. About 1,000 signatures were collected in Albany.

A serious incident occurred on August 28. Petitioners for the Communist party harassed a lone SWP petitioner in Queens.

Kathleen Neese was collecting signatures for the Camejo-Reid ticket at 163rd Street and Jamaica Avenue.

Neese reported that three CP petitioners surrounded her, shouted sexist obscenities, and tried to physically prevent her from collecting signatures on that corner.

Neese said that one of the three, a man, told her, "You're really asking for it, missy. I'm gonna beat the shit out of you."

The CP petitioners accused Neese of "working for the FBI." This was the same charge that CP presidential candidate Gus Hall recently made against the Socialist Workers party in San Francisco (details on page 25).

In a mailgram of protest to Gus Hall, the New York SWP said, "We demand that you repudiate the charges and the use of physical violence and call on your members and supporters to unite in the struggle for fair ballot status for independent parties."

Neese said that she was able to discourage the three by appealing to the sympathy of bystanders:

"I started to yell. 'There are three of you and one of me. I have a democratic right to collect signatures on this street corner for my party, the SWP, and you three from the CP are really harassing me. I want democracy on this street corner!'"

"A crowd of people looked on, and I gained many signatures."

# Philadelphia city workers hit by city hall budget slashes

By Derrick Morrison

PHILADELPHIA—City workers here suffered a setback in August when they were forced to agree to a two-year contract that bars any wage increase in the first year.

The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees contract had been under negotiation since June 30 when the previous contract expired. Involved were 22,000 nonuniformed workers, ranging from clerks to sanitation workers, in AFSCME's District Council 33.

The new contract, imposed by the Democratic party administration of Mayor Frank Rizzo, promises a 7 percent increase and a partial cost-of-living allowance in the second year; Rizzo also promised there would be no layoffs.

This is the end result of District Council 33 President Earl Stout's policy of supporting Democrat Rizzo.

Rizzo encouraged the unions to "bank on Frank" last year when he signed a one-year contract last July giving the nonuniformed employees a 12.8 percent raise. He did so because he was running for reelection. The AFSCME leaders endorsed him.

But this year, in the wake of the city's financial crisis, Rizzo proved that only the banks could "bank on Frank." Rizzo's austerity program, the latest victims of which have been the city employees, has been tailored to satisfy bankers' demands.

In January, Lennox Moak, Rizzo's top financial adviser, announced the discovery of a deficit of \$80 million. To balance the budget and make Philadelphia municipal bonds a good investment for the rich, the Rizzo administration has announced the closing of Philadelphia General Hospital (PGH), the only public hospital in the city.

## Ranks rebel

Despite the crisis, and despite Rizzo's reputation in the Black community as a racist—a notoriety won when he was police chief—the AFSCME leaders, most of whom are Black, continued to "bank on Frank."

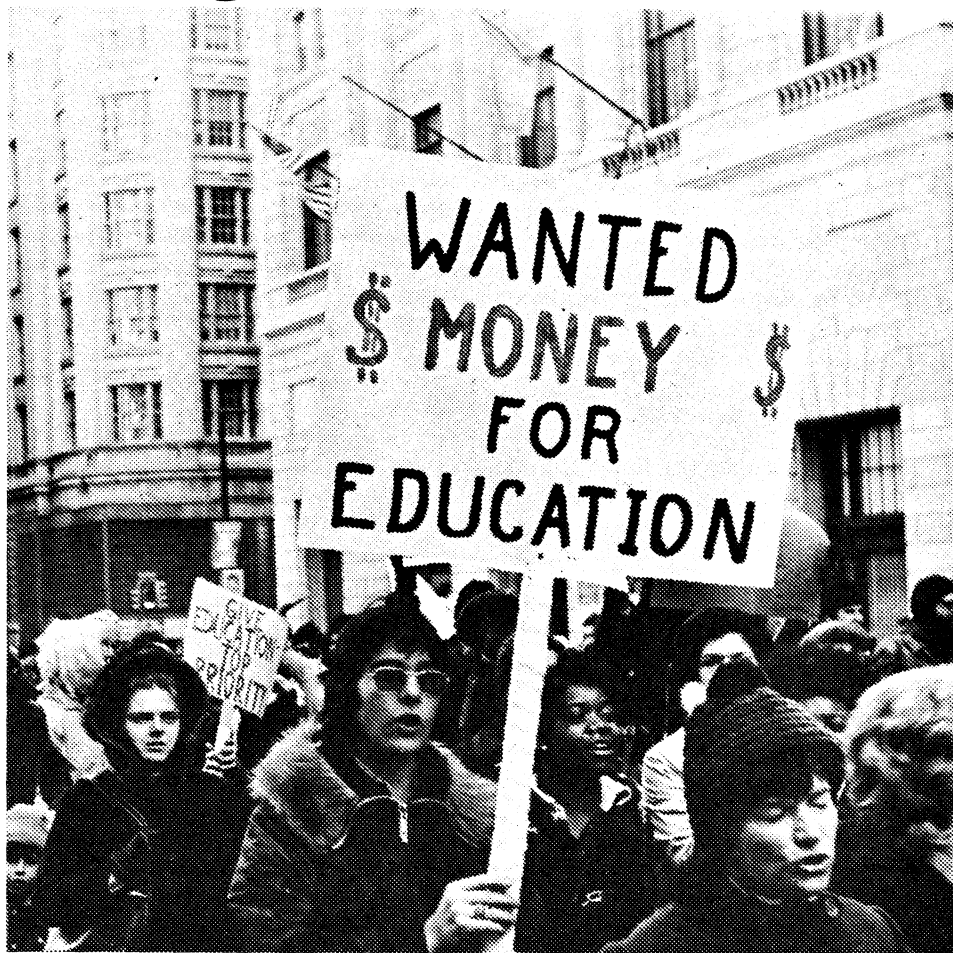
But it was otherwise with some of the union ranks. The AFSCME locals at PGH did not believe Rizzo's promise that when the hospital was closed in 1977 they would all be provided jobs elsewhere. They also wondered where the 236,000 Black and poor people who use the hospital yearly would go after the shutdown.

With these considerations in mind, the ranks generated enough heat within the union that District Council 33 called a "holiday" last February 25. More than 5,000 people marched to city hall that day.

The PGH locals continued the campaign after February 25 to "Save PGH" by forming an action coalition



FRANK RIZZO



Philadelphia teachers' strike, 1973. New strike may be forced by city hall-school board policies.

with the NAACP and other community organizations in West Philadelphia where the hospital is located. But at the same time the District Council 33 leadership stepped away from the issue.

It was around this time that Black and liberal Democrats in opposition to Rizzo began to organize the campaign to recall the mayor. This was their answer to Rizzo's austerity program.

But they did not offer any meaningful alternative to Rizzo. They too talked of the need for "trimming the budget."

A prominent leader of the recall forces was Charles Bowser, a liberal Black Democrat who ran against Rizzo last fall on the Philadelphia party ticket. His independent capitalist candidacy tried to get support from the rich by calling for layoffs to "rationalize" the city's finances.

Because of their illusions in the recall campaign, many saw signing the recall petition, rather than direct action, as the way to oppose Rizzo and his policies.

The recall forces eventually collected 211,190 signatures. But city commissioners voted two to one on August 24 to validate only 88,894 signatures, about 60,000 below the number required to get the proposal on the ballot.

Most signatures were invalidated by specious, undemocratic procedures. More than 20,000 signatures were stricken because signers did not use their middle initials as they had when they registered to vote.

The initiators of the petition are appealing the case, beginning a long legal battle that will probably go to the state supreme court.

Any union going up against the city administration has to find a way to gain the support of and move into action those people who are most affected by the cuts: the Black community and the Puerto Rican community—about half the city's population.

But the AFSCME leaders have failed to put forward a strategy to accomplish this. They called for a slowdown and then refusal of all overtime work. But this did not put the kind of pressure on the city that could have been exerted through a strike.

Furthermore, the situation required a campaign by the union to explain the crisis and how working people are its

victims. It required the perspective of educating, agitating, and mobilizing the Black community and other potential allies.

Those involved in such a campaign would begin to see as logical and sensible such demands as opening the financial books of the Rizzo administration for examination by union accountants; ending all debt service payments to the banks; taxing the property and income of the rich and not the wages and homes of the workers; saving PGH; and linking the city's crisis to the crisis in the national economy by demanding billions for public works and construction, not for war and destruction.

Actions by working people in defense of their basic needs and natural rights can pose the question of the need for the union movement to break politically with Rizzo and the big-business interests he represents, to break with the Democratic party, and to launch a movement to build a party of the city workers and all workers, a labor party.

Building such a movement may seem distant and far off. But it is the only realistic political course for working people to protect themselves from the decline and breakdown of the profit system. After all, the banks and corporate rich have two political parties for the defense of their interests: the Democrats and Republicans. The workers have no political line of defense at this time.

## Teachers threatened

As we go to press a fight is shaping up between the School District of Philadelphia, backed by city hall, and the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, which represents 14,000 teachers and 8,000 nonteaching employees in the public school system.

The contract expired August 31. The school board has claimed a budget deficit of \$66 million.

As in the AFSCME settlement discussed on this page, the board is trying to freeze teachers out of first-year wage increases.

Future issues of the *Militant* will cover details of this struggle.



## AFT meets in Bal Harbour

# Teachers convention: desegregation forces

By Jeff Mackler

BAL HARBOUR, Fla.—The issue of school busing proved to be a central question at the sixtieth annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

Albert Shanker, president of the 450,000-member teachers union, used to come to AFT conventions assured that his policies would be reaffirmed with little or no debate. Democratic party candidates were enthusiastically endorsed, civil rights resolutions were routinely crushed (often with barely

*Jeff Mackler is organizer of the Hayward Federation of Teachers, Local 1423, and a national coordinator of the AFT Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education. He was a delegate to this year's AFT convention.*

disguised racist demagoguery), and opposition views were usually allowed only a few moments' expression before the Shanker machine moved to close off debate.

This year's convention was different. Shanker's reliance on the Democratic party has been put to the acid test. The resulting massive defeats suffered by his own local in New York City and by locals in the rest of the United States opened the door for the first time to a real debate on alternative strategies for the teachers union movement.

The AFT leadership's failure to respond to the sweeping attacks on the affirmative-action gains won in public education by the civil rights movement, and their refusal to participate in the struggle for school desegregation through busing, led the great majority of Black delegates to begin to challenge Shanker's racist policies.

The beginning of an awareness of the nature of the Democratic party, combined with the struggle to maintain and expand the gains of the civil rights movement, resulted in a five-day convention that for the first time in a decade gave serious consideration to views other than those officially sanctioned by the misleadership of Shanker and Company.

### Desegregation committee

A key factor in opening this debate was the formation of the AFT Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education, an ad hoc group of AFT leaders who set out to reverse the AFT's "no position" on school busing adopted at last year's convention in Hawaii. For the past year this committee worked to gain support for a strong probusing resolution.

Endorsed by some 200 officers of AFT locals throughout the country, the committee's resolution was officially submitted to the convention by the California Federation of Teachers and the Washington Teachers Union and other locals. On the eve of the convention the Shanker forces still had no position on busing to present to the delegates.

When leaders of the AFT Committee

on Desegregation and Equality in Education arrived at the convention, they found their plans to actively participate in convention proceedings were in jeopardy.

Months before the convention opened, the committee had made reservations with the national AFT office for large meeting rooms and a convention booth alongside other AFT caucuses. Such facilities have traditionally been made available to caucus groupings.

Since the committee had scheduled a special convention forum with Mike Myers, assistant director of the NAACP, and prepared some 20,000 pieces of literature dealing with school desegregation and busing, the loss of these facilities would have made it extremely difficult for the committee to function.

AFT officials unexpectedly insisted that the committee collect the signatures of 10 percent of all the delegates in order to be granted caucus status. A measure of the support for the committee's resolution was its ability to collect double this amount in a matter of hours. Some 430 delegates signed the necessary forms to ensure the committee's right to function.

### Probusing battle

The battle to pass a strong probusing resolution then shifted to the Human Rights Committee of the convention, the body assigned the job of dealing with all resolutions submitted to the delegates dealing with civil rights. Committee recommendations on these resolutions are then reported to the plenary sessions.

To the astonishment of the 120 delegates assigned to this committee, the chairperson reported that the body could not deal with the desegregation committee's resolution because the AFT Executive Council was meeting in special session to prepare its own resolution for the consideration of the committee.

This procedure was in clear violation of the AFT constitution, which provides that the convention committees can only consider those resolutions submitted three weeks prior to the convention and printed in the official resolutions booklet. Shanker's delegates on the committee delayed consideration of the busing issue until the next meeting.

On reconvening the committee, Velma Hill, an AFT vice-president and top Shanker aide, presented the substitute resolution drafted by the executive council. Despite its weak language and equivocation in key areas, the deceptively worded resolution represented a clear concession to the probusing forces.

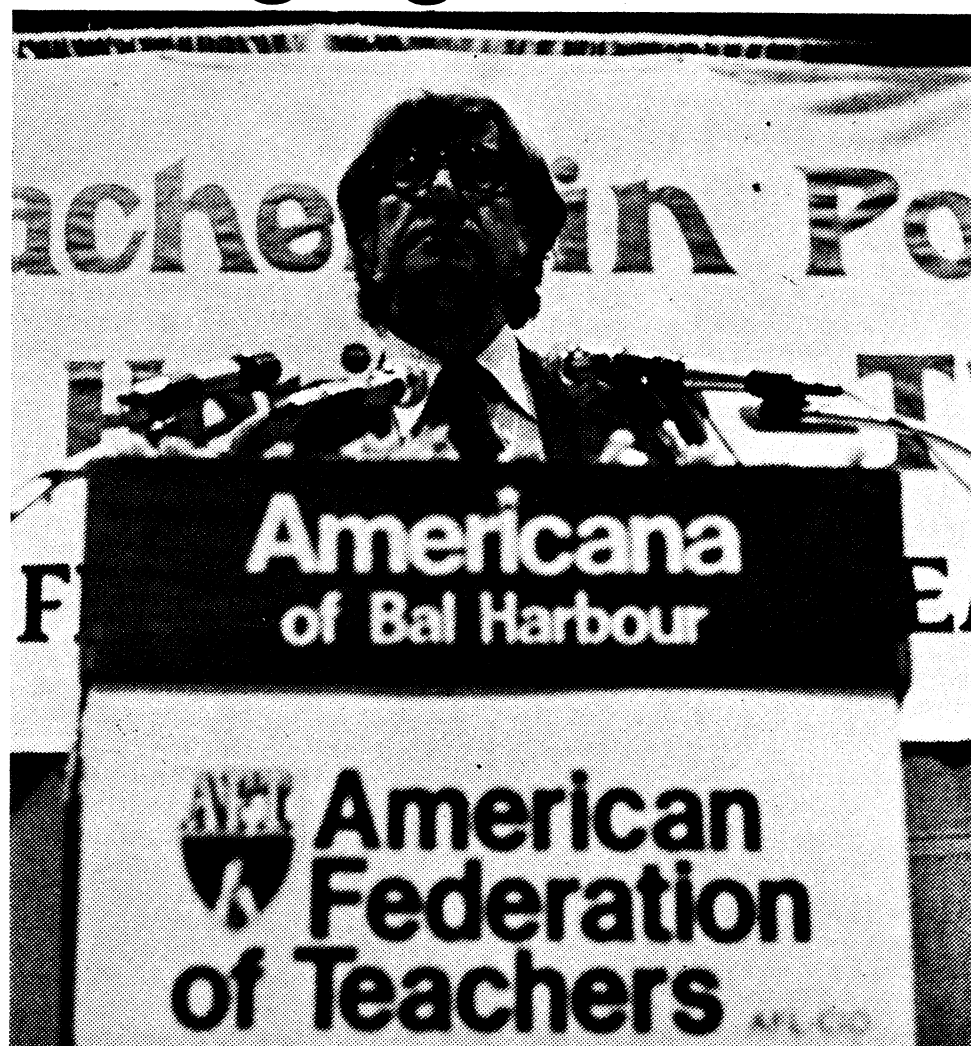
The executive council resolution opposed "efforts to legislate prohibitions against busing" and also opposed any constitutional amendment to prevent busing.

On the other hand it cautioned that busing "must not be viewed as an overall panacea for solving the problems of school integration but simply one appropriate remedial tool." The resolution continued, "Other approaches might include the use of magnet schools, open enrollment, pairing, rezoning, modified feeder patterns and metropolitan cooperation."

### Phony remedies

Most of these additional "remedies" to desegregate schools have been discussed and implemented for the past twenty years with little or no success. In some cases the so-called remedies were employed to delay desegregation, virtually indefinitely.

Dependent on "voluntary cooperation" or "good will" or on the allocation of additional funds, Shanker's "remedies" are frequently used by antibusing forces, including school



ALBERT SHANKER

Militant/Lou Howort

boards, to violate desegregation orders.

The executive council resolution further qualified its support to desegregation in stating that "measures to integrate schools must be accompanied by massive infusion of funds to upgrade programs since no parent from any race or group will want to send a child to an inferior school."

In other words, keep the schools segregated until we get the money to make them all better. While there is no doubt that massive expenditures of funds are needed for public education, the fact remains that Black students are now the main victims of inferior schools, and have been the victims for centuries.

Shanker's cleverly worded expression of concern for all children amounts to maintaining the status quo until times are better and more money is available.

This position was clearly expressed in the final section of the executive council resolution. It stated that "efforts to accomplish school integration by busing alone are inadequate unless other actions are taken and commitments made. The real hope for integration lies in the direction of greater cooperation between cities and their surrounding suburbs. Regional planning, open housing, the creation of equal job opportunities, and urban industrial development are essential components of any comprehensive integration plan."

Yes, but what happens tomorrow when racist school boards, like the Boston School Committee, are ordered to desegregate by busing? The Boston AFT local opposed the busing plan. Shanker's task force assigned to study the situation backed their decision with the same kind of rhetoric found in the executive council resolution.

With the exception of Velma Hill, all speakers in the Human Rights Committee argued in favor of the desegregation committee's resolution, which fully supported desegregation now without equivocation.

The executive council's substitute resolution passed. But with the exception of the Shanker hard core, all others, including the overwhelming number of Black delegates (who comprised about one-third of the committee), voted for the stronger resolution.

Disturbed by the bureaucratic practices of the Shanker machine, the equivocal language of the executive council resolution, and the absence of a clear call for the full intervention of federal troops to protect Black students subjected to racist attacks, many angry delegates returned to their local and state federation caucuses to fight for the stronger resolution.

Representatives of the desegregation committee spoke before several key delegation meetings, where they explained the differences between the two resolutions.

Support continued to mount for the stronger resolution as thousands of leaflets were passed out daily explaining every aspect of the busing question.

Increasing numbers of delegates were seen wearing the desegregation committee's button, "200 Years of Racism is Enough! Desegregate Now."

When Black delegates from Shanker's own New York local, as well as delegates from other large locals traditionally allied with Shanker, endorsed the desegregation committee's resolution, it was clear that the issue of busing and the AFT's responsibility to stand up to the mounting racist attacks on school desegregation now was a central issue before the convention.

As expected, the Shanker machine began organizing to ensure passage of their resolution. Delegation meetings were informed that Shanker's "Progressive Caucus" considered defeat of the desegregation committee's resolution its top priority.

But in spite of these pressures the AFT Black Caucus, in a meeting of some ninety delegates, voted to endorse the stronger resolution and approached the desegregation committee to work jointly for its passage.

### Thursday maneuvers

The debate on the busing issue came to the floor on Thursday, the next to the last day of the convention. Early in the agenda the Shanker forces introduced a special order of business to provide fifteen minutes' time to the president of the Boston AFT local, Henry Robinson, and the past president, John Dougherty, to explain the "truth" about the role of the Boston local in the desegregation confronta-

## Opposition to Carter

To no one's surprise the Shanker leadership of the AFT got through a resolution endorsing Democrat Jimmy Carter for president. But some were surprised when a series of delegates spoke from the floor against the Carter endorsement. They favored teachers and the labor movement forming a new political party based on the unions.

More on this aspect of the convention will appear in a future *Militant*.



# fight for strong probusing union stand

tion. Robinson and Dougherty utterly falsified the reactionary role of the Boston AFT leadership in relation to the events in that city.

After these presentations the Shanker forces proceeded to move rapidly through the agenda to get to the last item, the resolution on busing. But as their floor leaders moved from microphone to microphone, they discovered that supporters of the stronger resolution were seated close to the mikes, where they would be able to immediately introduce the desegregation committee's substitute resolution.

Shanker's strategy had been to immediately move to amend his own resolution with a minor change in order to keep the stronger resolution off the floor and keep the debate around insignificant issues. But lacking ready access to the six floor mikes and still not confident that they had lined up their full strength, the Shanker forces moved to adjourn the session, to the dismay of the many delegates who thought that they were in for a one-day vacation. Conventions have normally adjourned a day early, making this possible.

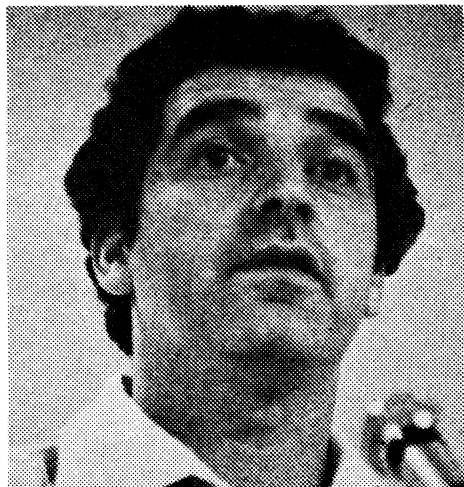
## The Friday debate

Phyllis Calech, a delegate from the Berkeley Federation of Teachers, was the first to take the floor the next morning. Calech moved to substitute the desegregation committee resolution for the resolution of the executive council, and the debate began. Calech proceeded to explain why federal troops must intervene to oppose racist violence in opposition to busing.

The next several speakers also patiently explained other key issues in the busing dispute.

They told why it is necessary to desegregate schools now rather than wait until more money appears to provide better education for all students.

A high point came when Robert Pearlman, a member of the Boston delegation, set the record straight on the real role of the Boston AFT. To the amazement and displeasure of the Boston Shankerites, Pearlman explained that the Boston AFT had assumed the role of "neutrals" between the pro- and antibusing forces, and



JEFF MACKLER

had formally opposed the second year of court-ordered desegregation in Boston.

Pearlman's remarks scored the refusal of the Boston AFT to intervene in the proceedings of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO when that body adopted an antibusing position and joined with racist forces to organize antibusing demonstrations.

In his detailed and moving presentation, Pearlman discussed the real responsibilities of the labor movement regarding their obligation to join and lead the battle to prevent antibusing racists from brutalizing Black students.

A few minutes later, Boston AFT President Robinson took the floor to denounce Pearlman's remarks. Robinson said that Pearlman would be dealt with when his delegation got back to Boston.

Finally, Shanker's key floor leader for the debate, AFT Vice-president Velma Hill, rose to defend the Shanker resolution.

Hill argued that this resolution was more "comprehensive" and that it indeed was a strong resolution. She didn't bother to explain why. The debate ended as expected, and the Shanker machine carried the vote by a significant majority.

To understand this vote, it's helpful to look at a few statistics. Of the 2,300 delegates attending the convention, nearly 600 were from the New York City local. Almost 75 percent of the



JACQUELINE SHILOH

2,100 AFT locals did not send delegates to the convention. This is usually because of the huge costs involved and a feeling that the outcome is predetermined.

Thus, AFT conventions tend to be dominated by the small number of big-city locals that have traditionally allied with Shanker.

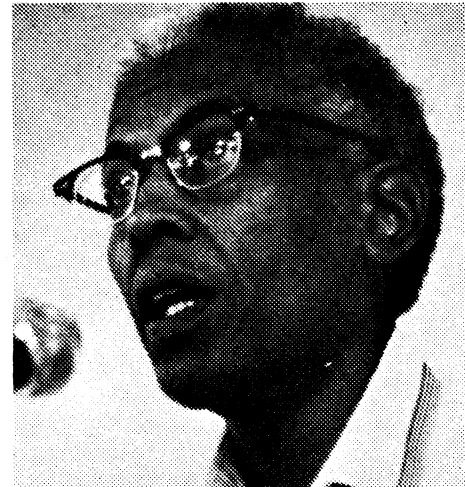
In the face of this Shanker-controlled bloc, a debate was forced—the first in a decade.

The great majority of Black delegates fought on the side of the desegregation committee resolution and broke with their delegations despite heavy pressure.

It was their willingness to challenge Shanker's racist policies that opened the door for a real discussion. Backers of the desegregation committee resolution forced small but important concessions from the Shanker misleaders despite their desire to continue to rule with an iron hand.

In past years, for example, resolutions dealing with racist frame-ups such as the Gary Tyler case were killed with little or no debate. This year the convention was compelled to pass a powerful resolution condemning the frame-up of Gary Tyler. The resolution was authored by Jacqueline Shiloh, who spoke for the New Orleans local.

Another concession was the inclusion of Bill Simons on Shanker's slate for the thirty AFT vice-presidents. Simons, the president of the Washing-



BILL SIMONS

Militant/Lou Howort

ton, D.C., local, was one of the national coordinators of the desegregation committee. He is a long-standing opponent of Shanker, especially in the areas of civil rights and union democracy.

Simons's entire delegation supported the desegregation committee resolution and Simons appeared as a keynote speaker at a forum with the NAACP, which was sponsored by the committee during the convention.

While the desegregation committee functioned as a nonpartisan caucus, taking no positions in relation to the elections during the convention, many of its supporters appreciated Simons's role during the past year in building support for a strong probusing resolution.

Shanker and his slate of thirty vice-presidents were elected with virtually no opposition. But it is clear that the beginnings of an alternative to Shanker's policies emerged at this convention.

Shanker's refusal to deal with the mounting attacks on education and school desegregation will remain a key issue for AFT militants in the future. The AFT Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education plans to continue to educate AFT members on the need for the full intervention of the labor movement into the struggle against racism in education. A good start was made at this year's convention, and many delegates will carry the battle back to their locals.

## NAACP's Myers: 'The bus is us'

By Joel Aber

BAL HARBOUR, Fla.—"The issue is racism, the bus is us," said Michael Myers, assistant director of the NAACP, speaking before nearly 200 delegates at a forum sponsored by the AFT Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education. The forum was held Tuesday night, the second day of the August 16-20 Bal Harbour convention.

"Forty percent of all students in the United States today are bused to school each day, only 3 percent of these for the purpose of school desegregation," Myers continued. Myers proceeded to expose the racist nature of the concerted drive to prevent school busing. In a review of the work of the NAACP in this area, he explained how local school boards had systematically avoided complying with the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision.

The result has been the maintenance of inferior, segregated schools for Black students. Myers stressed the urgency of school busing as the key remedy to end inferior education for Blacks and explained how other so-called desegregation tools had often been used to block desegregation.

Myers's remarks were in sharp contrast to those of the convention keynote speaker the day before, Bayard Rustin.

Rustin stated, "It is a tragic thing to admit, but we have now got to see that the basic problem is economic.

The reality is that if you went into every major city tomorrow morning and turned every minority person who is not white, white—his condition essentially would not change."

"The issue is class, not race," according to Rustin. He also spoke at last year's convention, when he was assigned the task of convincing delegates to support Shanker's "no position" on school busing.

Phyllis Calech, the chairwoman of the forum and a delegate from the Berkeley Federation of Teachers, re-



MICHAEL MYERS

Militant/Lou Howort

ported on the results of school busing to desegregate schools in Berkeley. Calech reported that the reading and math scores of both Black and white students had improved as a result of desegregation.

Jeff Mackler, a national coordinator of the AFT Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education, discussed the responsibility of the AFT to fully support the battle for school desegregation.

"In virtually every major city in the United States, a real alliance between teachers and parents to fight against racist cutbacks and firings is dependent on the AFT and the labor movement leading the fight against racism in education," Mackler said.

Panelist Jacqueline Shiloh, executive board member of the United Teachers of New Orleans, discussed the efforts of her local in support of school desegregation.

Bill Simons, president of the Washington, D.C., Teachers Union, spoke on the relationship of the school busing fight to the civil rights movement in general. "If those who would reverse the decisions which ordered busing should prevail, this would be but a prelude to the erosion that would follow in other areas. In rapid succession, the domino theory would become a reality. One by one each of the recently won civil rights would be under attack. This cannot be permitted to happen."

# St. Louis Black youth fights murder charge

By Liz Jayko

ST. LOUIS—"I felt Gerald had no chance after seeing that the jury was all-white."

"It's racism as far as I'm concerned."

Helen Black was talking about the frame-up of her eighteen-year-old son.

An all-white St. Louis County jury convicted Gerald Garrett of second-degree murder on February 28, 1976.

In 1973, Garrett's family moved to an all-white subdivision of Olivette in St. Louis County. They faced a three-year campaign of harassment and threats. The indictment and conviction of Gerald Garrett for murder was, according to Helen Black, "a continuation of the harassment we have encountered; it was nothing new to us."

Garrett was convicted of murdering Estelle Stern, a wealthy real estate owner. Garrett and a friend had mowed her lawn three days before she was stabbed to death on May 19, 1975.

To this day the prosecution has been unable to establish why Garrett would have killed the woman. According to press accounts, the motive was robbery. But after Garrett's indictment it was determined that none of the readily available cash or jewelry was missing from the house.

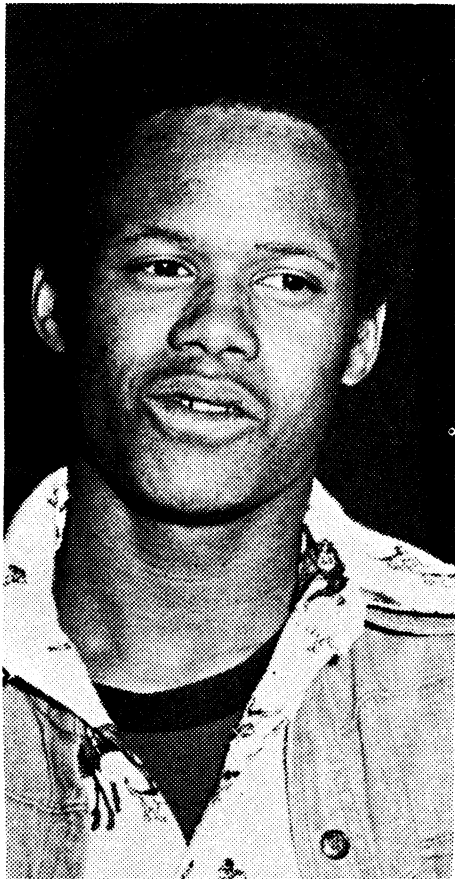
When St. Louis County police began their investigation, they seized on the fact that the last check Stern wrote was to Garrett for cutting the grass. But the police had to prove that Garrett was at Mrs. Stern's on Monday, May 19, 1975, and that he murdered her.

Since they couldn't prove it, the police used conflicting and questionable circumstantial evidence. For instance, the investigating officers changed their estimate of the time of death four times before the trial.

No one could determine the actual time of death because the body was allowed to remain where it was found for six hours before an autopsy was performed. The medical examiner who viewed the body right after it was discovered did not testify at the trial.

When police dusted the house for fingerprints, they found none belonging to the victim—who lived in the house. They did find one of Garrett's fingerprints. That was the only evidence cops used when they first arrested him. Ten days after his arrest the police claimed they found a second print near the body.

At the trial, five witnesses testified to Gerald Garrett's whereabouts on the day of the murder. All have been accused of lying by Assistant Prosecu-



Militant/Pat Hayes  
**GERALD GARRETT:** Convicted by all-white jury for murder he did not commit.

tor Steven Goldman, but none have been charged with perjury.

The jury in Garrett's trial was composed of older whites, including four ex-cops. After they brought in a guilty verdict, the judge sentenced Garrett to thirty years in prison.

Authorities released Garrett on \$35,000 bond pending appeal of his conviction. He is now waiting for the Missouri Court of Appeals to set a date to hear arguments on a motion for a new trial.

Gerald Garrett's August 1975 indictment on the murder charge took place six months after Sgt. Robert Terry of the Olivette Police Department promised Garrett that "we'll get you."

This "Get Gerald Garrett" campaign is only a part of the harassment against Helen Black and her six children. In the three years since they moved to the Fairlight Downs section of Olivette, Gerald Garrett has been falsely accused of stealing a bicycle, breaking into a house, and other crimes. He was fired from his job after his conviction.

People have tampered with Helen Black's car on two occasions, once slashing all four tires. And several times city officials have come to Helen Black's home to complain of "excessive noise."

In one letter sent to Black, officials complained about a party at her house. The letter stated: "This is a quiet, private residential area, and we intend to keep it that way."

"Some people feel like we really intruded," Helen Black says. "One lady told me that she had lived here thirty years and that they had done okay till we moved in."

"And it's not only happening here," Black added. "Take the busing issue in Boston. When you 'intrude,' then you have to pay for it."

"It's not a thing that's just going to pass. It's a struggle and it's going to be a fight—whether it's moving into an all-white subdivision or busing or whatever."

The Defense Committee to Free Gerald Garrett, set up in August 1975 by Helen Black, some close friends, and initial supporters, has all intentions of fighting until Gerald Garrett is free.

An important addition to the defense committee and the legal team is Howard Moore, a nationally prominent Black lawyer who was Angela Davis's chief counsel.

# Attica strike ends as state promises reforms

By José G. Pérez

The 2,000 prisoners at New York's Attica prison, site of the famous 1971 rebellion, ended a six-day strike August 28 after winning some concessions.

The root cause of the present strike is the same as that which prompted the rebellion five years ago: prisoners want to be treated as human beings, not beasts.

As in 1971, a central target of the inmate protest is racism. About 70 percent of the prisoners are Black or Latino.

But unlike 1971, when then-Gov. Nelson Rockefeller drowned the prisoners' protests in blood, this time state officials negotiated a settlement with leaders of the strike.

According to press reports based on statements from prison officials, the settlement included the following:

- Relaxation of visitation rules so that prisoners will be allowed to touch, hug, and kiss people who come to see them. Prisoners will be allowed to wear normal clothing during visits.
- A promise to relocate many of the prisoners in facilities closer to their homes.

About 60 percent of the prisoners come from New York City, which is hundreds of miles away.

- Daily showers, instead of twice a week.
- Expanded telephone privileges.
- A promise to reduce prison population by 300.
- Curtailment of rectal and strip searches.
- More Spanish-language books, films, and personnel.
- No reprisals against prisoners for taking part in the protest.

According to visitors to the facility, prisoners were sharply divided on whether to end the strike or press for further concessions.

The sticking point apparently was inmate demands that would require legislative action.

Prisoners and officials agreed that the state corrections department would forward recommendations to limit prison terms to the governor and state legislature. The prisoners wanted a firmer commitment that the proposal would receive serious consideration.

Reporters were not allowed to interview prisoners during the strike. One state official involved in negotiations said much of what was reported during the protest was only "half true."

What the concessions by the state will mean remains to be seen. A constant focus of prisoner protests has been racist treatment by guards, who are reportedly "furious" about the concessions. Even before the strike had been formally ended, visitors to prisoners told reporters about numerous incidents of harassment.

Also, during and after the 1971 rebellion, state officials made many promises of reforms at Attica.

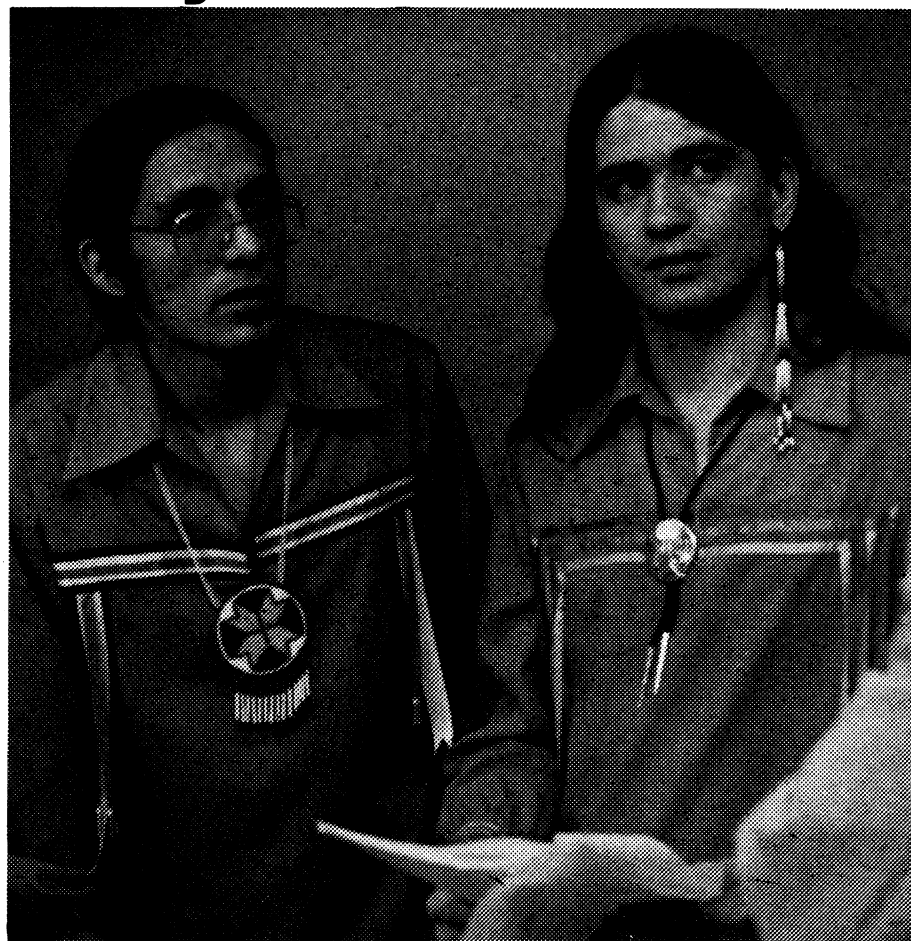
However, prisoners have charged that conditions have not improved since that time.

As the Attica strike was ending, similar strikes broke out in two other New York State prisons.

Prisoners at Great Meadow prison began what officials acknowledged is a "very well organized" protest August 30. It is 90 percent effective. The issue, according to one prisoner quoted in press reports, is that two inmates were "brutally beaten" by guards.

The following day, 1,200 of the 1,750 prisoners at Green Haven prison refused to report for afternoon work details to dramatize demands for "a total reform of the criminal justice system."

## Skyhorse-Mohawk



The Studio/Ted Schultz

Paul Skyhorse (left) and Richard Mohawk, American Indian Movement activists, are in the first stages of a murder trial in Ventura, just north of Los Angeles. There is mounting evidence that they are the victims of a frame-up that is part of a government conspiracy to destroy AIM. They are charged with murdering a cab driver at a camp used by AIM members. The two prosecution witnesses who claim to have seen Skyhorse and Mohawk kill the cab driver are both deeply involved: Both rode in the slain driver's cab and reportedly had bloodstains on their clothes; both have been let off on lesser charges. In addition, a third government witness turns out to have been an FBI operative inside AIM.



Militant/Pat Hayes

**HELEN BLACK:** Her family has been constantly harassed since moving to white area.



# World Outlook

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

SEPTEMBER 10, 1976

## South Africa's phony decolonization of Namibia

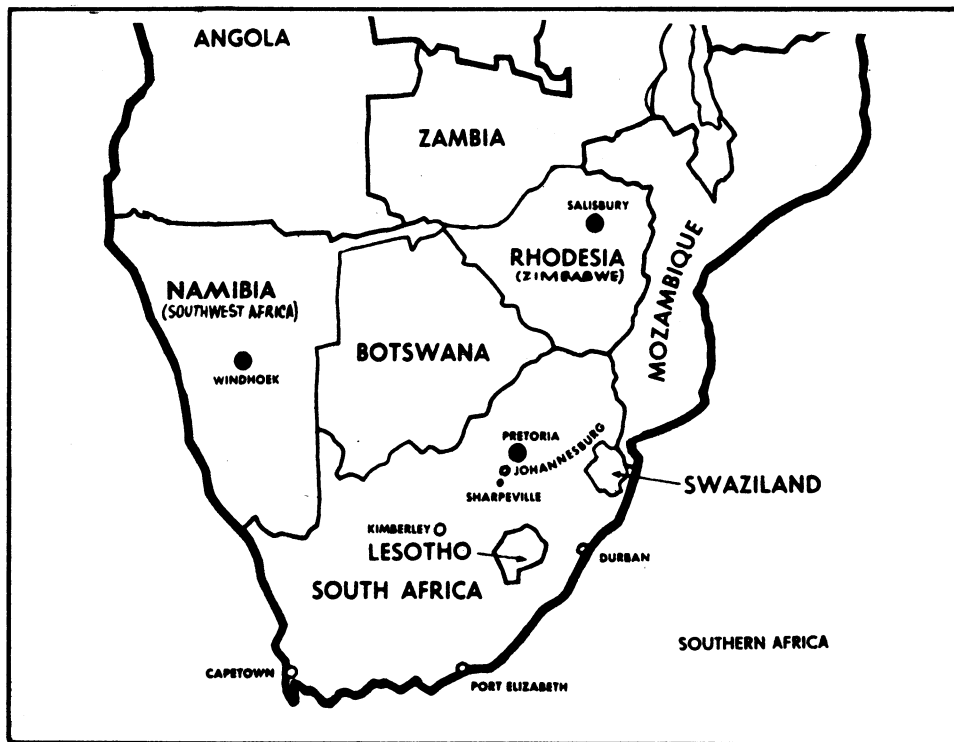
[The following is from the News Analysis section of *Intercontinental Press*.]

By Ernest Harsch

Faced with continuing Black upheavals in the major cities of South Africa, the racist white minority regime is developing a two-sided strategy for the survival of apartheid. At home, it is intensifying the repression, gunning down and arresting hundreds of Black militants. At the same time, Pretoria is seeking to defuse the mounting social conflicts in Namibia and Zimbabwe for fear that the Black freedom struggles in those countries will further encourage Blacks in South Africa.

On August 18, Pretoria took its first major step along these lines in Namibia, which it has ruled as a direct colony since World War I. A group of white officials and African tribal chiefs who had been meeting in a "constitutional" conference in Windhoek announced plans for a "multiracial" government that would lead the country to formal independence by December 31, 1978. The timing of the announcement was designed to forestall United Nations sanctions. The UN had set an August 31 deadline for Pretoria to announce plans for free elections in the territory.

The statement, however, made no mention of elections, nor did it provide any details on the form of "multiracial" government to be adopted. While reversing Pretoria's previous policy of partitioning Namibia—with the Africans getting the impoverished north and the whites the mineral-rich south—the statement nevertheless stressed that "provision will be made for the adequate protection of minority groups." In other words, it aims at



safeguarding the near total economic domination of both the white settlers, who comprise about 12 percent of the population, and Pretoria's imperialist allies.

The main Namibian nationalist group, the South West Africa People's Organisation, which was excluded from the talks, rejected Pretoria's scheme the following day. Pastor Festus Naholo, SWAPO's secretary for foreign affairs, called for African and international condemnation of the move.

SWAPO representatives have stated that before the group is willing to negotiate with Pretoria, the Vorster regime must withdraw all its army and police units from Namibia, release all Namibian political prisoners, and recognize the territorial integrity of Namibia.

The "constitutional" conference and the "independence" maneuver are in fact a cover for Pretoria's stepped-up war against the Namibian freedom fighters. In the last three weeks of June, it declared that its forces had killed twenty-six guerrillas, a sharp rise over previous months.

Pretoria clearly intends to break the back of the guerrilla resistance before granting the colony its "independence."

On August 13, several days before the announcement on Namibia, Pretoria also formally endorsed Kissinger's efforts to head off the overthrow of the Rhodesian regime by imposing a negotiated "settlement" on the Zimbabwean masses.

South African Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller declared that "the

South African Government welcomes this initiative. . . ." Citing the "fruitful discussions" between Vorster and Kissinger in June and a speech delivered by Kissinger on August 2, Muller added that there was "no doubt that the United States is not advocating the complete and unconditional surrender of the white minority in Rhodesia to the black majority."

Muller's speech came just a few days after a sharp increase in the fighting in Zimbabwe. On August 8, a mechanized unit of the Rhodesian army crossed the border into neighboring Mozambique and attacked a Zimbabwean camp at Nyazonia. According to the Salisbury regime, its forces killed more than 300 guerrillas, 30 Mozambican troops, and 10 civilians. The Mozambique regime charged, however, that the Rhodesians had massacred 618 persons, most of whom were Zimbabwean refugees.

The American imperialists are also concerned about the impact the Zimbabwean conflict could have throughout the region. In an August 2 speech, Kissinger admitted that Washington is "engaged in frequent consultations with the African states most directly concerned." The aim of those "consultations" is to get the neocolonial African regimes bordering Zimbabwe to pressure the guerrillas into a compromise.

However, a powerful new force that could upset all of Washington's and Pretoria's schemes has entered the arena: the Black masses of South Africa. The militancy and courage displayed by the youths of Soweto and other Black townships can only inspire the Blacks of Namibia and Zimbabwe to press forward with the struggle to rid their countries of white colonial rule.

## Repression against Argentine socialists

[Following are excerpts from an interview with Julio Mendoza, a leader of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The interview first appeared in the August 19 *Red Weekly*, a revolutionary-socialist newspaper in Great Britain.]

**Question.** What is the purpose of your visit to Britain?

**Answer.** The aim of my visit is to try to launch an international campaign to save the lives of Jose Francisco Paez and Arturo Apaza, worker militants and leading members of our party. Paez is now in jail in Cordoba, while Arturo Apaza has disappeared after being detained by military forces at his workplace.

These two comrades symbolise the

hundreds of members of the PST who have been jailed, kidnapped and persecuted in one way or another, often having to leave their jobs and their homes. I am here to stress the need for your solidarity in developing a campaign to demand from the Argentinian Government guarantees for the life of Paez, and the immediate location of Arturo Apaza.

We are asking for public statements from MPs, trade unions, political organizations, well-known personalities, artists, etc., addressed to General Videla demanding that the lives of these two comrades be saved.

**Q.** What is the present level of repression in Argentina?

**A.** Well, of course there was already repression under the Peronist regime.

For the last two years the PST has been a particular target of the ultra-right terror gangs which operate with complete immunity. The vast majority of the PST's regional offices were bombed, and 15 leading members had been killed by the time of the coup in March. Since then these gangs have continued with their actions, also murdering 'political refugees' from neighbouring countries.

Our party has been banned, our national headquarters were occupied by the army, over 100 comrades are in jail—most of them working class leaders—while others have disappeared during the actions carried out by the armed forces in the factories, offices and working class housing areas.

To give you one example, we are almost certain of the death of our comrade Carlos Agustin Falcon, an activist in a Buenos Aires factory. He was detained with two other shop stewards in the factory, taken to a place where other comrades were already detained, and brutally tortured. Since then we have heard nothing about him or the other two comrades.

The fourth issue of a legal fortnightly, *La Yerca*, which guardedly expressed the orientation of the PST, was seized by the police—showing the Government's determination to stop its publication.

Jose Francisco Paez, whom I've already mentioned—he's been detained since January—has written to us telling how a number of detainees are taken from their cells during the night and are found dead next morning, with the Government declaring that they 'died during gun battles between the armed forces and the guerrillas'. Although most of these people had been accused of being members of the guerrilla movement, Paez says that one recent victim had no connection with any such organisation. This suggests that his own life is in serious danger.

As for comrade Apaza, he was detained along with other comrades by uniformed officers of the armed forces in the presence of many witnesses—including the owners of the factory. However, in spite of requests by his family, comrades and even the factory owners, no official body will admit that he is a detainee.



## Hugo Blanco: 'How I was deported from Peru'

By Hugo Blanco

I had traveled to Cuzco on June 21. I was living in Lima, and I went to Cuzco to participate in a public gathering of my federation—the provincial peasant federation in La Convención and Lares.

This federation is made up of about 100 peasant unions in the La Convención and Lares area of the department of Cuzco. Among those unions is the one I belong to—the Chaupimayo union. I am also a member of the national executive committee of the Confederación Campesina del Perú [CCP—Peruvian Peasant Federation].

I had reached Cuzco on the twenty-first, and on the twenty-fourth I went to the public demonstration. It was not the only demonstration held, because June 24 is the Day of the Peasantry and there are demonstrations in various places.

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**'From the moment I arrived in Peru nine months ago, there was always at least one police car, at times two or three, in front of my house. Everywhere I went, the police followed me. During the nine months I was in Peru, I did absolutely nothing illegal. I expressed my point of view on the government, on what the government was doing. But according to what the Peruvian government says, this is legal. I have done nothing more than exercise the right to criticize.'**

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The demonstration I attended had the appropriate authorization of the provincial authorities. That is, there was absolutely nothing illegal about it. Permission had been requested in writing and it had been granted.

The police even knew I was going to Cuzco to speak at the demonstration in Quillabamba, the capital of the province.

Following that, I went to the federation assembly Saturday, June 26. It was the regular assembly of the federation, held every Saturday. One of the unions asked me to attend the swearing-in ceremony for new officers they were going to have the following day, and I did. This, too, was an absolutely legal assembly.

Then on June 30 I attended an assembly of the Chaupimayo union, which dealt with the problems of the cooperative. It is a cooperative for marketing products, one of various cooperatives in the La Convención Valley. And I went to an assembly of that cooperative—also, of course, perfectly legal.

I want to make clear that during all the time I was in the countryside I knew nothing of what was going on in the cities.

### Price protests

When I arrived in the city of Cuzco on July 1, I found I had to take a taxi to get to my house because there was a strike of owner-operators of micro-buses, that is, of public transportation, protesting an increase in gasoline prices that had taken place.

When I got home I read the newspapers and found out about the price hike. The price of gasoline had gone up 117 percent, and along with that the currency had been devalued by 30 percent. The government had also raised public transportation fares 30 percent and taken other economic steps. These included a wage hike of 10-15 percent with the stipulation that wages would remain frozen for twelve months.

These were economic measures that

seriously affected the Peruvian people, especially the poorest sectors. They were steps in a process begun in Peru some time ago to try to rescue Peruvian capitalism from its crisis. The economics minister, Luis Barúa Castañeda, has been applying a series of measures recommended by the International Monetary Fund. So these are not the first steps, but they are the harshest so far.

Undoubtedly, they will bring more misery to the people. There will be more unemployment and growing popular discontent.

The public transportation strike occurred because of these steps. The bus drivers called a national general strike.

After I was arrested and brought to Lima I learned more details on this. The government said that the owner-operators wanted to raise the fares, but the drivers who were in prison with me

made it clear that this was completely false. What they were asking for was that the gasoline price be lowered to the old price and that fares also be lowered to the old level. Even with that, they would be making a sacrifice because of the rise in the price of the dollar and of consumer goods. Nonetheless, they were not asking for a cent more for themselves.

### Chile and Peru

The Peruvian government has tried to make a parallel between the strikes in Peru and the ones in Chile against the Allende government.

As we all know, in Chile there were strikes by bus owners against the Allende government. They were right-wing strikes of the entire bourgeoisie to bring down the Unidad Popular government and smash the working class.

The Peruvian government never speaks out against Pinochet or against the military regime in Chile. It also maintains very good relations with this government, and it does not permit a campaign against the Chilean dictatorship in Peru.

The so-called labor organizations created by the government—groups like the Frente de Defensa de la Revolución Peruana [Front for the Defense of the Peruvian Revolution]—do not organize mobilizations against the Chilean dictatorship.

### No free press

The government was able to slander the Peruvian bus drivers easily because all the national-circulation newspapers are in the hands of the regime. The government says the newspapers are socialized and in the hands of people's organizations, but that is absolutely false. The journalists and editors of the daily papers who favor one or another sector of the government are changed in accord with shifts in the government and what sector is strongest. But the only independent press in Peru—beyond some local newspapers that have to act very cautiously and have a small

circulation—have been the weekly, biweekly, or monthly magazines.

The government seized the recent issues of the main independent magazines. Any attempt by the bus drivers to get information out was prevented, because these magazines had been confiscated.

I want to take note here of the fact that freedom of the press is being increasingly curtailed for the left. Right-wing magazines have also been seized, but for the rightists this is not a problem. They have enough money to begin putting out their magazines again later. But the left-wing magazine *Marka*, for example, will have many more economic difficulties, if it continues to come out at all. This is already the third time an issue of *Marka* has been confiscated, and these left-wing magazines survive only from their sales, which makes the confiscation of an entire issue a very serious blow for them.

### Big gatherings

In Lima there were big gatherings of people because of the bus drivers' strike, especially of workers who wanted to go to work and students who wanted to go to school. Everyone was highly indignant about the price increases.

They gathered at bus stops looking for ways to protest. These crowds held spontaneous demonstrations in several parts of Lima, especially in the slums.

These demonstrations took the form of antigovernment, anticapitalist mobilizations. At least one headquarters of a government office was assaulted in a slum. Some companies were also stoned—Motor Perú, for example, which manufactures cars.

Bridges and other routes of communication were blocked in both the north and south of Lima. It was reported that stores were looted, and some buses that were in use during the strike were burned.

That is, the people supported the striking bus drivers, although few of them knew the real reasons for the strike.

The government suspended individual rights for thirty days and decreed a curfew from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m.

Tanks, armored cars, and mounted police were reported patrolling the

streets of Lima. Many arrests were made in the context of the suspension of individual rights.

One of the provisions of the suspension of rights was that no one could enter or leave Lima without permission. Lima and the surrounding area were declared in a state of emergency.

I was in Cuzco and didn't know any of the precise facts of these events, only what appeared in the newspaper and bits of news I got listening to foreign radio stations.

I'm arrested

I was to go to Lima on July 3. But the night before, the political police came to my brother's house where I was staying. I was awakened by my sister-in-law who told me, "The police are looking for you." I got up, dressed, and they arrested me. It must have been about midnight. They took me to the police station, where I was held incommunicado for more than twenty-four hours. On Sunday at about 11 a.m. I was taken to Lima by plane. They didn't tell me why I was arrested. They never accused me of anything.

In Lima I was also held in the barracks of the political police. There I was questioned three times on three different days.

The first interrogation had to do with what I had done in Lima during the nine months since I returned to Peru. I told them everything I had done because this was completely public.

They asked me several times how many times I had gone to the editorial offices of *Marka*, why, and what I had done there. I told them that sometimes I had gone to get a back issue of the magazine and that recently they had interviewed me about the peasant movement I had participated in from 1958 to 1963.

They also asked me about my connections to Francisco Montes, the editor of *Palabra Socialista* and a member of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [Socialist Workers party], the Trotskyist party in Peru. I answered that Francisco Montes was editor of *Palabra Socialista* and that I wrote some articles for the newspaper. When they asked me what my relationship to the PST was, I answered that I was not working in the party, that it was impossible for me to work there because I was always followed by the police. At the same time, I said that I shared the political point of view of the PST.

### Constant spying

From the moment I arrived in Peru nine months ago, there was always at least one police car, at times two or three, in front of my house. Sometimes there were also motorcycles equipped with radios. Everywhere I went, the police followed me. Several times they took photographs of the people who came to visit me.

When I went to Cuzco they watched me until I got onto the plane. And

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**'I read the newspapers and found out about the price hikes. These were measures that seriously affected the Peruvian people, especially the poorest sectors. They were steps in a process begun in Peru some time ago to try to rescue Peruvian capitalism from its crisis. So these are not the first steps, but they are the harshest so far. They will bring more misery to the people. There will be more unemployment and growing popular discontent.'**

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when I reached Cuzco, as soon as I got off the plane the police took photos of me and began following me.

In my brother's house in Cuzco, where I was staying, there is a telephone. They were always calling to ask if I was there, what I was doing, where I had gone, where I was going to go, etc. They were watching every move I made. When I went to some town, sometimes I would walk. Then they would send people to follow me on foot to that town. If I went in a car, they would follow in a car.

As a result of all those activities, the police had a more accurate record than I did. They had all this written down, and I was not memorizing everything I



Hugo Blanco addressing meeting in La Convención, Peru, before his deportation

did day after day.

I want to emphasize that during the nine months I was in Peru, I did absolutely nothing illegal. I expressed my point of view on the government, on what the government was doing, and so forth. But according to what the Peruvian government says, this is legal. It is permissible for one to exercise the right to criticize even when it is to denounce deportations. I have done nothing more than exercise that right.

The second interrogation was about the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, a group in the United States. During this interrogation I realized that the police were reading my mail.

The third interrogation was about a lot of people in Peru and my relationship to them. I refused to answer. I told them that I was not going to answer such questions because I knew that any person who related to me—even if simply as a friend or member of my family—was in danger of falling victim to the repression. This had happened several times to my relatives.

I recounted the case of my mother.

When my mother was on her deathbed and I was in exile in Chile, I asked the Peruvian authorities to allow me to go to Peru. My request accomplished only one thing. The police went to my mother's house and took pleasure in seeing her in her death agony.

After this interrogation I spoke with one of the chiefs of police and told him that they had already asked me everything that I could answer, and that if they continued questioning me that I was going to interpret it as a form of torture.

### Put in cell

Several times in my previous arrests they had me for four, five, ten hours at times, interrogating me. Of course, they did not question me all that time. They would begin the questioning. Then they would go away to do something else, leaving me sitting there in front of their typewriter. They would return after two or three hours and ask me one or two questions more. Then they would leave again, returning a few hours later—a method they have to destroy a person's nerves, I suppose.

During the time I was detained in Lima, at first I was not in a cell. I was in some offices of the political police. After the interrogations I asked to be put in a cell, where things would be less hectic. They put me in a cell by myself. There were two or three cells beside mine and they contained about thirty persons. The food was horrible, of course, as it is in all Peruvian prisons.

Among these thirty prisoners were several picked up for being out after curfew, some bus drivers—leaders and rank-and-filers. There were also some foreigners—Argentines and Chileans who had sought political asylum in Peru. There were also leaders of a trade union at a supermarket in Monterrey.

This union was on strike several months ago, demanding that collective-bargaining agreements be respected and wages raised. The strike was not successful.

### Mysterious death

Afterwards, the bosses asked for a judgment against the leaders, saying that they were responsible for food having rotted and other things. Then the general secretary of the union died under mysterious circumstances.

Here are some paragraphs from a press release they put out:

"To the working class and the Peruvian people:

"The workers at the united union of Monterrey Stores, Inc., address the public and the working class to let you know about the death of our general secretary, compañera Aurora Vivar Vázquez. Her death is suspicious; up to now it has not been explained, occurring just when our militant leader had testified in the unusual criminal case the bosses are pressing against the workers of our trade union for the alleged crime of damages and seizure of property. This is an open reprisal for our having nobly defended our elementary rights in the general strike. The Peruvian people are fully aware of what happened and of the fact that our compañera Aurora provided a very clear example of honesty and bravery in defending our exploited class. Her death takes place under circumstances of systematic, direct aggression by the multimillionaire Monterrey company. This aggression has taken the form of violations of agreements, customs, and labor laws against the workers of our union.

"Her death must also be placed in the framework of suspicious occurrences like those that took place on the night of the fifteenth of this month, when the Monterrey store located in the Santa Catalina development was destroyed, reportedly by a firebomb. Coincidentally, the following morning we found beer bottles in front of the door of our trade-union headquarters. After investigating them, they were found to be firebombs.

"We also found a sizable quantity of leaflets bearing the name of our organization, in which the workers of our union were urged to carry out wild actions. The Lima police are aware of these facts.

"Nonetheless, there are still unanswered questions. Could it be that they planned to blame the fire that took place in the Sta. Catalina store on our union? Or perhaps they wanted to blow up our leaders?

"The answer is obvious. There are some odd persons and some reactionaries who are acting with the aim of creating a climate favorable for carrying out open repression against the workers. This terrorist act is a warning to all labor organizations to consistently and jealously guard our interests."

### More provocations

After that the compañeros invited people to come to the wake and funeral for the general secretary. During the funeral there were other acts of provocation. A photographer was taking pictures of the leaders and people who had gone to the funeral. This is dangerous because it is known that the police use these afterwards for interrogation of the people who were present at things like this.

The legal adviser of this union, Dr. Laura Caller, who is a member of Amnesty International, had to intervene to prevent people from beating up the photographer, because during the funeral the masses were totally irritated by this photographer doing police work.

Later the lawyer was accused of trying to incite the masses. This is a long-standing problem.

### Union leaders charged

Lately, taking advantage of the suspension of individual rights, the bosses and the authorities have accused members of the union's leadership of being involved in the death of

compañera Aurora Vivar. That is, the people who really appear to have killed her are now accusing the compañeros of the dead woman of being the criminals. Because of this, the compañeros were prisoners at police headquarters.

When I said goodbye to them, I promised that whatever country I went to I was going to do what I could to promote an international campaign for them because the case is incredibly scandalous. So, I ask for support to these leaders of the Monterrey union.

Also in prison with me were two persons arrested during a peasant assembly held near Lima. There were also student leaders. Finally, there was a slum dweller. He had been eating an orange when he cut his finger, leading him to drop the peel on the ground. A tank was passing by at that moment and its occupants told him he was sabotaging the armed forces, so they arrested him.

### Taken to airport

On July 10 I was taken to the airport and put on a plane for Sweden. The regime didn't give me a choice between going to prison or being deported. They treated me like an object, like any old thing. They just dumped me on the airplane without even telling me where I was going, just like they did before, in 1971.

As I was about to board the plane, the Swedish ambassador came up and asked me to show him my ticket. Of course I didn't have a ticket or a passport. The police had given them to the pilot of the plane.

The police had asked the people at my house for my passport, and they had to turn it over because of the suspension of individual rights. If they hadn't, the police would have ransacked the house.

The plane went as far as Amsterdam, where I was detained at the airport until another plane left for Scandinavia. In Denmark they turned over my passport and ticket to me.

Everything indicates the Peruvian regime is going to continue taking economic steps against the Peruvian people, and it is likely that they will carry out more and more repression against the people.

That is why it is essential for world public opinion to be alert to the escalation of repression going on in Peru.



## In defense of Mustafa Dzhemilev: socialism and liberty are inseparable

By Ralph Schoenman

[The following speech was given by Ralph Schoenman June 24 at a New York meeting in defense of imprisoned Crimean Tatar activist Mustafa Dzhemilev. Schoenman was the executive director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation from 1963 to 1968, and the secretary general of the International War Crimes Tribunal, which played a major role in helping to expose the genocidal nature of the American war in Vietnam. The meeting was sponsored by the Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, N.Y. 10003.]

Comrades and friends, you have heard tonight most eloquently of the plight and the fate of the Crimean Tatars. We have heard from Pavel Litvinov and from Reza Baraheni of the full measure of the persecution of this people. And the language has been the language of deportation and cattle trucks; of half a nation being liquidated; of reservations, of convoys, of prison, and of genocide.

Mustafa Dzhemilev wrote a historical essay on Turkic culture in the Crimea from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries—a major and important scholarly treatise on the history of his people. And for this work he was charged with slanderous fabrications and with discrediting the Soviet social and state system. He was sentenced to three years in prison, and almost immediately upon his release he was imprisoned again.

When he wrote the history of the Crimean Tatar people, the Uzbek KGB hunted down every last copy to burn and destroy. In effect then, this regime has sought to take from the Tatars and from Mustafa Dzhemilev a language, a culture, a historical tradition, a very identity. They have taken individual liberty and intellectual freedom, and they have sought to take the nationality from Mustafa Dzhemilev.

We have to ask the question, then, Who is doing this? What is the nature of a regime which is capable of genocide, the annihilation of a people, and the elimination of its cultural heritage? How can the leadership of the Soviet Union call itself socialist when it performs these acts? For every revolutionary, for every socialist, for every Marxist, the question is posed: what, then, is socialism if such things are done in its name? What is the relation between socialism and liberty?

Repeatedly, when people attempt to defend human rights and liberty and democracy in the Soviet Union, the question is put, are you not then defending bourgeois democracy? Part of the legacy of this persecution is the attempt to equate democracy itself with bourgeois society. But democracy

is a revolutionary heritage. It was not given to anybody; it was taken, wherever it has been had, through revolutionary struggle. And indeed it is of the essence of the Marxist and of the socialist tradition that democracy is inseparable from what we are fighting for.

The complaint of Marxists about bourgeois democracy is that it is a facade without content, that the democratic forms do not correspond to how power is structured, that it is an oligarchy ruling and disguising its rule through what would appear to be democratic institutions. Thus, it is not democracy which is bourgeois, it is the attempt to empty democracy of the opportunity to exist and to function.

So, the program of socialists is not the elimination of democracy, but its extension. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels say, "the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."

Marx and Engels continue: "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

It is consistent with the legacy of

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**'We have to ask the question: who is doing this? What is the nature of a regime that is capable of genocide, the annihilation of a people, and the elimination of its cultural heritage. How can the leadership of the Soviet Union call itself socialist when it performs these acts? For every revolutionary, for every socialist, for every Marxist, the question is posed: what, then, is socialism if such things are done in its name? What is the relation between socialism and liberty?'**

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Stalinism that it attempted the genocide of the Tatar people, because this regime has nothing in common with Marx, with Engels, with the socialist tradition, or with democracy. It is because it is the rule of an oligarchy, an oligarchy that subsists in the most extreme of privilege, that such brutal oppression is a sine qua non of its continued existence.

What is the legacy of this Stalinist regime which would equate the absence of liberty with socialism, which would equate repression and revolution, which would state that to be in sympathy with liberty is to be a reformist? How can we go to workers and call this regime socialist when there is no right to free speech, no free press, no right to strike, no independent trade unions, where genocide is



RALPH SCHOENMAN

Militant/Lou Howort

committed, where 20 million Soviet citizens have passed through and perished in concentration camps in the Soviet Union?

A regime that has a political system parallel to that of fascism—that is the root of the persecution of the Crimean Tatars. And how do we as socialists go to members of oppressed national minorities anywhere in the world—to Blacks in the United States, to American Indians and Chicanos—and speak of socialism if we equate that socialism with the barbarous regime in the Soviet Union?

The Indonesian army, which massacred a half million workers and peasants and students in 1965, was armed by the Soviet Union. And after the coup, when the fate of these people was in the balance, Kossygin sent a message—not to Sukarno or Subandrio—but to Roeslan Abdul Gani, one of the architects of this butchery, tantamount to saying slaughter away.

And what do we say to the people of Iran as Mao embraces the shah? In the *Manifesto* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels speak of what they call reactionary or feudal socialism: "In political practice, therefore, they join in all coercive measures against the working class; and in ordinary life, despite their

Europe and not only of the holocaust, but of their persecution in the Soviet Union. And as a Jew myself, I want to say that if ever a people should understand the meaning of deportation, the meaning of genocide, it ought to be the Jews. And thus, it is the Jews who should be the first to denounce Zionism, precisely because it is the oppression of a national minority.

It is one thing to immigrate to a country; it is another thing to colonize it. And it is precisely that equation that puts Mustafa Dzhemilev in the front ranks not only of the defense of Jews in the Soviet Union, but of the cause of the Palestinians, because it is the same cause.

It was Ezra Pound who said that the technique of infamy is to invent two lies and to get people arguing heatedly over which one of them is true.

And those who would tell us that we should mute our criticism of Stalinism, of this bureaucratic, parasitic caste in the Soviet Union, I would remind them of Eugene V. Debs, who said, to paraphrase him, It is better to support what you want and not get it, than to support what you do not want and get it.

So, Mustafa Dzhemilev, one of the world's soldiers for justice, I want to remind you of the fate of Malcolm X. I was with Malcolm a week before his death, in London. He had just returned from Africa, where he had been stalked by the American CIA from Dakar to Dar es Salaam, to Cairo, where he was poisoned.

Malcolm said to me and to a friend, Kojo Amoo, "If they knew what I had in my head they would put a bullet through it."

Kojo pleaded with Malcolm to wear a bulletproof vest. Malcolm said bulletproof vests won't do. The task is to build a political, mobilized movement. The task is to create a national struggle. The task is to link that struggle to similar struggles around the world.

When Malcolm was murdered in New York, he left a small part of himself in every young Black in the United States.

To Comrade Mustafa we say, we will never forget you. Masses of oppressed people will carry your banner, will speak in your language, the language of liberty, of democracy, and of national rights. It is your ideals, your example, which will inspire humankind, not that of your oppressors.

And I say they will carry that banner, Mustafa Dzhemilev, forward to revolution, forward to a socialist revolution which will embody freedom, individual liberty, the flourishing of national culture, and the greatest extension of democracy the world has ever known.



## Bosses accept escalator clause

# Rubber strike nears end; union faces new tests

By Frank Lovell

The Big Four tire corporations were forced finally to grant one of the basic demands of the United Rubber Workers union, but only after the longest strike in the history of the industry. And they gave in piecemeal, grudgingly.

The companies' acceptance of a cost-of-living allowance (COLA) comparable to that in auto and steel made settlement with the union possible. This was the central issue in the strike from the beginning.

On August 13 Firestone Tire & Rubber Company, advised by Labor Secretary W.J. Usery, announced "an understanding" with the union. The strike was then 114 days old. It was not until August 24 that an agreement was reached with any of the rubber companies.

Goodyear was the first to accept the formal terms of a new contract. Firestone followed two days later. The other two major corporations, Uniroyal and B.F. Goodrich, are expected to accept the same general wage pattern.

But all are haggling over special rates for "unprofitable" plants and for low-wage southern states. Non-economic issues, including job security, health hazards, and basic work rules, remain to be resolved.

When the master wage agreement seemed settled, URW President Peter Bommarito saw little hope of a return to work until early September. Most strikers were not expecting to go back until sometime after Labor Day, the middle of September for many.

Only the determination of the 65,000 strikers in twenty-one states, who closed most of the major tire-producing plants last April 21, vowing to "stay out until Christmas if necessary," brought about a partial settlement of their grievances. The outcome of this endurance test between the corporate giants of the rubber industry and striking members of the URW puts the union in a stronger position now to organize the unorganized sectors of the industry and impose uniform wages in all sections of the country.

### The new contract

Under the new three-year contract base wages will increase \$1.35 per hour, plus another 40 cents for skilled workers. This is not much, considering

two years for this inadequate formula, which has failed in auto to keep wages fully abreast of runaway prices.

When the strike began the rubber corporations appeared convinced that they held the upper hand and could bend the union to their will, keep it divided along company lines, and destroy it as an effective organization in an industry that seemed well on the way to operating with a majority of nonunion plants.

The union was able to strike forty-seven plants in all parts of the country, but succeeded in halting only about 60 percent of tire production.

This was the culmination of a carefully planned antiunion strategy pursued for the past two decades by the large rubber companies. They began by currying favor with local union officials, seeking separate contracts for the major companies and for some of the larger plants within the corporate structure. They coupled this strategy of dividing the union with an overall plan of decentralization.

### Industrial changes

The auto industry had earlier built assembly plants in all parts of the country, decentralizing from Detroit. The rubber industry followed by systematically moving its tire plants out of Akron, Ohio. The leadership of the United Rubber Workers failed to adjust its organizational structure to these new developments.

Cooperative union officials, taken in by the soft talk of company personnel directors, submitted to local speedup plans and approved wage differentials on the specious promises of corporate executives that antiquated plants would not be closed in Akron and company facilities would not be moved to other areas.

The result is that the major tire companies all have different wage scales, different pension plans, and different shop rules. Some of the lesser companies, such as General Tire and Goodyear's subsidiary, Kelly-Springfield, managed to negotiate different expiration dates for their contracts with the URW. When these contracts expired during this strike, the URW locals at General and Kelly-Springfield continued to work on a day-to-day basis, promised that they would receive any gains won by the strikers.

Each of the big companies has its own URW vice-

underhanded means of weakening the general wage pattern that most strikers have been led to believe was agreed upon.

This scheme to isolate and squeeze the workers in one company in order to depress the general level of wages and working conditions in the industry has succeeded in the past.

In the 1973 contract negotiations Goodyear managed, by threats and fake promises, to get a separate settlement without a cost-of-living allowance. This then set the pattern that workers in the other companies were forced to accept.

The loss in wages this past three-year period is estimated at \$1.65 by the union, more than double the 80-cent raise the strikers will receive this year when their first post-strike paychecks come through.

While top URW officials were scrambling to negotiate separate contracts with the different rubber companies and their subsidiaries, each trying to outdo the other, and slipping inevitably into the mire of disunity and petty jealousy, the corporations were steadily decentralizing and automating their operations.

The union leadership failed to follow the plants as they moved away from Akron. Although some of the new plants were organized, others were not. Two of Firestone's most up-to-date plants are in Nashville, Tennessee, and Wilson, North Carolina. Neither is organized. Both continued to turn out steel-belted radial tires at capacity production during the entire four months of the rubber strike.

Automation has served to weaken the rubber union, as it has weakened unions in many other industries. But here, unlike such craft-organized industries as printing and building construction, the industrial unions in the basic mass-production industries are in a stronger position to control total operations.

In some of the chemical and industrial rubber products plants supervisory and other nonunion workers were able to keep production to almost full capacity, although with difficulty. Mass picketing by the URW and a firm stand against court-ordered strikebreaking could have stopped this.

### A new threat

A new threat to the URW is now moving into the industry in the form of another corporate giant, Michelin, the French tire company. Contrary to advance reports that this will create more jobs and greater competition within the industry, Michelin moves in with complete understanding on market-sharing among the other rubber corporations and the monopoly trusts in the auto industry.

Michelin is reported to be investing \$600 million for plants in the low-wage southern and western states.

The reason Michelin is a new threat to the URW is its avowed antiunion policy. This company refuses to negotiate with unions. It remains to be seen whether it can make this policy stick in this country, but it is certain that the major U.S. tire companies and the auto industry will support Michelin's antiunion stand in every way possible.

These are the unpostponable problems that face the strike-weary rubber workers. The most urgent is the need to restructure the union and develop a new leadership in the organizing drives that must now be undertaken.

### Strike lessons

The long strike proved that the URW membership is not easily discouraged. It is no easy matter to destroy one of the industrial unions, as the rubber corporations are trying to do. These workers have demonstrated their capacity to weather a long siege, and they can mount a counteroffensive against the employers if honestly and properly led.

The corporations have learned that it can be an expensive adventure to undertake the total destruction of one of the traditional CIO unions forged in the struggles of the 1930s. They tried and failed to operate the industry with 65,000 rubber workers on strike. Their profits slumped, and they were unable to fulfill their obligations to the auto industry.

The rubber workers must also have drawn some conclusions from their experiences during this strike. Many are veterans of previous strikes. All have had more than four months to think about how the strike was conducted and what policies led to the present weakness of their union. They must feel confident, after passing the test this time, that they have in their ranks some crafty young leaders, determined to fight the corporations, who will do better in the future.



Union President Peter Bommarito addressing strike rally. Outcome of prolonged strike puts union in stronger position to organize nonunion sectors of rubber industry.

that the average rate under the old contract was only \$5.50 per hour. Wages in unorganized plants bring the industry-wide average lower. Strikers will get raises of 80 cents upon returning to work, another 30 cents in 1977, and 25 cents in 1978.

The new cost-of-living clause will add another seventy-five cents per hour over the next three years if the annual inflation rate is 6 percent. Higher inflation will bring automatic wage increases.

The COLA formula is one cent an hour for each 0.4-point increase in the U.S. Consumer Price Index (CPI). The adjustment is made quarterly, slightly less than in auto and steel.

Beginning in mid-1978 the wages of rubber workers will increase one cent for each 0.3-point jump in the CPI, the same formula that for the past three years has regulated wages in the auto industry. Thus, rubber workers must wait another

president to do business with. The workers in each of the corporations vote on the terms of their contract and are not governed by majority decisions or union needs industry-wide.

Workers at Goodyear voted on August 28 to accept what they were told is the new master contract. They were advised to return to work immediately by sixty-two-year-old URW International Vice-president Kenneth Oldham, who was in charge of Goodyear negotiations. This back-to-work bolt preceded the final vote at Firestone and was intended to stampede a favorable vote with that company.

Worse yet, the URW top leadership is encouraging a return to work at these companies that have settled, even though the two major holdouts, Uniroyal and Goodrich, are trying to undercut the pattern. All the corporations work together in this

## Scandal rocks Puerto Rico

# Gov't phone company caught illegally wiretapping thousands

By José G. Pérez

A Watergate-type scandal is rocking Puerto Rico. It has thrown the government there into disarray and has uncovered large-scale attacks on the democratic rights of Puerto Ricans.

The controversy began with a July 30 story in *Claridad*, daily newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist party. *Claridad* reported that the government-owned Puerto Rican Telephone Company illegally records thousands of conversations. The Puerto Rican constitution absolutely prohibits tapping phones.

The *Claridad* information came from obviously well-placed sources inside the telephone company. In addition, the paper reported it had obtained "several thousand feet" of tapes and lists of targeted telephones. It published a transcript of one intercepted conversation between two top leaders of the PSP.

The government bought the telephone company from International Telephone and Telegraph a few years ago. Salvador Rodríguez Aponte became the government-appointed head.

Rodríguez Aponte had been known as the "Tsar of Fortaleza" because of his influential position in the adminis-

No regular telephone company personnel participated in this process—only specialized personnel of the Department of Observations.

Some 1,600 phones were tapped each week. Whether the same phones were intercepted week after week, or whether some phones were targeted more frequently than others, is not known.

Targets included government offices, businesses, and political activists. In addition, many ordinary citizens, apparently chosen at random, became victims of taps.

It's not known exactly who had access to the tapes. *Claridad* reported that Rodríguez Aponte selected some tapes that he checked out from the central file and listened to in private.

### Cover-up

Government and telephone company officials reacted to these revelations in the classic Watergate cover-up pattern.

At first, Salvador Rodríguez Aponte insisted there was no truth to the accusations.

Then he admitted that a "quality control" program had been in effect. He insisted that in no case did tapping go on for more than twelve seconds. Adding that he had not authorized the tapping, Rodríguez Aponte called for a police and FBI investigation.

Then Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the PSP and candidate for governor of Puerto Rico, played some of the tapes at a news conference. Several conversations had been recorded for much longer than a few seconds.

For his part, Governor Hernández Colón initially denied knowing anything about the tapping. But then he changed his story. The governor confessed that he had "heard rumors" about the massive illegal tapping system before *Claridad* began publishing stories on it.

The weekend following the first revelations, many tapes in the central file were erased on orders from Rodríguez Aponte. *Claridad* reported the tapes erased were records of conversations on telephone exchanges covering important areas of San Juan—where the government, many businesses, unions, and political groups have their main offices. During that same weekend, many tapes and most of the equipment disappeared.

### Gov't 'investigates'

On August 2, the Puerto Rican Justice Department appointed a special prosecutor, Esteban de Jesús Pizarro, to look into the scandal.

The choice was revealing: he was the same prosecutor who investigated terrorist attacks carried out in 1974 against the printing plant and editorial offices of *Claridad*. Although the PSP positively identified one of the terrorists, De Jesús Pizarro failed to bring anyone to justice.

De Jesús Pizarro began this time by demanding that Juan Mari Brás and *Claridad* reveal their confidential sources.

The governor backed up this demand.

This counterattack, however, backfired. Clear divisions on how to handle the scandal appeared within the privileged layer that administers Puerto Rico on behalf of the United States.

On one side is Hernández Colón, the telephone company, and much of the ruling Popular Democratic party. They say this is a "tempest in a glass of water" and that the furor has more to do with the November elections than with the wiretapping.

The other main capitalist party, the

New Progressive party, has refused to go along with Hernández Colón. They said the government can't be trusted to investigate itself, and urged setting up a three-person panel. They suggested that one supporter each of independence, statehood, and the status quo be named to the panel.

The Puerto Rican Independence party, which polls say will get between 5 and 10 percent of the vote in the November elections, also denounced the way the Hernández Colón administration is handling the scandal.

### Lawyers investigate

In addition, the Colegio de Abogados—the bar association—voted to launch its own investigation.

The lawyers charged with carrying out the investigation have obtained tapes and other evidence from *Claridad* and have scheduled public hearings.

The government seems to be in considerable disarray. Its "investigation" has little credibility.

Despite the reports of destruction of tapes and removal of evidence, the government moved slowly to obtain the evidence. Instead, it has concentrated on demanding that Mari Brás and *Claridad* reporters disclose their sources, and threatened to throw them into jail. Mari Brás and *Claridad* have refused to testify before the prosecutor.

At an August 25 hearing, however, prosecutor De Jesús Pizarro did not ask the judge to find Mari Brás in contempt and jail him. Instead, the prosecutor requested that the judge initiate disbarment proceedings against Mari Brás.

A legal expert quoted in *Claridad* said the prosecutor's request is clearly illegal. The judge scheduled further hearings on the case and said he would not make an immediate ruling.

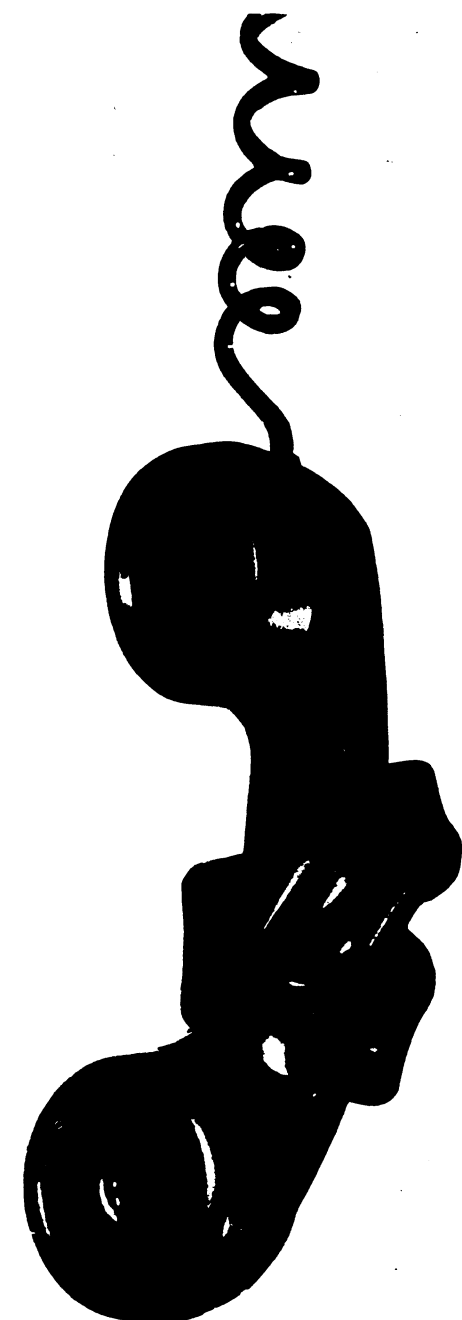
Now the lawyers have custody of the tapes and evidence, and they won't hand them over to the government.

### Dissension in party

There is considerable dissension within the Popular Democratic party. One leading party legislator has resigned from his post in the wake of initial revelations.

Other party leaders have urged Hernández Colón to dump Rodríguez Aponte. *Claridad* has suggested this hasn't been done because Rodríguez Aponte has information damaging to Hernández Colón, which is entirely possible. But another explanation suggests itself.

All indications are that—whatever the nature of the wiretapping operation—it is intimately linked to



Claridad

## 30 snitches in phone co.

The Puerto Rican police have thirty undercover agents in the telephone company, the August 6 issue of *Claridad* reported. *Claridad* said it obtained the information from sources "close to the high police officialdom." *Claridad* published the names of six of the agents.

The Puerto Rican cops immediately and categorically denied the story. However, four days later they conceded they did have agents in the telephone company, but would not comment on other details of *Claridad*'s report.

One agent was already known publicly. That is Alberto Santos Ramos, alias "Tarzan." Earlier this summer he testified in the trial of six members and leaders of the Independent Union of Telephone Employees who had been charged with sabotage. The frame-up was unsuccessful.

tration of Gov. Rafael Hernández Colón. The Fortaleza is the governor's mansion, the Puerto Rican equivalent of the White House. Earlier, Rodríguez Aponte had been the island's chief of police.

Rodríguez Aponte set up the wiretap operation in the Department of Observations. He selected a right-wing Cuban exile to head it up.

### CIA connection

Adolfo Villafaña, a former New York police official, trained telephone company personnel and agents of the Division of Special Investigations—Puerto Rico's mini-FBI—in wiretapping techniques.

Villafaña, in addition to being an ex-cop, now works for Intertel, the most important corporate-spying outfit in the United States. Intertel has close links with the CIA.

At least once a week, the Department of Observations sent out lists of phones to be wiretapped and collected tapes of conversations. The tapes were sequestered in a basement at the main telephone company office.

the Puerto Rican and United States political police forces.

Dumping Rodríguez Aponte could only be interpreted as an admission of wrongdoing. It would fuel the demand for full disclosure and could provoke his underlings to desert what they view as a sinking ship, leading to further revelations.

### Gov't break-ins

An indication of what might be desperation on the government's part was the commission of two burglaries against people investigating the scandal.

The first burglary came August 6, when the car of the head of the lawyers commission was broken into and some automotive gear taken. This lawyer had received the tapes from *Claridad* only two days before.

The second was clearly an FBI-style political break-in. It occurred August 11 at the home of Julieta Muñoz. Muñoz is a reporter for *Claridad* and has written most of the stories on the Department of Observations based on sources within the department. Obvious objects of value were ignored, but all files and notebooks were thoroughly searched. Nothing was taken.

## CIA spies on Mari Bras



Claridad

JUAN MARI BRAS

The Central Intelligence Agency has admitted to spying on Juan Mari Brás, Puerto Rican Socialist party candidate for governor, from 1948 until the present.

Mari Brás received copies of thirty-five of the sixty-eight documents the CIA admits having on him in its files. Most of the documents are highly censored.

Mari Brás obtained the documents under the Freedom of Information Act. He said he will appeal the CIA's decision not to turn over more documents and to censor the ones he has been given.

He added that he has reason to believe the CIA has much more material than they've admitted having so far.



## SWP candidate asks retraction

# CP leader smears socialists' suit against FBI

By Steve Clark

How can the FBI's use of informers against social movements in this country be most effectively combatted?

That is the topic of an open letter issued by Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo to Gus Hall, presidential candidate of the Communist party. (See box on this page.)

Camejo's letter is in response to Hall's charges at a California news conference last month that revelations in the SWP's lawsuit against government harassment prove that the group is "the main staging area for the FBI."

"The Socialist Workers party has become for many years now the staging area for the FBI," Hall said. "... And you know from the exposés it's obvious that the Socialist Workers party has become the main staging area for the FBI in the left movement in general." Hall's slanders were broadcast over San Francisco radio station KYA.

The broadcast also reported Camejo's response to this charge. "The fact is the Socialist Workers party has proven, with actual FBI documents," Camejo said, "that the FBI infiltrated it, attempted to destroy it, had a special program called the SWP Disruption Program, burglarized its headquarters, and did everything it could to destroy the SWP."

"Now, Mr. Hall knows this. He has the files. He's seen the reports that have been published in all the papers."

"And I think it's an extreme discredit to his Communist party," Camejo said, "and a discredit to civil liberties in this country that he should go around making this type of totally unfounded and unjust charge."

KYA announcer Larry Brownell concluded, "Camejo also told us that the SWP strongly supports the Com-

munist party's right to be on the ballot in California or anywhere else." Both Camejo and Hall were in California to help boost their parties' efforts to get on the ballot in that state.

Hall's smears against the SWP's lawsuit followed by little more than a month two equally scandalous attacks on the ballot rights of the SWP and other small parties.

Matty Berkelhammer, field coordinator for the Communist party campaign, said in a speech printed in the July 3 *Daily World* that America's rulers are putting up "all kinds of political parties and tickets to divert people from the only meaningful alternative, the Communist alternative. . . ."

Berkelhammer charged that "some groups" met the exorbitant petitioning requirements to get on the ballot in Massachusetts by sitting "in some office copying names out of telephone books."

An article by longtime CP Central Committee member Victor Perlo echoed Berkelhammer's slanders elsewhere in that same issue of the *Daily World*.

A retraction of Berkelhammer's article appeared in the July 15 *Daily World* in a letter signed by CP campaign chairman Henry Winston and national campaign manager Simon W. Gerson. "Comrade Berkelhammer states self-critically that the speech contains passages referring to independents and minority parties which are fundamentally incorrect," they wrote.

"We totally oppose any and all laws that restrict the ballot rights of independents and minority parties which stand for democracy," Winston and Gerson said. "We may disagree with one or another party . . . but we oppose all efforts of the state to restrict



Militant/Harry Ring

Camejo with SWP candidate for U.S. Senate Omari Musa (right) talking to press after turning in California nominating petitions last month.

the ballot rights of such parties."

The SWP campaign welcomed this retraction. It was also pleased that Perlo corrected his article in a letter in the August 14 *Daily World*. Perlo admitted that the article "may have given the impression that I was seeking to have the authorities apply the same degree of viciousness to others as used against the Communists. . . ."

"On the contrary, we favor elimination of restrictive ballot laws and enforcement practices for all."

Referring to the Berkelhammer and Perlo retractions in the open letter to Gus Hall, Camejo said, "I hope that you will follow their example and publicly retract your statements about the SWP lawsuit." Camejo also stressed the need for joint efforts by victims of FBI harassment to fight the use of informers against movements

for social change in this country.

Camejo urged Hall to endorse the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is coordinating support for the SWP's lawsuit against the government. This suit is playing a very important role in launching the necessary campaign against government infiltration of political groups.

"No one has ever challenged the FBI's use of informers in political organizations," wrote prominent attorney Leonard Boudin in a message to the SWP's convention rally this summer. Boudin represents the SWP in its legal fight.

"But through our joint efforts," Boudin said, "we are posing this question to the courts and to the public—and there are some aspects of this issue that we may very well be able to win."

## Open letter from Peter Camejo to Gus Hall

[The following is an open letter from Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo to Gus Hall, presidential candidate of the Communist party.]

I am writing about a serious matter involving the need for unity in the fight against government harassment and spying.

At a news conference in San Francisco August 5, you charged that documents obtained by the Socialist Workers party through its lawsuit against the government show that the SWP is a "staging area for the FBI."

Your accusation was broadcast that evening by radio station KYA in San Francisco. Announcer Larry Brownell reported, "Hall denied that he's trying to keep the SWP off the [California] ballot, but he also claimed that they're nothing but a front for the FBI."

The broadcast switched to a recording of your comments. "The Socialist Workers party has become for many years now the staging area for the FBI," you said. "And you know from the exposés it's obvious that the Socialist Workers party has become the main staging area for the FBI in the left movement in general."

At that same press conference, you also said, "The FBI is using the [SWP] suit for its own purposes. And not one shred of meaningful material has been produced by these revelations."

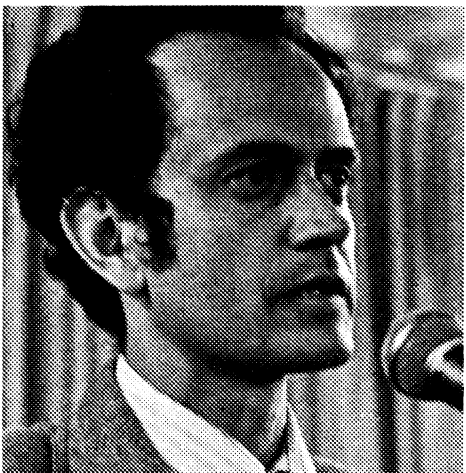
This last assertion is simply incredible. Well-known civil liberties attorney William Kunstler recently wrote that the SWP's suit "has breached the dam erected by J. Edgar Hoover that for decades hid the excesses of the bureau from the eyes of all of us. . . . In doing so, the SWP has made an incalculable

contribution to the rights and liberties of all Americans whether they subscribe to its political principles or not.

"It is my fervent hope," Kunstler continued, "that someday the people of this country will understand the enormous debt which they owe to this courageous and inspirational party."

A recent issue of the Puerto Rican Socialist party's *Claridad* said that the SWP "has, to its credit, led the campaign of revelations against the FBI. . . ."

And even your own newspaper, the *Daily World*, recently noted the importance of the SWP's lawsuit. An article in the August 12 "U.S. at Midweek" column by Conrad Komorowski reported, "Exposures of FBI violations of the constitutional rights of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers party . . . have received publicity and been important



Militant/Susan Ellis

CAMEJO: 'What is needed is a united campaign to expose and halt FBI's dirty tricks.'

in exposing FBI policies and practices."

A July 30 *Daily World* editorial also commented on the suit, adding, "This is the tip of an iceberg, nine-tenths of which is still hidden, including the entire story of the FBI's war against the Communist party, the Black liberation movement, and so on."

Yes, these revelations are just the tip of the iceberg. And that is exactly what is most dangerous about your charge that the SWP is a "staging area for the FBI."

The FBI uses infiltrators and informers against every progressive movement for social change: Black organizations, trade unions, the women's movement, antiwar groups, and political parties such as the CP and the SWP.

We hope that the FBI and other agencies will soon be forced to release their files on all these organizations, including the operations that have victimized your party and its supporters for so long.

The way to fight the FBI's disruption game is not to go around spreading false and slanderous charges against other political groups. What is needed is a united campaign by all victims of government harassment to expose and halt the dirty tricks that endanger the rights of all Americans.

Earlier this summer two articles in the *Daily World* smeared the efforts of the SWP and other small parties to get on the ballot. The authors of those articles—Matty Berkelhammer and Victor Perlo—later retracted these statements, supporting the ballot rights of all parties.

I hope that you will follow their example and publicly retract your

statements about the SWP lawsuit.

I urge you to join with hundreds of organizations and prominent defenders of civil liberties in endorsing the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is coordinating support for this massive lawsuit.

Among the fund's sponsors are many trade-union locals and groups such as the National Lawyers Guild, Operation PUSH, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; activists such as Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Anne Braden, Frank Wilkinson, and Daniel Ellsberg; actors and entertainers such as Pete Seeger, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, John Randolph, and Jane Fonda; political figures such as Ronald Dellums, John Conyers, and Eugene McCarthy; and trade unionists such as César Chávez and Victor Reuther.

I hope that you will soon add your name to this growing list of endorsers.



Militant/Flax Hermes

HALL: 'Socialist Workers party has become main staging area for the FBI.'

# Black press blasts death penalty

[Following are excerpts from the Black press. Some Black newspapers have stated their opposition to the death penalty. Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP have written widely printed columns.]

"The Supreme Court took a giant step backwards when it recently upheld the death penalty as constitutional. Even with modifying ifs, ands and buts, death as a penalty for capital crime is still killing itself, killing by the state. Such killing is uncivilized, whether by hanging, by gas chamber, or by electric chair."—July 24 *Afro-American*

"The Court's verdict, which states that the death penalty is a necessary 'deterrent' and 'retribution' for crime, seems archaic and smacks of expedience. Many forms of treatment and controls are available now which do not reach the extreme and irrevocable taking of a life. Further, if the threat of the death penalty was so effective in the past, there really shouldn't be any minority inmates now and this country would have been freed of crime (including white collar crime) long ago.

"Increasing crime in this country is just one symptom of a multifaceted problem. Killing the folks on Death Row is attacking a symptom—not treating the disease."—July 17 *Carolina Times*

"Black citizens of this country have long had 'a thing' about the way in which the death penalty seemingly has been aimed at black descendants. A certain southern state has a statute against rape providing for the death penalty, but only black men have been sentenced to death. One had only to be white and some extenuating circumstances would always be uncovered (or alleged).

"Justices William Brennan Jr., and Thurgood Marshall would ban the death penalty in all cases. They are probably right, too. As one reviews the testimony in a case or as one attempts to substitute himself and his reasoning for that of a defendant, can it be said, absolutely, that a defendant did not commit the crime of murder?

"Quite aside from this question, it is altogether likely that the thing to which the blacks objected will remain in most procedures—human judgment."—Roy Wilkins

"In 1972 the death penalty was struck down because poor people and black people were executed while offenders who were white and affluent got lesser sentences. It's pretty obvious that under the state laws the court now finds constitutional, the same pattern will emerge. A poor black man in Texas defended by a public defender is going to be looked on by a jury as one likely to commit a crime in the future and get the death penalty, while an affluent white person defended by an expensive criminal lawyer will get a lesser sentence. Just watch!

"It's tragic that the court could not bring itself to outlaw the barbarism of the penalty, thus delaying the eventual, inevitable day when it will finally be declared unconstitutional, cruel and unusual punishment."—Vernon Jordan

# Milwaukee auto workers hit with union-busting transfers and layoffs

By Bill Breihan

MILWAUKEE—Early in August, 883 assembly line workers at the American Motors Company (AMC) plant here lost their jobs.

Company officials announced that the permanent shutdown of the plant's Gremlin model line would mean these workers, recently laid off, would never be called back.

AMC offered the option of transferring to its Kenosha, Wisconsin, plant forty miles to the south. There were 392 jobs offered in Kenosha; 304 workers decided to transfer.

There was a hitch, of course. Those who transferred had to sign a statement giving up their rights to recall at the Milwaukee plant. Since the layoffs covered all workers hired since 1959, some were forced to surrender seventeen years of seniority to keep working.

Just as bad, more than 300 Kenosha AMC workers had to be laid off to make room for the Milwaukee transfers.

Angry workers in Milwaukee held several picket lines and public protest meetings against AMC's move. Many accused the company of lying and plotting against the union.

The workers whose jobs were eliminated were given only two-and-a-half days to decide whether to sign up for transfer or hit the streets.

The company told the union leadership, and the leadership told the workers, that the layoffs were final.

A few days later, however, 100 "termi-

nated" workers were recalled. The company had made a mistake, it said. Too many had been laid off.

Many workers accused the leadership of United Auto Workers Local 75 of complicity in the whole affair. The union officials had helped the company convince the workers that the inflated number of layoffs was necessary. The officialdom had accepted the company's lies as gospel truth.

For its part, the company blamed the layoffs on the bad state of the economy and an "unfair" union contract.

Local 75's present contract is, in many respects, the best in the auto industry. It provides for an average hourly wage of \$6.67, and includes two gains workers at the Big Three auto firms do not have: voluntary overtime and the right to strike on all grievances.

Union activist Andrew Roberts, who heads the Milwaukee chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, told the *Milwaukee Courier*:

"We have been the strongest local in the UAW, and the company has been trying to break us for years. Now, they figure they have the chance. They can say, 'We don't have to negotiate with y'all. You're lucky to have a job. If you threaten us, we'll move to Richmond.'"

There has been a steady erosion of jobs in AMC's Wisconsin plants. In the early 1960s the company had 17,000 workers in Kenosha and 10,000 in Milwaukee. After the latest layoffs, there are 8,300 left in Kenosha and

only 1,500 in Milwaukee.

There are several reasons for the decline. AMC makes only half as many cars today as it did during the peak years of the 1960s. The boom in small-car sales has come to an end. Increased productivity and speedup have also wiped out thousands of jobs.

Meanwhile, AMC has begun to set up new operations in the nonunion, low-wage South, particularly in West Virginia. To escape the well-entrenched UAW locals in Milwaukee and Kenosha, AMC may end its southeastern Wisconsin operations altogether.

As Andrew Roberts pointed out, the threat alone can be used to intimidate the remaining workers and weaken the union.

There is one way that all the workers at AMC could win their jobs back and improve their conditions of labor. That is to launch a serious fight for the UAW's long-standing demand of "thirty for forty"—thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay. All those laid off here could be recalled and hundreds more of the unemployed hired.

The company would cry murder, of course. Its sacred rate of profit would suffer. But the employers and their economic system are responsible for the present crisis—not the workers.

As Andrew Roberts said, "The people who made AMC rich got the shaft. All they care about are their profits. They don't care about the people who sweated to make those profits."

# ...dissident steelworkers smeared

Continued from back page

is expected to announce soon as a candidate for president of the international union.

As is traditional in the steelworkers union, there is little authentic rank-and-file representation at this convention. The bulk of the delegates are union officials and staff functionaries loyal to the ruling Abel machine.

These delegates cheered and applauded as Abel sought to link Sadlowski to "outsiders" and "reds." Abel asserted that he would never allow the union to be "captured" by "the Steelworkers Fight Back, the so-called U.S. Labor party, the Socialist Labor party, the so-called Progressives, the Communist party, the Fascist party, the Nazis, the Trotskyites, Maoists," or anybody else.

Abel never uttered the name of Ed Sadlowski, but as soon as he finished speaking—in case anybody didn't get the message—thousands of large printed leaflets were being distributed outside the convention hall in the name of SMART—"Steelworker Members Against Radical Takeover."

Sadlowski's campaign, the leaflet charged, "has become a movement financed by outsiders. It is being fanned by Communist newspapers. . . . It is engineered by outside

radical organizers who have grabbed key posts in its structure."

Talking to reporters this evening, Sadlowski characterized Abel's opening speech as "the type of thing that came out of the witch-hunt era of McCarthyism." Such smear tactics, Sadlowski said, helped set the stage for violent assaults on dissident steelworkers.

One such attack took place during the very first hour of the convention. Cliff Mezo, a delegate from Local 1010 in District 31 was beaten inside the convention center.

When I talked to Mezo this evening, his face was badly bruised, his left eye cut and blackened. He explained that he is editor of Local 1010's newspaper. He had just taken a picture of a group of people he thought might be falsifying delegate credentials when his camera was grabbed and he was punched repeatedly by three assailants he did not know.

Neither convention center guards nor USWA sergeants-at-arms interfered to stop the beating.

Abel has frequently asserted that "this is not a political convention" and that none of his actions are aimed at influencing next February's referendum election of international union officers.

In fact, defeating the Sadlowski movement and assuring the officialdom's continued grip is the overriding theme of the convention.

Before the convention, the "official family"—as the steelworkers bureaucracy refers to itself—had failed to reach agreement on a successor to Abel, who has passed the mandatory retirement age. Two rival slates emerged from the officialdom. One was headed by District 34 Director Lloyd McBride, the other by incumbent Vice-president John Johns.

Yesterday Johns withdrew from the race and Abel unveiled a proposal to enlarge the number of international officers from three to five. In this way the other candidate on Johns's slate could find a place on McBride's ticket.



Militant/Harry Ring

ABEL: Won't allow 'capture' of union

In proposing creation of a new vice-presidency, Abel dropped a bombshell. "Perhaps this is the time now," he said, "that we should give serious consideration to filling this office with a Black vice-president."

Until now, Abel and his predecessors have rejected as "discrimination in reverse" the demands of Black steelworkers for representation in the lily-white top leadership. His abrupt reversal is a cynical ploy to attract Black votes for McBride's ticket.

The opening day of the convention has already set the tone for McBride's upcoming campaign: defense of the no-strike agreement, refusal to allow steelworkers to vote on their contracts, and an unrestrained smear campaign against anyone who challenges these policies.

During the rest of the week the pro-Sadlowski delegates will be trying—to the limited extent possible in this stacked convention—to initiate discussion of the real issues facing steelworkers.

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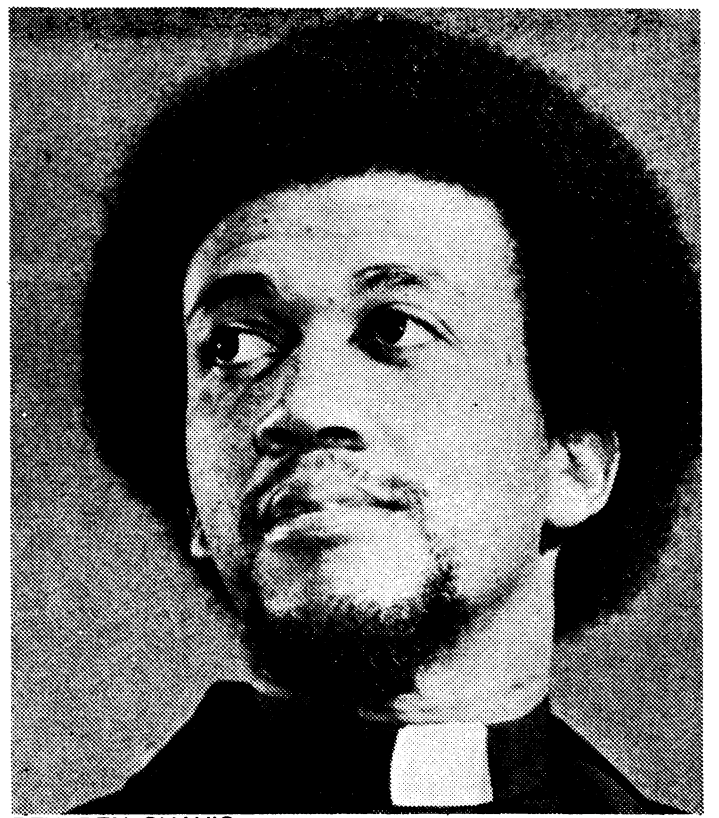
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## Free the Wilmington 10!



REV. BEN CHAVIS

By Sarah Ryan

WASHINGTON—The Rev. Ben Chavis and the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee have asked for massive participation in a Labor Day demonstration in Raleigh, North Carolina, to demand freedom for the ten.

The National March for Human Rights is being sponsored by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. Other demands include freedom for the Charlotte Three, abolition of "right to work" laws, and an end to the death penalty.

The Wilmington Ten, victims of a racist political frame-up, are in prison throughout North Carolina. They are charged with arson and conspiracy in connection with the burning of Mike's grocery store in 1971. Sentences for the ten total 282 years.

The ten include Rev. Ben Chavis, a veteran civil rights and labor organizer; eight young Blacks, all high school students in 1971—Marvin Patrick, Wayne Moore, Reginald Epps, Connie Tindall, Willie Vereen, Joe Wright, Jerry Jacobs, James McKoy; and Anne Sheppard, a white antipoverty worker.

The ten were active in the struggle for equal education in Wilmington in 1971. When courts ordered the schools desegregated in 1970, racists began a campaign of harassment against

Black students. After being denied the right to hold Martin Luther King memorial meetings in 1970, the students organized demonstrations and a boycott.

Ben Chavis, North Carolina organizer for the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, assisted their efforts.

The response of the racists was quick and violent. Vigilante groups, including the Ku Klux Klan, staged an armed siege of the Black community. Fires were set. Police murdered a Black youth. Gregory Congregational Church, an organizing center, was repeatedly fired upon. And Mike's grocery store, a block from the church, was burned.

Nearly a year later a secret grand jury indicted the ten activists for arson and conspiracy.

The "star" witness in the frame-up trial was Allen Hall, who had already pleaded guilty to riot-related charges. He claimed to have seen Chavis direct the throwing of a fire bomb. However, many suspect that Hall was pressured and possibly paid by the government to concoct his story.

The original jury for the trial was composed of ten Blacks and two whites. But the prosecutor suddenly became ill, a mistrial was declared, and a new jury of ten whites and two

elderly Blacks was chosen.

The ten were convicted and handed extremely harsh sentences totaling 282 years.

The United Church of Christ posted bond, enabling the ten to appeal to all the North Carolina courts and the U.S. Supreme Court. Each appeal was denied.

Following the Supreme Court's refusal to hear the case, the federal magistrate rejected the ten's bail request, and they began serving their sentences on February 2, 1976. All have faced constant harassment in prison. The case is now under further appeal in the U.S. District Court for eastern North Carolina.

Chavis has been singled out for continued persecution. Almost immediately after entering prison he organized meetings of up to 200 prisoners, which won several reforms. Chavis, twenty-eight years old, and an experienced organizer, has been active in Black student unions, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Fearing his abilities to organize, authorities transferred him to the McCain Hospital Prison. After waging a hunger strike, Chavis won his transfer to a regular prison, where he continues to fast on water and juices.

The Wilmington Ten have won broad support—including from the Congressional Black Caucus, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the North Carolina American Civil Liberties Union, and several union locals throughout the country.

The National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee, headquartered in Washington, D.C., was formed in January 1976. The defendants and some of their supporters have felt the need for a broad-based committee that could unite all their supporters, regardless of their political or religious affiliations, around the demand of "Free the Wilmington Ten!"

Imani Kazana is the committee's national coordinator. The committee has received an excellent response, she told the *Militant*, and is working with local affiliates in several cities.

Fall activities include plans for a film about the case and a campaign to place ads in major Black publications and local papers.

Kazana urges supporters of the ten to organize local committees, seek publicity, sponsor benefits, and conduct rallies and endorser drives.

The committee can be contacted at 1851 Ninth St. NW, Room 104, Washington, D.C. 20001. Telephone: (202) 387-3313.

## Abel smears dissident steelworkers



Militant/Harry Ring

Delegates on first day of United Steelworkers convention. Abel says those who disagree are 'outsiders, extremists.'

By Andy Rose

LAS VEGAS, Nev., August 30—United Steelworkers President I.W. Abel opened the union's eighteenth constitutional convention here today with a red-baiting smear attack against critics of his regime and his policies.

Abel branded steelworkers seeking to democratize their union as "outsiders," "extremists," and "shifty busybodies" who are "trying to undermine the United Steelworkers of America."

They've used "disruption," "provocations," and "Hitler-type lies to suit their devious purposes," Abel charged. "They want to take over."

Those who disagree with the no-strike agreement Abel signed in the basic steel industry were labeled "irresponsible" and "strike-happy."

Steelworkers never had it so good, according to Abel. Whatever problems they may have are due solely to the Republican administration in Washington. These problems will be solved, he asserted, by electing Carter and Mondale.

Abel's tirade was aimed at Ed Sadlowski, director of USWA District 31 in the Chicago-Gary area and leader of the Steelworkers Fight Back movement for union democracy. Sadlowski

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