

THE MILITANT

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

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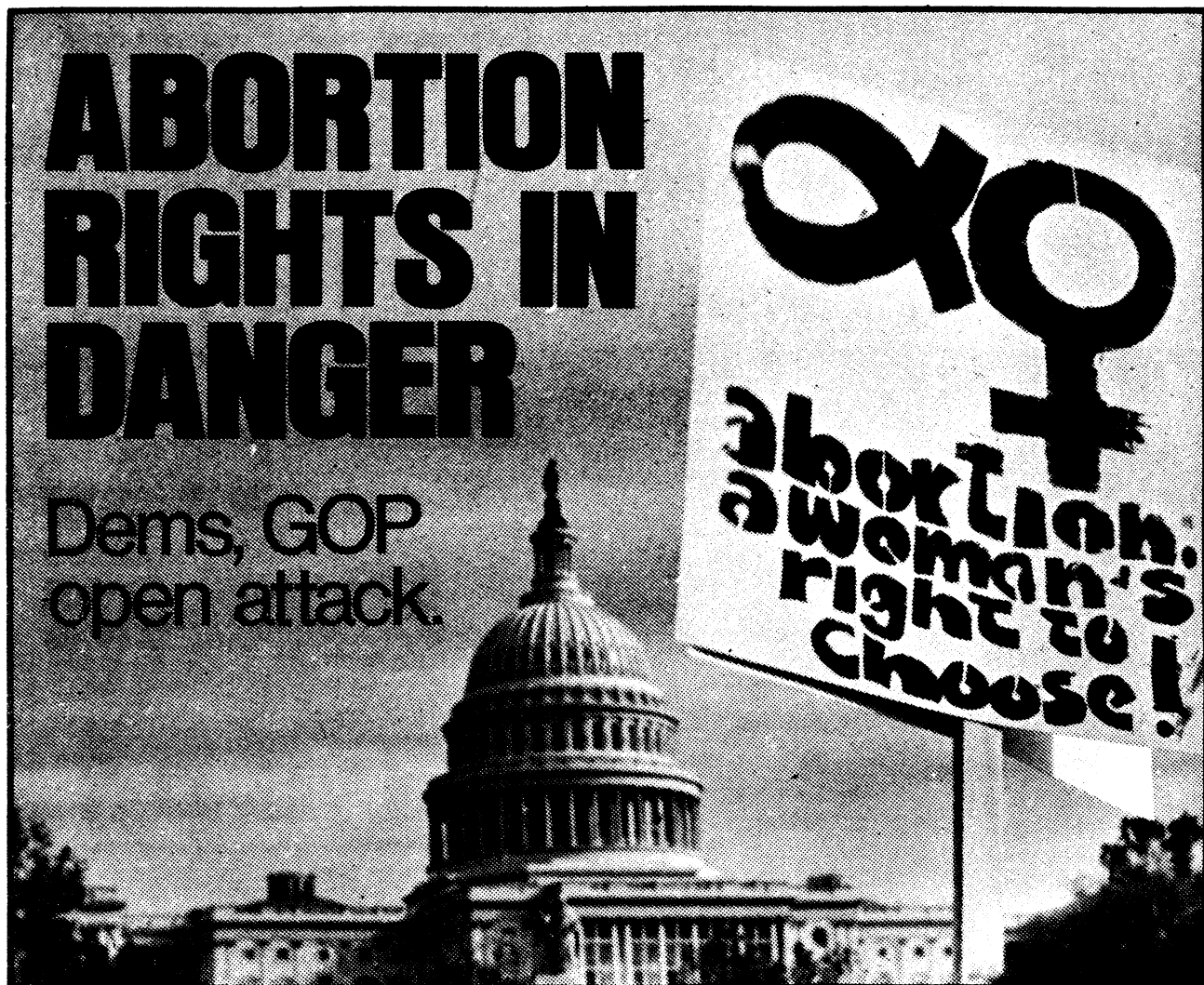
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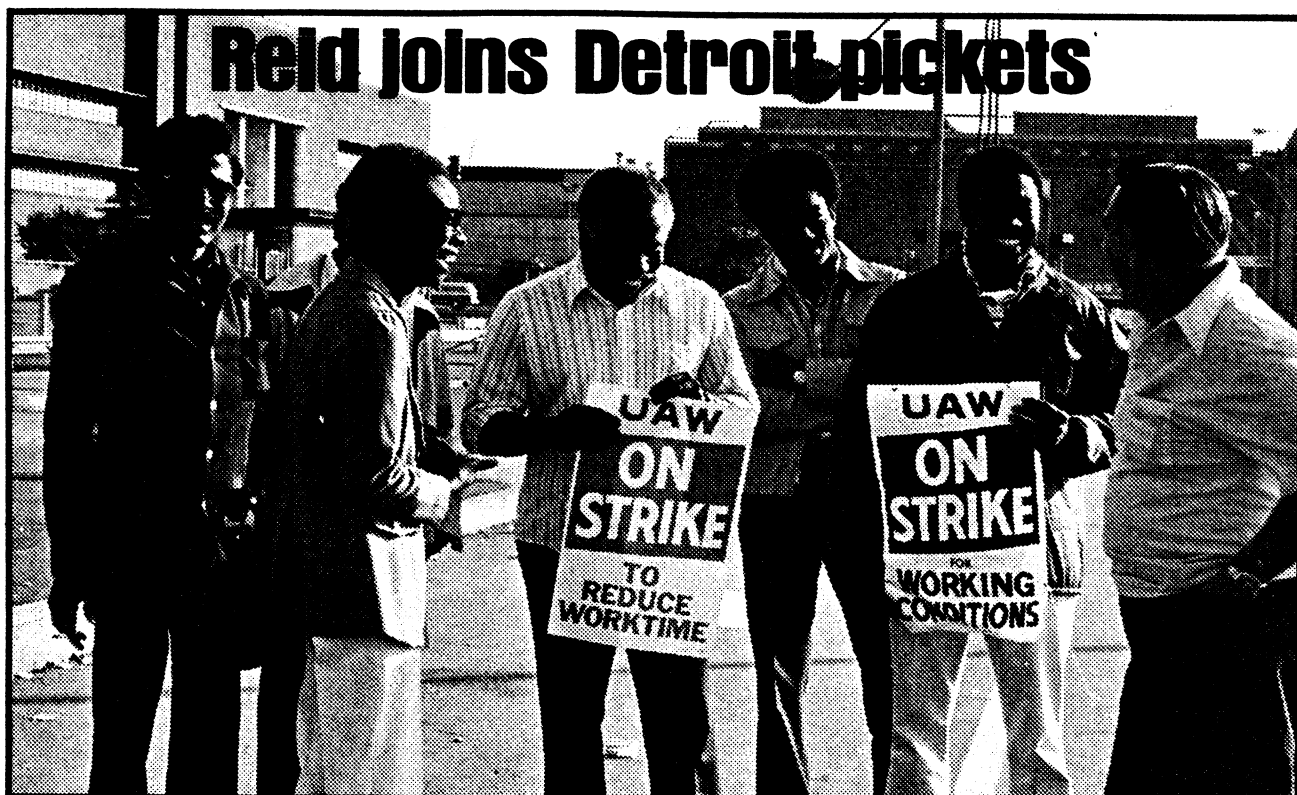


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Reid Joins Detroit pickets



Militant/Robin Maisel

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In Brief

MARCH TO FREE PUERTO RICAN NATIONALISTS: The National Coordinating Committee to Free the Five has announced that demonstrations will be held November 13 in New York and San Francisco to demand the release of five members of the Nationalist party of Puerto Rico.

The Five—Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Oscar Collazo, and Irving Flores—have been imprisoned since the early 1950s. They are the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

Further information can be obtained from: National Coordinating Committee to Free the Five, P.O. Box 319 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

RAZA UNIDA IN NEW MEXICO UNDER ATTACK: Antonio "Ike" De Vargas, Rio Arriba County chairman of the Raza Unida party of New Mexico, turned himself in for arrest in Santa Fe on Monday, September 20. De Vargas, who was being sought on trumped-up assault charges, wanted to avoid falling into the hands of Rio Arriba County Sheriff Claudio Naranjo.

Naranjo has been harassing the RUP, which is fielding a candidate against him in the upcoming elections. Naranjo is chairman of the Rio Arriba County Democratic party.

The charges against De Vargas stemmed from a September 18 incident outside a restaurant in Española. Without provocation, a Rio Arriba sheriff's captain pulled a gun on De Vargas. De Vargas disarmed the cop.

A rally that had been called for September 26 in Española to protest an army construction project will also protest this recent harassment. Juan José Peña, chairman of the New Mexico RUP, denounced the arrest of De Vargas.

"We cannot stand for Raza Unida members being terrorized for exercising their democratic rights," Peña said. "And we shall bring to bear every legal, political, and social resource at our command to end Naranjo's tyranny."

The International Socialist Review supplement will appear in next week's issue of the Militant.

CARTER-ARTIS TRIAL MOVED: New Jersey Superior Court Judge Charles Joelson ordered the trial of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis shifted from Paterson in Passaic County to a Hudson County courtroom in Jersey City. The trial is scheduled to begin October 12.

Joelson said there had been "an incessant stream of publicity" in the two major Passaic County newspapers "permeated with prejudice to the defendants."

Joelson denied a defense request to move the trial to Newark, a largely Black and Puerto Rican city. The judge said publicity in the Newark *Star Ledger* was "orchestrated largely in favor of the defendants."

This will be the second time Carter and Artis are forced to endure a trial on racist frame-up murder charges.

Arthur Bradley, whose 1974 recantation of testimony helped Carter and Artis win a new trial, recently charged that Passaic County prosecutors are pressuring him to testify against the frame-up victims again.

FREE SPEECH FIGHT IN EAST LOS ANGELES: On September 15 two salespeople sold forty-five single copies and eight introductory subscriptions to the *Militant* at East Los Angeles College in four hours.

This boost to the circulation of the socialist press came the day after the school's administration was advised to back down on its nearly year-long campaign of harassment and intimidation aimed at barring the sale of the *Militant*. The administration reversed itself on the advice of the attorney for the Los Angeles city colleges, who said the efforts to curb the *Militant* were illegal.

Supporters of the *Militant* in Los Angeles see this victory as an important precedent in efforts to end restrictions on sales at other area colleges.

COLBY CHALLENGED BY SOCIALISTS IN MARYLAND: Former CIA Director William Colby spoke to several hundred people at Towson State University in suburban Baltimore on September 10.

The audience asked questions suggested by a leaflet distributed by supporters of Ollie Bivins and Tory Dunn, SWP candidates for Congress from Maryland's Seventh and Third districts.

Colby insisted that the CIA ceased domestic spying in 1973. He claimed that the CIA never conducted training in methods of torture and had nothing to do with the 1973 coup in Chile!

The ex-spy-master refused to answer questions about the current SWP lawsuit against government harassment, in which he is a defendant, saying only that "the matter is under litigation." He did claim, however, that CIA surveillance of 1976 SWP Presidential candidate Peter Camejo during a 1974 tour of Latin America did not constitute a violation of Camejo's rights.

—Peter Seidman

Defend 'Post' strikers



WASHINGTON—"Drop the charges!" "Defend the pressmen!" "End union-busting!"

These demands will be raised on Saturday, October 2, at a demonstration in defense of the fifteen men shown above: striking press operators from the 'Washington Post.' They face a total of 268 years in prison for going on strike a year ago to defend their jobs, wages, and working conditions.

Minor damage sustained by the 'Post' presses when the strike began on October 1, 1975, was magnified and distorted by news media during the 'Post's' campaign to destroy press operators Local 6. Last July this incident was used to indict the fifteen strikers on charges of rioting, assault, property destruction, and grand larceny.

Supporters of the press operators will assemble October 2 at 10:30 a.m. at McPherson Square for a rally and then march two blocks to the 'Post' building. The action is endorsed by William Simons, president of the Washington Teachers Union; Tom Grubisich, president of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild; Sol Fishko, president of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union; U.S. Rep. John Conyers; and others.

20,000

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Where
we are

First week of drive

New 'Militant' subs begin to pour in

By Harvey McArthur

Baltimore, Buffalo, Denver, Portland, Houston, Richmond—even Fairbanks, Alaska.

"Eight subscriptions sold at a women's festival."

"Twenty-five new subscribers from the University of Massachusetts."

"Twenty-three sold in the Chicano community here."

"Sixteen subscriptions from my co-workers."

With 2,300 new subscribers after the first week, the *Militant* subscription drive is off to a good start. Many cities are already ahead of schedule. Combined, they've sent in 11.5 percent of

the national goal of 20,000.

The Seattle branches of the Socialist Workers party are already one full week ahead. They report 105 subscriptions sold so far—though only 33 have made it through the U.S. mail in time for the scoreboard.

"We decided to concentrate on talking to people we work with—on the job and elsewhere—to make sure they were all reading the *Militant*," said Louise Armstrong, city organizer of the Seattle SWP. "The Central Area branch has a special emphasis on door-to-door campaigning in the Black community here. They distributed an advance leaflet announcing, 'The *Militant* is Coming!' before they began ringing doorbells."

Denver planned an initial week-long push to kick off the campaign. They doubled their regular order of *Militants* and went out through the Black and Chicano community, selling sixty-three subscriptions. With more sales on college campuses and at political meetings, they've sent in ninety-six subscriptions so far, and have fifty more on the way.

Similar campaigns are under way throughout the country. At least half of the new subscriptions received so far have come from Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities.

Rich Hill's report from Baltimore is typical. "We are going door to door in apartment complexes in the Black community, and almost any block is as good as another," Hill says. "We get a friendly response everywhere. The *Militant's* articles on South Africa are big sellers here."

Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers

candidate for U.S. Congress from New York's Eighteenth District, is proving the importance of talking about the *Militant* wherever you go. He sells a lot of subscriptions to people he meets while campaigning.

Earlier this month, Garza went through Public School 25, where he used to teach, and talked with teachers. "Many wished me well in my campaign and asked what they could do to help," he told me. "I always say that the first thing they should do is

read the *Militant* regularly so that they know what the SWP is doing." Eighteen teachers bought subscriptions that day.

"I carry folders of campaign material and subscription blanks with me all the time," the candidate said. "When I meet anyone who is at all interested in politics, I always ask them, 'Do you read the *Militant* regularly? If not, you should get a subscription now. You can't afford to pass up our bargain offer.'"

Subscription scoreboard

	Goal	Sent in	%					
Louisville	150	49	32.6	Kansas City	125	13	10.4	
Dallas	150	46	30.6	Washington, D.C., Area	700	73	10.4	
Richmond, Va.	80	24	30.0	St. Paul	175	17	9.7	
Madison, Wis.	50	14	28.0	Atlanta	600	58	9.6	
Baltimore	300	80	26.6	Cleveland	450	42	9.3	
Portland, Ore.	250	57	22.8	Minneapolis	700	65	9.2	
Bloomington, Ind.	50	11	22.0	Detroit	800	57	7.1	
Oakland, Calif.	350	68	19.4	San Diego	400	28	7.0	
St. Louis	425	82	19.3	Seattle	475	33	6.9	
Boston	800	149	18.6	Los Angeles	1,000	68	6.8	
Lexington, Ky.	50	9	18.0	San Jose	350	17	4.9	
Denver	600	96	16.0	Berkeley	450	10	4.4	
Newark	400	62	15.5	Chicago	900	24	2.6	
Pittsburgh	450	70	15.5	Toledo	150	3	2.0	
New York	2,000	286	14.3	New Orleans	225	4	1.7	
San Antonio	175	25	14.3	San Francisco	800	13	1.7	
Cincinnati	150	21	14.0	Miami	50	0	0.0	
Tacoma, Wash.	100	14	14.0	Salt Lake City	50	0	0.0	
Philadelphia	650	87	13.4	Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	0	0.0	
Milwaukee	650	86	13.2	Arlington, Tex.	25	0	0.0	
State College, Pa.	30	4	13.0	Knoxville, Tenn.	10	0	0.0	
Houston	900	102	11.3	General		311		
Indianapolis	100	11	11.0	Total	20,000	2,300	11.5	
				Should be		2,000	10.0	



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Congress limits right to abortion

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—The Senate added its voice to the anti-abortion chorus September 17. With a forty-seven to twenty-one vote it approved legislation that would prohibit abortions for poor women.

The anti-abortion provision was tacked onto a \$56.6 billion funding bill for the departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. The amendment bars the use of Medicaid funds for abortions "except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term."

The House approved the same measure 256-114. The bill now sits on President Ford's desk awaiting his signature. He may veto it since it allocates \$4 billion more than he wants spent on health care. However, Congress would have time to override it before adjourning October 2.

Both Ford and presidential candidate Jimmy Carter have made their positions on the issue clear: they oppose a woman's right to choose abortion and oppose spending any federal funds whatsoever on abortion. They have been encouraged to make these brazen pronouncements against women's rights by reactionary forces led by the Catholic church hierarchy.

Action on the bill was stalled in House-Senate conference throughout the summer because the House objected to funds for abortion under any

circumstances. However, a report accompanying the compromise bill interprets it as allowing abortions when a pregnant woman has certain diseases or in the case of rape or incest.

The report explicitly rejects abortion as "a method of family planning, or for emotional or social convenience."

The bill would affect hundreds of thousands of women. Last year federal funds, mostly Medicaid, paid for 250,000 to 300,000 abortions. In New York City, where an abortion costs \$160, Medicaid paid for 45,000 abortions. Dr. Myron Gordon, chief of obstetrics and gynecology at Manhattan's Metropolitan Hospital, says that if the bill becomes law women will be coming to the hospitals after trying self-induced abortions or after botched operations by "discount" practitioners.

The National Abortion Rights Action League has announced that if Ford signs the bill it will go to court to block it.

In 1973 the Supreme Court ruled that states cannot restrict a woman's right to abortion in the first three months of pregnancy. Since then, some lower federal courts have ruled unconstitutional state laws restricting Medicaid funding for abortions. Two of these cases will be heard by the Supreme Court this fall.

Meanwhile, Congress has slipped

Continued on page 30

'Our right to choose!'



Militant/Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—"Keep abortion safe and legal!" "Free choice! Free choice!" These chants greeted President Ford and Jimmy Carter when they appeared at the Washington Hilton Hotel September 16. On two days' notice, the 150 women's rights supporters responded to the call to action from the D.C. Coalition for Abortion Rights. At 6:30 a.m., September 20, a group of women's rights supporters arrived at Penn Station in New York. Their placards sent Jimmy Carter off on his 'Whistle Stop' campaign trip with a protest message: 'A woman should have the right to choose!' 'Coat-hanger abortions—never again!' In San Jose, 500 demonstrated for abortion rights September 19. (See article, page 9.)

General strike rocks S. Africa

Black protests tell Kissinger: 'Go home'

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

In face of police clubs and bullets, young Black militants in South Africa demonstrated against Henry Kissinger's arrival in Pretoria September 17, protesting the visit as a further sign of American backing for the hated apartheid regime.

In Soweto, the large Black city fifteen miles from Johannesburg that has been the center of many of the recent demonstrations and strikes, students posted hundreds of placards denouncing Kissinger as a "murderer." Others protested Washington's support to the South African regime or declared, "Kissinger, go home."

At least four demonstrations against Kissinger's visit were held in Soweto. As during the earlier mass protests, police fired into the crowds of unarmed students and youths. According to the *Rand Daily Mail*, at least six Blacks were killed and thirty-five wounded. Some witnesses reported that police entered high-school classrooms and clubbed students.

G.J. Tabane, the headmaster of Sekano-Ntoane High School, one of six high schools involved in the protests, gave an account of the police assault there. According to Tabane, a crowd of students had gathered in a locked schoolyard and were singing songs when the police arrived. He continued:

The police blasted it [the gate] open before gaining entry. When three vans drove in with heavily armed black and white policemen, the pupils began scattering in different directions.

That's when the firing started. Some of the pupils were wounded by shotgun pellets. There was a great deal of confusion as the pupils screamed in pain. It was ugly. I have never witnessed anything like that before.

'Constructive' talks

While the police were gunning down Black demonstrators, Kissinger was having five hours of "constructive" talks with Prime Minister John Vorster. Whatever the outcome of those negotiations, the mere fact that Kissinger was willing to come to South Africa itself to meet Vorster is a major boost for Pretoria.

The antiapartheid Christian Institute of Southern Africa pointed to this in a statement released September 16. "A foreign statesman visiting the South African Government," it said, "bestows a respectability and approval upon the apartheid regime, unless he specifically rejects it."

Vorster set the gears of his publicity machine in motion to take full advantage of the Kissinger visit.

The September 17 *Rand Daily Mail* labeled Kissinger as "the most powerful man ever to visit South Africa." Some of the South African newspapers have described Vorster as "the peace-maker of Africa" bearing Kissinger's seal of recognition. While part of this publicity campaign is aimed at shoring up the morale of the white population, its main target is the country's more than twenty million Blacks. Vorster is trying to impress on them the fact that the apartheid regime does not stand alone, that it has powerful allies. Although Vorster claimed shortly before Kissinger's arrival that there was no crisis in South Africa, the apartheid regime sees the American backing as vital to its continued rule in face of the powerful challenge posed by the Black rebellions.

General strike

The depth of the mass ferment among South Africa's Blacks was highlighted by the three-day general strike that was held while Kissinger was on his way to South Africa. The



Kissinger's South Africa trip provides big boost to Vorster's apartheid regime

strike was the biggest single protest against the apartheid regime since the rebellions first erupted in Soweto in mid-June. It was also among the largest political strikes by Black workers in South Africa's history.

The call for the strike was issued by the Soweto Students Representative Council, an organization that was formed in the wake of the June uprisings. Leaflets in English, Zulu, and Sotho were distributed by students in Soweto and other Black townships. They said that the strike was in protest over the killing of more than 300 Blacks by police (according to official figures), the arrest of many prominent Black leaders, the death in detention of three political prisoners, and the reduction of workers' salaries in retaliation for an earlier general strike in Johannesburg August 23-25.

"More than 150,000 black workers began a three-day strike in South Africa's main financial and industrial center" on September 13, *Washington Post* correspondent David B. Ottaway reported from Johannesburg.

The strike was as successful in Soweto as the one staged three weeks earlier, with 70-80 percent of Soweto's 250,000 workers staying away from their jobs. But unlike the earlier strike, it was also observed by workers in Alexandra and Thembisa, two other Black townships near Johannesburg.

Johannesburg was brought to a virtual standstill, as many offices, factories, and hotels reported absenteeism rates of up to 70 percent.

Zulu workers

The strike organizers scored a notable victory in winning the support of the Zulu migrant workers, who are housed separately from the rest of the Soweto population in barracks-like hostels. During the August 23-25 strike, the police were able to turn some of these Zulu workers against the students and strikers.

Ottaway reported in a September 15 dispatch from Johannesburg that, according to African sources, the migrant workers' support to the strike "was the result of a series of secret meetings between hostel inhabitants and strike organizers who had gone to great lengths to explain the purpose of the boycott."

The students' success in gaining the participation of the hostel residents, just three weeks after the bloody police-instigated clashes between Zulu migrants and other Blacks, shows how quickly political lessons are learned during a social upheaval like that under way in South Africa.

The general strike spread to Cape Town, another major industrial center,

on September 15. In addition to Africans, the strike was also supported by large numbers of Coloured* workers, who are the backbone of the Black working class in Cape Town.

According to the Cape Chamber of Industries, the strike was 50 percent effective. In some parts of the city, up to 90 percent of the workers struck. According to a report by John Stewart in the September 16 *London Financial Times*, the worst hit was the clothing industry, which employs 50,000 workers, 90 percent of them women.

Nicholas Ashford reported in the September 16 *London Times*:

Cape Town port, the second largest in the country, was particularly badly hit with only 20 per cent of the African stevedores turning up for work.

Coloured schools were officially open but neither teachers nor pupils turned up for classes. One large city bakery stopped bread deliveries when 90 per cent of its Coloured staff stayed away.

Coloureds join in

The strike in Cape Town was an extremely important development in the Black struggle against white oppression. For decades, Pretoria has sought to divide the Coloureds, as well as the Indians, from the African majority by giving them a few more token privileges. But the apartheid system of white supremacy is as unalterably opposed to giving any real rights to Coloureds or Indians as it is to giving them to Africans.

Coloureds and Indians have thus increasingly identified themselves as part of the same struggle with Africans against the common enemy. It was this growing unity among the three sectors of the Black population that laid the basis for the rise of the Black Consciousness movement in the early 1970s, with the emergence of such groups as the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC).

The Cape Town strike was the first time Coloured workers have risen up against the white regime—or have participated in joint struggles with African workers—on such a broad scale.

The successful general strike in both Johannesburg and Cape Town exhibited a greater degree of organization than many of the earlier protests, despite the arrest of most of the known

Black student and youth leaders. The students have played an exemplary role and appear to be providing much of the leadership to the struggle.

The strike also indicated that the Black population of South Africa is beginning to sense its own strength. What the students recognized in calling the strike was the immense social weight of the Black working class—now numbering more than seven million. By simply withholding their labor, the Black workers showed their ability to cripple the white-owned economy.

The increasing understanding of the power and impact of mass action was summed up by two of the slogans on the leaflets distributed by the students: "unity is strength" and "power is in our hands."

The Vorster regime fears this growing confidence among the Black population. Although it has sought to give the appearance of making a few minor concessions, its central approach continues to be the use of massive repression.

In an effort to crush support for the strike, police raided sections of Soweto and Alexandra September 13, arresting hundreds of persons. In Alexandra they conducted a house-to-house search for "agitators" and "intimidators," in other words anyone found not attending work or school. According to the police, 900 persons were arrested in Alexandra alone.

During the strike, police also fired into crowds around the Soweto railway station and at several student demonstrations. According to the *Johannesburg World*, a Black newspaper, at least sixteen Blacks were killed in Soweto during the strike and between fifty and one hundred were wounded.

In other protests, eight Coloureds were killed by police in Cape Town from September 16 to 17. In Port Elizabeth, about 500 Coloured high-school students were arrested September 10 after holding a protest march. After a similar action in Durban, another 200 students were seized.

Following a statement by Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger that white civilians should "defend" their offices and homes, a number of white vigilante groups have sprung up in different parts of the country. With Kruger's encouragement, at least six Blacks were killed or wounded by white vigilantes in the Cape Town area in a period of just two days.

More than 260 prominent Black leaders have been arrested so far under the Internal Security Act, which allows the detention of anyone deemed a danger to "public order" for up to one year without bail, court hearings, or access to a lawyer.

Many of those jailed under this law have been leaders of the SASO, the BPC, the South African Students Movement, the Black Parents Association, and other groups. Steve Biko, a founder of the SASO, was recently added to the growing list of political prisoners.

According to varying estimates, several thousand other Blacks have been arrested in connection with their participation in the antigovernment protests and strikes.

Torture of prisoners is known to be widely employed in Vorster's jails. According to the strike leaflets, three of the political prisoners have so far died in detention. The lives of the rest are also in danger.

An international campaign is urgently required to save these prisoners and to demand their immediate release.

*South Africa's Black population is composed of 17.8 million Africans, 2.3 million Coloureds, and 710,000 Indians. The Coloureds are descendants of the early Dutch settlers, Indian and Malay slaves, and native Khoi-Khoi, Bushmen, and other African peoples.

At court hearing on gov't order

SWP to FBI: get out informers, release files

By Diane Rupp

NEW YORK—At a September 17 court hearing before U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa, the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance pressed demands that the government pull out FBI informers in the SWP and YSA and turn over FBI files.

A few days earlier the socialists had won a major breakthrough in their lawsuit against government harassment when Attorney General Edward Levi announced an end to the FBI "investigation" of the SWP and YSA. At the September 17 court hearing the socialists began their fight to compel the government to put Levi's words into practice.

Leonard Boudin, attorney for the socialists, demanded that as a first step the government pull the sixty-six FBI informers out of the SWP.

"In this preelection period when the SWP is already on the ballot in eighteen [now twenty-two] states," Boudin said, the FBI must get its spies.

FBI's forty-year vendetta against socialists. See page 16.

out of the socialists' campaign committees "so the basic principles of the democratic process can be carried out."

Since the government was responsible for putting informers in the SWP in the first place, Boudin insisted, the government "must take clear steps to see they are rooted out."

If the government does not pull its informers out and identify them, the announced closing of the FBI's "investigation" will be meaningless. It will be only "a paper termination, a paper tiger," said Boudin.

"The informer issue is crucial," Judge Griesa acknowledged. And, he pointed out, "the mechanics and safeguards are very important to the plaintiffs, looking to the November elections." Griesa reminded the government that the socialists had been objecting to informers taking part in the campaign committees for a long time.

Griesa went on to "suggest strongly" that the Justice Department and FBI "focus quickly and hard on terminating the activity of the informers."

'A lot of clients'

Boudin requested that other government agencies be asked what, if any, effect the attorney general's decision had on them. Have any other agencies come to the same conclusion as the attorney general and decided to close their files on the SWP? Boudin asked.

The socialists' suit has uncovered evidence of harassment from other agencies besides the FBI.

The Secret Service tape recorded and

photographed the entire 1971 YSA convention in Houston. CIA Director George Bush admitted that his spies performed black-bag jobs against socialists traveling overseas. Military Intelligence accepted documents stolen from the Chicago SWP by a right-wing gang.

"You've got a lot of clients," Griesa reminded the government lawyer. The judge pointed out that the U.S. attorney must defend not only the FBI, but also the CIA, Postal Service, Selective Service, Civil Service—a dozen federal agencies altogether.

But William Brandt, the government's lawyer, refused to even ask these other defendants in the lawsuit whether they have decided to stop their activities against the socialists.

Boudin tried to find out what steps

had been actually taken to stop the FBI "investigation."

The Justice Department had promised that "instructions to FBI field offices implementing the Attorney General's decision will be issued very shortly." According to a September 15 *Los Angeles Times* news story, "FBI Director Clarence Kelley said instructions had been issued to all the agency's offices on Monday to discontinue its investigations of the SWP."

Boudin asked for a copy of those instructions. The government lawyer refused, saying only that some sort of directive had gone out to the FBI headquarters and field offices.

Further, Brandt revealed, there are no final instructions closing the FBI's "investigation" of the SWP. There are "various viewpoints and ideas" in the Justice Department about what the attorney general's decision actually means, the government lawyer explained.

Brandt said it would take at least two weeks to come up with a final text of instructions to the FBI.

Judge Griesa warned Brandt that "those instructions are ultimately going to be produced in this litigation."

More files

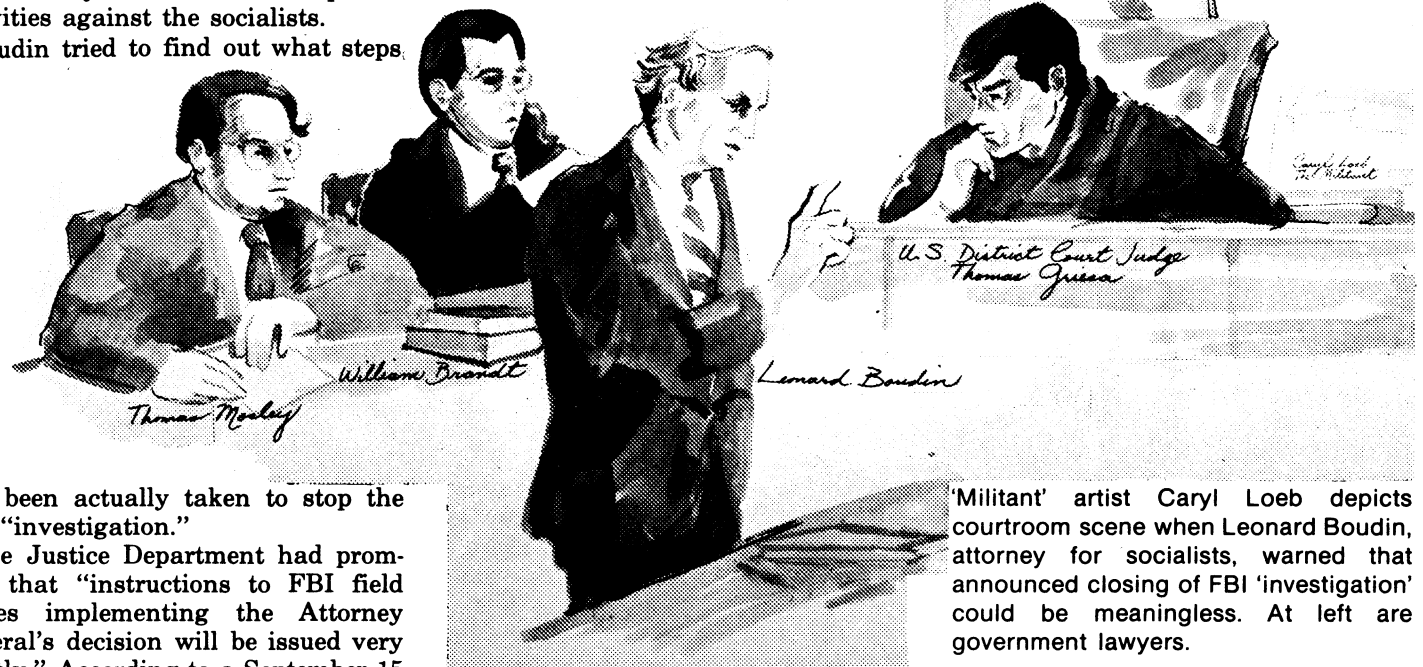
FBI files turned over for the lawsuit have been heavily censored. Thick black lines marked out most names

and details. Now there is no need for further deletions, said Boudin. The government should simply turn over the rest of the eight million documents the FBI has on the SWP.

Boudin zeroed in on demands for files on nineteen unnamed informers that had already been requested prior to Levi's announcement.

The FBI has recently turned over eighty-six volumes on just six informers. But the government has been objecting to turning over files on another nineteen spies, claiming they must hide their identities.

Since the FBI case on the SWP is supposedly closed, there is no reason to withhold the files in order to "protect"



'Militant' artist Caryl Loeb depicts courtroom scene when Leonard Boudin, attorney for socialists, warned that announced closing of FBI 'investigation' could be meaningless. At left are government lawyers.

any investigation, Boudin said.

The government lawyer countered with the incredible argument that since the FBI's "investigation" is closed, there "may be no reason for the plaintiffs to have those files."

Judge Griesa gave the government two weeks to prepare its legal brief.

Later, Syd Stapleton of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the lawsuit, discussed the court hearing in an interview with the *Militant*.

"While the Levi order is an important sign that the government is on the defensive, there is no chance that it will mean an end to the harassment of socialists in the United States," Stapleton said. "We saw that clearly in court today."

"We don't even know what the new instructions to the FBI say," Stapleton said. "Maybe they just tell informers to send their reports to Military Intelligence or some other agency instead of the FBI."

"Or maybe they tell FBI offices that

the SWP is not under active investigation but to go ahead and collect any information that 'happens' to come their way.

"Besides the FBI," Stapleton continued, "there are dozens of other federal agencies and offices that spy on and harass socialists, civil rights activists and others."

"Another extremely important side of the government's effort to silence dissenters is the widespread use of local and state police 'red squads.'"

"These squads will undoubtedly step up their activities now. They already have a record of totally unrestrained gangster tactics that sometimes make the FBI pale by comparison."

"The efforts to bring all of these crimes to a halt is the continuing focus of our suit. The SWP's campaign to get out the truth about government spying and to bring it to an end is no publicity stunt."

"If the government hasn't learned that yet," Stapleton concluded, "they'll have plenty more opportunities to find out."

Nation's media tell of socialists' lawsuit

By May Cramer

When the U.S. attorney general admits that the FBI has no legal basis to investigate the Socialist Workers party, that's news.

"The Justice Department revealed yesterday that it has ordered the FBI to halt its 38-year investigation of the Socialist Workers Party—a small left-wing political group whose counterattack helped to plunge the FBI into crisis," reported the *Washington Post* front-page story September 15.

News of the attorney general's announcement went out to hundreds of papers from the nation's four major news syndicates: the *New York Times* news service, *Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times* news service, Associated Press, and United Press International.

A sampling of coverage in several

cities revealed that local media also featured the story.

The *Houston Post* reported on a local SWP news conference. The article quoted Dan Fein, chairperson of the Houston Socialist Workers Campaign Committee: "The FBI didn't carry this out all by themselves," Fein said of the alleged surveillance and harassment of a local SWP chapter. He said documents show local and state law enforcement officers have cooperated with the FBI here in investigations."

The local NBC TV news carried Fein's statement along with film from the news conference held in Washington, D.C., by SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo.

Three television stations in Baltimore reported on a news conference held by Richard Hill, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Maryland. In

addition, six Baltimore radio stations carried Hill's statement and all three daily Baltimore papers reported the government's decision.

Two days after the attorney general's announcement, FBI Director Clarence Kelley spoke in Cleveland at the opening of a new Justice Center building.

As the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported, "Outside the Justice Center, about a dozen pickets from the Socialist Workers party protested Kelley's appearance. The group called on Kelley to comply with Atty. Gen. Edward H. Levi's order to stop FBI investigations of the party. They also demanded Kelley release the names of the FBI's party informants."

Other Cleveland radio and television stations carried an interview with Morris Starsky, one of the plaintiffs in

the SWP's lawsuit against government harassment.

Just before Kelley spoke, Starsky went to the front of the auditorium and demanded that Kelley order the FBI to implement Levi's new order and stop spying on the socialists. Starsky's remarks drew applause from the several hundred people assembled for the event.

Sylvia Weinstein, SWP candidate for school board in San Francisco, appeared on two TV news broadcasts there, demanding that the FBI get its informers out of the socialists' campaign committee.

Other stories about the socialists' lawsuit were published in the *Atlanta Voice*, a Black newspaper, the *New York Daily News*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and both Minneapolis daily papers, the *Star* and *Tribune*.

Antibusing forces rally

Racist violence erupts in Boston schools

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—White students, provoking fist-fights and brawls with Blacks inside South Boston High School, have shattered the tense calm in the schools that marked the opening of the third year of court-ordered desegregation.

The racist passions of the white students were fanned September 12 by a South Boston rally of nearly 1,000 to rev up resistance to desegregation.

The next day confrontations broke out in South Boston High all day long. Five Black and five white students were suspended.

Rest rooms and the cafeteria were the scenes of white provocations of Black students on September 14. Nine Blacks and eight whites were suspended.

As the melee spread through the building, a Puerto Rican student was attacked by a gang of whites. A Black teacher was pummeled by white students and suffered facial lacerations as he tried to stop a fight.

Word of the situation went out over antibusing phone hotlines and within minutes upwards of fifty ROAR-organized parents marched to the school. They demanded their children be released for "security reasons."

A beefed-up squad of state troopers patrolled school corridors on September 15, along with an additional forty school aides. Fights were still reported, however.

Poisoned apples

The same day, police discovered apples laced with poisonous strychnine strewn on a grassy plot near South Boston High. The apples were intended for the grazing horses of mounted police who are assigned to the school.

On September 16 the high school again erupted into a wild, chair-and-



Protesting antibusing mothers have received gentle treatment from cops

table throwing fracas between Black and white students. School administrators attempted to hush up the disturbance, but thirty-five students were sent home.

On the other side of the city, outside Charlestown High School, the tension was broken by a protest of fifty women. It was led by East Boston antibusing leader Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, a member of the Boston School Committee. Palladino and twenty-six of her racist cronies were arrested for failing to end a sit-in near the school.

These incidents involved the hard-core elements of Boston's racist antibusing movement. The two high schools are located in neighborhoods where resistance to desegregation is strongest and where racist leaders are determined to do their utmost to disrupt any peace in the city.

Police response to them has been gentle. As Palladino and her clique were carried into police vans, they and the cops could be seen laughing.

Attendance is up

Meanwhile, despite racist provocations inside the schools, attendance reached its highest level since 1974 on September 15. The 80.4 percent attendance that day was normal for an average day prior to busing.

The racists failed to win an electoral test of strength on September 14. Two hard-bitten antibusing candidates vied with incumbent Edward Kennedy for the Democratic party nomination for U.S. Senate.

Though expecting to lose statewide, the two bigots had hoped to win Boston. But despite a light city-wide turnout, the dyed-in-the-wool racists mustered about 48 percent of the vote.

In other news, the September 17 Boston *Herald American* released findings of a survey of busing attitudes. The results of the survey indicate increased acceptance of busing by whites, rising opposition in all-white neighborhoods to antibusing protests and violence, and a growth of Black support for desegregation.

Black support rises

According to the survey, Black support for busing has risen from 58 percent to 68 percent in the past year. A Boston *Globe* survey last year had already placed Black support in this vicinity.

The *Herald American* survey found little change in the percentage of whites who oppose busing. The margin remained roughly three-to-one in opposition.

Other findings, however, reflected significant shifts in white attitudes.

For example, nearly two-thirds of white Bostonians believe that busing is "now inevitable," while only a little more than a quarter—a 5 percent drop—think it "can be stopped." A majority believe this even in such antibusing strongholds as East Boston, Charlestown, and Hyde Park.

Only in South Boston does a majority—a slim 54 percent—believe that busing can be rolled back.

Such growing acceptance provides less fertile ground than in past years for mobilizing anti-Black protests.

Sentiment for peaceful implementation of the busing plan also runs high. Even in battle-hardened "Southie" a near majority—48 percent—favor peaceful acceptance of busing over further protests.

This is reflected in the majority sentiment for either an increase—or at least no reduction—in police presence in and around schools. This sentiment runs especially high in Black areas such as Roxbury. Only in Southie does a majority favor a reduction in police.

Stay on alert

The developing mood among whites revealed by the survey is important. It reflects changing attitudes after the legal setbacks suffered by busing opponents over the summer.

Nevertheless, antibusing sentiment is still high, and segregationist forces remain both determined and violent. The stepped-up attacks on Black students during the past week and racist attacks against Blacks in predominantly white areas of the city serve as warnings.

For supporters of busing, the main lesson of the survey should be that potential for uniting Black and white Bostonians against antibusing violence is still growing.

A mass movement in defense of desegregation in Boston is still the key to turning back ROAR's no-holds-barred drive against Black rights.



Cops were seen laughing with antibusing protesters as they arrested segregationist leader 'Pixie' Palladino (center).

Judge orders desegregation in Cleveland

By Brad Kahn and Paula Savich

CLEVELAND—The Black community here won a major victory August 31 when Federal District Court Judge Frank Battisti ruled that the state and city boards of education were guilty of fostering segregated schools in the Cleveland area.

The court ordered both boards to work with a court-appointed committee to prepare a desegregation plan within ninety days.

Battisti's ruling leaves open the possibility of a metropolitan plan including the Cleveland suburbs. The earliest that any plan will go into effect will be January 1977.

This decision comes as a result of years of struggle by the NAACP and others to end segregated education.

"It was never a matter of why we should seek racial desegregation in the schools," said Rev. James Stallings, executive director of the Cleveland NAACP. "It was only a question of how and when."

During the course of the suit the NAACP produced more than 300 instances of segregationist actions by school authorities between 1940 and 1975. In most cases the judge agreed.

In response, the Cleveland board pointed to its "policy of neighborhood schools" and a twelve-year-old multi-

million-dollar school construction program.

Commenting on these arguments, the judge wrote:

"The court perceived clearly a pattern wherein for many years identifiably black schools were frequently overcrowded, while neighboring white schools were underutilized. From this, the court must conclude that during these periods, there was essentially a dual system in which there were lower operating standards for many black schools by virtue of such conditions as overcrowding."

The judge found that the school board chose new construction sites where the school population would be

either all-white or all-Black.

"Under these circumstances," he said, "the construction of quality neighborhood schools cannot be viewed as any defense."

Some Democratic and Republican politicians were quick to condemn Battisti's decision, including Republican Mayor Ralph Perk and Democratic City Councilman Basil Russo. In contrast, Socialist Workers party congressional candidates welcomed the desegregation ruling.

Meanwhile, fifty people participated in a picket September 1 called by a local probusing coalition, Clevelanders for Equal Education Now.

SWP takes gov't, networks to court

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Sept. 22—Socialist Workers party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid took the Federal Communications Commission to court this morning in a suit demanding that they be granted equal air time for the Carter-Ford and Dole-Mondale debates.

The suit was filed in the U.S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, in New York.

Eric Lieberman, attorney for Camejo and Reid, declared that "the only way that the Socialist Workers party candidates can be granted equal time is if they are allowed to participate equally in debates between Ford and Carter and Mondale and Dole. As an alternative," said Lieberman, "we are demanding prime air time, equal in quantity to that being granted to the Democratic and Republican candidates."

The socialist suit aims to put a stop to the efforts of the ruling Democratic and Republican parties to chip away at the right to equal time.

Lieberman explained that going back to 1959, as the equal time provisions were weakened in Congress, Congress nevertheless explicitly maintained that debates should continue to be protected by equal time provisions.

As an example, Lieberman cited Sen. Jacob Javits, the New York Republican, in a 1959 debate. "Let us not eliminate [from equal time protection]," Javits said, "what I consider to be one of the great capabilities of the American people for having a knock-down, drag-out, face-to-face debate."

But pressure for exempting the debates from equal time had been mounting from the networks and the Democratic and Republican parties. It was in an interpretation by the FCC of the law surrounding a 1975 CBS challenge that debates between presidential candidates became transformed into "bona fide news events."

'News events'

This hoax, that what are actually preplanned and carefully staged advertisements for the ruling parties are "news events," lies behind the recent contention over the debates between the ruling parties and the networks.

The networks have pressed to be able to televise the audience reaction be-



Militant/Dick Roberts

File suit. From left, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress from New York Catarino Garza; national campaign press secretary Jean Savage; Eric Lieberman, attorney for Camejo and Reid.

cause it will give a news flavor to the staged presentations. They hope thereby to fend off challenges of their undemocratic proceedings.

But the last thing in the world Ford and Carter want to take a chance on is nationally televised audience reaction to what they say.

"Isn't it obvious that the Ford-Carter debate is a 'debate,' not a 'news event'?" asked Lieberman. "It is on these grounds we are attempting to reverse the whole process of denying independent parties and candidates their rights to equal time."

Another aspect of the Camejo-Reid suit was discussed by Jean Savage, Socialist Workers national campaign press secretary, in the press room of the federal courthouse.

"The new equal time rulings in effect give the networks the discretion to decide who gets equal time," Savage said. "The government agency that is supposed to regulate this, the FCC, is

acting in complicity with the networks.

"You have a clear case where the government, which pretends to be an impartial body, actually acts simply as the instrument of the ruling capitalist parties to try to preserve their own political monopoly."

Savage said, "The Democrats and Republicans control the FCC. They use the FCC to cooperate with the networks to maintain the Democratic and Republican monopoly of air time. This is part of the process of the ruling parties seeking to institutionalize themselves."

Savage said the case should be heard by the end of next week.

Philadelphia protest

Meanwhile, throughout this week, Carter and Ford have moved to stifle protests in Philadelphia at the site of the first debate.

A number of groups planned to use the occasion of the debate to peacefully demonstrate around the issues that the Democrats and Republicans oppose.

The Philadelphia chapter of the National Organization for Women, representing a coalition of women's groups, sought to demonstrate for a woman's right to choose abortion and to reaffirm the 1973 Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion; protests were planned as well by the Socialist Workers party, the United Peoples Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Women's Bicentennial Commission, and others.

Throughout the week these groups sought to get agreement on a place for peaceful, 'legal' protests outside the Walnut Street Theater. The U.S. Secret Service, backed up by the Philadelphia police, stonewalled until Tuesday, September 21.

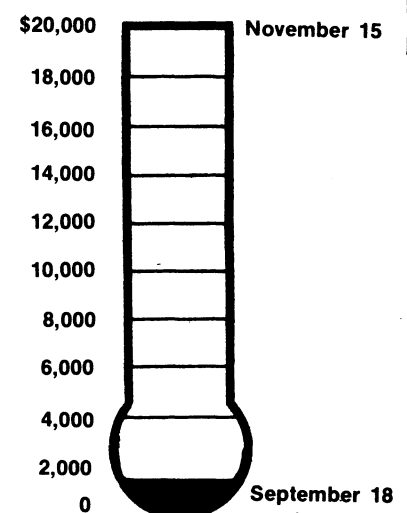
At that time they announced that a four-block section of the city, surrounding the debate theater, would be cordoned off for "national security." This would effectively keep the protesters well out of hearing and camera range—as the two capitalist candidates put on their show of addressing political issues.

This afternoon, Wednesday, at 3:00 p.m., these groups took the U.S. government and Philadelphia's city administration to court to obtain the right to a peaceful protest at the site of the first "Great Debate."

\$20,000 Camejo & Reid campaign fund

The Democrats and Republicans want to exclude all other viewpoints from being heard in the debates. SWP candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid have taken the networks to court on this question. 'Different ideas? You won't hear them from Ford and Carter,' says one SWP supporter. 'They agree on the ABC's—they're

How we're doing



against abortion, against busing, and for cutbacks.' The socialist campaign is carrying across the country the struggle for women's rights, the desegregation struggle, and the struggle to save jobs and social services in face of the city cutbacks. Camejo and Reid are presenting the working-class alternative to capitalist politics; the Camejo and Reid Campaign Fund needs your help to make this possible. In the first week \$766 has been raised.

In order to finance the 1976 Socialist Workers national campaign, the Camejo and Reid Campaign Fund must raise \$20,000 by November 15.

Make checks payable to the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____

☐ Please send me more information on the SWP campaign.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Occupation _____

Business address _____

Back N.Y. SWP ballot rights

By Jay Ressler

NEW YORK—In an attempt to throw the presidential and senatorial candidates of the Socialist Workers party off the New York ballot, the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees (also known as the "U.S. Labor party") filed an eleventh-hour challenge to the party's nominating petitions. The NCLC also challenged the Communist party.

Specifics of the challenge have not been made known.

Response to the NCLC's attack on the SWP's ballot rights has been quick and widespread. Among those who have responded to the SWP's appeal to send protests to the state capital are:

Jules Feiffer; David Dellinger; Katie Todd, president, Local 1930, New York Library Guild; Louis Olmedo, New York City Council member; Phillip Benson, deputy to the president for student affairs, Columbia University; Paul Seigle, chairman, department of English, Long Island University; Louis Menasche; the Baruch College Student Government; and the *Sentry*, Baruch's newspaper.

Pedro Reyes, president of the Lower East Side Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, wrote, "The Puerto Rican Socialist party on the Lower East Side condemns wholeheartedly the attempts made by . . . the U.S. Labor party to discredit and impede the Socialist Workers party from participating in the upcoming national elections.

"We do not agree with the entire political line of the SWP, but we do recognize their democratic right to enter the elections without being discriminated and harassed."

Telegrams and letters urging the board of elections to dismiss the NCLC challenge should be sent to the New York State Board of Elections, 194 Washington Avenue, Albany, New York 12225.

NEW YORK, Sept. 21—The Socialist Workers party announced today that its petitions have been certified for ballot status in Vermont. This brings to twenty-three the number of states (including the District of Columbia) that have validated SWP petitions for a place on November ballots. Court action is under way in Delaware and Florida to gain SWP ballot status.

Local informer admits burglaries

Camejo blasts FBI in Portland

By Stacey Seigle

PORTLAND, Ore.—Attorney General Edward Levi's order to the FBI to end its "investigation" of the Socialist Workers party—combined with news of FBI dirty work here—focused this city's attention on the September 15-16 visit of SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo.

Camejo flew directly to Portland after a Washington, D.C., news conference where Camejo disclosed the Levi order.

Two days before Camejo's arrival, Alan Selling, a former informer for the FBI and the Portland police, made public Selling's undercover work against the SWP.

"We will certainly use Selling's statement to ask for his FBI file," Camejo told a packed Portland news conference. In front of TV cameras, Camejo explained that in response to Levi's order socialists are seeking the release of all FBI documents on the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

"We are also seeking a permanent injunction to outlaw all of the techniques of spying and disruption used against us by the FBI and other political police agencies," Camejo said.

"When we get the files on Alan Selling," Camejo commented, "along with the FBI documents on disruptive activities in Portland, we expect to be able to determine the collaboration between the FBI and the Portland police."

FBI informer

The full story on Selling's undercover activities had come to prominence two days earlier at a news conference where Selling, the Portland SWP, and radical sports figure Jack Scott disclosed the details of Selling's informer work.

The news conference, held at the SWP's headquarters, coincided with the publication of a lengthy article on Selling that Scott wrote for the Portland *Willamette Week*.

In 1972 the Intelligence Division of the Portland Police Bureau told Selling to spy on the SWP.

In 1974 Selling offered his services to the Portland office of the FBI. His first assignment was to "continue with his Socialist Workers party project."

By the end of 1974 Selling was fed up working as an informer, and quit.

In addition to spying on the SWP, Selling told the media that, at the direction of the FBI, he twice broke into the home of David Spiegel, a Portland attorney and father of alleged Weather Underground member Mike Spiegel. Mike Spiegel is considered a "fugitive from justice" by the FBI.

Selling copied names and addresses out of telephone books and took envelopes with return addresses out of the Speigels' garbage.

His activities as an informer for the Portland cops had been known previously to the Portland SWP.

In 1975 the SWP sued the Portland police for copies of any secret files maintained on the party. In November of that year, the cops denied that any files existed. Selling made available to the American Civil Liberties Union, which was handling the case of the socialists, the names of his contacts in the police department. He charged that files did exist.

Destroyed files

When questioned under oath, several cops, including the head of the Intelligence Division at the time, admitted both that Selling did work for them and that they had files on the Socialist Workers party, but contended those files had been destroyed months earlier.

It was not known then that Selling also worked for the FBI.

At the September 14 news conference, Selling said that the FBI told him to go to SWP-sponsored events and report back details of what happened and the license-plate numbers of automobiles.

"I made at least biweekly reports on the SWP to the FBI," Selling said.

One occasion Selling tried to interest members of the SWP in a detailed floor plan of the Portland police offices.

Selling decided to make his story known to the public after failing to convince either the U.S. attorney in Portland or the Justice Department in Washington, D.C., that any illegal activity had taken place under the direction of the FBI.

"In January of 1975 I walked into the U.S. attorney's office and they took down my story in which I described the Spiegel break-in and my other activities. I gave another deposition in March 1975," Selling told members of the press. "They decided nothing could be done about it. That's why I decided to do this story with Jack Scott."

Cover-up

Scott, who is well-known for the FBI harassment he received during the hunt for Patty Hearst, admits in the *Willamette Week* that at first he was skeptical of Selling's story.

But, says Scott, "Shortly after we had confronted the FBI and U.S. attorney's office with the information we had compiled on this case, I received an anonymous phone call to our unlisted telephone telling me I would quickly find myself indicted on a two-year-old case back in Pennsylvania unless I dropped the Selling case. This dissipated most of my anxiety and helped to convince me further of the truth of Selling's allegations."

Selling's affidavit will be submitted as part of the SWP's suit against the government in an effort to obtain Selling's FBI file.

The attention that Peter Camejo's visit got here, coming after the revelations about Selling, underlined how much interest there is in the exposure of FBI and other police harassment.

Portland's major daily, the *Oregonian*, carried an interview with Camejo about the details of the SWP's suit against the government. Camejo also addressed an SWP campaign rally attended by 110 people, the largest yet held in Portland. The rally was covered by KATU-TV, the local ABC affiliate.

Drive for endorsers of SWP ticket

By Steve Wattenmaker

A national drive is under way to sign up endorsers for the Socialist Workers party 1976 presidential campaign. The aim of the drive is to place advertisements endorsing the SWP ticket in the press signed by leaders and activists in the struggles for social change.

The endorser ads will call for a vote for Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid as a positive alternative to Ford and Carter. Signers of the ads will not necessarily support every plank in the SWP's platform, but agree that Camejo and Reid represent a meaningful choice in the 1976 elections.

Chicano leaders in New Mexico, California, Texas, and Colorado were among the initial backers of the endorser drive.

Juan José Peña, president of the New Mexico Raza Unida party; Everett Chavez of the Denver Concerned Citizens for Equal Education; Frobén Lozada, chairperson of the Chicano studies department at Merritt College in Oakland, California; and Miguel Angel, who is also an instructor of Chicano studies in Oakland, joined Socialist Workers party spokesperson Olga Rodríguez in signing a letter urging Chicanos to endorse Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

"This bicentennial year is also an election year," the letter reads, in part. "And the Republicans and Democrats are once again calling on us to vote for them. What a hoax! The candidates of both parties have failed to address themselves to the critical problems facing us, much less put forward any solutions to these problems."

Other initial Chicano endorsements include Mia and Cecilio García-Camarillo, editors of the San Antonio-based magazine *Caracol*; John Bermúdez, president of the Chicano Business Students Association at Metropolitan State College in Denver; Ann Chavez, Denver Concerned Citizens for Equal Education; and Martín Delgado, an activist in the antideportation movement and a leader of United Mexican-American Students (UMAS) at San Antonio College in Texas.

A special advertisement signed by activists and leaders in the Chicano movement will be targeted for Chicano newspapers and magazines.

Dr. Salvador Luria, noted researcher at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, is also a new Camejo-Reid endorser. Luria won a Nobel prize in 1969 for his work on the genetic structure of viruses, and he has long been a supporter of progressive social causes.

Ralph Schoenman was another endorser of the campaign last week. 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 exposing the genocidal nature of the American war in Vietnam.

"No one who is serious about social change can allow themselves to be used by either of the two parties fronting for capitalism," Schoenman told the *Militant*.

If we ever want to see socialism in America, we have to build the social movement needed to achieve it—and the longer you wait, the longer it takes. Camejo and Reid are the only serious alternative to capitalist politics in the 1976 elections."

Socialist Campaign Rallies

Hear the ideas the FBI tried to suppress

Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are slated to appear at major rallies across the country. Along with leading activists in each community they will discuss the real issues facing Americans.



PETER CAMEJO will be the featured speaker at rallies in:

LAS VEGAS, N.M.—Monday, September 27, 8 p.m., Ilfeld Auditorium, Highlands Univ.
ALBUQUERQUE—Tuesday, September 28, 8 p.m., Student Union, Univ. of New Mexico
LAS CRUCES—Wednesday, September 29, 8 p.m., Corbett Hall, New Mexico State Univ.
MINNEAPOLIS—Friday, October 1, 8 p.m., Sabathani Community Center, 3801 First Ave. S

WILLIE MAE REID will speak in:

MADISON, Wis.—Thursday, September 30, 8 p.m., Great Hall, Memorial Union, Univ. of Wisconsin
MILWAUKEE—Friday, October 1, 7:30 p.m., 3901 N. Twenty-seventh St. (at Melvina, one block south of Capitol)
BALTIMORE—Saturday, October 2, 8 p.m., First Unitarian Church, Charles and Franklin Sts.

Your help is needed to build the SWP campaign and rallies. See the Socialist Directory on page 31 for the campaign headquarters nearest you.

Officers of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee: Chairperson, Linda Jenness; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

Willie Mae Reid campaigns across U.S.

Detroit: joins striking auto workers' picket line

By Robin Maisel

DETROIT—Willie Mae Reid walked the picket lines at the Ford River Rouge plant Saturday morning, September 18, along with members of Local 600 of the United Automobile Workers.

"I'm Willie Reid and I'm the Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president. I'm out here to show my support and solidarity with you in this strike," she explained to the pickets.

It came as a surprise to most of them that any candidate would come out on the side of striking workers and against one of the mightiest powers in Detroit politics, Henry Ford II.

Three days earlier Jimmy Carter had been speaking only a mile away from the River Rouge plant at the state convention of the AFL-CIO.

Carter did not take the trouble to drive over to the picket line. He did not even mention the strike in his speech to the labor officials.

To show his "neutrality," Carter skipped a luncheon appointment with Henry Ford II that had been scheduled for Wednesday afternoon at the Ford world headquarters. Ford was an early backer of Carter's candidacy—as was UAW President Leonard Woodcock.

"I don't think a candidate can be neutral when there is a strike," Willie Mae Reid said to the pickets. "You are either on the side of the union or you are on the side of the owners."

"I'm 100 percent behind the workers and the UAW and that is why I am here."

Reid asked the pickets what they thought were the main issues in the strike. The answers included the need for a shorter workweek to provide jobs and protection against layoffs, more money to meet the rising cost of living,



Reid discusses auto strike with picketers at Ford River Rouge, Detroit

Militant/Robin Maisel

and health and safety protection.

Ford demands that the workers pick up part of the tab on Blue Cross and Blue Shield. He also wants to pay lower wages to probationary workers, increase the number of part-time workers, and extend the probationary period.

"The part-timers are not in the union," one of the pickets reported to Reid. "The company should be hiring

more people to fill the jobs but instead they are laying off as fast as they hire."

"We aren't striking for enough, but we can stay out for a long time if we have to," he added.

In the parking lot next to Gate 10 were about forty men from the stamping plant. One of them had brought a portable grill and was cooking some lunch. The coffee cups from the morn-

ing pickets had been stuck in the fence to spell out "DAY FOUR."

Saturday was the fourth day of the strike.

Campaign supporters helped Reid to give copies of the SWP's "Bill of Rights for Working People" to the picketers. The demand for an immediate reduction of the workweek to thirty hours with no reduction in pay is a key part of the socialist campaign program.

Louisville: meets with probing parents

By Debby Tarnopol

LOUISVILLE—In a busy day here September 16, Willie Mae Reid spoke to a total of 150 people at two public meetings and held a news conference that was reported on two TV news shows, two radio stations, and the two major newspapers.

She was also interviewed by the *Defender*, a Black community newspaper reaching 50,000 people weekly, and met with several women in the Black community who are working to defend desegregation and to make sure it is implemented.

This meeting took place at the office of the United Black Protective Parents. "What do you want people in other places to know about Louisville?" Reid asked.

One woman explained the gains she thought had been won with the desegregation plan. Her daughter now has access to more programs. Busing exposes white and Black students to each other, and breaks down the prejudices that many white students learn from their parents.

Another woman, Benitha Ellis, explained that 84 percent of Black students are being bused, compared with 16 percent of white students. Ellis felt this put an unfair burden on the Black community and said she thought it should be more equal.

She also pointed out that six grade schools in the Black community were closed last year and six more were

expected to be closed this year. One of the grade schools threatened with closing this year is Roosevelt, which has a neighborhood school board with real parent involvement and control.

Reid said the Socialist Workers party has been involved in struggles by Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents to win control of their communities' schools.

In Seattle, Washington, Reid said, parents had a tax allowance to implement parent-controlled education. But as soon as the parents began really making the decisions and changing the way schools were run, the politicians took away their money.

"Until Black people and other oppressed national minorities control the purse strings, we will be manipulated," Reid said. "Each oppressed community must decide the tactics for fighting for better education for their children."

Reid said that she had no doubts that the quality of education in Louisville and all around the country is generally poor. But, she explained, "The Black communities fighting for desegregation are fighting right now for equal access to educational facilities—not for 'quality education.' No one but the rich has quality education."

"But we pay taxes just like white people, and it is our right to get the same educational facilities and services as white people."

Benitha Ellis jumped in to agree. She said, "As long as my money is going to public schools, I want to have a say and get what's rightfully ours."

It was clear that the discussion could have gone on much longer. The women took campaign posters and signed the campaign mailing list.

As Reid was leaving she said, "I'll be telling people everywhere I go that Black people in Louisville are fighting to make desegregation work."

One woman replied, "Yes. We'll be needing everyone's support."

San Jose: speaks at rally for abortion rights

By Barbara Mutnick

SAN JOSE, Calif.—Willie Mae Reid began a six-day whirlwind tour of California September 19 when she spoke here at a broadly sponsored rally to defend women's right to legal abortions.

Nearly 500 people attended the rally, held in St. James Park in downtown San Jose. They interrupted Reid's remarks with enthusiastic applause.

Reid said rallies like this are the best answer to the "deaf, dumb, and blind men who are trying to legislate away the right of women to control our bodies."

"This is the kind of action we had to take to win the right to abortion," Reid said, "and this is the kind of action we must continue to take in larger and larger numbers to defend the right we won."

The rally was called by the Coalition for Freedom of Choice, which includes Planned Parenthood, chapters of the National Organization for Women, representatives from several abortion clinics, and the Socialist Workers party.

It also drew support from the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Welfare Recipients League, and the Lesbian Feminist Alliance.

The protest was called in response to continuing attacks on the 1973 U.S.

Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion.

In California, Democratic Gov. Jerry Brown just signed a bill requiring doctors to keep aborted fetuses alive. This new law aims to discourage doctors and health-care facilities from providing abortion services.

This weekend, a statewide "pro-life" convention was also being held in San Jose. Although only 200 people attended that gathering, the city council saw fit to declare this "Right to Life Week."

On the national level, Ford and Carter continue to vie for the anti-abortion vote and the approval of the Catholic church hierarchy.

Reid finished her remarks to a standing ovation from the crowd as she declared that those who masquerade as supporters of the "right to life" are "the same ones throwing stones at little Black children who are trying to get an education."

"They are the ones who raise a hue and cry about fetuses but who hail the death penalty."

"They say not a word about the South African police who are ruthlessly murdering Black children."

Other speakers included veteran women's rights activist and suffragist Esther Hagler; David Wald, Peace and Freedom party candidate for U.S. Senate; U.S. Rep. Paul McCloskey; David Harris, Democratic party candidate for Congress; Stanford University professor Paul Ehrlich; Rena Rosenberg, director of the Santa Clara County commission on the status of women; and Sylvia Weinstein.

Weinstein, representing the San Francisco Child and Parent Action Coalition, announced that women's groups in the Bay Area are planning a demonstration at the second Ford-Carter debate, slated for San Francisco on October 6. The demonstration will protest the anti-abortion stance of both candidates.

ABORTION RIGHTS In the streets...

Democratic and Republican party politicians have declared war against abortion rights this year. Both Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter have come out squarely as anti-abortion candidates.

Ford is campaigning for a constitutional amendment that would allow individual states to outlaw abortions. Carter says he's against this. But he does not rule out backing some kind of restrictive amendment.

Both candidates want to stop Medicaid funds for abortions. On this, the Democratic-controlled Congress agrees. Last week it voted to attach an anti-abortion provision to a bill appropriating funds for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. The provision would ban Medicaid funding of abortions unless a pregnant woman's life is "endangered."

"This language makes the intent of Congress very clear," stated one of the bill's backers. "We are not going to permit the federal government and its taxpayers to support wholesale murder."

Such pious moralizing from the most violent government in human history is grotesque hypocrisy.

What about the lives of poor women who *cannot* get safe abortions without these funds? Last year 250,000 to 300,000 women paid for their abortions with federal—mostly Medicaid—funds.

Congress is condemning these women to bear unwanted children or to seek cheap, back-alley abortions—the kind that maim and sometimes kill.

This devastating attack on women's rights is racist to the core. A disproportionate number of its victims will be Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano.

The bill now sits on President Ford's desk. Ford may veto it, since other allocations in the bill exceed his budget proposal. But this is one veto that Congress seems ready to override. Among the senators casting "aye" votes last week were liberal Democrats Birch Bayh, Frank Church, and Edward Kennedy.

Some feminist leaders are saying that abortion is not a political issue. That it doesn't belong in the elections.

They are wrong.

It was only by making women's right to abortion a political issue and mobilizing in the streets against restrictive laws that we won the historic 1973 Supreme Court decision.

Today reactionary forces have again made abortion a central political issue. And they are making headway.

We cannot defend our rights by wishing the abortion issue away.

Instead, abortion rights supporters must once again march into the center of this political battle. Pro-abortion demonstrators have already confronted Carter and Ford in Philadelphia, New York, Newark, and Washington, D.C. Emergency actions like these are needed across the country. They can draw together feminists, unions, students, organizations of the oppressed nationalities, Democrats, Republicans, and socialists.

In united actions we can out-mobilize the anti-abortion minority. We can put immediate pressure on politicians to heed the demands of the majority:

Stop the attack now!

Abortion is every woman's right!

...and at the polls

Our protests should not stop short at the ballot box. We undercut and weaken our struggle when we march against capitalist party policies one day, then vote for capitalist politicians the next.

Carter thinks he's got the women's rights vote sewn up. He cynically boasts, "If a woman's major purpose in life is to have unrestricted abortions, then she ought not to vote for me, but she wouldn't have anyone to vote for."

Carter is half right. No supporter of abortion rights has any business voting for him.

But Carter lies when he says there is no alternative.

The Socialist Workers party candidates unequivocally support women's right to abortion. A vote for Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the socialist presidential and vice-presidential candidates, is a vote for women's rights. It is a statement that women will not support the parties responsible for their oppression.

Vote for women's rights in November!

Vote Camejo and Reid!

Stalinists, steel & ERA

Andy Rose correctly reported that the recent United Steelworkers convention passed a good resolution on women's rights. This resolution urged steelworkers to get active in the drive for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

I was an observer and *Militant* salesperson at the steel convention, and I wish Rose had said something about the brief debate that took place on this point.

Suprisingly, the sour note in the discussion came from a delegate from District 31, stronghold of opposition leader Ed Sadlowski.

Diane Gumulauski, delegate from Local 6787, spoke against the ERA, claiming that "it will take away more rights than it will gain for women."

"Let's face it," she said, "we are not equal in all ways, nor were we intended to be. Do we want the problems we have compounded by joint restrooms with no privacy in the mills?"

Gumulauski's reactionary arguments were favorably featured in the Communist party's *Daily World* newspaper. The Stalinists are the only tendency in the labor movement that opposes the ERA.

Needless to say, Gumulauski's stand did not find an echo even among the most backward pro-Abel delegates, much less the Sadlowski forces. The resolution passed overwhelmingly.

I hope some people in the steel union will use it to get their locals active in the ERA campaign.

L.D.

San Francisco, California

Steelworkers coverage

The article by José Pérez on the District 38 convention of the United Steelworkers union was quite good (*Militant*, August 27). As the campaign of Steelworkers Fight Back unfolds in the next months, the *Militant* needs to really step up its coverage of these important events in the USWA.

One inaccuracy I felt worth noting in the article: the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers union merged with the Steelworkers union on July 1, 1967, not "sixteen years ago" as Pérez writes.

Bill Breihan

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Bolsheviks on religion

In the July 16 issue of the *Militant* Dick Roberts quoted the *ABC of Communism*, the Bolshevik party textbook, as an authority regarding the socialist revolution. Recently I discovered in the same book several additional perspectives that should be kept in mind.

You will find these lines:

"Many weak-kneed communists reason as follows: 'Religion does not prevent, my being a communist. I believe both in God and in communism. My faith in God does not hinder me from fighting for the cause of the proletarian revolution.'"

"This train of thought is radically false. Religion and communism are incompatible, both theoretically and practically. . . .

"A communist who rejects the commandments of religion . . . ceases to be one of the faithful. On the other hand, one who, while calling himself a communist, continues to cling to his religious faith, one who in the name of religious commandments infringes the prescriptions of the party, ceases thereby to be a communist. . . .

"The transition from socialism to communism, the transition from the society which makes an end of

capitalism to the society which is completely freed from all traces of class division and class struggle, will bring about the natural death of all religion and superstition."

But the Stalin bureaucracy evidently did not believe that religion would die a "natural death." While Lenin in 1903 said "everyone should have full freedom not only to adhere to the faith of his choice, but also to propagate any creed," thus showing his belief in "the natural death of all religion and superstition," Stalin attempted to force religion to die an unnatural death.

That use of force continues, yet today in the Soviet Union tens of millions remain Christian. When will the Stalin bureaucracy learn? Listen to Lenin's statement of 1903!

James W. Gale

Loma Linda, California

Within the walls of Attica

On July 11, 1976, there was a disturbance that occurred in the D block housing area. An inmate was beaten into submission during a harassment cell search by some of the racist guards here.

But, on the overall situation here, men are being discriminated against, set up, harassed, and provoked because the guards (and their union) have been trying to obtain a pay increase. A number of guards and officials are creating an atmosphere of tension. They have "private little clubs" formed. They also want to be "justified" in their actions should a riot happen.

The superintendent, Harold Smith, has been throwing "dust" into the public's eyes through the news media and informing people who are concerned about the inmates' plight that he "doesn't know what's going on!"

Eighteen hundred inmates do!

I have written to the superintendent about the conduct of guards and officials—he pretends it doesn't exist, or else turns a deaf ear. The grievance committee here *can* work but they won't let it. Guards have retaliated against inmates for submitting a grievance on them.

Attica cannot withstand an investigation made by the public, or any outside persons interested in knowing the real deal that goes on here. This atmosphere will remain unless certain guards and officials are removed from this institution. There's no one we can turn to within these walls, and we are forced into a situation that we—the inmates—didn't create.

A prisoner

Attica, New York

[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.]

Palestinians—I

Anybody should by now realize the predatory and parasitic character of Zionism and of the Zionists in Palestine. Peter Seidman's article (*Militant*, September 17, 1976) and the *Militant* editorial of July 16 are excellent.

I do not understand the kind of negative reaction some readers have displayed in the *Militant* of September 17. Why should they find it so difficult to grasp the basic nature of the conflict over Palestine? Are not the

Palestinians the oppressed people struggling to regain their most elementary rights from Zionist capitalism and reaction?

I congratulate the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers party on their vision, courage, and determination to expose oppression.

Hannah Selwyn
Kokomo, Indiana

Palestinians—II

I am amazed at the readers of the *Militant* writing to the editor (issue of September 17) exhibiting such naïveté, or prejudice, toward the Zionist colony in Palestine. The Zionist colony is predicated on racism and racial discrimination.

This is borne out by its history, its ideologies, its practices, and the kind of support it has received from imperialist and racist powers.

Certainly the *Militant's* editorial of July 16 is in order. So is the brilliant analysis of Peter Seidman (*Militant*, September 17).

Bahieh Musa
Washington, D.C.

Palestinians—III

The chorus of righteous indignation which has appeared in the bourgeois press against "Arab terrorism" and in support of the military adventure at Entebbe is both sickening and highly dangerous.

The fact that many people who support the Palestinian struggle were taken in by this propaganda (as shown by many of the letters to the *Militant's* editor September 17) shows the extent to which capitalist ideologues were able to capitalize on the terrorists' actions. This demonstrates once more the point made again and again in the Trotskyist movement that individual terrorism is a bad tactic in that it provides political openings for imperialism.

It should be pointed out that Zionism is making hay out of the ridiculous antics of Idi Amin, just as they justify their racism against Arabs by pointing to the dictatorial Arab regimes. The popularity of the movie *Idi Amin Dada* in bourgeois public opinion is an example of this. As if Zionism had an iota of concern for the welfare of the Arab and African masses!

I agree with the points made by Peter Seidman in defense of the *Militant's* position. It is simply a fact that the terrorism practiced by a handful of Palestinians is a direct product of the oppression of the Palestinians at the hands of Zionism, the Arab ruling classes, and world imperialism.

In the absence of an effective program of mass action, and in the absence of effective support from the workers states, it is not surprising that individuals are driven by desperation to terrorism. But the point is that Zionism, one of the more grotesque offsprings of imperialism, plays a conscious, contributing role in creating these conditions and exploits terrorism in order to further its own ends.

Charles Cairns
New Hyde Park, New York

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

Women in Revolt

Report from Ireland

[The following guest column is by Jean Vertheim, a women's liberation activist and member of the Socialist Workers party in the Bronx, New York.]

DUN LOAGHAIRE, IRELAND—"Forty Foot Gentlemen Only," reads a sign for a beach club on the shore of Dublin Bay here. For a fee, "Forty-foot" club members open the beach to any *man* for swimming and diving from the high rocks that surround it. The "Forty-foot" stands next to Sandycove Harbour, a debris-strewn, shallow-water bathing area set aside for women and children.

This is only one example of the restrictions I discovered women face in Ireland.

But I found something else during my visit here. There's a new women's rights organization—Irish Women United—that is beginning to fight back.

Advised of their right to access by a legal expert, about forty Irish Women United members and other women marched from the women's beach onto the "Forty-foot" September 5. A nasty incident a week earlier sparked the protest. Two male swimmers had assaulted two women from Irish Women United as they tried to photograph the exclusionary sign and beach for *Banshee*, the group's magazine.

Ann Speed, a spokeswoman for Irish Women United, told the September 5 demonstrators and one hundred onlookers, "Behind the attacks by men is bravadoism, which reflects the most backward attitudes in our society."

Sexism is welded into Irish laws and the constitution with its Article 41. This reflects the dogmas of the Catholic church, establishing the family—not the individual—as the basic unit of Irish society.

The constitution forbids divorce. It also states, "Mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home."

Translated, this means married women should not work. Ann Speed, also a member of the Irish Trades Union Congress Women's Committee, told me that only about 3.5 percent of married women do manage to work.

Cindy Jaquith



Women compose 35 percent of the work force. They are usually forced to take only menial jobs, according to the 1972 Commission on the Status of Women Report.

The constitution, laws, and customs box women in on all sides. Women can't control their own bodies any more than they can control their economic lives. Because law prevents the sale of contraceptives, few women are able to get "smarties," as they call birth control pills and other contraceptive devices.

A woman seeking an abortion in Ireland must defy strong taboos, as well as the law. Yet, last year, the *Irish Times* reported that at least 1,900 Irish women slipped abroad to obtain abortions.

Irish Women United emerged out of ferment in June 1975 during International Women's Year seminars in the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. In the last few months women workers in television repair and rentals and women telephone workers have struck for equal pay for equal work.

In this atmosphere of rising feminist consciousness, Irish Women United has become an important element in the fight against women's oppression. Ann Speed told me, "The organization began by realizing that certain issues, if won, would help women feel more free, go on to other victories, and reach broader groups of women."

While its charter addresses a wide range of feminist goals, the group has decided to focus on legalizing the sale of contraceptives.

Irish Women United has helped form the Irish Contraceptive Action Program (ICAP)—a coalition that includes the Labour Women's National Council from the Labour party, Irish Family Planning Association, and Women's Aid.

ICAP's demands are: Abolish all existing legislation that bars the sale of contraceptives and provide complete family planning services for all who need them. The coalition is planning a petition drive and demonstrations this fall.

Judging from the momentum of women now in action, the contraceptive campaign has a real opportunity for success.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



'Ethnic week'

As soon as I finish this I'm going to get on the phone to the Federal Communications Commission. Jeez, the nerve of 'em. They know that allowing the networks to show uncut scenes of *The Exorcist* can be damaging to the minds of young children. But they let it on TV anyway.

Imagine that. Jimmy Carter right up there on TV in the lead role. Talking about how he'd like to exorcise busing. That can take a tremendous toll on impressionable Black youngsters. I'm gonna complain.

Just because he declared the early part of September "ethnic week" and went campaigning before audiences in white ethnic communities in the big Northern cities, there was no need for him to come on like William Blatty's main character.

In Cleveland in front of the media and 500 assembled at the Slovenian Society Home, Carter got his biggest applause when he said, "I'm not in favor of forced busing."

"I've never advocated it but as president I would have to support the rulings of the courts," Carter said. "But I think there is a better way."

Outside of the Slovenian Society Home, thirty pickets, members of the antibusing Citizens for Neighborhood Schools, marched while Carter spoke. Upon his exit a reporter asked him what he thought of the pickets.

"I am opposed to forced busing," he repeated.

All during "ethnic week" Carter batted up pop flies for all the infielders to catch. In Pittsburgh he doffed his batting helmet to the "heritage of ethnic neighbor-

hoods," then donned a "Polish Hill" T-shirt and complained about high welfare costs and rising crime.

"Earlier, in Philadelphia, he made the same pitch to similar groups, and he probably will stress the same messages tonight in Chicago and tomorrow in a Polish community in Milwaukee," the *Wall Street Journal* said.

"Ethnic week" also included batting practice with the anti-abortion forces.

"I am concerned about the unborn," Carter told them. "And I will do everything in my power to hold down the need for abortions."

"Ethnic week" then took Carter south, where he found a warm reception in Birmingham.

"We Southerners believe in work, not welfare," he told applauding supporters, with Alabama Gov. George Wallace at his side.

"Again and again, the Alabama Governor, who was once the South's most prominent politician, smiled and nodded his approval from his nearby wheelchair as Mr. Carter stirred his audience with refined echoes of familiar Wallace themes," said the *New York Times*.

Welfare cheats, crime in the streets, forced busing: it was a down-home stomp to which Carter took a shine like kudzu to a power line.

"It's a great honor for me to be campaigning" with them, he said. "Them" included segregationist Mississippi Senators James Eastland and John Stennis, "leaders" and "statesmen," according to Carter, who have been "committed to absolute integrity."

It was the best week yet.

UN panel discusses Puerto Rico

By José G. Pérez

The United Nations Committee on Decolonization concluded discussion on the case of Puerto Rico September 6.

After several days of discussion and debate, the chairperson of the committee, Salim Ahmed Salim, read a statement outlining the consensus of all committee members.

That statement unambiguously reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence."

It also said the committee would consider next year "appropriate measures as a follow-up of the Committee's previous resolutions on . . . Puerto Rico."

The Puerto Rican question has been before the United Nations for many years. But it was not until 1973 that the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution in support of

Puerto Rican independence.

A year ago, the United States won a decolonization committee vote to table the question. The U.S. votes were won through blackmail, as U.S. delegate Daniel Moynihan made clear in a subsequent secret cable to Henry Kissinger.

Speaking of the position of non-aligned countries on this and other issues, Moynihan boasted, "Maintaining solid ranks was simply too expensive for too many members." (Emphasis added.)

The decision adopted by the committee this year was clearly a compromise. Nevertheless, Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, said, "Examined in its entirety, the agreement is positive for the cause of Puerto Rican independence."

Strangely enough, the U.S. rulers also claimed a victory. Although

they did not report on the proceedings or decision of the committee, the *New York Times* published an editorial headlined, "Reason on Puerto Rico." In it, the *Times* falsely asserted:

"Last year it required a formal vote of 11 to 9 to shelve a fatuous Cuban resolution that would have reaffirmed 'the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence.' This year, the committee simply decided without a vote to postpone the issue until next year."

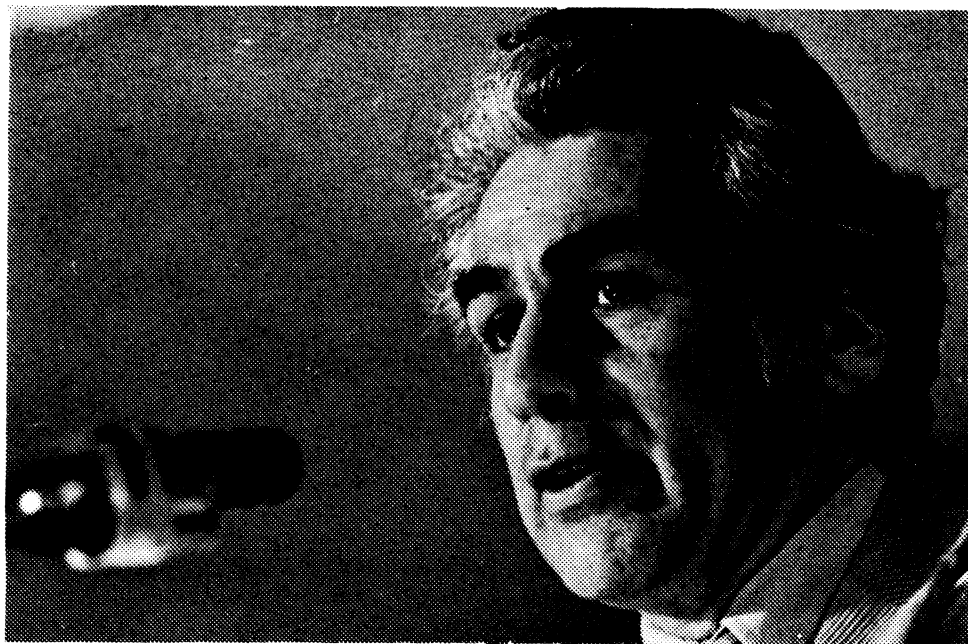
The *Times's* editorial is clearly a dishonest misrepresentation of the consensus approved this year. But it is also a signal that the U.S. rulers are determined to use all kinds of maneuvers and subterfuge to avoid a discussion of the status of Puerto Rico.

SWP urges P.R. Socialist party to back Garza

[The Lower East Side, New York, Socialist Workers Campaign Committee sent the following letter to the Puerto Rican Socialist party September 21. It calls on the PSP to support Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in the Eighteenth District.

[Garza is running against incumbent Ed Koch, a Democrat, for the House seat. Garza will appear on the ballot in the November election.

[Copies of this letter are being circulated to members of the PSP in New York. Copies can be obtained from: Lower East Side Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 221 East Second Street, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: 260-6400.]



Militant/Lou Howort

Catarino Garza, socialist challenger of Ed Koch in New York's Eighteenth District

Dear Compañeras and Compañeros,

We would like to express our appreciation for the message Pedro Reyes, head of your committee in the Lower East Side of Manhattan, sent to the Board of Elections in Albany demanding that the undemocratic challenge to our statewide ballot status in New York be struck down.

We would also like to urge you to reconsider your decision not to support Catarino Garza's campaign for U.S. Congress in New York's Eighteenth District. Garza is a Puerto Rican socialist running against the Democratic incumbent Ed Koch, who is a longtime opponent of the struggles of Puerto Ricans and other working people on the Lower East Side.

In June we sent a letter to your Political Commission in the United States asking for your party's support to the Garza campaign. When representatives of our party met with Shelley Karliner from your Political Commission, she informed us that this body had met and rejected our request.

In early September we sent another letter to your Political Commission asking for reconsideration of this

position. To date we have received no reply.

In our discussion with Compañera Karliner we gathered that the substance of your position was:

- You do not believe your party is in a position to run its own campaign.
- Your main effort will be to concentrate on the elections in Puerto Rico.
- The fact that other socialists are in a struggle in the electoral arena with capitalist candidates is not important.

• These elections are not important to the PSP and to those Puerto Ricans it reaches.

On these grounds your Political Commission refused to support the Garza campaign or help us petition to gain a place on the ballot.

We think that you are making an error and ask you again to reconsider your position.

While we recognize the importance of the elections in Puerto Rico, orienting solely to them does not offer the Puerto Rican community in the United States

an alternative to the policies of the capitalist parties. Puerto Ricans in the United States are especially victimized by the racist and antilabor policies of the Democratic and Republican parties. It is incumbent on those who aspire to lead the Puerto Rican community to help chart a course of independence from these parties.

If the PSP is unable to undertake its own campaign in the U.S. elections, it should seriously consider supporting a challenge to the capitalist parties by the Socialist Workers party.

The PSP would certainly not feel that its inability to affect the outcome of a strike in New York means that it cannot take sides in such a battle. The electoral arena is another battleground between the working class and the capitalists.

To extend support to Garza, even if you don't agree with all of his positions, would be an expression of elementary class solidarity. It would help educate Puerto Ricans and other

working people on the need to break with the capitalist parties.

That is the attitude the Socialist Workers party's sister organization, the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores, is taking in Puerto Rico. It is too small at this time to field its own ticket in the elections there. So they are campaigning for the PSP candidates against the capitalist New Progressive and Popular Democratic parties, even though they have criticisms of many of the PSP's policies.

We disagree with you that the congressional race in the Eighteenth District isn't important to the community. In School District One in the Lower East Side, a part of this congressional district, a most bitter fight has taken place over the right of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents to control the schools and to establish bilingual-bicultural education for minority children, most of them Puerto Rican.

At present the racists hold the majority on the school board. They are all members of the Democratic party and part of its machine. The majority of the school board has gutted the bilingual-bicultural programs, dismissed most of the Puerto Rican and Black teachers as well as administrators. Koch supported the racists and opposed community control of the schools by the parents. These are important questions for the Puerto Rican community, and we don't believe the PSP or people it reaches should abstain from taking sides.

We think it is important to do systematic educational work among Puerto Ricans to win them away from the trap of capitalist politics. The Democratic party still exerts considerable influence in our community and there are Puerto Rican activists who propose that Puerto Ricans try to solve their problems through that party.

We hope you will take these arguments under consideration and support the Catarino Garza campaign for Congress.

Informer admits deal in Muslim trial

By Baxter Smith

NEW YORK—Jurors in the thirteen-week-old cop-slaying trial of a New York Muslim heard bought testimony September 16 from a man claiming to have been an eyewitness, a police informer with a record of underworld activity.

The informer testified that he was offered a deal to take the witness stand against Lewis 17X Dupree, a member of the Nation of Islam, who is charged with the April 14, 1972, shooting death of Officer Philip Cardillo.

Disclosure of the deal came when the informer, Foster 2X Thomas, reminded the prosecutor: "You said you would

speak to the DA in the Bronx about my case, after I testified."

Earlier, Thomas had testified he saw Dupree struggling with a cop for possession of a gun. Cardillo was one of several cops who raced without warning into Muhammad's Mosque No. 7, supposedly in response to an officer-in-distress call.

"Brother Lewis was trying to get the gun out of the holster," said Thomas, at the time a Nation of Islam member. "There was a scuffle. Brother Lewis pulled the gun out of the holster and while at close range he shot the cop."

Under cross-examination, attorneys for Dupree began to pick apart Thomas's testimony.

Thomas, who testified that he has been on police payroll since March 1973, is under indictment for purchases made on a stolen credit card, defense attorneys revealed. They also showed that he is being sued for forging information for a bank loan.

The judge, Martin Evans, has clamped an unusual gag order on attorneys to prevent them from discussing the case with reporters. Earlier in the trial, which has drawn Muslim crowds and boxing champ Muhammad Ali, Dupree's attorneys demonstrated that Cardillo may have been killed by a stray bullet fired by his partner.

Convicted by all-white jury

J.B. Johnson sentenced to life in prison

By Pat Hayes

ST. LOUIS—On Friday, September 10, J.B. Johnson was resented to life in prison.

Judge William Corrigan told Johnson he would not be granted probation because the defendant had not admitted his guilt. For six years, Johnson has maintained that he was not an accomplice in the shooting death of a cop during a 1970 jewelry store robbery.

Despite widespread doubt about Johnson's conviction, especially in the Black community, Corrigan told Johnson, "I have never seen more overwhelming evidence of guilt."

In a rare and dramatic courtroom response, Johnson shot back, "Your honor, I proved my innocence in this courtroom. I was convicted because only eight out of one hundred people called for the jury were Black, and none of them were allowed to serve. Also all those policemen that testified here, they changed their testimony."

Attorneys for Johnson had asked the court to release Johnson on probation after the all-white jury in his second trial pronounced him guilty of first-degree murder on May 14.

Attorney Forris Elliot read into the court record the names of more than forty-five individuals and organizations who wrote letters to the court requesting that it grant probation.

The St. Louis Chapter of the National Association of Black Social Workers wrote, "Mr. Johnson has demonstrated, both within the jails and while awaiting his second trial, that he has the ability and desire to be an asset to the community, his family, and most importantly, himself."

Betty Lee of *Proud* magazine wrote,



J.B. Johnson (left) with attorney William Kunstler and Mary Watkins

"Despite the fact that the confessed murderer claims that another person was his accomplice, Johnson has twice been convicted of the crime. It is my belief that J.B. Johnson should not be in prison."

Other letters came from Rev. John Doggett and Ina Boone, Region 4 director of the NAACP; Missouri's Black Congressional Caucus; Missionary Baptist Ministers Union of Greater St. Louis; Jake McCarthy, columnist for the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*; the Black American Law Students Association at St. Louis University; and Msgr. John Shocklee of the Archdiocese of St. Louis.

In an unusual move, defense attorneys presented testimony before sentencing.

Dr. Ralph Lee, president of Forest

Park Community College, testified that he believed Johnson was innocent. However, Lee added, Johnson would merit probation even if he were guilty because of his exemplary behavior during the past six years.

Also urging probation were Dr. P.H. Dennis, who gave Johnson psychological tests in August and during the first trial; Ed Tripp, head of the St. Louis Department of Welfare; Dr. Robert Williams, chairman of the Black Studies Department at Washington University; and Angel Adams of Dismas House, a St. Louis halfway house.

Chief defense attorney William Kunstler summed up the feelings of Johnson's supporters when he told the judge, "If ever a case cried out for justice, this is it. If ever an individual

deserved probation, J.B. Johnson is the one."

Rumors that the judge "might consider" probation if Johnson pleaded guilty were confirmed by Corrigan's comments during sentencing. "You've had very bad advice from your attorneys, and I think you know what I mean," Corrigan lectured the defendant.

Mary Watkins, Johnson's mother, has often pointed out that if her son had accepted earlier offers of plea bargaining, he might already be out of prison. "Like all of the other offers that my son J.B. has received over the years from judges and prosecutors," she said, "J.B. said no to this one too."

Kunstler filed an immediate notice of appeal. It will be a far-reaching constitutional challenge to the racist St. Louis County jury-selection process, which has excluded Blacks in both trials.

The brave fight of J.B. Johnson and Mary Watkins has won thousands of supporters. Activists in the National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson and other supporters share a bitter disappointment over this terrible blow to the fight for Johnson's freedom.

But Judge Corrigan had hoped for more than a second frame-up conviction and life sentence for Johnson. His aim has also been to discredit J.B. Johnson—a symbol for many Black youths—and defuse the movement that has rallied in his defense. In this, Corrigan has failed. Johnson's courageous refusal to bow to the pressure of the St. Louis County judges, police, and prosecutors will inspire many more to continue the fight until J.B. Johnson is free.

Demand Houston killer-cops' indictment

By Marc Shaver

HOUSTON—An independent commission of inquiry into the death of Milton Glover has concluded that the young Black Vietnam veteran was murdered by Houston police.

The commission condemned "the city administration for its toleration of racist police terror in the city of Houston" and demanded the two cops who shot Glover be indicted for murder.

The commission unanimously adopted these findings at the end of a public inquiry on Glover's shooting. Sixty persons attended the hearing held September 10 at the Greater Jerusalem Baptist Church in the Black community in northeast Houston.

Rev. Allan Robinson and his wife, Marcina Robinson, told the commission how Glover died. Shortly after 8:00 p.m., March 20, the Robinsons were driving home. They saw a young Black man cross the road ahead of them and continue walking along the side of the road. The Robinsons then

noticed a police car approaching them.

Suddenly, the police crossed the line of traffic and came to a stop directly in front of Glover, who was now completely visible in the headlights of both the police car and the Robinsons' car. Immediately, and without warning of any kind, the police began shooting.

One of the officers was so excited that she fired through her own windshield. The police gunfire was so wild that one of the bullets smashed through the Robinsons' windshield, spraying glass into Allan Robinson's eyes and temporarily blinding him.

Although Marcina Robinson reported that Glover was felled by the first two shots, the police continued firing, putting a total of seven bullets into his body. Milton Glover, who only minutes before had left the home on Peachtree Street that he shared with his father and brothers, was dead. A Bible was found on his body.

The cops later claimed that Glover approached them out of the darkness in a threatening manner and that his

Bible looked like a gun. The evidence gathered and made public by the commission shows this story to be a lie.

Glover's sister and mother also appeared before the commission. They described Glover as a soft-spoken, religious man, troubled by his experiences in Vietnam.

The hearings were well covered by local news media. Several reporters were present along with a film crew from a local TV station, which filmed the entire proceedings. Stories appeared in both major Houston papers and on local TV and radio stations.

Shortly after Glover's death in March, it became obvious that no official action was going to be taken against the cops. The case was presented to a county grand jury, which failed to indict the officers.

But only the police version of the killing was presented to the grand jury. The two most obvious eyewitnesses, the Robinsons, were never called to testify.

By June the police, the district attorney's office, and the city administration had nearly succeeded in covering up the murder. But a group of community activists in northeast Houston organized a widely sponsored public memorial meeting for Glover.

At that meeting the idea of a broadly based independent commission of inquiry was first raised by Isaiah Lovings, the president of the O.P. DeWalt branch of the NAACP.

With the support of Glover's family, the commission was formed.

Members of the commission include: Isaiah Lovings of the NAACP; Pat Cearcy, vice-president of the Houston Coalition of Labor Union Women; Lunie Grace, Houston Welfare Rights Organization; Zoia Jones, president of the Houston chapter of the National

Council of Negro Women; Herman Hughes, secretary of the Houston Typographical Union Local 87; and Renee Fontenot of the Student Coalition Against Racism.

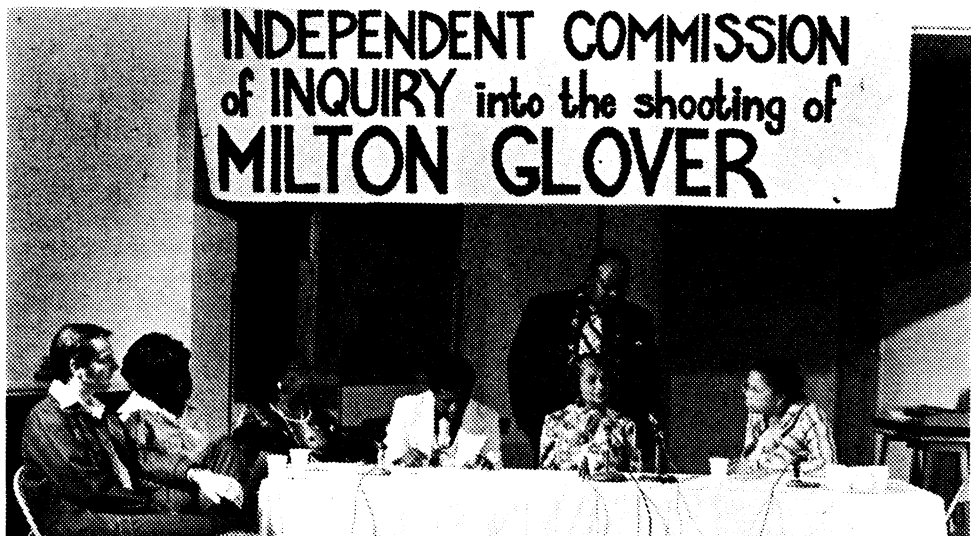
Also, Eddie Canales of the Harris County Raza Unida party; Thomas Wright, *Breakthrough* staff member; Willie Baker, vice-president of the Acres Homes Citizens Council; Gertrude Barnstone, state chairwoman of the Women's Equity Action League; Gloria Guardiola, national board member of the National Organization for Women; and Gene Lantz of the Socialist Workers party.

Also, Texas State Representatives Senfron Thompson, Ron Waters, Mickey Leland, and Craig Washington; Sergio Ponce, Southwest regional organizer for the Teamsters; and Ed Shannon, host of the local TV program "Positively Black."

Fred Hofheinz, Houston's liberal Democratic mayor, was invited to serve but didn't reply. When publicly confronted for an answer during a city council meeting, he said he was satisfied with the original investigation.

In addition to the eyewitness account, further testimony came from an ex-Dallas police officer who contacted the commission after its first session a few months ago. Jack Brown said he had been brutally abused and beaten by R.L. Watson, one of the killer-cops in the Glover case, after a traffic accident last December.

The formation of the independent commission of inquiry is an important development in Houston. Its independence and potentially broad base of support, as shown by the wide range of Black, Chicano, women's, labor, and community organizations represented on the commission, offer the best hope for a successful fight against police brutality in Houston.



Militant/Silvia Zapata

September 10 meeting hears testimony of Milton Glover's mother

Free press vs. 'ethics' panel

Reporters hit witch-hunt of Daniel Schorr

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—The conflict between a free press and a secret government was in full view September 15 when Congress forced Daniel Schorr to testify.

Schorr is the CBS correspondent who last February turned over a secret House CIA report to the *Village Voice* for publication. The House Intelligence Committee had previously voted to make the report public. But President Ford convinced the full House that he should have a chance to launder it first.

The House Ethics Committee spent six months and \$150,000 investigating who "leaked" the report to Schorr. The newscaster himself was the last of some 500 witnesses.

Nine times Schorr refused to answer questions about how he obtained the report. He cited the First Amendment right to a free press as the basis for "protecting his sources. Each time committee head John Flynt (D-Ga.) read a long statement threatening Schorr with prosecution and punishment.

"Whatever happens at this hearing," Schorr said in his opening statement, "it is my belief that your subpoena is harmful to a free press.

"The reporter and the news organization would be the immediate loser," he said. "I would submit to you that the ultimate losers would be the American people and their free institutions.

"But beyond all that, to betray a source would be to betray myself, my career, and my life. I cannot do it. To say I refuse to do it is not saying it right. I cannot do it."

Hearing packed

The hearing was packed with hundreds of spectators and reporters. Lines began forming at 6:30 a.m. for the 10:00 a.m. session.

In addition to Schorr, three others from the news profession appeared under subpoena: Clay Felker, editor-in-chief and publisher of the *Village Voice*; Aaron Latham, contributing editor to *New York* magazine and



Among speakers at Newspaper Guild news conference were (from left) I.F. Stone, Mary McGrory, Carl Bernstein, Dan Rather

author of the introduction to the House report reprinted in the *Voice*; and Sheldon Zalaznick, formerly editor of *New York* magazine.

Latham twice refused to answer questions about his knowledge of how Schorr got the report.

A press poll of Ethics Committee members revealed six out of twelve were opposed to contempt proceedings against Schorr and Latham. By law, Congress can jail witnesses held in contempt for up to one year and fine them up to \$1,000.

Schorr defense drive

At a Capitol Hill news conference the day before the hearing, a "Schorr Defense" campaign was announced by the Newspaper Guild. The guild represents thousands of newspaper reporters and clerical workers across the country.

Well-known figures in the news field such as Dan Rather from CBS, Seymour Hersh from the *New York Times*, and Carl Bernstein from the *Washington Post* spoke at the news conference.

Newspaper Guild President Charles Perlik announced that in less than a

week, guild locals collected 5,510 signatures on a petition defending Schorr. The petitions were delivered to the Ethics Committee after the news conference.

Other prominent individuals flooded the Ethics Committee with telegrams demanding the hounding of Schorr be halted. They included Walter Cronkite, John Chancellor, Barbara Walters, Roger Mudd, Jack Anderson, George Meany, Gore Vidal, Norman Lear, and Jane Fonda.

"We have the journalistic community speaking as one in defense of Dan Schorr," Randy Furst said at the news session. Furst, a guild member at the *Minneapolis Star*, helped coordinate the petition drive and chaired the news conference.

'Schorr finished job'

Washington Star columnist Mary McGrory said, "I would remind the House that all Schorr was doing was finishing the job they had begun and lost their nerve about.

"Schorr was giving us something that belonged to us to begin with. He

shouldn't be put in jail. He should be commended."

Four *Fresno Bee* reporters, jailed in California September 2 for refusing to reveal sources, sent a message of support to the news conference. (The four were freed September 17.)

Republican Rep. H. John Heinz III released a letter signed by thirty-six congresspeople in support of Schorr's rights.

Others appearing at the news conference were Jack Nelson, chief of the Washington bureau of the *Los Angeles Times*; California Sen. Alan Cranston; James Naughton, White House correspondent, *New York Times*; Sanford Wolff, executive secretary, American Federation of Television and Radio Artists; and Ken Gaughran, secretary-treasurer, Writers Guild of America, East.

The final speaker was veteran journalist I.F. Stone. "Victories are not won on the defensive," he began. "I'm here because I like Dan Schorr. I approve of what he did. I salute the *Village Voice* for having done a public service."

Black union group backs Carter...with doubts

By Chris Rayson

CLEVELAND—The fifth annual convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, held here Labor Day weekend, drew nearly 1,000 delegates from twenty-four CBTU chapters and forty-five different unions.

CBTU was formed by Black trade-union officials in 1972, mainly to mobilize labor support for Democrat George McGovern when the top AFL-CIO hierarchy was "neutral for Nixon" in the election.

In his keynote speech to the convention, CBTU President William Lucy, who is also secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, urged the delegates to endorse Jimmy Carter.

Lucy's comments about the antibusing, pro-"ethnic purity" candidate seemed defensive, however. He noted that he was asking the delegates to change a basic principle of "not being in anyone's hip pocket."

He said he didn't know whether Carter was "better or worse" than anyone else. But he said CBTU's endorsement was really for the Democratic party platform, which, Lucy said, "shares our concerns."

"We've been ripped and gypped so many times, a lot of us are wary," Lucy said, "but we have to get involved."

Lucy's remarks were designed to pacify delegates who were not enthusiastic about endorsing Carter.

The vote on endorsement was rushed through without any discussion. Some delegates later complained to this reporter that they weren't given time to vote "nay" by the chair.

That the Carter endorsement was not unanimous, as the news media reported, was indicated by the discussion under "Voter Registration" the next day.

A number of delegates rose to question the convention's endorsement. Linton Gray, a delegate from Communications Workers Local 11501 in Los Angeles, questioned whether the CBTU could hold Carter accountable for what he promised. He pointed to Carter's contradictory statements on tax reform as an example.

Gray later told the *Militant* that he would "much rather see CBTU run another candidate." He felt that Carter was "not the answer, but just the lesser of two evils."

B.R. Washington, delegate from the Service Employees International Union in Detroit, pointed out that many Black people are not voting these days because the "real issues are not being raised." He urged the CBTU to think out the question of independent political action by Blacks and labor.

"A lot of people up on the podium could do a better job than Carter," Washington said. "The future will show that CBTU's endorsement of Carter was incorrect."

Another major issue facing Black workers is unemployment. Addie Wyatt, CBTU vice-president, addressed this problem in her speech. But she emphasized passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, legislation that calls for full employment as an abstract goal but does not commit the government to create a single job.

A resolution backing Humphrey-Hawkins was adopted by the convention.

Other resolutions reflected various social and economic issues facing Blacks. Delegates passed a strongly worded resolution backing the use of

busing to achieve school desegregation. It also urged the use of federal troops to enforce court decisions aimed at desegregating education.

Another resolution endorsed the NAACP's efforts to overturn a Mississippi court ruling that awarded white merchants \$1.25 million in damages resulting from a Black boycott.

The CBTU called for the expulsion of racist South Africa from the United Nations and protested the murder of Black demonstrators there.

Another resolution called for freedom for Gary Tyler, a Black frame-up victim in Louisiana.

CBTU condemns Israeli raid

CLEVELAND—At a time when George Meany and the AFL-CIO officialdom are among the most rabid pro-Zionist warhawks in the country, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists convention adopted a statement condemning the Israeli raid on Entebbe Airport in Uganda last July.

Noting that the raid was condemned by the Organization of African Unity and both the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations, the resolution states:

"We of the CBTU condemn the

Israeli raid in Uganda since it was a violation of international law and resulted in the loss of life and the destruction of property;

"We of the CBTU support the Organization of African Unity in calling for the Israeli government to pay compensation to the Ugandan government for the loss of property destroyed and to the Ugandan families of the soldiers who were killed in the raid."

Such a resolution condemning any policy of the Zionist regime is virtually unprecedented in the American labor movement.

Teachers debate: support Dems or independent political action?

BAL HARBOUR, Fla.—It was a foregone conclusion that the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) convention here in August would endorse Democrat Jimmy Carter for president.

But the discussion of the endorsement must have taken AFT President Albert Shanker and many others by surprise. Rather than a cheerleading session for the Democratic nominee, it turned into a debate on independent labor political action.

Shanker's remarks in proposing the endorsement were thoroughly predictable. "For teachers," he said, "the choice is clear: candidates who support education versus candidates who veto one education measure after another." And so on.

The first delegate to speak on the motion was Phyllis Calech from Local 1078, Berkeley, California.

"I speak against our endorsement of Carter," she said. "We must rely on labor's own independent political and economic strength. We need our own party, not favors from so-called good Democrats."

"These 'good' politicians have put us where we are now. In Berkeley, the teachers have seen just how these 'good' politicians whom we have supported have not supported us when we needed them. . . ."

"The nation's schools have no money because our supposed allies, the ones we in the labor movement have been supporting for years, the people we have elected, vote against all school finance legislation while at the same time they maintain and expand tax loopholes for big business and the rich and spend billions for war. . . ."

Calech reminded the delegates that as governor of Georgia, Carter had opposed wage increases for teachers and supported the antiunion "right to work" laws in that state.

A procedural question interrupted the discussion briefly, then Erich Martel from Local 6, Washington, D.C., took the floor.

Cutbacks by Democrats

Martel cited the AFT's support to Democrats Hugh Carey and Abraham Beame in New York. "Then what happened? Then we saw 40,000 city employees in New York City, including 10,000 or more teachers, suffer job losses, contracts torn up. . . ."

"It isn't just indigenous to New York, it is in California, in Washington, D.C.—we face a two-week forced layoff, or 500 losses of jobs this coming school year."

"It is done not just by Republicans. It is done in Washington, D.C., where twelve out of thirteen members of the city council are Democrats. It is done by the Congress of the United States, which is run by the Democratic party. . . ."

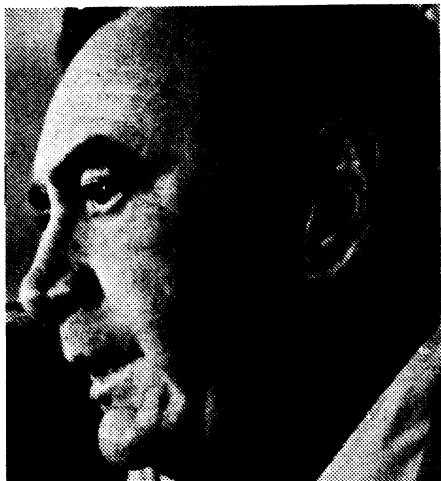
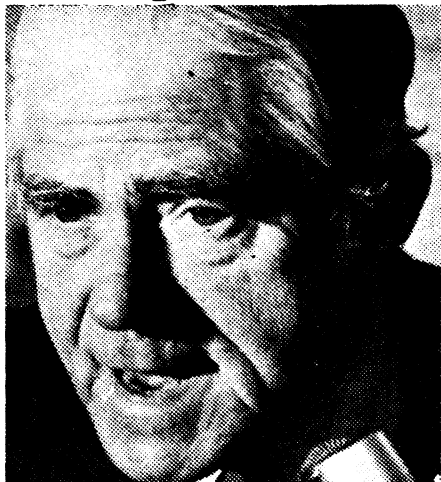
"I think the suggestion that was offered by the speaker at Microphone No. 1, that we in the labor movement—which is a powerful force in this country, almost 20 million people with potential allies in the Black community, the Chicano community and all around the country—we ought to rely upon ourselves."

"We ought to consider running some of our own labor leaders. They ought to be considered as presidential candidates for the United States. I think it would be very difficult for them to run—"

Here the official transcript shows Martel interrupted by applause.

"—if you want to know how I feel, I would rather see Al Shanker run for president of the United States as a representative of the labor movement—[applause and cheers]—than I would see a candidate who we know in advance is going to cut us off at every level and area."

Next was Barbara Bowman, Local



TOP TO BOTTOM: AFT-backed Democrats Beame and Carey have fired teachers, slashed school funds. Why should teachers trust Carter to act any different?

420, St. Louis, who rapped Carter for his opposition to busing, his support to "right to work" laws, and "his wishy-washy stands on the ERA" and other issues affecting women.

"I would much rather be able to endorse someone who is fighting in my interests," she said.

'Use our real strength'

The fourth speaker was Jeff Mackler from Local 1423, Hayward, California. Mackler also pointed to the "right to work" legislation in Georgia, Carter's failure to get the Equal Rights Amendment ratified there, and his opposition to busing.

"It was Jimmy Carter in his own state that said he would close down the schools in a one-day boycott to pressure the United States government to pass a constitutional amendment to prohibit busing," Mackler said.

"... I think it is time that we begin to use the real strength of the working people—the steelworkers, the farm workers, and the hospital workers, and those of us who suffer the layoffs—and build our own party based on the unions and our allies."

His own disagreements with Shanker over many issues are well known, Mackler said. Nevertheless it would be a step forward to run Shanker or any other union representative as a candidate of the labor movement—"not run by the corporations or the rich, not dependent on the oil industry, and we can determine the policies that our candidates run on, not

anyone else."

Anne Powers from Local 6 in Washington, D.C., also argued that "we must begin to use the real power we have in this country and stop relying on both the Democrats and the Republicans. We should form our own political organizations to fight for things that we need—more money for education and social services—and we won't get these from Jimmy Carter."

Let's make a deal?

At this point delegate Terry Doran from Local 1078, Berkeley, California, proposed a motion that AFT endorsement of Carter be conditional on Carter's advocacy of busing, the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill, and several other union-backed issues. This amendment was supported by teachers who share the views of the Communist party.

Now Shanker's supporters began to respond. Robert Healey, head of the Chicago Teachers Union, told the delegates that cutbacks or no cutbacks, "we should not kid ourselves" about placing demands on the Democratic candidate.

"To be frank with you, [Carter] doesn't have to make any deals with us for our endorsement," Healey said.

"It is absolutely essential for us to understand the issue before us today," said the president of the Florida AFT affiliate. "It is not the creation of a labor party or a workers party, as desirable as that evolution may very well be for the history of the United States."

The only question, he said, was to choose between Ford and Carter.

Not a single speaker tried to defend Carter's record. In fact, none of the pro-Carter speakers talked about Carter at all. They simply insisted that dumping Ford had to be the top priority.

A realistic policy

Pat Wiman from Local 827 in Vallejo, California, took up the argument that it was only "realistic" to support Carter against Ford.

"It is not realistic to support Jimmy Carter and the Democrats," he said, "it is suicide."

Wiman noted that "the last Democratic administration, through its Vietnam War policy, led to the crisis, the inflation that makes us face the cutbacks that we have now. . . ."

"Jimmy Carter as president will not cut the defense budget. He will not release those funds for education and social services. Jimmy Carter will throw our tax money down the drain of the boondoggles of Lockheed and the B-1 bomber project of Rockwell. . . ."

"We need instead a labor party that is going to fight for releasing these funds from war. That is the only realistic policy we have, and we have to start to build it now."

The vote on the Carter endorsement was done by roll-call ballot after the session had adjourned. Carter received 91 percent of all votes cast.

But there was no sign of enthusiasm about the endorsement. The great majority of delegates simply could not envision the labor movement presenting an independent alternative to the Democrats at this time.

The capitulation of Shanker and virtually all other public employee union officials to the antilabor drive of both capitalist parties further serves to discourage many workers from relying on their own strength in the political arena.

As this bipartisan offensive continues, however, the arguments for independent labor political action presented at this convention will make sense to more and more teachers and other unionists.

This debate has only started.

Buffalo teachers: 'They can't jail all of us'

By Ed Powell

BUFFALO, N.Y.—Driven to the wall by unexpected budget cutbacks, Buffalo teachers went on strike September 7. As of September 17, the schools remain virtually closed, and the court is preparing to issue contempt citations.

"What will that mean?" I asked people on the picket line at School 17, the city's new honors high school.

"Jail," was the answer.

"How do you feel about going to jail?"

"I'd be scared stiff," said one woman in her thirties, "but I'd go."

"Yeah, I would too," said another. "It wouldn't be bad if we were all there together." Then a round of nervous laughter.

"Besides, they can't put us all in jail."

But the twenty-one-member executive committee of the Buffalo Teachers Federation (BTF) could well be jailed for the duration of the strike. That happened in the nearby town of Orchard Park last year.

Under New York State's Taylor Law forbidding public employee strikes, each teacher can be fined two days' pay for each day on strike.

"I've lost \$1,100 in the last ten days," a bearded man in his twenties told me. "But it would be worth it if the money were used for the restoration of programs."

A BTF leaflet reads: "The teachers of this city have already shown their determination and their commitment to bringing a halt to the devastation of the educational program. At this time, we have no commitment, no indication, no sign of concern by the board of education over the restoration of crucial programs."

The BTF's assessment rings true. "There's nothing we can do," says the assistant school superintendent. "The city just doesn't have the money."

With that excuse, \$5 million was cut this summer from the city's meager \$98 million school budget. That meant firing 325 educational specialists: speech therapists, attendance teachers, social workers, librarians, guidance counselors, foreign language instructors.

The union wants them rehired.

Looming in the background is the issue of class size, now limited by contract to twenty-nine pupils. The board wants to remove that limit so Buffalo can enlarge its classes to fifty or sixty students as in New York City.

Thus taxpayers' money could be saved for football stadiums and convention centers, like the \$20 million project under construction downtown now. And maybe more cops.

"School conditions are deteriorating," reads another BTF leaflet, "for the children and for us, their teachers. We work closely with them, and we are very concerned. Are they learning to see a world that doesn't care about them?"

Walking picket lines with striking teachers at a dozen schools this week, I felt foreboding. Graying skies. September leaves just beginning to turn.

It may be a long cold winter in Buffalo.

FBI'S 40-YEAR VENDETTA AGAINST

By Diane Rupp

Socialist Workers party members have faced the government in court before, as defendants in frame-up cases. But this time the government is in the dock. The socialists are the plaintiffs, suing the FBI and other police agencies for spying and disruption.

On September 13 Attorney General Edward Levi admitted there was no basis for the FBI "investigation" of the SWP.

Leonard Boudin, attorney for the SWP, answered the government, "We welcome the Attorney General's decision [and] regard it as an appropriate vindication of the plaintiffs' position of the illegality of a forty-year vendetta against our clients. . . ."

The *Militant* asked some SWP victims of this forty-year vendetta what they thought about the lawsuit and, in particular, the attorney general's announcement.

One of these former victims is Farrell Dobbs, former national secretary of the SWP. He was also a central leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike and headed the major Teamster organizing drive in the North-Central states during the late 1930s.



JAMES KUTCHER at national CIO convention in November 1949

Dobbs told the *Militant*: "The government today has to be more careful of its image. It's lied to the people so long and in so many ways that it's not believed any more. Nobody believes the FBI and the Department of Justice when they argue that they had to carry out their dirty tricks against us in the interests of national security.

"Now the facts have demonstrated to everybody that national security wasn't involved at all. The Department of Justice and the FBI and the CIA and the rest of their political cops have been harassing us all these years—since 1938—and they've never been able to prove anything against us.

"This is very significant. It demonstrates why a party like ours can fight effectively in this matter. It's because we're a party with revolutionary working-class principles. We tell the truth. We mean exactly what we say when we say that we are seeking to exercise our democratic rights to try to convince the majority of people in this country of the need to get rid of capitalism and establish a socialist society to solve the burdensome problems that are plagu-

ing people.

"And in all these years of violating our rights and robbing us and doing electronic eavesdropping and opening our mail and digging through our garbage like sewer rats, they haven't been able to prove that we're anything but what we say we are.

"Now, we're not only a party that functions on the basis of principles in the interests of the working class. We're a party that has the courage of our convictions.

"And all down the years, whenever the political police and the Department of Justice have made one or another attack on us, we've fought back, and fought back as hard as we could."

Minneapolis Eighteen

The SWP fought back when Farrell Dobbs and other leaders of the SWP and Teamsters Local 544 were arrested on trumped-up charges of conspiring to overthrow the government.

On June 22, 1941, the FBI carried out a Gestapo-like raid on the Minneapolis and St. Paul SWP headquarters. The G-men carted off a lot of pamphlets and books. (They

the Immigration Service approached Carl Skogland with a proposition. If he would testify against us, they would give him permanent residence." Skogland, another of the Minneapolis Eighteen, was from Sweden. He faced constant threat of deportation. But Skogland refused the government's bribe.

The socialists and trade unionists entered Sandstone federal penitentiary on January 1, 1944, to serve their sixteen-month sentences.

The Supreme Court later ruled unconstitutional the interpretation of the Smith Act that was used to convict the eighteen.

The FBI didn't leave the socialists alone once they had been framed, sent to prison, and released. Last week Jake Cooper, one of the defendants, recalled:

"It was hard to get work after the trial. I finally did get a job at Swift and Company, and worked there about a year. But one day the company suddenly said I was to leave the plant because I was a 'security risk.' Twelve security agents escorted me out the plant gate."

The Minneapolis Eighteen case climaxed a series of frame-ups against the labor movement in the late 1930s. In 1938 J. Edgar Hoover had proposed to President Franklin Roosevelt a stepped-up campaign against "subversive" organizations. Roosevelt found Hoover's FBI useful against political dissidents as he prepared the country for World War II, a war the socialists didn't support.

Max Geldman, another of the Minneapolis Eighteen, is a good example. He had already been in Sandstone penitentiary before. In 1939 Geldman and thirty-one other trade unionists had been railroaded to prison because of their efforts to organize WPA (Works Progress Administration) workers in Minneapolis.

In an interview with the *Militant* Geldman said:

"The FBI was around all the time. They were there in the 1939 Minneapolis WPA strike, which was in opposition to layoffs at that time.

"The entire trial consisted of FBI evidence against workers.

"The FBI reached certain weak people who were members of the Federal Workers Section and got them to testify in court. For instance,



GEORGE NOVACK speaking to Civil Rights Defense Committee homecoming in 1945.

an absurd charge was made that we were getting ready for an uprising."

During witch-hunt

When World War II—called the "war for the four freedoms"—was over, democratic rights came under fresh attack.

President Truman incorporated the enemies list Roosevelt had drawn up into the infamous attorney general's list of subversives. Truman began a "loyalty program" to wipe out political dissidents as the cold war witch-hunt set in.

One of the many thousands of government employees targeted by the loyalty program was James Kutcher, an SWP member.

Kutcher had fought in World War II and lost both his legs. After the war he worked at the Veterans Administration in Newark, New Jersey.

Suddenly in 1948 he was told he would be fired for being "disloyal" to the U.S. government.

In the following years the government stepped up its attack. Not satisfied with taking away his job, the government tried to throw Kutcher and his seventy-three-year-old parents out of a federal housing project. And on top of that they moved to take away the pension Kutcher had earned as a disabled veteran.

Kutcher talked about the days when all this was happening: "There was no radicalization. There was no resistance. Everybody was intimidated. Joseph McCar-

thy's campaign had everybody running for cover."

Not quite everybody ran for cover. Kutcher could have avoided a fight. He could have taken another job or quit the Socialist Workers party.

But, as Kutcher says in his book, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, "We have choices to make." And Kutcher chose to fight back.

In his reply to the Loyalty Board that was planning to take away his job Kutcher said:

"My draft board did not ask me about my political views or the party to which I belonged; they drafted me. . . . The German mortar crew on the other side of the lines did not ask me about my political views or the party to which I belonged; they fired at me. The army surgeons did not ask me about my political views or the party to which I belonged; they amputated both my legs.

"Now you propose to deprive me of [my] job, solely because of my political views and the party to which I belong. This is political persecution, and I intend to fight against it with all my vigor."

At the hearings about Kutcher's loyalty the government used FBI informers' lies to try to frame him. At a December 30, 1955, hearing, for example, the government kept quoting unidentified informers.

Hadn't Kutcher complained about the American flag? Hadn't he said socialists would take over forcibly once the time was ripe? "I wondered whether the story had been concocted by an informer . . . or by the FBI authorities who paid his salary," Kutcher later wrote.

Kutcher's lawyers questioned him so that he could refute the lies and set the record straight. "The only thing we didn't get into the record," Kutcher recalled in his book, "was my low opinion of the unknown informers and their inability to make up statements that even sound like what a socialist would say."

Kutcher fought an eight-year battle. Before it was over he handed the government Loyalty Board its first judi-

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ing rally for the Minneapolis Eighteen

cial defeat and obtained the first public hearing of a "loyalty" case. Kutcher won his apartment, his pension, his job, and back pay.

He showed that the witch-hunters could be defeated, even in the 1950s.

More victories

As the country moved into the 1960s the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance fought and won other cases.

In 1963 YSA members Jim Bingham, Ralph Levitt, and Tom Morgan were indicted in Bloomington, Indiana. The three were accused of advocating the overthrow of the U.S. and the Indiana government.

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students organized national support. After a well-publicized defense lasting several years, the charges were dropped.

The FBI's role in the Bloomington frame-up remains hidden. But the case has the earmarks of FBI dirty work uncovered in recent revelations.

Antiwar GIs

The government engineered numerous disruption programs and frame-ups against the antiwar movement. The ruling powers were especially anxious to put an end to sentiment against the Vietnam War that was stirring

among GIs.

The FBI had a partner in crime for these frame-ups, Military Intelligence. The attorney general's recent announcement is supposed to end the FBI "investigation" of the socialists. But the army's political police haven't said a thing about changing their ways. Military Intelligence, like the FBI, is a defendant in the socialists' lawsuit.

When the army drafted Howard Petrick he was already a member of the Socialist Workers party. Petrick continued to subscribe to the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers once in the army. And he openly talked to other GIs about his politics.

When Petrick returned from a leave on April 1, 1967, he found that Military Intelligence had gone through his locker. The army had taken his political literature and some other personal belongings. The brass was threatening him with court-martial for making "disloyal" statements against the war.

Petrick had this to say about the latest developments in the socialists' suit: "I think it gives a real insight to the times and what people are thinking. It's important that the lawsuit has gained so much support and publicity. It shows what people have learned from Watergate and the antiwar movement."

Petrick's case also won wide support and publicity. Murray Kempton wrote about the case in the *New York Post*:

"In Washington, the Defense Department wonders about court-martialing him. It is understandably slow to decide. To try Howard Petrick will be to confess that the war has turned us into a country where a man can be a criminal not for what he does, but for what he thinks and says when asked."

In October 1967 the army finally decided it would be easier to quickly muster Petrick out of the service than risk a court-martial.

In another case, in 1969, the army brass threw eight leaders of Fort Jackson's GIs United Against the War into the stockade.



HOWARD PETRICK

The eight were charged with holding an illegal demonstration, disobeying an order, and showing disrespect to an officer.

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee built support for the Fort Jackson Eight around the country. Soldiers from other bases and student antiwar committees from Harvard to San Francisco State sent messages of support.

At the military version of a grand jury hearing the army could not prove its case. Even the testimony of an informer planted in the group did not help the prosecution—he had to admit under oath that the GIs United Against the War had never done or planned anything illegal or violent.

Once again, the army backed down and dropped its charges. The Fort Jackson Eight proved it was possible to organize against the war inside the army openly and legally.

Only one of the Fort Jackson Eight, Joe Cole, belonged to the YSA.

But another Fort Jackson defendant, Andrew Pulley, joined the YSA and SWP soon afterward. In 1972 Pulley ran for U.S. vice-president on the SWP ticket. He is now the SWP candidate for Congress from Chicago's First Congressional District.

Andrew Pulley commented on the recent breakthrough in the SWP lawsuit, "This is the

Continued on page 30

'FORTY YEARS OVERDUE...'

Reaction to order for FBI to halt spying on socialists

By José G. Pérez

"It's so obscene that it happened in the first place that it is a bit difficult to be grateful that it stopped after thirty-eight years," said Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine.

Steinem was one of several prominent individuals and representatives of organizations polled by the *Militant* on Attorney General Edward Levi's order to the FBI to stop its investigation of the Socialist Workers party. In addition, the Political Rights Defense Fund released statements from some of their supporters.

The PRDF is the nonpartisan committee organizing support for the \$40 million civil suit that led to the attorney general's decision.

"Levi's decision was forty years overdue," said a spokesperson for the AFL-CIO national headquarters in Washington, D.C.

When asked what impact he thought the decision would have for other groups, he said, "We don't get foolishly optimistic over one victory, but we hope it would have an effect."

Salvador Luria, winner of the Nobel Prize for physiology and medicine, said, "The SWP suit against the FBI has been a major service to the American people. More power to you."

A spokesperson for U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums, a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, said Dellums "feels it is an investigation that should have been ended a long time ago."

Nat Hentoff, columnist for the *Village Voice*, hailed the Justice Department decision but said "it's not enough."

He demanded "that the government make available every bit of data concerning its 'investigation' of the SWP."

Judge José Angel Gutiérrez of Zavala County, Texas, said, "I hope the same decision is made for everyone else without having to go through the same expense and trouble." Gutiérrez is a founding leader of the Texas Raza Unida party.

"I would also like to compliment the SWP for staying with this fight so diligently," Gutiérrez added.

"We are relieved and pleased," said a national spokesperson for the American Federation of Teachers.

"The labor movement is as unhappy as anyone else about the government using paid agents-provocateurs."

Jack Clark, national secretary of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, said, "The ruling . . . shows that the government has to respond to pressure."

"Getting the government off the backs of the Socialist Workers is a victory for everybody on the left."

Morton Halperin of the Center for National Security Studies urged that Levi's ruling "be applied equally to all other political organizations. Under no circumstances should FBI informants masquerade as members of political organizations."

Gerie Kenyon, a vice-president of the National Organization for Women, said the decision benefits "all kinds of civil rights groups and people fighting for social change. . . . Even if we had nothing else, the example of what happened to the SWP would be enough to show the abuses of these intelligence agencies."

Vernon Bellecourt, national field director of the American Indian Movement, called Levi's decision "a good thing" and said it was long overdue.

Eugene McCarthy, an independent candidate for president, said, "Levi's order is an encouraging sign that the Justice Department is moving toward protection of the right of freedom of assembly."

"Any interference with it," he added, "must be challenged."

A spokesperson for President Gerald Ford said that he would have nothing to say on Levi's decision. When pressed further, he said: "Our position in the past has been that we don't approve of any kind of illegality."

Two other presidential candidates—Democratic nominee Jimmy Carter and Communist party standard bearer Gus Hall—had no comment.

A strongly negative reaction came from U.S. Rep. Larry McDonald, the John Birch Society's mouthpiece in Congress.

His office referred us to the *Congressional Record*, where on the same day Levi's decision hit the front page of major papers, McDonald inserted a statement headlined, "The No-Win War Against Terrorism Reaches the Dunkirk Stage."

"I am outraged by this dangerous action of the attorney general," McDonald declared. He called on Ford to fire Levi for "dereliction of duty."



Militant/Larry Seigle

FORT JACKSON EIGHT: (left to right) Andrew Pulley, Jose Rudder (hidden), Delmar Thomas, Edilberto Chaparro, Tommie Woodfin, Dominick Duddie, Joe Cole, Curtis Mays.

Shorter work time key issue

Auto union strikes Ford: what's at stake?

By Frank Lovell

Production of Ford cars stopped September 14 when 165,000 members of the United Auto Workers walked out at ninety-one of the company's plants in twenty-two states.

Most Ford strikers are in the Michigan and Ohio auto centers, but the vast Ford empire is closed everywhere in the United States and Canada.

The Canadian section of the UAW bargains separately with the auto corporations and has not officially struck against the Ford Motor Company of Canada. But the U.S. strike cuts off the supply of parts to Canadian plants.

The issues in the strike are wages, reduced working time with no loss in take-home pay, improvement in company funding of the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) plan, and adjustments in pension and health-care plans.

None of these issues were said to be irreconcilable by either side at the beginning of formal negotiations last July. Both said they believed a strike was unlikely.

Wages in the auto industry average \$6.84 per hour. The standard contract provides for an annual improvement factor of 3 percent based on increased productivity, plus a cost-of-living allowance (COLA) geared to the Consumer Price Index.

Ford's last offer

When Ford made its last wage offer as the strike deadline approached, it was clear that the corporations were not prepared to settle the issues that had been defined during negotiations.

The wage offer—a pattern for the industry that would apply to General Motors, Chrysler, and American Motors—was an increase of less than 3 percent annually, bringing average hourly wages to only \$7.43 in 1979.

In addition, the offer included no change in the cost-of-living formula, which is now one cent per hour for each three-tenths of a point rise in the combined American-Canadian Consumer Price Index. This inadequate formula fails to keep wages in line with rising prices. Union negotiators had said that an adjustment is necessary.

The Ford offer was likewise deficient in the plan to reduce working hours. Ford proposed a complicated scheme in which each worker could accumulate a "time-off bank" depending upon seniority and good behavior. The accumulated time off would be compensated for in cash or paid leave at the discretion of management.

This was unsatisfactory to the UAW negotiators, who had sought an opening wedge for the principle of shorter hours of work with no reduction in pay



Pickets at Rouge plant in Dearborn, Michigan

to increase the total work force and put laid-off auto workers back on the job.

This appeared to be the issue over which negotiations finally broke down, although neither side said so specifically.

Reducing work time

UAW President Leonard Woodcock and Vice-president Ken Bannon released on September 17 the text of a letter to all Ford UAW locals detailing the importance of this issue.

"Reducing work time is not a new concept," they write. "Many people working today are too young to remember that the 'normal' work week used to be 48 hours and even longer."

They note that each time work schedules are reduced, "through holidays, vacations and availability of earlier retirement," the companies prophesy gloom and doom: higher costs, lower sales, and other calamities.

"The facts are that the companies are now making more profits than ever," the letter continues, "and that even fewer workers would be employed

if work time had not been reduced.

"Over the past 15 to 20 years, auto production has substantially increased but there has been practically no increase in the industry's average employment level.

"Even the recovery from 1975 to 1976, with production up about 30%, has produced an employment increase only half as large, so that thousands of auto workers continue to be unemployed."

Unless working time is reduced, the job situation can only get worse. The UAW cites estimates that by 1990 U.S. auto production will be 47 percent higher than in 1976, while hours worked will increase less than 5 percent.

Woodcock and Bannon say they have "repeatedly called upon the auto companies to open the books on productivity and unit cost figures, but they refuse to do that"

Corporate solidarity

When the Ford strike was called, all out-of-town members of the UAW negotiating committee left Detroit and returned to their homes until formal

negotiations resumed September 20.

This allowed time for top UAW officials to discuss the terms of the settlement informally with industry representatives, especially officials of General Motors, who exercise veto power over any plan devised by Ford.

No contract with the auto union is ever signed without full agreement among the "Big Three" corporations. The Ford proposals indicated that no consensus exists among them.

The corporations' well-known practice of mutual aid and identical contract proposals adds irony to the off-hand comment of GM Chairman Thomas Murphy.

"I don't see why," he said, "it wasn't possible to reach a settlement without a strike."

Any time GM decides to sign a new three-year contract with the union, the other two corporations will fall quickly into line.

Test of strength

Despite claims on both sides that the issues are clear, there is no clarity from either one on what their specific proposals are. Auto workers are left as much in the dark as anybody else.

What wage increase is the UAW demanding?

How should the COLA formula be changed to keep wages fully abreast of rising prices?

Why is it not possible now to reduce the workweek to thirty or thirty-two hours, as the UAW has demanded in the past?

How will the present corporate profits—the highest in the history of the industry—be shared to make more jobs?

Who should benefit from technological advances and increased productivity?

Workers in the auto plants are dissatisfied with their present conditions of employment and expect some changes. But UAW officials fear any significant change in the comfortable union-management relations of the past quarter-century.

On the other side, corporate management seeks to shift the relationship more in its favor. This is the meaning of the Ford "offer" that granted nothing new and threatened to take away past gains.

There is bound to be a test of strength between the union and the auto corporations, leading to a longer strike than either side expected—unless UAW officials and auto executives reach a compromise understanding to extend for another three years the present relationship.

That in turn depends on whether such an understanding will placate the dissatisfied work force in this basic industry.

'We want a just wage & time off for our people'

Interviews with Ford workers in some of the larger auto centers revealed the extent of their dissatisfaction and the measure of their expectations.

Jim Drake, thirty-three years old, has worked for Ford in Detroit for eleven years. He is looking to retire after thirty years on the job, if he lasts that long. He hopes to send his children to college because a job on the assembly line is not something to pass on to your children.

Drake is a line worker and says that speedup is "why we have a high turnover and such a young work force at the plant with only about eleven years average seniority. Some people

can't keep up."

He expects some changes even if they are not yet specified.

Drake's attitude toward the strike is typical: "You don't get anything without going for a strike. The things we got now, others suffered for thirty years ago."

At the huge Ford assembly plant in Mahwah, New Jersey, **Arthur Kolb**, an electrician and chairperson of the United Auto Workers apprenticeship committee, explained how he sees the issues:

"We want a just wage," he said, "and time off for our people with pay. We need time off, it's nothing but a grind in there."

Out in the Chicago area at Ford's Hegewisch assembly plant, **Ed Brach** said that workers were left with little choice. "We've got to strike," he said, "the company is trying to take away our benefits."

Brach sees the Ford strike as an action against all the auto corporations, a common understanding among auto workers.

"The problem is not so much Ford itself," he said, "but Ford has got to negotiate for all the auto companies as well. GM pulls a lot of weight, but they won't be directly affected by the strike."

These workers all feel that they have

a vital stake in the outcome of the strike. But they know there is very little any of them can do at this stage through their UAW locals to influence the outcome. They are forced to rely on the top UAW officialdom.

Both the union bureaucracy and company personnel departments are far removed from and out of touch with the work force.

If the strike is prolonged, however, by an adamant stand on the part of the corporations and the inability of the UAW bureaucracy to accommodate to this, the workers will inevitably be drawn into the struggle as more active participants.

—F.L.

World Outlook

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

OCTOBER 1, 1976

'Shut it down!' Canadian unions set day of protest against pay curbs

[The following article is based on reporting by Robert Simms and others in *Labor Challenge*, a Canadian socialist biweekly.]

October 14 will be a historic day of protest: the biggest one-day political protest action in Canadian history.

The Canadian Labour Congress is calling on its 2.2 million members and all workers across the country to stop work for the day to demand abolition of federal wage controls.

The CLC has consciously sought to reach out and draw allies of the union movement into the struggle. Students, unorganized workers, and pensioners have all been invited to join the protest actions. These will include rallies, parades, demonstrations, and informational picketing.

The so-called Anti-Inflation Board, through reductions of wage settlements, has already robbed Canadian workers of an estimated \$200 million.

The rate of negotiated wage increases has been driven down from 18.7 percent last year to 11.5 percent in the second quarter of 1976, according to government statistics.

The specter of coordinated mass protest by labor has predicably drawn the wrath of the big-business press. "A general strike is an attack upon the country, upon the whole people of Canada and their way of governing themselves," blustered the *Toronto Globe and Mail* in a recent editorial.

The Canadian Manufacturers Association has called on employers to take legal action against those who join the work stoppage.

But employer threats have failed to deter the CLC. Organizers and CLC leaders have fanned out across the country to rally support for the mobilization.

'Not a car' will roll

"Not a car" will roll off the assembly lines October 14, according to Dennis McDermott, Canadian director of the United Auto Workers.

William Mahoney, Canadian direc-

tor of the United Steelworkers, with 4,000 members in Canada, pledged, "We'll participate to the fullest extent possible."

The president of the Québec Federation of Labor, Louis Laberge, predicted that the vast majority of the QFL's 280,000 members will participate in the general work stoppage.

Laberge has good grounds for optimism. When 30,000 workers from English Canada and Québec demonstrated in Ottawa against wage controls last March 22, some 120,000 Québec public workers staged a one-day strike in solidarity.

The two other big labor federations in Québec—the 170,000-member Confederation of National Trade Unions and the 90,000-member Québec Teachers Federation—announced September 2 their support for the work stoppage. The CNTU has been calling for a general strike against wage controls since last November.

British Columbia workers will also be in the forefront on October 14. Len Guy, secretary-treasurer of the British Columbia Federation of Labour, predicts "virtually 100 percent support."

"I flatly predict that the shutdown in British Columbia will be a complete success," Guy told an August 30 news conference.

"We will be planning highly visible demonstrations in all major centers around the province. It is our hope that all union members and their families will participate not only in the shutdown but in the demonstrations, and that a good number of other citizens will join us."

Guy pointed to the historic significance of this protest: "The government and its political allies have, by imposing wage controls, awakened in the labour movement a sleeping giant. After October 14th, Canadian politics will never again be the same."

Labor Day parade

In Toronto, the traditional Labor Day parade—which usually highlights products and services performed by

We're out to fight controls.



October 14, a national day of protest.

Published by the Canadian Labour Congress

workers—was transformed into a mass protest against controls and a building action for October 14.

An estimated 14,000 union members from thirty unions participated.

Many workers interviewed by *Labor Challenge* at the parade were optimistic and enthusiastic about October 14. But some were opposed to the action and a great many others were uncommitted.

Most union locals in the Toronto area have yet to discuss and vote on their participation. A great deal of educational work remains to be done to convince the hesitant and uncommitted to join in.

Given the barrage of attacks and threats from the government, big business, and the media, it's not surprising that there is some confusion among rank-and-file union members.

The union leadership has not led political discussions in the unions for years. Some today don't know how or are reluctant to try. Most of them are more adept at stifling initiatives from the rank and file than at inspiring action.

The campaign against wage controls calls for a broad process of education and political discussion. The importance of October 14 is not that it alone will end the controls (it probably

won't), but that it offers a chance to educate, inspire, and mobilize hundreds of thousands of workers.

Role of labor party

Throwing the full weight of the New Democratic party—Canada's labor party—into building October 14 will be vital to this process. In British Columbia and Alberta, the provincial NDPs are already on record in support of the action.

The NDP can help win over public opinion and counter the government's lies about wage controls. It can help firm up support in the ranks of labor, as well as winning new support for October 14 among the large number of persons outside the unions who support and look to the NDP.

Labor's mass actions—strikes, demonstrations, mass rallies—deal powerful blows against controls. But the campaign is much different when labor's mass political party throws itself into the fight.

If the NDP identifies strongly with the October 14 protest, it raises more sharply the need to oust the Trudeau government. It poses the need for an NDP federal government that will end the controls.

The mere threat of such a political upheaval can help hasten the end of the wage controls.

Ties to Swiss, German cops

Shah of Iran's secret spy ring exposed in Europe

At the end of August, the Swiss government was forced to deport Ahmad Malek Mahdavi, first secretary of the Iranian diplomatic mission to the United Nations office in Geneva. How reluctantly it resorted to this action can be judged by the slow response of the Swiss authorities to evidence that the Geneva mission was the center of the shah's secret police network in Europe.

In the long run, however, the Swiss government could not ignore the evidence of the mission's operations. In addition to hounding Iranian students and opponents of the crowned dictatorship, its agents threatened civil libertarians in Europe and even British members of parliament.

Not only the Swiss government was reluctant to take notice of the Mahdavi case. The big international press has maintained virtual silence. One exception to this rule, however, is the West German mass-circulation weekly magazine *Der Spiegel*, which in its September 6 issue featured a four-page account of the revelations. The story was originally broken June 14 by the Swiss Trotskyist fortnightly *La Brèche*.

Documents seized in the Geneva General Consulate of Iran June 1 by a group of thirteen Iranian students and lawyers who occupied the offices showed, in fact, that there had been tight collusion for many years between the police of "Europe's oldest democracy" and the secret police of the "world's oldest empire."

For example, excerpts from documents published June 14 by *La Brèche* contained the following summary of a June 1972 conversation between representatives of SAVAK, the Iranian secret police, Swiss Chief of Protocol Robert Vieux, and Chief of the Geneva Police Information and Security Service André Gagnebin:

Representative of Iran. "During His Majesty's visit, no demonstrations by extremist groups or individuals must be authorized."

Representative of Geneva. "We will give no authorization for demonstrations, but if some groups gather in the streets, it will be difficult to disperse them."

Representative of Iran. "We ask you in any case to act to prevent any demonstration from occurring on any route His Majesty might take. The representatives of the Canton of Geneva promise to do their best. . . ."

In February 1972, the ambassador of the Shah-in-Shah, the Sun of the Arians, gave canton officials a list of Iranians who must not be permitted to enter the country during the stay of the Shah-in-Shah. We ask you to forbid these persons from entering Switzerland during the visit. Moreover, we will give

you a new list."

Representative of Geneva. "If you have a new list, we ask you to give it to us so that we can take the necessary measures. . . ."

Representative of Geneva. "We ask that there be no executions before the arrival so that the Swiss media cannot provide such information to extremists through publishing it and thus make our tasks more difficult, in particular as regards banning demonstrations."

The attitude of the Geneva police officials was evidently appreciated. Excerpts from the documents published in *Der Spiegel* included the following top secret memorandum. It was entitled "Concerning Gifts from Mansur [the shah] to the Geneva Police." The text was as follows:

Discussions were held with Mr. Esfandari, the ambassador of the Shah-in-Shah, the Sun of the Arians, as regards drawing up a list of persons to whom gifts given by the heads of state during their visit to Switzerland can be sent. He was asked to make arrangements with the [Swiss] Foreign Ministry. . . . The Foreign Ministry chief of protocol explained that . . . in 1935, the Emperor of Ethiopia gave many gifts to officials. . . . In 1927, a representative of the USSR attending an economic conference in Geneva gave officials silver cigarette-holders. In 1969, Pope Paul VI gave the police forty gold crosses. Recently, the West German president distributed gold coins to the officials.

The shah's representatives were also on excellent terms with the German authorities. This is clear from a December 30, 1974, Iranian secret memorandum published by *Der Spiegel*:

About forty misled Iranian students coming from Italy were refused entry into Germany by the police. These misled Iranian students gathered in front of the German consulate in Florence. Distributing leaflets, they delivered a protest to the German consul and a demand for two million Italian lire compensation.

On the same day, three misled Iranian students resident in Rome appeared at the German embassy there, delivered a note of protest, and demanded a written reply. As a result of our activities, the German consulate in Florence and the German embassy in Rome have so far refused to give these misled ones any written reply.

SAVAK did not confine its interest to preventing demonstrations during the shah's visits or watching Iranian citizens living abroad. *Der Spiegel* noted:

One of the documents concerns surveillance of two British members of parliament. On an order from Tehran, apparently coming directly from General Nematollah Nasiri, chief of SAVAK, Labour MPs Stan Newens and William Wilson were to be investigated for possible relations with Iranian dissidents.



Jaq/Informations Ouvrières

Newens had spoken up several times, castigating the activities of foreign secret services in Britain. Wilson came to the notice of the Iranians as a critical observer of a trial against seven opponents of the shah. The accused in this trial were later "shot while escaping."

According to the order from Tehran, the results of these investigations were to be "immediately transmitted to headquarters so that the corresponding decisions can be made."

In the meantime, the "Beans" (SAVAK offices) were warned that the "Clean Fingers" (agents) were to "maintain the strictest caution in their investigations and above all to be careful not to let themselves be seen for long periods in front of the MPs' homes."

Other documents gave a picture of life in the shah's service, as did this circular from the Iranian Foreign Ministry published by *Der Spiegel*:

Recently there have been a number of cases in which the embassies of His Majesty have extended the expiration date of passports of persons whose travel documents, according to an order of the foreign minister, based on advice from the secret service, were not to be renewed. The secret services have informed His Majesty of this. His Majesty has commanded: "This is a military order and must be carried out unconditionally—let this be known!"

It goes without saying that failure to comply with this order will bring the gravest consequences.

Please confirm receipt of this circular.

Another Iranian Foreign Ministry circular confirmed the presence of SAVAK agents in at least a number of missions:

We are sending you a fifty-eight-page list of Iranian students resident in Italy, Turkey, the USA, Austria, West Germany, France, and England. If any of these persons appear in your offices, the following procedures are to be observed:

In diplomatic offices where there are SAVAK representatives, when these persons come on consular business, they should be put in contact with SAVAK agents. If the SAVAK agent agrees that

their problems should be dealt with, you do not need to consult the Foreign Ministry.

The team of students and lawyers that occupied the Iranian consulate in Geneva were backed by the Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union). After the police intervened, the occupiers were held in jail until June 4. The prosecutor demanded the court set bail at 5,000 Swiss Francs (approximately US\$2,150) each. Finally the group was released without bail.

The Swiss authorities wanted to deport the occupiers immediately, *Der Spiegel* reported, but the proceedings had to be stopped when the Iranian embassy pressed charges against them. That gave the students an opportunity to make the documents public.

The shah's representatives quickly realized their mistake. They withdrew the charges. However, according to Swiss law anyone charged with a crime can oppose the charges being dropped. The students moved to try to force a trial where the evidence of collusion between Swiss police and SAVAK could be debated publicly.

The Swiss capitalist press, nonetheless, has shown little interest in publicizing this case, *Der Spiegel* pointed out. In fact, the *Schweizerische Handelszeitung* complained that complicating diplomatic relations between Switzerland and Iran could "even lead to orders to Swiss companies being cancelled."

However, a press blackout has been made more difficult by the truculent behavior of the shah. On August 31, the Iranian government announced that it had retaliated by expelling a Swiss diplomat and the shah's kept press was ordered to go on a campaign against Switzerland. So, an article in the September 4 *Washington Post* reported: " . . . Tehran newspapers accused Switzerland of being, among other things, a land of Communist sympathies and a paranoid 'spy haunt.'"

Kremlin urges Lebanese leftists to compromise

Pravda, the daily of the Soviet Communist party, called September 8 for a political solution in Lebanon "based on a reasonable compromise."

Signed "Observer"—customarily a signal of top-level approval—the article denounced "ultraleftist elements" for refusing previous agreements that supposedly would have ended the fighting in Lebanon's seventeen-month-old civil war.

A dispatch from Beirut in the September 10 *New York Times* reported that excerpts from the *Pravda* article were given front-page display in most Beirut newspapers, while "Lebanese right-wing Christian leaders acclaimed the Soviet stand. . . ."

The rightists had good reason to rejoice at this public indication of behind-the-scenes pressure from Moscow. Militarily, the proimperialist forces in Lebanon have the upper hand. At this point, their participation in negotiations is intended to secure concessions that will give them better positions for new offensives. They have certainly not given up the perspective of crushing the Palestinian national liberation movement in Lebanon and reestablishing the authority of the proimperialist government throughout the entire country.

While the Kremlin is calling for "a reasonable compromise," and demanding greater concessions from the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition, rightist forces are threatening a broad offensive in the mountains east of Beirut.

"The situation in the mountains is heading toward a major explosion," a representative of the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist alliance warned September 5. "Combat is very intense, and both sides are using heavy artillery and surface-to-surface missiles," he added, according to a United Press International dispatch from Beirut.

Earlier, a Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) official accused Syrian forces of taking a part in the mountain battle. According to a report in the September 3 *Washington Post*, the PLO representative said, "Syria has moved more troops into the Jezzine area [on the road to Saidal]. The Syrians are also moving new rocket launchers up into the central mountains [east of Beirut]. They are threatening another round of war."

Opposition to the Syrian occupation of eastern Lebanon flared September 6 in the city of Baalbek. A general strike by the 110,000 residents there was reported in an unsigned United Press International dispatch, which said:

"Most shops in the historic city shut down for the day. Several hundred

demonstrators marched past the ancient Roman temple of Jupiter and passed out pamphlets calling the Syrian army 'a terrorist occupation force,' both rightist and leftist reports from the city said."

The majority of the Lebanese people are opposed to the Syrian invasion of Lebanon and to the rightist forces that the Syrians are aiding. However, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad has won approval for his policies from other quarters. Thus, *Time* magazine reported in its September 13 issue:

"The tacit understanding between Israel and Syria has gone so far that Damascus has withdrawn most of its offensive military power from the Golan Heights. Last year the Syrians had five armored divisions standing between Damascus and the Israeli-occupied territory on the Heights. Gradually, those forces were shifted, either to Lebanon or to Syria's troubled border with Iraq. Now there is only one armored division stationed around Damascus, that is in position to ward off an Israeli attack."

Time might have added that the troops stationed around Damascus are intended for use against the Syrian people in the event that they should rise up against Assad, not for combat against Israeli aggression.

According to the account in *Time*, "Israel is now training a battalion of mixed Lebanese Christian and Moslem troops in tank warfare at an Israeli base on the edge of the Sinai desert. . . . When the training is finished, they will be sent back to Lebanon with 38 American-made M-50 Sherman tanks."

Collaboration between the Israeli regime and the proimperialist forces in Lebanon has also included four trips by Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres to the Lebanese port of Jounieh, *Time* said. It also claimed that Peres was accompanied by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on his third trip. The trips reportedly occurred between late May and late August.

The last visit by Peres lasted two days, according to *Time*. "There were some strange visitors to see Peres," said one source, hinting that they included Syrians."

At present, the Syrian army and the rightist forces under the leadership of the Maronite-Christian establishment appear to be doing a good job in Lebanon from the point of view of the Israeli regime. But the deepening Israeli involvement means that if either of Rabin's new allies falters, their task may well be taken up by the Israeli army.

World news notes

Argentine auto workers' strike ends

A strike by 20,000 Argentine auto workers was reported to have ended September 10.

In the biggest challenge to date to the military junta that seized power March 24, workers at Ford, Chrysler, Mercedes-Benz, General Motors, and Fiat walked off the job September 7 in protest against an insufficient wage increase granted by the Videla regime September 1. The auto workers pointed out that the raise, set at 12 percent, was far less than the rise in prices since wages last went up in June.

The military junta threatened the strike organizers with up to ten years in prison and participants with dismissal without severance pay.

Abortion rights under attack in Britain

Further restrictions on the right of British women to abortion were proposed July 28 by eight members of Parliament. The eight MPs were the remaining members of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Abortion after the walkout of six supporters of abortion rights earlier this year.

The rump parliamentary committee issued a report urging that the time limit for legal abortions be reduced from twenty-eight weeks to twenty weeks. Currently, the 1967 Abortion Act enables women in Britain to obtain legal abortions on medical or "social" grounds if they have the consent of two doctors. The committee proposed a requirement that one of the two doctors involved must have been in practice for at least five years, and that there should be no financial links between the two.

In addition, the penalties for violating the regulations on abortion would be raised to a maximum fine of £1,000 (£1 equals \$1.77), and prosecution could take place up to three years after the alleged offense.

Finally, the committee suggested that the right of nurses and doctors not to perform abortions be enshrined in law.

New Zealanders protest U.S. nuclear warship

A strike by New Zealand dock unions and seamen, along with demonstrations and marches in several cities, marked the arrival of an American nuclear-powered cruiser in Wellington Harbor August 27.

All commercial and passenger-ferry traffic between the North and South islands of the country was paralyzed.

Activists face frame-ups in Greece

On September 29, fourteen members of groups that defended the young workers and students attacked by police during the May 25 general strike rallies in Athens will go on trial in the Greek capital, charged with "moral responsibility" for the clashes.

Thirty persons charged with "physical responsibility" for the clashes were condemned to five months in prison, with two-year suspended sentences, at the end of May.

Among those charged with "moral responsibility" for the May 25 clashes are two leaders of the Greek section of the Fourth International, Giannis Felekis and Ambave.

The list of defendants for the upcoming trial includes leaders and members of several of the left groups based on the student radicalization that dealt a mortal blow to the dictatorship in the November 1973 demonstrations.

A united-front committee—the Committee Against the Prosecution of Organizations and Activists for the Events of May 25—has been formed to defend the defendants in the upcoming trial.

The committee and the defendants have also issued an international appeal for support and called for as many groups as possible to send observers to the trial. Messages can be sent to the committee, c/o Giannis Felekis, *Ergatike Pale*, Themistocleous St. 38, Athens, Greece.

1,000 at rally for Swedish Trotskyists

A thousand persons attended a special election campaign rally September 4 in Stockholm organized by the Swedish section of the Fourth International, the September 7 issue of *Internationalen*, the organization's paper, reported. The Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet (KAF—Communist Workers League) is running candidates in a number of districts across Sweden in the September 19 legislative elections.

The September 4 rally, the largest yet held by the KAF, featured speakers from the Fourth International outside Sweden, as well as representatives of the Swedish Trotskyist organization.

The KAF has distributed 150,000 copies of its election platform, which includes demands for a six-hour workday with no cut in pay, jobs for all, and cost-of-living adjustments in wages to cover inflation. It calls on the unions to discuss the questions raised by the ecology movement, the women's movement, and the movements in solidarity with working-class struggles in other countries. The program also includes a plank opposing nuclear power plants.

Revolutionists run in German election

On August 26, the West German Federal Election Committee certified the International Marxist Group, the German Trotskyist organization, as a recognized political party. This decision is a major step toward gaining ballot status for the October 3 legislative elections.

Following the decision of the Federal Electoral Committee, the Trotskyists cannot be ruled "anticonstitutional" by the Interior Ministries of the federal government or the states. Only a decision by the Supreme Court could rule them off the ballot on constitutional grounds.



Syrian soldiers en route to Lebanon

1.5 million are unemployed

Living standards of British workers under assault

By Jim Atkinson

[Since this article was written, members of the British National Union of Seamen voted to strike, demanding a £6 per week raise. The strike, originally scheduled to begin September 12, has been postponed for two weeks pending further bargaining.]

LONDON—For the first time since World War II the number of British workers registered as unemployed has passed the 1.5 million mark (6.4%), according to government figures released August 24.

This has not been the only piece of bad news. Steadily rising unemployment has been just one aspect of a wide assault on workers' living standards under the Labour administration of Prime Minister James Callaghan.

The soaring unemployment—now higher in percentage terms than in almost all other major European countries—is hitting hardest at women, youths, Blacks, and the people of Northern Ireland.

Workers in some industries have suffered particularly harshly. According to the National Federation of Building Trades Employers, more than 200,000 construction workers were unemployed in July. Under an agreement signed last January by the British Steel Corporation and the bureaucrats of the steel unions, 20,000 jobs have been "shed" in the steel industry. Educational cutbacks mean that 20,000 newly qualified teachers will be without jobs when schools reopen in late September.

Wage controls

Meanwhile, living standards are under attack from another quarter: Phase Two of Labour's wage controls. Phase two, which started on August 1 and will last for one year, restricts wage increases to between £2.50 and £4 a week. The exact increase allowed depends on previous income levels but works out at roughly 4.5% for the average worker (at a time when inflation has shown no sign over the past six months of dipping below 12% to 13% a year).

The trade-union bureaucracy overwhelmingly endorsed the new pay restrictions at a special congress of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) on June 16, giving the policy a massive 18 to 1 majority (by contrast to the TUC's 2 to 1 endorsement of the £6 limit a year earlier).

The consequences for workers, in view of the continuing inflation, will be a further erosion of living standards. As the *London Times* explained August 10, "Real average earnings have fallen since 1974, and a married man with two young children, on average earnings, will almost certainly have suffered a drop of at least 4½ per cent in real living standards between the end of the last economic boom and next summer."

But next summer, government ministers hint, will usher in a further round of wage restraint—Phase Three.

The third major axis of the government's offensive is its attack against the so-called social wage: housing, education, health care, and other welfare facilities and benefits. In his April budget speech, Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey announced a new system of "cash limits" to restrict



Recent jobs demonstration in Britain

public spending in the current financial year.

The latest set of cutbacks was announced by Healey July 22. The measures, which will cut public spending by more than £1 billion (£1=US\$1.74) in 1977-78, include the following: an accelerated drive to phase out food subsidies; curbs on municipal housing programmes (which will both intensify the housing crisis and add to the massive unemployment in the construction industry); cutbacks in capital spending on universities and other educational building schemes; increased charges for school meals; and a series of cutbacks and price increases in the National Health Service. Alongside tax changes, the measures will also add 1% to prices by March 1978.

Particularly serious will be the impact of the cuts on employment. The *Observer* reported July 25 that as many as 170,000 jobs may be lost (in contrast to a figure of 60,000 admitted by Healey on July 22). Between 40,000 and 50,000 jobs will disappear in the construction industry alone, the *Observer* estimated.

The government has also launched a major drive to slash employment in the civil service itself, announcing July 29 that during the coming three years 46,000 civil service jobs would be axed.

The cutbacks, mounting unemployment, and wage controls are the price now being paid by British workers for their union misleaders' adherence to the "Social Contract," the class-collaborationist pact between the Labour government and the trade-union bureaucracy which is designed to boost British capitalism's profits at the expense of workers' living standards.

Union misleaders

In fact, the union leaders' record of capitulation to the government's attacks was summed up in the last week of July by their re-endorsement of the Social Contract for three more years. As Murray explained after the vote: "We are keeping a watch on the Government in a spirit of cooperation, not in a hostile way." Two days later, this so-called Mark II of the Social Contract was ratified by the Labour party's National Executive Committee (NEC) and the TUC General Council.

The *Tribune* group, a caucus of "left

wing" Labour party members of Parliament, has also failed to mount any serious challenge to the government's course. Most striking of all, not one Labour MP voted against Healey's July 22 package of cutbacks in Parliament.

The flabbiness of the *Tribune* "left" and the close collaboration between the trade-union bureaucracy and the Labour government has been the secret of the Wilson and Callaghan administrations' success in ruling-class eyes. To a large extent, the Labour government has succeeded in exploiting the party's long historical ties with the unions to win acceptance of its anti-working-class policies. This is in sharp contrast with the experience of the 1970-74 Conservative government, whose anti-union and wage-control policies backfired badly, sparking a wave of militant working-class struggles.

One example of the Labour government's relative success over the Tories has been the big decline in strike action since Labour's election victory.

Economy in ill health

Nevertheless, the one question on which ruling-class commentators are reserving judgement is whether Callaghan's anti-labour offensive will be sufficient to restore the ailing British capitalist economy to health. The malaise is deep-rooted. Throughout the post-war boom, British capitalism slipped behind its rivals—a record symbolised by the exceptionally slow rate of increase of productivity in British industry, very low investment, falling profit rates, and a rapidly declining share of the world capitalist market. The world recession, with its seizing up of world trade, gave these underlying problems an explosive character.

Symptomatic of the crisis has been the prolonged flight from sterling. Since December 1971, the British pound has slid around 40% in value against other leading capitalist currencies. Government efforts to support the pound ate deep into Britain's international currency reserves, forcing eight members of the Group of Ten countries, the Bank for International Settlements, and Switzerland to announce (on June 7) a three-month standby credit of US\$5.3 billion.

A telling indicator of the depth of the underlying crisis has been the steady decline of profitability in British industry.

Reversing this trend is what Labour's wage controls are about. The relaxation of price controls under the already-weak Price Code, announced June 30, has the same aim. The changes, which will push up retail prices by 1% are designed to give £1 billion to capitalist firms.

Shoring up capitalism

The same is true of the public spending cuts. As the post-war boom began to falter in the seventies, the British government resorted to massive deficit financing (with a consequent take-off in the money supply and an inflationary explosion) to shore up British business.

British firms' dependence on government hand-outs is now enormous, today's recipients ranging from the crisis-ridden auto giant British Leyland to Rolls-Royce and the shipbuilding industry. Now Babcock and Wilcox, the power-station equipment firm, is seeking government aid to keep afloat.

The other side of this huge increase in the budget deficit and government borrowing has been an inflation rate higher than that in most other imperialist countries—thus further eroding the competitiveness of British industry in world markets. So cuts in the "social wage" are inevitable if the Labour government is to reduce the budget deficit while channeling funds to industry.

Workers fight back

The question arises: how long will British working people put up with sustained falls in real wages, very high unemployment, and cutbacks in social services? Acquiescence so far seems to have hinged partly on repeated government and TUC claims that "good times" are in store after a temporary period of sacrifices. This line of argument will become less convincing when the long-term character of the government's attacks becomes clearer to workers.

The potential for protest is obvious. Last May, student teachers occupied over 100 of Britain's 140 teacher training colleges—the most widespread student action in British history—when the government announced that 20,000 newly qualifying teachers would not find jobs on graduation. Union leaders are being forced to make at least verbal protests about the soaring unemployment, and local constituency Labour parties are forwarding protest resolutions on the cutbacks and unemployment for debate at the party's upcoming conference. Even some Labour-controlled municipal authorities are refusing to implement government-ordered cutbacks.

The first serious challenge to Phase Two may come from the 38,000 members of the National Union of Seamen. On August 13, the union's leadership decided to ballot its members—aboard 5,000 ships all over the world—on whether industrial action should be taken to back up a demand for a pay increase which both the government and the TUC claim violates the wage controls.

A seamen's strike, if it takes place, could point the way forward to other groups of workers and herald a new wave of working-class struggle against the government's offensive.

Internationalism at SWP convention

Socialist strategy in Mexican and Portuguese elections

By Peter Seidman

"A bas les frontières!"

"End all travel bans!"

"Por un mundo sin fronteras!"

The deepgoing internationalism of the Socialist Workers party was symbolized by the prominent display of these slogans on a banner at the party's 1976 convention.

This spirit was also shown by the election of Hugo Blanco as honorary chairperson of the convention. Blanco is a Peruvian revolutionary leader recently forced into exile in Sweden by the government of Peru.

The delegates spent almost one-third of their time during convention sessions discussing and voting on international political questions.

In addition, there were special educational talks on "The Revolution in Southern Africa" (See the *Militant*, September 17) and on "Stalinism and the Political Revolution in China" (to be published in the October 1976 *International Socialist Review*.)

Other talks were given on the political situation in Canada and on the worldwide struggle for women's liberation.

Convention workshops were held on how socialists in the United States can win support for the Arab revolution and help defend Iranian, Soviet, and Eastern European political prisoners.

Judy White, a member of the SWP National Committee, presented a spe-

cial report to the delegates outlining a national campaign to defend victims of the repressive dictatorship in Argentina. (See page 25.)

A workshop was held on how the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance can collaborate with the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) on this important defense effort.

Fourth International

Two hundred thirty guests from nineteen countries attended the convention as observers. They were able to listen to convention proceedings through simultaneous translations into French and Spanish.

This large delegation of observers highlights the SWP's active collaboration with revolutionary socialist organizations around the world. While prohibited by reactionary U.S. laws from membership in the Fourth International—the world organization formed under the leadership of Leon Trotsky in 1938—the SWP actively follows its discussions and development.

The role of the United States as the world's strongest imperialist power makes such an internationalist outlook crucial to the success of a revolutionary party on American soil. SWP conventions always have one or more world political questions on the agenda for debate and vote. This is a key

aspect of the education of American revolutionaries.

In greetings to the convention, Alan Jones, a representative of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and a leader of the International Marxist Group in Britain, commented on this important relationship of the struggle for socialism in America and worldwide.

"As Trotsky said, the fight of humanity will be decided on American soil," Jones explained. "But that struggle will not be simply a struggle between the American working class and the oppressed nationalities . . . and the American ruling class."

"That struggle," Jones said, "will be a struggle between the working class of the entire world and the oppressed of the entire world against the most powerful ruling class which has existed in history. That is the only way in which that revolution can be successful."

"We are bound together in the following sense: For us to make developments in all the countries in the world, you have to carry on the struggle in the heartland of U.S. imperialism."

"But it is our struggle, the victories which will be gained outside the United States, which will be—so to speak—the shoulders on which you can stand to attack your own ruling class."

Understanding this, the SWP follows and tries to learn from the activities, discussions, and debates of its revolutionary colleagues around the world.

Debate among Trotskyists

The major international discussion at the convention focused on the correct strategy for revolutionaries in the recent elections in Portugal, Mexico, and Italy.

A report on this topic was presented to the delegates by SWP Organization Secretary Barry Sheppard on behalf of the party's political committee. A counterreport was given by Alan Jones reflecting the views of the majority of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

After extensive discussion, Sheppard's report was unanimously approved by the convention delegates.

As background to the discussion, Sheppard reviewed an important and ongoing debate within the world Trotskyist movement. This debate began in 1969 over the role of guerrilla warfare as an axis of revolutionary strategy for Latin America.

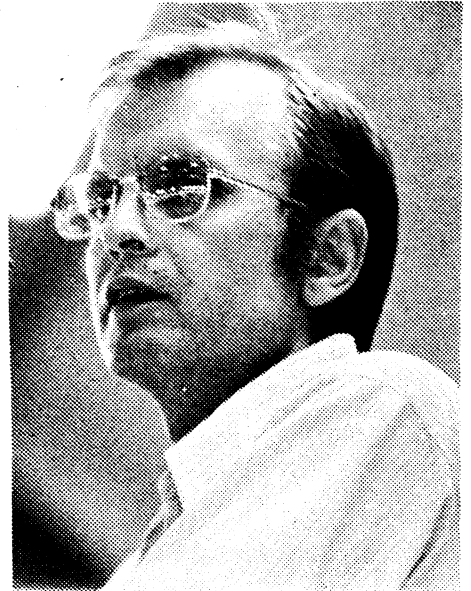
Sheppard explained that a majority faction—the International Majority Tendency—and a minority faction—the Leninist Trotskyist Faction—formed as the debate continued and differences extended to other issues.

The majority of the leadership of the SWP supports the point of view of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction.

During the past year, this debate has taken its sharpest form around the recent elections in Portugal, Mexico, and Italy.

The revolutionary upsurge in Portugal following April 1974 has provided a particularly important test of the two lines in the world Trotskyist movement.

The Portuguese Communist and Socialist parties—the two mass working-class parties there—failed to provide revolutionary leadership in this situation. Their default permitted the continuation of capitalist rule



Militant/Lou Howort

BARRY SHEPPARD

despite the desire of the majority of the Portuguese people for socialism.

The key task confronting revolutionaries in Portugal is to clarify their program and to construct a party capable of challenging the CP and SP for leadership of the working class and its allies. Only then can the Portuguese masses successfully challenge capitalist rule.

Since April 1974 Portugal has been ruled by the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement). The MFA has demagogically claimed to stand above the conflicts of all contending classes and parties. It has pretended to be a "neutral" force that deserves confidence as the liberator of Portugal from decades of fascist-like dictatorship.

These capitalist generals have only been able to play this role because the CP and the SP refused to mobilize the Portuguese working class to challenge the MFA's rule.

But in Portugal and around the world, Sheppard reported, many "new left" groups claiming to be more radical than the CP and SP also failed to effectively challenge the MFA's demagoguery. In practice, these groups did not break with class-collaborationist support to one or another wing of the army. "The new lefters," Sheppard noted, "were easily taken in by the most demagogic of the officers . . . Otelo Carvalho, who became their hero."

Sheppard explained that this demagoguery needed to be answered with a clear "class-struggle program, including the demand for a workers government in the form of a call on the CP and SP to take the power and begin the construction of socialism, which is what the workers of Portugal wanted."

Portuguese elections

Four candidates ran in Portugal's June 27 presidential elections. Three of them—General Ramalho Eanes, José Pinheiro de Azevedo, and Otelo Carvalho—were military candidates representing different wings of the MFA. The fourth and only non-MFA candidate was Octavio Pato, the candidate of the CP.

Sheppard explained the basic principles that should guide Marxists in their participation in elections.

Elections provide an opportunity for revolutionaries to explain that only a socialist revolution can resolve the crises inflicted upon humanity by

Continued on next page



Militant/Lou Howort

SWP's internationalism is expressed not only through discussions of revolutionary struggles around the world, but in actions to defend those pitted against U.S. imperialism.

...Mexican, Portuguese elections

Continued from preceding page
capitalism. Elections are an arena to help win over a majority of the working class to a socialist perspective and to build a revolutionary party.

Revolutionaries can never advance these goals by supporting capitalist candidates or parties, Sheppard said. This ruled out support to Eanes, Azevedo, or Carvalho.

Sheppard explained that although the CP's candidate, Octavio Pato, put forward a class-collaborationist program, it was within Marxist principles to call for a vote to Pato. This is true because Pato was the candidate of a mass working-class party.

This tactic of offering critical support to the candidate of a reformist workers party, Sheppard said, was useful if it "advances the concept of the need to counterpose class against class, if it helps draw the line in the electoral arena. . . . if we give no support whatever to their class collaborationist programs."

With this in mind, the SWP thought that the decision by the three Portuguese Trotskyist organizations to call for a vote for Pato followed the general Marxist approach to electoral tactics.

Calling on the two mass working-class parties to take governmental power, Sheppard said, not only helps educate the masses on the need for independent class political action. It also exposes the unwillingness of the CP and SP misleaders to champion the desire of the majority in Portugal for a workers government and socialism.

The radical rhetoric used by Carvalho in the last stages of his election campaign won him the support of much of the Portuguese and international new left. "They don't think in class terms," Sheppard explained.

Unfortunately, he reported, some members of the world Trotskyist movement, bending to this new-left sentiment, also decided to support Carvalho toward the end of the election campaign.

Sheppard explained why this was a serious error.

Carvalho's campaign did not educate the working masses on the need for a class break with capitalist politics and the MFA. In fact, Carvalho's campaign was conducted with the permission of the Portuguese army.

Far from seeing Carvalho as a threat, Sheppard said, the MFA was "undoubtedly happy that he captured the votes of those young radicals and workers who refused to vote for the capitalists' first choice—Carvalho's fellow officer—General Eanes."

Carvalho's lack of support from any large section of the bourgeoisie did not change the fact that he was a capitalist candidate. Sheppard pointed to the meager support received by such undisputedly capitalist candidates in the United States as Henry Wallace in 1948 or Fred Harris in 1976.

It is also false to argue—as some did—that Carvalho must be a workers candidate because many workers and confused radicals in Portugal supported him.

After all, Sheppard explained, the capitalists are a minority who always have the problem of getting workers'



Militant/Lou Howort

Two hundred thirty guests from nineteen countries observed SWP convention. They could listen to proceedings in simultaneous translations from English to French and Spanish.

votes. "To do this, they have to fool the workers. And if a capitalist politician succeeds in doing just that—even fooling the best and most revolutionary workers—that doesn't change the nature of that capitalist candidate."

Sheppard also pointed out how the Portuguese new left had been fooled by the demagoguery in Carvalho's platform. Despite many radical-sounding demands, Carvalho's campaign platform pledged to defend the new constitution, which says that the armed forces will continue to hold basic political power.

Sheppard commented, "Carvalho's answer to the question of who should rule is clear: the army, the Portuguese imperialist army. Once that is settled, he can promise anything."

In addition to Alan Jones's counterreport—which argued that a vote for Carvalho was not excluded on grounds of principle—guests at the convention from other countries also took the floor during the discussion. These included leaders from Portugal and Mexico. Convention delegates found these contributions useful in enriching and clarifying the debated questions.

Mexican elections

In his report, Sheppard also described the positions taken by three Trotskyist organizations during Mexico's presidential campaign this year. Sheppard outlined the views of the SWP leadership on the positions of these organizations.

The candidate of the ruling capitalist party—the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolutionary Party)—ran virtually unopposed.

The CP, however, decided to run Valentín Campa as a write-in candidate for president.

As in Portugal, the CP's motive was not to build a revolutionary mass alternative to the PRI. The Mexican CP, once a large party, had lost its influence among the workers over the years because of its political subordination to the capitalist PRI.

"In this year's elections," Sheppard explained, "the Stalinists hoped to

refurbish their tarnished image."

"Unfortunately," he continued, "they were given a helping hand in this project by one of the Trotskyist groups in Mexico."

Sheppard reported that the Liga Socialista (Tendencia Militante) (LS(TM)—Socialist League [Militant Tendency])—one of two public factions formed out of a split in the LS earlier this year—made an electoral bloc with the Stalinists.

Sheppard explained that this bloc was different from the tactic used by the Portuguese Trotskyist groups in calling for a vote to the CP candidate. That tactic was a means of drawing the class line in the electoral arena while criticizing the CP's reformist program.

In the Mexican elections, in contrast, the LS(TM) signed a *joint program* with the Stalinists.

Marxists participate in elections only as a way to *continue* the class struggle in the electoral arena. But the joint CP-LS(TM) platform was dominated by the *reformist* program of the CP. It calls, for example, for support to a plan presented to the United Nations by Mexican President Echeverría calling for "peaceful coexistence."

"Peaceful coexistence," Sheppard explained, "is a code word used by the Stalinists for the Kremlin's policy of subordinating the needs and interests of the world's working people to diplomatic deals with imperialism."

Sheppard explained why the Liga Socialista (Fracción Bolchevique Leninista) (LS(FBL)—Socialist League [Bolshevik-Leninist Faction])—the other public faction of the LS—opposed this joint electoral platform.

The LS(FBL), while calling for a vote to Campa as the only candidate of a working-class party, coupled this with a vigorous *criticism* of the CP's program.

Sheppard said that the SWP leadership thought that the LS(FBL) had a generally correct approach to the elections.

He noted some of the LS(FBL)'s correct criticisms of the joint platform:

- Its rejection of the platform's call for Mexico's foreign policy to be patterned after that of the so-called left governments of Peru, Panama, and Ecuador. The platform claims that the foreign policy of these governments "fundamentally goes in an anti-imperialist direction."

This is false. There is nothing revolutionary about Panama's General Omar Torrijos, who is negotiating with Washington to let the United States keep its bases and control of the Canal Zone until the year 2000. Or the deportation for the second time by Peru's military junta of revolutionary peasant leader Hugo Blanco.

- The LS(FBL)'s criticism of the

CP's popular-front line in Mexico. This line subordinates workers' struggles to support for the Mexican national bourgeoisie—or as the CP puts it, "to advance the unity of the forces that support democracy and socialism."

Sheppard also reported on the attitude of a third Mexican Trotskyist organization, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League).

The LCI did not join the electoral bloc supported by the LS(TM). But the LCI did not consider its differences with the LS(TM) on this to be of a principled character. The issue was purely *tactical*, the LCI said.

In doing this, Sheppard explained, the LCI downplayed an important question of *principle* in the Mexican elections: the signing of a reformist political program.

Sheppard pointed as a positive example to the participation of the LS(FBL) in the growing movement for union democracy that is gaining momentum in Mexico.

The LS(FBL) has raised the idea in this opposition movement that the unions should break with their policy of support to the capitalist PRI and form a labor party of their own.

"This line put the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency in the center of debate among these radicalizing workers and in conflict with the Stalinists," Sheppard explained. The CP, he reported, "fought the comrades tooth and nail to prevent any criticism of the PRI coming up for a vote at a conference called by this opposition grouping. In real life, the LS(FBL) comrades were able to see if the Stalinists had changed their line on the PRI."

And of course, they had not. This helped to expose the real nature of the CP's campaign.

Sheppard also reported the SWP leadership's disagreement with the support given by the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR—Revolutionary Communist Groups, the Italian section of the Fourth International) to the Proletarian Democracy slate in the June 20 Italian elections. This was an electoral bloc of groups claiming to offer an alternative to the left of the Italian CP and SP. (For a further discussion of this, see the *Militant*, July 30, 1976.)

New opportunities

The importance of the discussion inside the Fourth International and its sympathizing organizations was signaled by the presence at the SWP convention of observers from two international Trotskyist currents now outside the Fourth International.

These were the Lutte Ouvrière (LO—Workers Struggle) and the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI). Leaders of both these currents brought greetings to the convention and expressed their desire for ongoing political discussions and collaboration with the Fourth International. They also presented their views on the political situation in Portugal and the challenge posed by the recent presidential elections.

In a separate report on new opportunities for building the world Trotskyist movement, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes noted the importance of the initiatives taken by the LO and the OCRFI in seeking these discussions.

Delegates also heard a counterreport by Alan Jones expressing the views of the majority of the United Secretariat on how to respond to these initiatives.

After a thorough discussion, the convention unanimously approved Barnes's report. In doing so, the delegates reaffirmed the SWP's desire to do everything possible to foster the growth and development of the Fourth International.

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Socialists pledge defense effort

The right-wing bloodbath in Argentina

[The following is based on a report presented by Judy White to the national convention of the Socialist Workers party in August.

[White is a member of the SWP National Committee and covers Latin America for Intercontinental Press, a weekly newsmagazine. She is the former editor of the USLA Reporter, the publication of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.]

By Judy White

In the four months since the military coup in Argentina, that country has come to look more and more like Chile. General Videla's campaign to annihilate "subversion" has resulted in the imprisonment or death of thousands of revolutionists, trade-union and student activists, and supporters of the previous Peronist government.

In many ways, the situation in Argentina is more dangerous than in Chile, in fact, because it is not as well known.

But we do have some facts available on the extent of the repression in Argentina. The official repression, by

labor movement, Luis Alberto López, disappeared. López was a prominent member of a city-wide coordinating committee of workers organizations and a supporter of the Trotskyist journal *Manifiesto Obrero*. He has not been heard from since.

Even the families of trade-union activists and revolutionists, people who had nothing to do with working-class politics, are not exempt from the death squads. Specially targeted by groups like the AAA have been the tens of thousands of Latin American political refugees living in Argentina. Victims of dictatorships in Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and other countries, they fled to the last haven for leftists in the Southern Cone.

For those who are in prison, conditions are very bad. Most of the estimated 20,000 political prisoners are being held at the disposal of the executive power. That means they can be held indefinitely without trial. If they do come to trial, it is before a military tribunal that hands down sentence within forty-eight hours, sentences like the eight years recently given to a worker who was handing out leaflets in a meat-packing plant.

The majority of these prisoners are workers who are activists in their factories and workplaces. The food they are given is so poor that liver and stomach problems, anemia, and extreme weight loss are common. Prisoners are not allowed to perform any physical activity or to study.

A series of decrees has banned by name most political parties and organizations. Anyone engaging in trade-union activity is subject to imprisonment. The death penalty has been reinstituted.

More than 100 members of the PST, the Argentine Socialist Workers party, are currently in prison. The party has made the case of José Páez a focus of its campaign to win the release of political prisoners. Páez was one of the main leaders of the auto workers in Córdoba.

In 1973 he ran as the PST's vice-presidential candidate.

Páez is being held at the Córdoba penitentiary, the jail where at least eighteen prisoners have been removed from their cells and murdered in alleged confrontations between securi-



JOSE PAEZ. Imprisoned socialist and union leader's life is in danger.

ty forces and the guerillas.

For the Socialist Workers party in the United States, the situation in Argentina has a special importance. American imperialism is directly responsible for the bloody deeds of the Argentine ruling class. Without Washington's support, they could not survive, and we have a political responsibility to expose the truth about Argentina to the American people.

The situation in Argentina is important to us for another reason. There are many Trotskyists in Argentina in the PST and other groups with whom we have a fraternal bond. We are deeply concerned about their fate. Even before the coup, the PST had suffered sixteen deaths from ultrarightist gangs. Many more Trotskyists from the PST and other Trotskyist organizations are now in extreme danger. And precisely because there has been less attention to this situation and less protest, the responsibility of the world Trotskyist movement becomes greater.

We do not approach the question of

defense work for the victims of the repression in Argentina from a narrow perspective, though. We recognize that the only effective effort can be a united one, a political campaign that publicizes the situation of all the political prisoners and mobilizes support for them, on the basis of "an injury to one is an injury to all." That is why the SWP has for many years supported the efforts of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). The USLA publicizes the cases of political repression throughout Latin America. It organizes protests of various kinds and provides what financial and legal aid it can for the victims of political persecution and their families.

The USLA defends all political prisoners, regardless of their political persuasions. In this way, the committee can build the broadest possible support for the defense of human and democratic rights in Latin America.

In the case of Argentina, the USLA has been on a campaign that actually began well before the coup.

Although financial aid can help ease immediate pain and suffering, the USLA's resources have always been very limited. By far the greatest service the USLA performs is the task of organizing to put massive political and social pressure on the murderers in power in Argentina.

The USLA's first goal, one that we support, is to save the lives of the thousands of political prisoners and win their freedom by mobilizing every ounce of pressure on their behalf.

The USLA plans to continue and expand the campaign that has already begun. The committee will focus on the cases of specific victims of the repression, since it has found that to be the most effective way to mobilize people in the United States and around the world against the barbaric practices of regimes such as Videla's.

The USLA will also be raising a special solidarity fund for victims of repression in Argentina and to help finance the campaign. The Socialist Workers party will support this campaign. The depth of the repression in Argentina requires a united effort of as many organizations as possible, and we will be in the forefront of that effort.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

WHITE: 'We have a political responsibility to expose truth about Argentina.'

the army, has cost the lives of at least 400 so-called subversives. Among them are dedicated revolutionists like Mario Roberto Santucho, leader of the People's Revolutionary Army, the ERP, who was gunned down in a raid on an apartment near Buenos Aires July 19.

Política Obrera, the Argentine affiliate of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, reported the case of one of its members who was imprisoned in the Córdoba penitentiary. In mid-July he died, according to police records, from a cerebral hemorrhage. But when his parents went to the morgue to claim the body, they could see that he had been shot in the neck.

Then there are the victims of the unofficial repression—the ultraright murder gangs, like the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance (AAA). These are gangs made up of military and police personnel out of uniform. They were kidnapping, torturing, and killing trade-union activists and leftists at a rate of at least 100 per month before the military coup, and reports indicate that they are still operating as before.

In January a leader of the Córdoba

Defend human rights in Argentina

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners is fighting to defend the victims of the new military dictatorship in Argentina.

WHAT USLA IS DOING:

- Defending trade-union leaders, like the well-known auto workers' leader José Francisco Páez, imprisoned for exercising their right to organize fellow workers to win a better standard of living.
- Working to insure the safety of the thousands of political refugees from other Latin American countries

now trapped in Argentina.

- Publicizing the responsibility of the Videla regime for the right-wing terror that has claimed the lives of hundreds of innocent victims.
- Mounting, together with other organizations, a campaign to denounce the persecution of Jews, like the recent bombing of synagogues and the kidnaping of relatives of prominent Argentine Jews.
- Providing material and moral support to the refugees and others whose lives are in danger.
- Mobilizing public opinion to de-



USLA

mand the release of all the political prisoners and the restoration of democratic and human rights.

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

- USLA has established a special Argentine Solidarity Fund to aid the families of political prisoners, the refugees, and other victims of political

persecution and to continue this campaign. Please send a contribution today! (Make checks payable to the Argentine Solidarity Fund, c/o USLA.)

- Help spread the truth about Argentina by holding meetings and circulating materials on your campus, or in your trade union or other organization. Contact USLA and we'll help you get started.

- Volunteer to work on the Argentine campaign by contacting USLA.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____ for the Argentine Solidarity Fund.

Send me more information on USLA's Argentine campaign and how I can help.

I would like to arrange a meeting on Argentina. Please inform me about available speakers.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Telephone _____

Between 1964 and 1972 Vivian Sahner was a housewife and mother in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. A divorce and new job in 1972 changed things.

Her first step was to campaign for Democrat George McGovern.

But this year Vivian was a delegate to the Socialist Workers party convention. She and her three children now live in Atlanta where she works as a book-keeper.

"I'm glad the socialists didn't dismiss me right away because I was supporting McGovern," she said.

Vivian now helps organize the SWP forum series in Atlanta and is active in the Georgia Committee Against the Death Penalty.

This committee evolved from a meeting in July of more than 200 people. Georgia's capital punishment law was one of those upheld this summer by the U.S. Supreme Court. Twenty-nine prisoners sit on death row there.

"Already we sponsored a debate that did a lot to educate the public on the barbaric death penalty," she said.

"Attorney William Kunstler and someone from the American Civil Liberties Union spoke against the death penalty. They debated the attorney who argued for capital punishment before the state supreme court and a former FBI agent who is now a Presbyterian minister."

Dennis Carman, twenty-five, attended his second SWP convention this year as a fraternal delegate from the Socialist Workers party organizing committee in Louisville.

A native Kentuckian, Dennis joined the Young Socialist Alliance in 1972 while a student at the University of Kentucky in Lexington.

Dennis returned to Louisville in 1973. From the beginning he has been active in the struggle for desegregated education there.

To help get the new SWP branch off the ground, Louisville socialists this summer concentrated on selling the *Militant*. "During July alone we sold 130 papers in Louisville's biggest housing project. A Black student we met during one of those sales came to the convention."

"He planned to stay for only a couple of days," Dennis said. "But he decided to stay the whole week after he heard some of the discussion. Now he wants to join the SWP."

When Larry Stewart joined the Socialist Workers party in 1939, he was just out of high school. "I don't know what would have happened to me if I hadn't joined the party," he said. "I have real empathy for every Black that has to deal with racism on an individual basis without the party."

Larry was a delegate from the Newark branch.

For nearly eleven years Larry has been a driver and a member of Local 560 of the Teamsters.

"For years, the union has known who I am with the FBI snooping around. The company knows my politics—one fellow saw my files and told me."

"But for the first time, all the drivers know who I am now, since I announced my campaign for Congress on the SWP ticket."

"When they recently tried to fire me for the fourth time in two years, the Teamsters had to defend me."

Rachel Knapik joined the SWP last January after attending a series of SWP forums on women's liberation.



SWP convention

Meet some of the delegates

Among the 1,655 participants in the August convention of the Socialist Workers party, 264 were delegates elected by party branches around the country.

They were elected after three months of discussion in the branches of all major issues to be decided at the convention.

The 'Militant' talked with several of these delegates about their backgrounds, what their branches are doing, and their impressions of the convention.

The interviews were conducted by Nancy Cole, Claré Fraenzl, and Diane Rupp.

"No matter what you can do or have to offer, you are encouraged to develop your abilities," she says of the party after seven months. "Your contribution is not considered minimal, but a necessary part of putting the whole thing together."



Rachel was an alternate delegate from the Northeast Houston SWP branch. She was "overwhelmed" that members of her branch chose such a new member to represent them. "I just couldn't imagine that they would think I had something to contribute."

But she thought that branch members had probably recognized her active involvement in that short period. Rachel has worked in the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Houston Teachers Association, Student Coalition Against Racism, and as the branch's election campaign director.

At twenty, Silvia Zapata was one of the youngest delegates elected to this year's convention. Silvia joined the Young Socialist Alliance nearly two years ago and the SWP a year later when she moved from San Antonio to Houston.

She is now a member of the new SWP branch based in Houston's North Side, a Chicano community.

Silvia works as a waitress. Recently she was going about her duties in the Houston restaurant where she works when she overheard an argument about Jimmy Carter.

Silvia later talked to the customer who had expressed skepticism about Carter, and brought him a *Militant* the next day. Now he sells *Militants* at the YMCA where he works.

Cecil Lampkin, an alternate delegate from the South Side Chicago branch, has spent the last eight years as a socialist activist in Detroit, Cleveland, New York, and Chicago.

Cecil is chairperson of the Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism. SCAR is currently working with other groups to counter the mob violence of racists in the city's

Marquette Park area. He marched in a July 17 open-housing demonstration that was brutally attacked by more than 1,000 racists.

"Chicago SCAR would like to see a coalition of groups and individuals," Cecil said, "that can show those racists our united strength and power and deal them some real blows."

"I was surprised that the party's trade-union activity had expanded so widely so fast," said Chris Rayson, a delegate from Cleveland.

Chris, twenty-seven, has been in the Socialist Workers party nearly five years. He works for Ohio Bell Telephone Company and is a steward in Local 4309, Communication Workers of America.

This summer Chris's local initiated a successful strike against "Ma Bell" over the issue of job security. The strike spread statewide and won the issue.

Now Chris and other union activists are assessing the lessons of this victory in preparation for the 1977 contract talks. They hope to educate and win over many workers who didn't walk out this summer.

Although most members of the local support Carter, Chris said, they are open to the Socialist Workers party campaign. The local's newspaper this fall will run profiles of SWP candidate Peter Camejo along with those of Ford and Carter. And the newspaper ran an editorial endorsing the SWP's right to be on the ballot in Ohio.

The discussions in the various trade-union workshops during the convention were useful for Chris. "It's so important that we're a national organization," he said. "The exchange of ideas and experiences helps us in our union activity no matter where we're from or what our work situation might be."

Sally Whicker has been a socialist for seven years. Her fifteen-month-old son dozed in his stroller as Sally discussed the development of the new Bronx branch of the Socialist Workers party.

The division of the SWP into smaller units during the past year, she said, has made it easier for



women with young children to play leading roles in the branches.

"It's hard sometimes," she said. "But my husband and I take turns watching the baby in the evenings when there are meetings."

Sally thought about returning to work after her baby was born, but her husband—a railroad worker—earns too much to qualify them for public child-care facilities. "I can't see sitting behind a typewriter all day, bringing home \$100 a week, and then paying out half of it for day care," she said.

"I really understand now how the government manipulates child care to drive women out of the labor force."

So what does Sally do with her time?

"I'm the organizer of the Bronx branch," she said. "With the smaller branch, I'm able to do a lot of work at home and by phone, and still take care of my child."

Caroline Fowlkes, twenty-eight years old, is an unemployed school teacher. She was a delegate from the Portland, Oregon, SWP branch. Right after the convention Caroline planned to move to Phoenix to be part of the organizing committee for an SWP branch there.

Caroline has attended every SWP convention since joining the socialist movement when she lived in Auburn, Alabama, in 1969.

During the spring, Caroline was a central organizer of a campaign to defend activists in the American Indian Movement.

While traveling through Oregon in November, three AIM activists were stopped by cops conducting a dragnet for AIM leader Dennis Banks. He was wanted for sentencing on frame-up charges in South Dakota.

Kamook Banks, wife of Dennis Banks, was in one of the vehicles stopped. The police cooked up a firearms and explosives charge, and even alleged that Dennis Banks escaped from one of the cars.

"Dennis Banks had never even been in Oregon in his life," Caroline said. "But a trial was set for May 12."

Caroline became one of the defense coordinators. She helped set up speaking engagements, contact the press, and arrange travel for the defendants.

"It was all worth it," she said. Five hundred people attended a demonstration right before the trial.

And the judge dismissed the charges.

Al Duncan is Black. He's an auto worker. And he's a Vietnam veteran.

There's not too much that's wrong with America that Al hasn't had to put up with.

Al has been in the Young Socialist Alliance for two years. He joined the Socialist Workers party seven months ago. Al was a delegate to the convention from the Detroit branch.

"The reason I'm in this party is because it can liberate my people—Black people," Al said.

He didn't always feel that way.

"I used to think socialism was how whites hoped to regain control of Blacks," he said. Al had been active in his Black Student Union, the Pan African Congress, League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and All-African Revolutionary Peoples party.

"We used to criticize Black SWP members for 'pushing that white man's stuff,'" he recalled.

But Al got to know several Black socialists in Detroit. Over time, they convinced him that the SWP has a "program that can end the hundreds of years of oppression that the Black masses have faced, and at the same time unite all others in society."

Al helps put together Mustang 2's at the Ford assembly plant at River Rouge. "That too convinced me of the necessity of bringing about a fundamental change in this society," he said.

He and his fellow workers are facing speedup and increased harassment from management. "And it's all done for a reason," he said. "It's to housebreak the workers to accept capitalism's economic crisis."

The convention, in Al's opinion, was "particularly timely in dealing with issues facing the working class in general and Blacks, other oppressed nationalities, and women in particular."

The 1972 Socialist Workers party presidential campaign first attracted Mark Baugher to the socialist movement. Now he's the 1976 campaign director for the new SWP branch in Kansas City, Missouri.

Mark represented Kansas City as a fraternal delegate. The branch was formed after the constitutional deadline to receive a regular delegate.

Mark joined the Young Socialist Alliance in 1972. Seven months later he was drafted. After spending two years in the army, he joined the SWP in St. Louis.

He's been in Kansas City now for three months.

Over the summer the new branch concentrated most of its efforts on the drive to get the 1976 SWP candidates on the Missouri ballot. (The SWP is now challenging the undemocratic decision by Missouri officials to invalidate nearly half of the more than 25,000 signatures collected to meet the state requirement of 17,884.)

As a result of the petition drive, two people joined the Kansas City SWP and two more were about to join.

"For example, one petitioner was collecting signatures outside a shopping center," Mark said, "when the manager came out to give him a hard time. A shopper passing by protested. The customer said that if the manager didn't stop harassing the petitioner, he wouldn't shop there anymore."

"That began a dialogue with the man—a retired electrical worker—that resulted in his joining the SWP."



...Raza Unida convention votes to launch suit

Continued from back page

killed, Gutiérrez recalled. A number of party people had lost their jobs or were threatened with such loss.

In addition, he declared, there have been cases of people set up for police victimization. The most recent of these, he said, is Ignacio "Nacho" Pérez, a longtime Raza Unida member charged with attempting to help an "illegal alien" escape arrest.

He pointed to new moves by the state attorney general to wreck the party by indicting various Crystal City Raza Unida figures on charges of municipal corruption.

And most recently, he added, was the vitriolic red-baiting attack by Gov. Dolph Briscoe on the party there.

"I think," Armando Gutiérrez concluded, "that in the next few months the term 'Operation Chaos' will become very well known in the Chicano movement." That was the name of a CIA disruption program against domestic dissidents.

José Angel Gutiérrez told the convention that so far about 100 pages of files had been received from the CIA. The files documented government surveillance of Raza Unida party nationally and in Texas.

Informers had been planted in Texas delegations to meetings in other parts of the country, he said, and had been among party delegations to Mexico and Cuba.

Lashing out at the federal agencies responsible, Gutiérrez declared: "These people are watching us. These people are keeping tabs on us—not with any good intention to protect our safety and security, but to deliberately destroy us!"

One hundred eleven delegates and nearly the same number of observers attended the convention in this small,

majority-Chicano town just east of San Antonio.

A highlight of the convention was the election of Maria Elena Martínez as state chairperson of the party. The first woman to hold the post, she was elected by a vote of sixty-two to forty-nine in a contest with Daniel Bustamante, a Raza Unida leader from Houston.

The convention adopted a series of resolutions on political and social issues. The following is a digest of some of the principal ones.

- Since the RUP does not have a presidential slate of its own, it will remain independent in the 1976 elections, not supporting any presidential candidate.

- A resolution presented by the Mujeres Unidad (United Women) Caucus put the party on record in full support of the drive to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment in Texas and nationally.

- The convention demanded an end to the practice of trying to keep children out of the schools on the grounds of being "illegal aliens."

- It was voted to petition for freedom for Ramon Chacón, an early RUP member jailed in Mexico on trumped-up charges of gun-running.

- The convention called on the Justice Department to probe the light sentence given Police Chief Frank Hayes of Castroville, who killed Ricardo Morales.

- The party went on record supporting the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) in its efforts to mobilize American opinion against the murderous dictatorship of the shah.

Be it resolved...

[The following is the text of the resolution unanimously adopted by the Texas Raza Unida convention concerning illegal government activities against the party.]

Whereas it has been proven that both Democratic and Republican administrations, with the assistance of state and local authorities, have engaged in a systematic and often illegal attempt to destroy legal social movements that strive for substantial changes in the American social, economic, and political framework;

And whereas it has been proven that these destructive activities on the part of all levels of government have been directed at the Chicano movement in general and the Raza Unida party in particular;

Be it resolved that the Raza Unida party constitute a Legal Defense Fund empowered to raise funds, do research and, with the approval of the state executive committee, file suit against any persons, agencies, or government bodies in order to end all harassment and force complete disclosure of all illegal acts committed against La Raza Unida party and any of its individual supporters.



Militant/Harry Ring
Texas RUP leaders (from left): Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, Maria Elena Martínez, Armando Gutiérrez

Maria Elena Martinez: new Texas RUP head

SEGUIN, Tex.—With her election as state chairperson of La Raza Unida party, Maria Elena Martínez was already caught up in a busy round of consultations and meetings. But she took out five minutes for a brief convention-floor interview.

Martínez grew up in Wylie, a small farming community northeast of Dallas. She received a master's degree in education at the University of Texas in Austin and is a bilingual teacher.

The new chairperson became active as a college student in the Mexican American Youth Organization and was among the core of MAYO activists who helped to launch La Raza Unida party in 1970. She has been active in the

party since then, and at the previous convention was elected vice-chairperson.

Martínez said two principal activities would occupy her energies during her two-year tenure.

One will be the statewide elections to be held in 1978. The party is planning to run a full state ticket and will be running in many local contests as well.

A second focus will be the suit to end government victimization of the party.

The Chicana leader feels that the publicity that can be won around this issue will do much to change the image which the commercial media have projected of the party to many people in the state.

She said that Raza Unida

members have been "very much encouraged" by the Socialist Workers party's success in its suit, and they hope to achieve similar results.

Martínez said she "very definitely" supported the resolution in favor of ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and that the party will work to promote greater understanding of the issue among Chicanos.

She feels her election as state chairperson will help women activists in the party gain greater self-confidence and play a greater role in the organization.

Noting that several of the delegations to the convention were all-male, Martínez said one reason for this is that women traditionally have taken responsibility for the children. One practical measure she

intends to take to help cope with this problem is to see to it that adequate child-care facilities are organized for future gatherings.

Martínez recalled that at the last state convention she had run, and had been defeated, for chairperson before accepting the nomination for vice-chair. "I wanted to make it very clear that women shouldn't just automatically accept second place," she explained.

Does she anticipate problems in her new post?

"There are some people, particularly in rural areas, who are not as exposed to women in different roles," she said. "There could be some problems there. But I think that among the total group they didn't feel any big shock." —H.R.

Three El Paso Chicanos convicted in frame-up

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Three Chicano activists were convicted on frame-up arson charges in El Paso, Texas, September 9.

Alfredo Espinosa, a founder and leader of Chicanos Unidos, a community organization, was sentenced to two years in prison. Rubén Ogaz and Ramón Arroyos, also members of Chicanos Unidos, were given five years' probation.

The charges stemmed from the August 6, 1975, bombing of a department store in downtown El Paso.

In a phone interview, Maria López, director of La Causa Legal Defense Committee, which organized the defense of the three, told the *Militant*

that the committee plans to appeal the conviction.

López said there were no witnesses who could put the three at the scene of the bombing. In fact, she said, they were across the border in Juárez conferring with an attorney about a movement project at the time of the bombing. The attorney testified to this at the trial.

An eyewitness claimed to have seen a gray car with three men in it pull up to the store. Then, he said, one of them threw something through the window. The three were arrested in a blue car. The witness later changed his story and said the car might have been blue.

The prosecution's "evidence" consisted of a rock, some plastic jugs, a can of oil, some rags, and matches found in the car with the three. However, the

state failed to demonstrate any link between these items, commonly found in cars, and the bombing.

Nearly a year after the bombing, the cops suddenly claimed to have discovered charred bits of a newspaper at the bombing site, which they said had been used as a wick for the bomb. The cops said that the paper was *El Mestizo*, on which all three Chicanos had worked.

López said she thought Espinosa was singled out for a jail term because he was a leading figure in the Chicano movement in El Paso.

A rally to defend the three, held before the trial began, drew 300 people from all over the Southwest, including California, Colorado, and Mexico. There was widespread support and sympathy for the three in El Paso,

where they are known as fighters for Chicano rights. López said there were always many supporters in the courtroom.

Trial spectators were forced to brave intimidation by the cops. Everyone entering the courtroom was subjected to intensive search. Local news media also reported the proceedings with a pro-prosecution bias.

Although Espinosa and Arroyos are free on bail, Ogaz remains behind bars, unable to raise \$50,000 bail. He was arrested last June on phony charges of selling heroin.

The charge is particularly outrageous since one of the main purposes of Chicanos Unidos is to combat drug abuse in the Chicano community. The arrest was obviously aimed at prejudicing the jury in the bombing trial.

BEHIND THE CHALLENGE IN STEEL

The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel by Andy Rose. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. 1976. 38 pp., \$.50.

A new chapter in the history of the United Steelworkers of America is beginning, and it may mean a new beginning for the union movement in this country.

Men and women who work in the steel, aluminum, can, copper, and metal-fabricating industries—wherever the USWA has jurisdiction—are talking about the change. Most of them never thought much about a change in their union before. Few believed they could do anything that would make any difference.

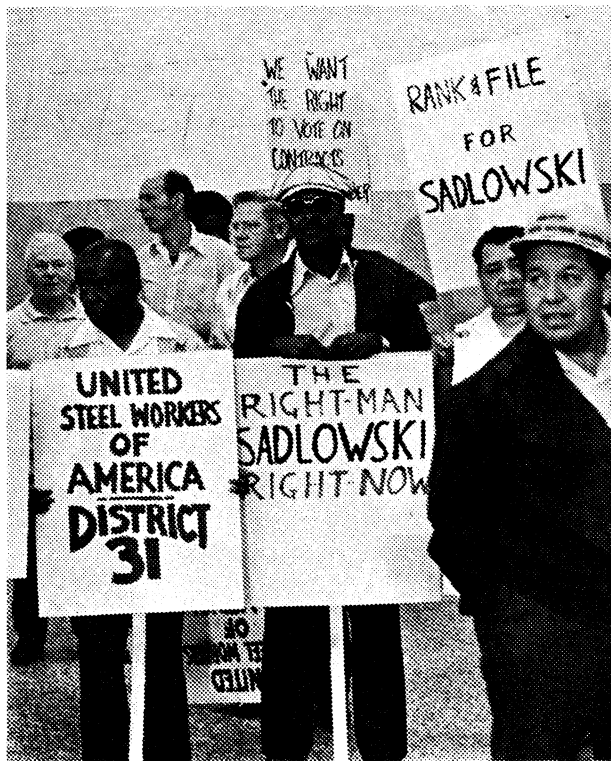
On the surface it appears as if most of the interest is caused by the coming election of a new international union president to succeed retiring I.W. Abel.

Underlying the movement for change is dissatisfaction with the way this union has been run from the top down for decades, disregarding the needs and wishes of the membership. This dissatisfaction is voiced by Ed Sadlowski, the thirty-eight-year-old insurgent director of USWA District 31. Sadlowski is running for union president against the Abel machine's handpicked candidate.

Many steelworkers, hearing about Sadlowski for the first time, think he has a good chance to win. They hope so.

Andy Rose of the *Militant* staff has written a pamphlet, *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*, which describes the Sadlowski challenge.

Steelworkers will find this pamphlet useful because it gets behind the present struggle for official positions. It relates the fight for democracy



At Chicago launching of Ed Sadlowski's campaign for presidency of United Steelworkers. Militant/Joel Britton

working class into an independent political force that would take control of the government away from the small band of "economic royalists" who—then as now—were ruling the country.

The power and success of such a movement always depends upon the active participation of millions whose hopes are aroused by new goals and the prospect of winning them. These ranks are educated by the experiences of the struggle, as happened in the formative years of the CIO.

New leaders arise to lead the fight on new fronts. There is nothing passive about the membership, no searching for saviors who will come to solve all the problems. The ranks try to understand and solve their own problems collectively, with the new-found social and political power of their great numbers.

The leaders are those who win the trust and confidence of the vast majority in the course of these struggles.

The Sadlowski campaign can go far beyond what many now think is a limited power struggle within the steelworkers union. The narrow view is taken by those who are now in control of the union apparatus and intend to keep control. They are the wheel-horses of the Abel administration, trained in the routine of close working relations with the steel companies, accustomed to carrying out decisions made by others.

This pamphlet by Andy Rose explains why these bureaucrats think and act the way they do. They are the descendant products of World War II when the CIO unions were institutionalized and their top officials took on the titles and duties of government bureaucrats as members of the War Labor Board. Their grip was tightened during the repressive years of the witch-hunt during the 1950s when militants were hounded out of the unions and union policy was bent in conformity with government spy agencies.

They are the present-day beneficiaries of a dismal

thirty-five-year history of systematic collaboration with the steel corporations on the economic front and with the Democratic and Republican parties in the political arena.

This whole degeneration is covered in the chapters of the pamphlet on the prewar Roosevelt years, the CIO in war, and the wartime fight within the unions against the no-strike deal of that time.

All of it is documented with quotes from the union officials involved, including all three USWA presidents: Philip Murray, David McDonald, and I.W. Abel.

Little has changed

There is also a quotation from a delegate to the USWA's second convention, held in May 1944. The delegate was Timothy Smith, a Black man who was president of Local 2603 in Buffalo. What he said then will convince many steelworkers now that things have not changed much.

"Grievances are piled high in the War Labor Board," Smith said. "Yes, we can take our grievances to arbitration. But what happens? The lawyer gets \$12,000—we get two cents."

Timothy Smith said something else that applies today. "There is a tendency among executives of this union," he said, "to pick out and discipline stewards and local leaders for strikes in local plants. Those who have given blood, sweat, and tears to build this union are being pinned against the wall by the executives."

A chapter on Black workers and the CIO explains how the union movement of the 1930s identified with Blacks and other minorities and was able, as a result, to advance the interests of all workers.

If the union movement today expects to make further advances it will have to become—far more consistently than the CIO ever was—the champion of the most oppressed, the minorities and women workers.

A closing section titled "Issues in Steel" defines with examples exactly what the class-collaboration policy of the present union leadership is and what the disastrous results are for working people.

Class-struggle policy

In contrast, the demands of a class-struggle policy are listed: the unrestricted right to strike, jobs for all, a shorter workweek, an unlimited cost-of-living escalator in all union contracts, defense of busing for desegregation of schools, enactment of the Equal Rights Amendment, affirmative-action programs against job discrimination, defense of job safety and the environment.

These demands are not submitted as the program of the Sadlowski campaign. That must come from the steelworkers who are in the fight.

The articles that make up this unpretentious thirty-eight-page pamphlet cover a great deal of ground very well. They will add to a better understanding by anyone who reads the pamphlet of the fight for democracy in the steel union.

The class-struggle demands advanced by the author, as he says, "are not limited to a single union or even to the organized sector of the working class. They are class demands, requiring social change."

All workers and students ought to have a chance to read this pamphlet. They would enjoy it, and they would learn from it. —Frank Lovell

Pamphlets

in steel to the Miners for Democracy movement that elected Arnold Miller president of the United Mine Workers in 1972. It reviews the early struggles of the CIO movement and the crucial battles in auto and steel. It explains the costly political failures of John L. Lewis and Philip Murray as a result of their misplaced faith in the Roosevelt administration.

A proud history

This historical background gives new meaning to the present dissatisfaction of the rank and file and the struggle for power within the union. Steelworkers can be proud of earlier struggles for democracy in their union and their heritage as part of the CIO.

What distinguished the CIO in the 1930s from the old, moribund AFL craft-union structure was the new social character of the CIO movement. It was not a narrow-minded operation of self-seekers looking for advantages at the expense of others. On the contrary, the CIO movement attracted millions of workers because it stood for industrial democracy against corporate dictatorship.

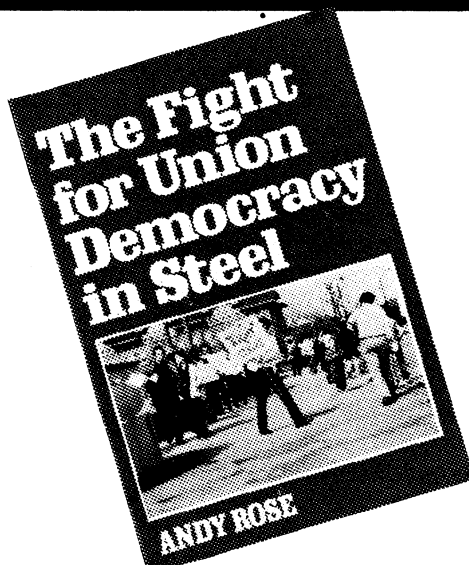
It championed the cause of the unemployed, the unorganized, the low-paid workers, and welcomed them all in its ranks.

It introduced the sit-down strike as a method of struggle that could defeat the industrial giants of this country.

Many of its militants sought to organize the

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Launch drive to distribute steel pamphlet

By Karen Melville

The Socialist Workers party is launching a national campaign to sell thousands of copies of *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*, a Pathfinder Press pamphlet by Andy Rose.

This campaign, which was approved by the SWP national convention in August, will be carried out in conjunction with the *Militant* subscription drive.

Frank Lovell, national trade-union director of the SWP, discussed the sales campaign in a recent interview.

Lovell pointed out that this is the only pamphlet available that provides information on the Sadlowski challenge to the steel union bureaucracy, together with historical background on the rise of the CIO.

"The Socialist Workers party supports the struggle for democracy in the steelworkers union and we want to participate in it to the fullest extent possible. The sales campaign around this pamphlet is one of the ways we plan to do it," said Lovell.

SWP branches across the country are now discussing specific plans and projections for sales in their areas, he said.

"One of the main places the pamphlet will be sold will be at plant gates, along with the *Militant*," Lovell explained.

"Every person who buys a *Militant* or subscription will be urged to buy the pamphlet as well. In addition, some salespeople at each plant will concentrate solely on hawking the pamphlet."

Lovell pointed out that forty-four copies of the pamphlet were sold this way at the recent steelworkers convention in Las Vegas.

"Of course, there will be many people at union meetings and pro-Sadlowski rallies who will want to buy this pamphlet."

"We will also take it with us when we go door-to-door selling *Militant* subscriptions in working-class neighborhoods," he said. "It can also be hawked from the literature tables set up at shopping centers and on street

corners in these areas."

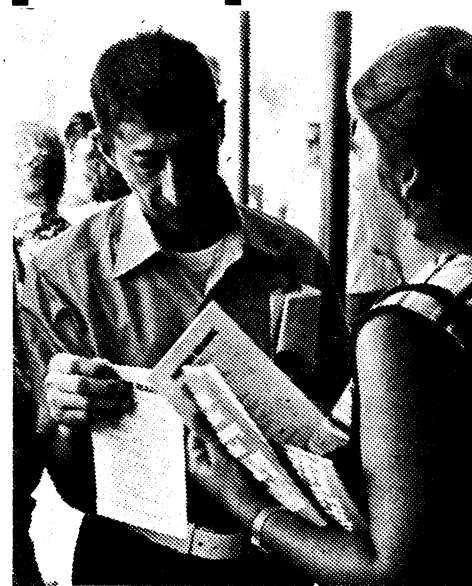
Some SWP branches in the major steel centers will be placing copies of the pamphlet on newsstands and in bookstores.

Lovell stressed that "the pamphlet is of general interest. Sales will not be limited to steelworkers. The Sadlowski campaign is attracting a lot of attention both in and out of the union. For example, he was interviewed last week on 'Sixty Minutes,' a nationally broadcast TV news show.

"All unionists and other political activists interested in the labor movement should have the chance to read this pamphlet and discuss it with us."

Militant readers can join in this effort by ordering a bundle of pamphlets to sell in their areas. Just use the coupon on the facing page.

The progress of the sales campaign, with experiences and results from around the country, will be reported regularly in future issues of the *Militant*.



Militant/Harry Ring

Participant in recent United Steelworkers convention checks out 'The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel.' Despite atmosphere of red-baiting, forty-four convention delegates and guests bought copies.

'He will buck the establishment'

Pittsburgh steel ranks rally to Sadlowski

By Paul LeBlanc

PITTSBURGH—The campaign to elect Ed Sadlowski president of the United Steelworkers got off to a fast-paced, enthusiastic start last week in Pittsburgh.

In the first week of campaigning, Sadlowski supporters handed out 50,000 leaflets at plant gates. They found an overwhelmingly positive response among rank-and-file members.

All major steel mills were leafleted at least once: the U.S. Steel works at Homestead, Clairton, Irwin, and Duquesne; the Jones & Laughlin works on Pittsburgh's South Side; the National Tube works at McKeesport; and many others.

Sadlowski, who is director of USWA District 31 in the Chicago-Gary area, came to Pittsburgh for a whirlwind series of meetings, pre-dawn millgate leafleting, and a rally on the evening of September 16.

"I am going to campaign among the steelworkers," Sadlowski said, "and when I win I'm going to stay among the steelworkers."

"I'd rather drink a beer down here than have dry martinis with R. Heath Larry [vice-chairman of U.S. Steel] at the Duquesne Club."

The jab at USWA President I.W. Abel's cozy relations with top corporate executives was typical of Sadlowski's campaigning. He calls for an end to "business unionism" and charges that the Abel administration "almost holds the membership in contempt."

Sadlowski's opponent, Lloyd McBride, was handpicked by Abel, who is retiring. McBride "represents more of Abel's programs," Sadlowski says, "and we can't stand that for four more years."

More than 200 steelworkers packed into the American-Croatian Hall in McKeesport to hear Sadlowski. Although built in less than twenty-four hours, the rally drew union members from Districts 15, 19, and 20 (all in the Pittsburgh area) and some from as far away as District 26 in Youngstown, Ohio.

They cheered Sadlowski's stand for union democracy and a return to the basic principles of trade unionism. A short presentation was followed by almost an hour of questions and answers.

Asked about the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement in basic steel, Sadlowski attacked the



Ed Sadlowski (right) meets steelworkers at gates of National Tube works during pre-dawn campaigning

ENA as contrary to the steelworkers' interests.

He called for letting the membership vote on ENA, as well as on all union contracts.

Noting that 20 percent of the union's 1.4 million members are out of work, Sadlowski pinned the blame for much of the job loss on Abel's cooperation with the steel corporations' productivity drive.

On the vital issue of job safety and health, Sadlowski backed the right of workers "to shut down hazardous operations, to conduct on-site inspections at employer expense, and to form health and safety committees in each local with the resources and teeth to do an effective job."

Some questions concerned the red-baiting attacks on Sadlowski by the Abel machine. "Didn't you speak on the same platform as Jane Fonda at one of these protest demonstrations?" someone challenged.

Sadlowski acknowledged that he had been a speaker at the People's Bicentennial Rally in Washington on July 4. He added, "If people had been listening to Jane Fonda six or seven years ago, then 55,000 American GIs wouldn't be dead now from the Vietnam War."

This antiwar comment drew one of the biggest ovations of the entire rally—more than half of which was made up of white, male steelworkers in their forties or older.

Militant reporters spoke with several of those attending the rally.

Tony Tomko is president of Local 1408, one of the largest in the area. "Local 1408 represents the workers at National Tube here in McKeesport," he said. "We're solid for Sadlowski. When rank-and-file steelworkers listen to him, they like him right away. They get excited. This goes for older guys, younger guys—everyone."

"It's because he talks sense and doesn't pull any punches," another man said. "Workers are getting the shaft from the company, and they've got to fight back. Abel and McBride are just too cozy with the bosses. Sadlowski is talking about a tough, democratic union, and that's just what we need."

Coyote Chalfa is education director of Local 1211 in Aliquippa, the biggest local in the state. Active in the union for ten years, Chalfa supports Sadlowski "because he will give help to the rank and file." He believes the most important issue is a more equitable dues structure. Chalfa also opposes the

no-strike deal, which "has not helped keep steelworkers employed" as Abel promised it would.

Jim Dennis of Local 1212 thinks that "Sadlowski has got a chance, because he will buck the establishment. Abel thinks the steelworkers work for him, rather than he's working for the steelworkers."

Ronald Mamula from Homestead works, Local 1397, says, "Everyone I know is behind him. Sadlowski stands for the workingman. His doors will never be closed because he came from the mill."

Neil Berns from Clairton works, Local 1557, had spent most of his off-work hours handing out Sadlowski leaflets. "The response was excellent," he said. "Lots of people had heard about Sadlowski already and wanted to read what he had to say."

"You would get a lot of comments at the plant gates like, 'This is what we need' and, 'We've got to change this union,'" Berns said.

Pro-Sadlowski activists here are encouraged and optimistic about this initial show of rank-and-file support. But they know full well that the Abel-McBride forces control a powerful machine, and that the campaign is just beginning.

In Chicago

Ex-miners fight for black lung aid

By Nancy Cohen

CHICAGO—Clovis Warren and Arthur Lewis died in mid-July after years of battling the Social Security Administration for benefits due them as coal miners dying from black lung disease.

They never received a penny of federal funds under the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1970 or the amended Black Lung Benefit Act of 1972.

The U.S. Department of Labor and Social Security agencies have established guidelines and practices that discriminate against the claims of

violations in the plants here cause their respiratory ailments to worsen, speeding the debilitating and frightening effects of black lung.

In the fall of 1975, a small group of ex-miners, together with their wives and dependents, began to organize to fight back at the unfair and discriminatory practices of government agencies. The group also sought to educate others about available benefits.

In less than a year, the Chicago Area Black Lung Association (CABLA) has grown to fifty members. Like Clovis Warren and Arthur Lewis, these former miners are willing to take on ignorant caseworkers, government doctors, and prejudiced claims adjusters and judges.

The federal government says that all coal dust was eliminated from the air inside the mines by 1971, thus eliminating the possibility of contracting black lung for men and women who entered the mines in 1971 or later.

Claims adjusters now insist that twenty-five years in the mines is the minimum for presuming a miner has contracted black lung and is eligible for benefits.

CABLA calls for a five-year minimum as medically sound. They oppose the use of 1971 or any other cutoff date until the dust problems are satisfactorily resolved.

A long series of obstacles is thrown in the way of miners seeking benefits. Those who toiled in now-defunct mines have no way of proving employment and must rely on "lay evidence," the affidavits of family and friends. This evidence is given little respect by the Social Security Administration.

X-rays that a private physician says show black lung may be "reinterpreted" by a government-paid radiologist

as not showing the disease. These so-called "B" readers are often prejudiced against the miners, and their verdict is taken as final by claims adjusters and administrative law judges.

United Mine Workers committees have inspected the mines with federal representatives. They have seen the conditions and know that dust and stagnant air still exist. And that means black lung.

CABLA calls for redistributing the profits of the coal operators, who now prefer paying attorneys to fight miners' claims rather than aiding the victims of life in the mines.

The companies "can afford to make a claim go on for years," CABLA says, "while we, whose lives have been shortened by our years in the mines, have neither the time nor the resources to fight them."

"We recommend the establishment of a national Black Lung Fund, financed by a tax on coal operators, with miners representation on the board of directors."

CABLA calls for setting up a far-reaching system of clinics in the coalfields.

The coal and steel industries have reaped vast profits from the blood and lives of miners. They should be forced to provide environmental controls to assure safety in the mines. They should be forced to provide free, high-quality medical care for miners and their families.

A tax on corporate profits to fund such programs may seem undesirable to the coal operators and the government. But it is a matter of simple justice to those who have suffered and destroyed their lungs digging their own graves as did Clovis Warren and Arthur Lewis.



miners and their survivors, and discourage widows or disabled miners from filing claims because they face years of bureaucratic delays.

Hundreds of Appalachian mine workers have migrated to the uptown area of Chicago. Here they have sought jobs in construction, the foundries, or in manual day labor.

Poor health conditions and safety

NOW backs ERA conference

By Anne Teesdale

BOSTON—Support for the pro-Equal Rights Amendment conference scheduled for October 1 and 2 at Boston University (BU) continues to grow. At its September board meeting, the Boston chapter of the National Organization for Women voted to endorse the conference, sponsored by the Action Coalition for the Equal Rights Amendment and the BU Student Union.

A wide range of speakers are slated for the Friday-night kickoff rally set for 7:30 p.m. at Hayden Hall. They include Brenda Eichelberger, president of the National Alliance of Black Feminists; Joan Buckley, vice-president of the Boston Teachers Union; Diane Gallagher, Committee to Ratify the ERA; Robin Taylor, president of Boston NOW; and State Rep. Elaine Noble.

The conference will provide information about the ERA and make plans to mobilize a massive "yes" vote for Question 1 on the November ballot. Question 1 is a referendum for a state Equal Rights Amendment.

"We must make sure that the majori-

ty lets its voice be heard at the polls in November," Ellie Beth Brady, a leader of the Action Coalition for the ERA, told the *Militant*.

The coalition is already making plans for a week of activities on campuses throughout the state October 28 through November 2. This will be among the topics discussed at workshops on Saturday during the conference. Workshops include: What is the ERA?; Working women and protective legislation; Affirmative action; Black women and the ERA; and How to organize campus ERA committees.

Many ERA backers think that now is the time for a massive publicity campaign involving women's groups, Black organizations, unions, and students. They feel it's essential to counter moves by ERA opponents. Anti-ERA forces are becoming more vocal and are openly joining hands with Boston's anti-Black movement.

During the Democratic primaries, Robert Dinsmore, a racist antibusing candidate for U.S. Senate, campaigned against the ERA and abortion rights. He carried precincts in two antibusing

strongholds—South Boston and Charlestown.

Speakers at an August 31 antibusing rally also urged a "no" vote on Question 1.

On the other side, the state AFL-CIO convention voted last week to endorse the referendum. The Women's Committee of the Boston Teachers Union is planning a conference to discuss organizing support for a "yes" vote later this fall.

On September 11, 200 people rallied in Cambridge to support the ERA. Rally sponsors included the Cambridge Committee to Ratify the ERA and Cambridge Mayor Alfred Velluci. Boston Red Sox pitcher Bill Lee spoke. "Everything has to be equal or we are not going to survive as a race on this planet," he told the crowd. Also speaking was Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate. He urged participants to organize more activities uniting the widest possible range of ERA supporters as the road to victory in November.

For more information on the conference call (617) 353-4240.

...vendetta

Continued from page 17

first time in history that the FBI has been forced to at least claim they're going to stop spying on the SWP. And the fact that they've been forced to do this will make it difficult for them to continue. It will make them look a thousand times worse to be caught doing it against us."

Several socialists who have been targeted by the government echoed Pulley's caution about the attorney

general's announcement.

Max Geldman, for example, said, "I think they're trying to get off the hook, and I wouldn't trust them. The heat is on, so temporarily they're turning it off. But the way it's rigged, the people who turn it off can turn it on, just like a spigot."

"But at the same time," he added, "it's a victory for us and indicates that with great public support civil liberties can be guarded."

Why has the government been so eager to harass the SWP and frame-up

socialists? What's behind this forty-year vendetta of the FBI? Farrell Dobbs had this to say:

"They're against us because we tell the truth about what the score is. We have proven capable of convincing more and more people that the things that are wrong in society today are basically an outgrowth of the capitalist system. And we are convincing more people that humanity can take hold of things in a new way and begin to solve its problems with a socialist society."

Calendar

BALTIMORE

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate; others. Sat., Oct. 2, 8 p.m. First Unitarian Church, Charles and Franklin Sts. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Maryland 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

LOS ANGELES

ANNUAL SHISH KEBAB. Meet Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California. Sun., Oct. 3, 2 p.m., refreshments; 4-6 p.m., dinner. 1321 Palms Blvd., Venice. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 California Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 735-4235.

MINNEAPOLIS

WHY SOCIALISTS PROPOSE A 'BILL OF RIGHTS FOR WORKING PEOPLE.' Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. Sabathani Community Center, 3801 First Ave. S. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

NEWARK

PUERTO RICANS IN THE 1976 ELECTIONS. Speaker: Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from New York's 18th C.D. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. 256 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

NEW ORLEANS

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate. Fri., Oct. 8, 7:30 p.m. YMCA, 2222 Dryades St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

NEW YORK

THE POLITICS OF MAO TSETUNG . . . A MARXIST VIEW. Speaker: Les Evans, member of SWP National Committee. Thurs., Sept. 30, 7:30 p.m. NYU, Eisner-Lubin Auditorium, Loeb Student Center, 566 Laguardia Place (at Washington Sq. South). Donation: \$1. Ausp: NYU YSA; SWP. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

PITTSBURGH

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: ENFORCING THE LAW IN PITTSBURGH. Speakers: Alice Carter, Urban League education director; Al Fondy, Pittsburgh AFT president; Carla Hoag, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 14th C.D. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

...abortion

Continued from page 3

through some anti-abortion legislation. For example, lawyers with the federally funded Legal Services Corporation cannot represent women seeking abortions. No U.S. foreign aid can be used to fund abortions. And no institution can be forced to perform abortions in order to receive federal aid.

The current move by the Democrats and Republicans to cut off Medicaid funds is double-edged. As the *New York Times* editorialized September 17, this establishes as "official national policy that there be two types of medical care, one for Medicaid recipients and the other for paying customers." The *Times* points out that this policy could spill over into other areas of health care.

In addition, if the bill becomes law it will deal a staggering blow to the right to abortion—the most historic step forward for women's rights since women won the vote. It could open the flood gates to the reactionary forces—currently a minority—who seek to outlaw all abortions.

The first victims of this bipartisan bill would be Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanas. These women are disproportionately trapped in the web of poverty spun by capitalism.

The callous disregard of capitalist politicians for women's rights—especially the rights of oppressed minority women—was summed up in remarks by Jimmy Carter.

In response to the vote in Congress, Carter said he favors "any step they take to eliminate federal financing of abortions." Asked about the inherent discrimination against poor women, Carter cynically shot back, "I don't favor the federal government paying for abortions for either rich women or poor women."

On Socialist Democracy

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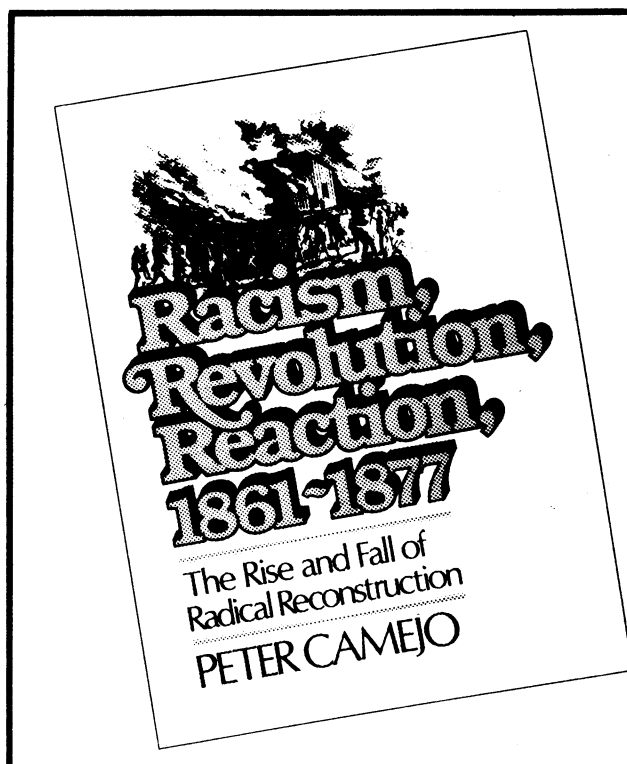
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RACISM, REVOLUTION, REACTION, 1861-1877

By Peter Camejo

Socialist Workers presidential candidate

After the Civil War freed them from slavery, Blacks launched a struggle for land and equality, organizing militias and electing Radical state governments.

However, a bloody counterrevolution swept the South, led by the Democratic party with the complicity of the Northern Republicans. Radical Reconstruction was being overthrown; Blacks were being disfranchised, segregated, and murdered.

Peter Camejo offers a new interpretation of this betrayal of Black rights, exposing its connections with capitalism and the two-party system, and tracing its influence in the continuing racism of American society. 269 pp., cloth \$12, paper \$3.45

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MINNEAPOLIS

Why a Bill of Rights for Working People?

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1. Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for president. 8 p.m. Sabathani Community Center, 3801 First Ave. S. Donation: \$1. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

Ausp: Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. Chairperson: Chris Frank; treasurer: Holly Harkness.

LOS ANGELES

Annual socialist shish kebab

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 3. Meet Omari Musa, SWP candidate for Senate. Cocktails, 2 p.m.; dinner, 4-6 p.m. Backyard at 1321 Palms Blvd., Venice. Donation for dinner: \$5. For more information call (213) 735-4235.

Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 California Campaign Committee. Chairperson: Bruce Marcus; treasurer: Sharon Crawford.

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KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

Louisville: SWP, YSA, Box 3593, Louisville, Ky. 40201.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3812 Magazine St., New Orleans, La. 70115. Tel: (504) 891-5324.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668.

College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

Prince Georges County: SWP, P.O. Box 1807, Prince Georges Plaza, Hyattsville, Md. 20788. Tel: (202) 333-0265 or (202) 797-7706.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Mark Cerasuolo, 13 Hollister Apts., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620.

Boston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

Cambridge: SWP, 2 Central Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Tel: (617) 547-4395.

Roxbury: SWP, 1865 Columbus Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 02119. Tel: (617) 445-7799.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160.

Detroit, Southwest: SWP, 19 Clifford, Room 805, Detroit, Mich. 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675.

Detroit, West Side: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 18415 Wyoming, Detroit, Mich. 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436.

Detroit: City-wide SWP, YSA, 19 Clifford, Room 805, Detroit, Mich. 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 15 4th St. SE, Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Paul: SWP, Labor Bookstore, 176 Western Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o UMKC Student Activities Office, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 4660 Maryland, Suite 12, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. (Central and Broad Streets), Second Floor, Newark, N.J. 07102. Tel: (201) 624-7434.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Michael Kozak, 395 Ontario St., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 482-7348.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Debbie Porder, 184 Corliss Ave., Johnson City, N.Y. 13790. Tel: (607) 729-3812.

Ithaca: YSA, c/o Sara Bloxson, 110 Morris Heights, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Tel: (607) 272-7098.

New York, Bronx: SWP, P.O. Box 688, Bronx, N.Y. 10469.

New York, Brooklyn-Williamsburgh: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 57 Graham Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11206. Tel: (212) 387-5771.

New York, Brooklyn-Crown Hts.: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 220-222 Utica Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250.

New York, Chelsea: SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 200 1/2 W. 24th St. (off 7th Ave.), New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731.

New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C), New York, N.Y. 10009. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 90-43 149 St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica, N.Y. 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718.

New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 786 Amsterdam, New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 8986, Hyde Park Station, Cincinnati, Ohio 45208. Tel: (513) 321-7445.

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, Box 3343 Univ. Station (mailing address); 325 Ohio Union, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 422-6287.

Kent: YSA, c/o Bob Laycock, 936 Carlisle, Apt. 301, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Toledo: SWP, P.O. Box 2325, Toledo, Ohio 43603. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia, Germantown: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 5950 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19144. Tel: (215) V14-2874.

Philadelphia, West Philadelphia: SWP, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

Philadelphia: City-wide SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

State College: YSA, c/o William Donovan, 260 Toftrees Ave. #320, State College, Pa. 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, c/o Box 400, Kingston, R.I. 02881.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 50212, Dallas, Tex. 75250. Tel: (214) 941-2308.

Houston, Northeast: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2835 Laura Koppe, Houston, Tex. 77093. Tel: (713) 697-5543.

Houston, North Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore-Libreria Militante, 2816 N. Main, Houston, Tex. 77009. Tel: (713) 224-0985.

Houston, South-Central: SWP, 4987 South Park Blvd. (South Park Plaza), Houston, Tex. 77021. Tel: (713) 643-0005.

Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: SWP, P.O. Box 1376, San Antonio, Tex. 78295. Tel: (512) 732-5957. YSA, P.O. Box 12110, Laurel Heights Station, San Antonio, Tex. 78212.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84322.

Salt Lake City: YSA, P.O. Box 461, Salt Lake City, Utah 84110.

VIRGINIA: Richmond: SWP, P.O. Box 25394, Richmond, Va. 23260. Tel: (804) 232-3769.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Northwest: SWP, 2416 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Tel: (202) 797-7706.

Washington, D.C.: Southeast: SWP, 727 8th St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. Tel: (202) 546-2162.

Washington, D.C.: City-wide SWP, YSA, 2416 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle, Central Area: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2200 E. Union, Seattle, Wash. 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404.

Seattle, North End: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

Seattle: City-wide: SWP, YSA, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WISCONSIN: Eau Claire: YSA, c/o Chip Johnson, 221 1/2 Ninth Ave., Eau Claire, Wis. 54701. Tel: (715) 835-1474.

La Crosse: YSA, c/o UW La Crosse, Cartwright Center, 1725 State St., La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 238-6224.

Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.

Gary Tyler faces new threat of electric chair

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—The next battle in Gary Tyler's fight for freedom will probably open here November 10. That is the date unofficially set by the Louisiana Supreme Court to hear Gary Tyler's appeal.

On one side is an innocent eighteen-year-old Black youth snatched off a school bus two years ago, framed up for murder, and sentenced to death by an all-white jury. On the other side stand some of the highest state officials in Louisiana, who are still scheming to send Gary Tyler to the electric chair.

Two months ago it appeared that the U.S. Supreme Court had struck down Louisiana's death penalty law. But six state assistant attorneys general have signed a seventy-page brief contending that the Louisiana Supreme Court can still legalize the murder of Gary Tyler.

The brief, filed September 16, asks the state's highest court to permit the convening of a special jury. This jury would have no authority to retry the case; its only purpose would be to choose between electrocution and life imprisonment.

It is apparent that the state prosecutors are pulling out all the stops in their zeal to block an appeal filed by attorney Jack Peebles demanding that Gary Tyler be set free.



The state's brief concocts a new version of the events on October 7, 1974, the day Gary Tyler was singled out. It fabricates two Black arms seen pointing a gun through the window of Gary Tyler's bus. No witness ever told this story. The brief also argues that the Black students on the bus were stoning the whites surrounding them. Again, no witness ever said this.

The truth is that there was organized, violent white resistance to school desegregation in St. Charles Parish. A white mob armed with

bricks, bottles, and shotguns had surrounded bus No. 91 as it left Destrehan High School on October 7.

A shot was fired and a thirteen-year-old white youth, Timothy Weber, fell dead. Only one witness, Natalie Blanks, claimed that she saw Gary Tyler fire a gun. At a hearing last April to demand a new trial, Blanks testified that police had forced her to lie in her original testimony.

Despite this overwhelming additional evidence of Gary Tyler's innocence, Judge Ruche Marino denied Gary

Tyler a new trial. That decision is now on appeal to the Louisiana Supreme Court, which also must decide the legal status of Gary Tyler and the forty other Louisiana prisoners who have been sentenced to death.

Meanwhile, across the country, thousands opposed to legalized murder and thousands who see Gary Tyler as a victim of racist resistance to school desegregation have rallied to his support. On July 24 more than 1,000 people converged on the Louisiana Supreme Court building to demand that Gary Tyler be freed. It was the largest demonstration in downtown New Orleans in six years.

It is likely that even broader support for Gary Tyler will be marshaled for the November 10 hearing.

Following the July 24 action, Gary Tyler won a small victory when the authorities conceded they could no longer keep him on death row at the notorious Angola state penitentiary. He has been moved to a parish prison closer to home. Supporters can write to Gary Tyler at the St. James Parish Prison, Convent, Louisiana 70723.

Contributions or requests for information about the case should be addressed to Gary Tyler Defense Fund, c/o Mrs. Juanita Tyler, 736 Mockingbird Lane, Destrehan, Louisiana 70047.

Texas convention decides

Raza Unida will sue to end illegal spying

By Harry Ring

SEGUIN, Tex.—La Raza Unida party of Texas is going to sue the federal government for damages resulting from illegal surveillance, harassment, and victimization.

The decision to file suit was unanimously approved by the party's state convention, meeting here September 18-19.

Zavala County Judge José Angel Gutiérrez told the convention that files obtained from the FBI and CIA under the Freedom of Information Act confirm that there is "a deliberate, conscious, planned effort to destroy the *partido*."

The founding leader of the Crystal City RUP, Gutiérrez said he had obtained the files, totaling about 100 pages, as an individual and in his capacity as national chairperson of La Raza Unida party.

The proposal to take legal action was presented to the convention by Dr. Armando Gutiérrez of the faculty of the University of Texas at Austin. He is head of the party's legal defense committee and was elected state vice-chairperson by the convention.

For too long, Armando Gutiérrez said, the party had not taken itself as seriously as the opposition had. It is necessary to recognize, he continued, that La Raza Unida is viewed as a

major domestic threat by the rulers of this society.

He said this was because of the organizational efforts of the party, the relationships it was developing with Mexico and other Third World countries, and, "more important, because of the consciousness we are developing among our people."

The decision to try to expose government actions against the party was motivated in good measure by seeing the pattern of recent revelations concerning other movements, Armando Gutiérrez said.

He referred the delegates to the book *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*, which reproduces secret government documents obtained by the Socialist Workers party as a result of its suit against government spying and harassment.

When RUP leaders had studied *Cointelpro*, he continued, they read what happened to "such groups as the Socialist Workers party and the Black Panther party—groups that are in some ways like us, either in terms of appealing to a particular group, in terms of being very critical of the government, in terms of trying to move Chicanos in the direction of having more power. We found that these groups had undergone a series of

disruptive activities."

Dr. Gutiérrez recalled the FBI's recent admission that there were sixty-six informers planted in the SWP.

He described the various dirty tricks against SWP members revealed in the political dossiers.

"After looking at that," Gutiérrez explained, "we said, 'Let's look at the past of the *partido*, let's look at what has happened to the *partido* since its inception in 1970.'"

Two Raza Unida activists had been

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'Un-Texan and Un-American'?

SAN ANTONIO—"Briscoe Fears Little Cuba on Texas Soil."

That was the banner headline on the front page of the September 18 San Antonio *Express-News*.

Speaking on behalf of Jimmy Carter at the Democratic state convention, Gov. Dolph Briscoe let loose an unbridled red-baiting attack on La Raza Unida party.

Zavala County, of which Crystal City is the seat, had obtained a \$1.5 million federal grant for a county agency headed by Raza Unida Judge José Angel Gutiérrez. Most of the funds will be used for a cooperative farm project.

Howling that the purpose of the

funding was to "establish a little Cuba in Texas," Briscoe, one of the biggest landowners in south Texas, solemnly added:

"It is my opinion this grant is illegal. But beyond that, without a doubt, it is both un-Texan and un-American."

In a fervent appeal to the Democratic delegates, the governor declared:

"If you are ready to fight to protect and promote the free enterprise system, I ask you to join me in electing Jimmy Carter."

That was probably the only truthful thing the governor said.