

THE MILITANT

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

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FBI TELLS INFORMERS: 'GET OUT OF SWP'



Cartoon by Powell

KELLEY: Urges informers to look for a new
line of work.

Socialists force government retreat.
Demand release of all spy files, end
to witch-hunt against Communist party.

By Diane Rupp

The Socialist Workers party has
again forced an unprecedented retreat
on the FBI.

The agency has ordered its field
offices to urge their informers to get
out of the SWP and Young Socialist
Alliance.

This latest retreat was disclosed
when Leonard Boudin, the socialists'
attorney, questioned FBI Director

Clarence Kelley for the SWP and YSA
lawsuit against government
harassment.

Syd Stapleton, an SWP leader who
was present during Kelley's testimony,
explained, "The fact is that Kelley was
compelled to issue the order to
informer on November 1 because he
knew he was required to testify under
oath in our suit on November 3."

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SAN ANTONIO PANEL ON ERA: Sixty people attended a November 10 panel discussion on the Equal Rights Amendment sponsored by Students for Political Action at St. Mary's University and San Antonians for the ERA.

Speaking were Jeanie Minor, vice president of the San Antonio chapter of the National Organization for Women; Pat Vásquez of the Chicana Rights Project, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund; Barbara Kennard of the National Council of Negro Women; Choco Mesa, state secretary of the Raza Unida party; and Andrea Mahdavi of International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Local 780. The panelists urged action to defeat efforts by foes of the ERA to get the Texas state legislature to overturn its previous approval of the amendment.

FBI RAIDS AFRIKAN PEOPLE'S PARTY: On October 20 the FBI staged a raid on the Philadelphia headquarters of the Afrikan People's party (APP). *Militant* correspondent Shafiq Abdulahad reports that ten agents conducted the warrantless raid. Occupants were held at gunpoint while the APP headquarters was ransacked. One person was arrested but later released with no charges pressed against him.

APP spokesperson Askia Muhammad Touré called the raid "an attempt to isolate, intimidate, and depict as criminal those who would rebel against this decadent system."

'WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM': This is the subject of a conference to be held in New York City December 17-18. It will begin Friday night at 8:00 p.m. with an address by Evelyn Reed, author of *Woman's Evolution and Problems of Women's Liberation*.

A panel at 10:00 a.m. Saturday on "Issues Facing Black and Puerto Rican Women" will feature Dr. Helen Rodríguez, a leader of the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse; Naomi Vega, Socialist Workers party; Cathy Sedwick, author of a *Black Scholar* article on "Black Women and the Equal Rights Amendment"; and Pat Wright, 1976 SWP candidate for Congress in New York's Fourteenth District.

At 1:00 p.m. on Saturday, SWP leader Linda Jenness—who will have just returned from a speaking tour in Spain—will give an eyewitness report on the new ferment among women there.

Nancy Borman, co-publisher of the feminist newspaper *Majority Report*, will speak in a workshop on "Women and the FBI."

The conference is sponsored by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance. All sessions will take place at Horace Mann Building, Teachers College, Columbia University, 120th Street and Broadway. A donation of \$1.50 will be asked. For more information contact the SWP at 853 Broadway, New York, New York 10003, or call (212) 982-8214.

NAZI HARASSMENT OF PASADENA SOCIALISTS: *Militant* correspondent Joanne Tortorici reports that Nazis are continuing their harassment of the Socialist Workers party headquarters and bookstore in Pasadena, California.

On November 5, Nazi leaflets and signs were posted on the headquarters door just before a public forum protesting apartheid in South Africa. A witness identified the two men involved in the incident as members of the Nazi party who had participated in a uniformed picket outside the socialist offices last spring.

Since then, Nazis have recorded the license plate numbers of cars outside the headquarters and periodically pasted up stickers and other racist literature. Shots have been fired through the socialists' front window.

The SWP has demanded that local authorities arrest and prosecute those responsible for the vandalism of its headquarters. The socialists warn that inaction by the city may encourage more serious Nazi violence.

NSCAR LEADER TOURS PORTLAND: Hattie McCutcheon, a leader of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), spoke at four Portland, Oregon, area colleges November 1-3. At all four schools—Portland State University, Reed College, Lewis and Clark College, and Cascade Community College—students agreed with McCutcheon that a countermovement is needed to turn back racist attacks. Only two weeks before McCutcheon's arrival, racist students burned a cross in front of the Black Student Union at Oregon State University in Corvallis.

MILITANT GETS AROUND: Greg Cornell's interview with Jimmy Carter's maids has been reprinted in several newspapers. The account first appeared in the October 29 *Militant*.

Papers picking up the article included *Majority Report*, a New York feminist biweekly; *Black Panther*, organ of the Black Panther party; and *New Times*, a Tempe, Arizona,

alternative weekly. "Working for peanuts in Plains" also appeared in the Black newspapers *Black Explosion*, *Atlanta Voice*, and *Chicago Metro News*.

National Black Network radio news service broadcast an interview with *Militant* Managing Editor Nelson Blackstock on Cornell's findings.

Cornell wrote that in Plains, Georgia, "almost every other Black woman I found turned out to be a maid from Carter's childhood, or a maid he hired after he married and settled down, or a maid working for him now. . . .

"All, without exception, are poor."

RACIST HARASSMENT IN LOUISVILLE: White racists threatened a demonstration by Louisville's United Black Protective Parents (UBPP) October 25. The demonstration outside a meeting of the Jefferson County Board of Education was called to protest a racist remark by an assistant principal at Moore High School.

The racists, several of them wearing Ku Klux Klan buttons, shouted obscene taunts at the Black parents. One of them told UBPP leader Benetha Ellis, "Yeah, we're the Klan and we're proud of it." Ralph Wilson, a security official for the board of education, told reporters he was sure some of the men wearing Klan buttons were armed.

But school authorities failed to take action to protect the parents. When it appeared that Klansmen might follow the demonstrators as they dispersed, one of the Black parents called the King Solomon Baptist Church and asked for members of its Brothers Six Committee (a free meal distribution program) to come to their aid. Two carloads of Blacks from the church were immediately dispatched. It was only at this point that the racists departed.

DESMOND TROTTER SOLIDARITY DAY CALLED: The Defence Committee for Desmond Trotter and Political Prisoners has called for solidarity actions November 20 to demand freedom for the twenty-two-year-old political activist on the Caribbean island of Dominica.

Trotter was convicted on frame-up murder charges in 1974. He was sentenced to death. Earlier this year a key prosecution witness admitted that she lied at Trotter's trial under police pressure. This, together with worldwide protests, forced Premier Patrick John to grant Trotter a reprieve only days before his execution was to be carried out.

But Trotter's life is still in jeopardy. He remains in prison. His defense committee is urging that messages demanding a full inquiry and freedom for Trotter be sent to Premier John at Government Headquarters, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies. They ask for copies to be sent to them at Post Office Box 231, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies.

—Peter Seidman

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20,000

18,336

↑

Where
we are

Subscription drive on target with week to go

By Harvey McArthur

Another 2,220 people subscribed to the *Militant* this week as socialists aimed to make the goal of 20,000 new readers by November 20.

Tacoma, Washington, socialists spent an afternoon at Evergreen College and sold 33 new subscriptions—going well over their goal of 115. San Jose reports that they have already surpassed their goal of 300 and are now going for 350. And St. Louis made a big push to sell 126 subscriptions and hit the 100 percent mark.

With just one week left in the drive, these sales helped boost the total to 18,336 new readers—91.7 percent of the overall goal.

"We found a special interest in the *Militant's* coverage of Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign," says Tom Moriarty from St. Louis. "This is where the home local of Lloyd McBride is. McBride is I.W. Abel's handpicked successor for USWA president. The local news media have said almost nothing about the Sadlowski campaign, and quite a few of our new subscribers want to find out more about Steelworkers Fight Back."

The *Militant's* support for the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights is another selling point. Participants at a regional conference of the National Organization for Women in Pittsburgh bought thirty-six subscriptions. And thirteen subscriptions and

\$150 worth of other socialist literature were sold at a meeting for Evelyn Reed, who spoke on her book *Woman's Evolution* in Baltimore last week.

Oakland socialists found a new way to plan their subscription sales. "We looked through the election returns and picked out several precincts where the Socialist Workers party received relatively high votes—7 to 10 percent of the total. Then we went out and canvassed these areas with the *Militant*," reports Carl Finamore.

"Sure enough, we met many people who had seen one of our candidates on television or on campus, or who were already familiar with the *Militant*. Four of us sold fifteen subscriptions in one afternoon."

Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Baltimore, and New York all made big gains last week.

However, New York socialists led the field. They mobilized all week long, selling more than 400 subscriptions—more than any other city during a single week of the drive.

From Brooklyn to Queens to Manhattan, *Militant* subscription teams knocked on doors and set up tables throughout the day. They went to housing projects and apartments and campuses. Many teams distributed literature about the November 19-21 National Student Conference Against Racism in Boston and the New York meeting for Bernadette Devlin McAliskey.

Subscription scoreboard

	Goal	Sent in	%			
Kent, Ohio	30	65	216.7	Milwaukee	650	522 80.3
Tacoma, Wash.	115	130	113.0	San Antonio	175	140 80.0
St. Louis	425	427	100.5	Madison Wis.	100	80 80.0
Newark, Del.	5	5	100.0	Miami	80	64 80.0
Louisville	150	148	98.7	Edinboro, Pa.	30	24 80.0
New Orleans	225	221	98.2	Ithaca, N.Y.	50	39 78.0
Phoenix	50	49	98.0	Houston	900	678 75.3
Washington, D.C., Area	750	730	97.3	Allentown, Pa.	20	15 75.0
Richmond, Va.	125	121	96.8	Bloomington, Ind.	50	37 74.0
Portland, Ore.	350	335	95.7	San Diego	400	287 71.8
Berkeley	400	382	95.5	Champaign, Ill.	25	17 68.0
Newark, N.J.	400	382	95.5	Sarasota, Fla.	25	17 68.0
Baltimore	325	309	95.1	Albany, N.Y.	55	37 67.3
Indianapolis	100	95	95.0	Minneapolis	775	520 67.1
Boston	800	744	93.0	St. Paul	175	112 64.0
Salt Lake City	50	46	92.0	Denver	600	420 62.0
San Jose	350	318	90.9	Lexington, Ky.	50	29 58.0
Los Angeles	1,000	892	89.2	Buffalo, N.Y.	25	14 56.0
Pittsburgh	450	400	88.9	Kingston, R.I.	25	14 56.0
Detroit	800	709	88.6	Knoxville, Tenn.	10	5 50.0
Philadelphia	650	573	88.2	Tallahassee, Fla.	25	12 48.0
Toledo	150	130	86.7	Boulder, Colo.	20	8 40.0
State College, Pa.	30	26	86.7	Arlington, Tex.	30	8 26.7
Cincinnati	150	129	86.0	Campaign teams		
Chicago	900	769	85.4	New Mexico	85	85 100.0
Dallas	150	127	84.7	California	300	260 86.7
New York	2,000	1,681	84.1	Ohio	400	333 83.3
Oakland, Calif.	375	315	84.0	Northeast	400	209 52.1
Kansas City, Mo.	150	126	84.0	Rocky Mountain	215	98 45.6
San Francisco	800	671	83.9	Southeast	250	88 35.2
Cleveland	450	370	82.2	Michigan-Indiana	400	130 32.5
Atlanta	600	492	82.0	Upper Midwest	165	21 12.8
Seattle	475	385	81.1	General		1,711
				Total	20,000	18,336 91.7
				Should be	18,000	90.0

Dismiss all charges!

La. high court hears Gary Tyler appeal

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—The battle to free Gary Tyler was argued before the Louisiana Supreme Court November 10.

Tyler's lawyer, Jack Peebles, told the court that it should free the eighteen-year-old Black youth and dismiss all charges against him. If Tyler is not freed, Peebles asked the seven justices to order a new trial.

Assistant State Attorney General L.J. Hymel argued that the conviction should stand.

The court is expected to rule in six to eight weeks.

The wheels of justice have moved slowly for Tyler. He has been in jail for two years, framed up for a murder he did not commit.

On October 7, 1974, Tyler's school bus was surrounded by a mob of white students throwing bricks and bottles. Someone fired a shot. A white youth was killed. Tyler was singled out for the murder and convicted by an all-white jury in November 1975.

Natalie Blanks, the only witness claiming to have seen Tyler fire a gun, recanted her testimony last March at a hearing for a new trial. Yet in April Judge Ruche Marino—who presided at the original trial—denied a new trial.

In July the Louisiana death penalty statute under which Tyler was convicted was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. It was this statute that permitted the state to try a juvenile for murder in an adult criminal court. Peebles argued before the Louisiana court that the invalidation of the state's old capital punishment law means that Marino's court no longer has jurisdiction over the case.

Peebles also demanded that the justices overturn Marino's decision to deny Tyler a new trial. Marino, Peebles

pointed out, should not have heard the appeal, since he was a material witness to withholding evidence from defense attorneys.

Unknown to the defense or the jury, a meeting occurred in Judge Marino's chambers during the original trial. The participants in the meeting were Marino, prosecutors Hymel and Norman Pitre, and Natalie Blanks's attorney Sylvia Taylor.

Taylor requested immunity for Blanks in exchange for her testimony. Taylor says she wanted immunity because she feared her client was not telling the truth. Taylor also says that the immunity was granted, although the defense was not informed.

The supreme court justices questioned Hymel about this secret meeting. He at first denied that immunity

had been granted. Under examination by the justices, Hymel then admitted that he had in fact assured Taylor that Blanks would not be prosecuted.

Hymel claimed that all evidence had been made available to the defense. One justice then pointed out that the state's brief said only "95 percent of the discovery material" had been turned over. Hymel also claimed that he had not known of Blanks's history of mental illness. The justices pointed out, however, that Deputy Sheriff V.J. St. Pierre, the officer who took Blanks's original statement, admitted he was aware that she had made false accusations in the past. (Blanks now claims that St. Pierre forced her to testify under threat of prosecution.)

In an interview, Peebles stressed that whatever the high court rules, he

will continue the legal battle until Tyler is free.

He expressed admiration for his client: "That young man has an inner strength that I have rarely seen."

Peebles said he was amazed at Tyler's patience and composure despite two years in prison. "When I visited Gary in Angola [state prison] he was studying an African language," Peebles recalled.

Meanwhile, support for Tyler continues to grow. Juanita Tyler, the youth's mother, and State Rep. Johnny Jackson spoke to a rally of 100 students at the University of New Orleans November 8 in support of Tyler. The rally was sponsored by the campus chapters of the Student Coalition Against Racism, the NAACP, and the Alpha Kappa Alpha Black sorority.

Supporters may call or write to the Gary Tyler Defense Fund, c/o Juanita Tyler, 736 Mockingbird Lane, Destrehan, Louisiana 70047. Telephone: (504) 729-0605. Telegrams and letters demanding Tyler's freedom may be sent to: Chief Justice, Louisiana Supreme Court, 302 Loyola Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

LOS ANGELES—Chanting "Gary Tyler must go free, that's the way it's got to be," some fifty people picketed outside the federal building here November 10, the date the Louisiana Supreme Court heard arguments in Tyler's appeal for a new trial.

The picket, called by the Gary Tyler Defense Committee, drew individuals from a number of groups in the Los Angeles area, including the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Addressing the rally were Jim and Michele Sims, brother and sister-in-law of Tyler.



TYLER: Framed for murder he did not commit

Militant/Greg Nelson

Blacks, women launch protests

New U.S. rules threaten affirmative-action gains

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—The government has declared a new war on working women and Blacks with guidelines that threaten to gut affirmative-action plans for federal contractors.

The proposed Labor Department regulations, under the guise of "streamlining" compliance, decrease the number of companies required to set up affirmative-action plans and seriously weaken the enforcement procedures for those that do.

Colleges and universities, for instance, would virtually be exempted from complying under the new guidelines.

Women and civil rights groups are speaking out against the affirmative-action setback and have initiated a protest campaign.

"The National Urban League finds that these proposed measures promise disastrous regression," said Ronald Brown at a November 10 hearing held by the House Subcommittee on Equal Opportunity. Brown is deputy executive director of the league.

"Such a denial of the progress that we have all struggled to achieve is tantamount to a pardon for businesses and educational institutions engaged in federal contracting activities," he told committee members.

Brown added that the National Urban League views the guidelines "as yet another federal retreat from Washington's purported commitment to federal equal opportunity enforcement."

Representing the Women's Legal Defense Fund, Judith Lichtman joined Brown in testifying against the regulations.

In New York City, Women Office Workers (WOW) picketed the area



Guardian/George Cohen
New York women protest federal backsliding on affirmative action, October 13.

Labor Department office October 13 demanding regional public hearings on the regulations.

The Nine-to-Five group in Boston, Women Employed in Chicago, and Women Working in Cleveland have sponsored similar protests.

They are working with others, such as the National Organization for Women (NOW), in gathering thousands of signatures on petitions that protest the guidelines.

Despite the government's effort to rush the guidelines into effect, the protest campaign has forced the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) to schedule public hearings in four cities.

They will begin December 6 in Atlanta and New York, and December

13 in Chicago and Los Angeles.

For the New York hearing December 6, groups planning to testify against the new rules include WOW, YWCA, NOW, National Urban League, Student Coalition Against Racism, Federally Employed Women, Socialist Workers party, and the Women's Coalition at City University of New York.

Protests and news conferences to coincide with the hearings are in the planning stages in at least New York and Chicago.

Around the country, groups that have joined in opposing the regulations range from the League of Women Voters and the Household Workers Association to the NAACP and Chicago's Operation PUSH.

In ten years, only twelve businesses have been barred from federal contracts under the current guidelines.

"The OFCCP is saying, 'We've done a lousy job so far, so give us less to do and we'll do a less lousy job,'" said Ronald Brown at the November 10 House hearing.

A few of the most serious setbacks in the proposed guidelines are:

- Only employers of 100 or more workers, seeking a contract of at least \$100,000, would have to submit affirmative-action plans. With the current guidelines, it is 50 workers and \$50,000. This would eliminate more than 3,400,000 employees from coverage.

- Review of a company's hiring policies before a contract is awarded would be required only if the contract were for \$10 million or more. The amount now is \$1 million. The new rule would cover only 6 percent of present contractors.

- Under the old guidelines, contrac-

tors with deficient plans could be issued an "order to show cause" with a specific date by which the plans were to be corrected. The new rules provide only for a "notice of deficiencies" with no correction date.

- The new regulations also offer a unique escape clause that is more often heard from the CIA and FBI than from the Labor Department. The OFCCP can exempt anyone or anything from any part of the rules if "special circumstances in the national interest so require."

The *Washington Post* and members of the House subcommittee oppose approving the guidelines primarily because the new Carter administration may very well change them again. Boston Nine-to-Five reports, however, that a visit by forty women to Jimmy Carter's headquarters before the election produced a statement in support of public hearings but no promise to rescind the guidelines.

The presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, Peter Camejo, branded the guidelines "a new stage in the bipartisan attack on affirmative-action and civil rights gains across the United States."

"This is one of the most serious blows in the government's drive against working people," Camejo said. "The labor movement should mobilize its power, along with that of the Black and women's movements, to defeat these reactionary guidelines." (See editorial, page 10.)

For information on the hearings and protests, contact Women Office Workers, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10022, telephone (212) 688-4160; or Chicago Women Employed, 37 South Wabash, Chicago, Illinois 60603, telephone (312) 372-7822.

Shanker, Anker defend bias in NYC schools

By Ed Berger

NEW YORK—Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, and Irving Anker, head of the New York City Board of Education, have joined in defending the city's school system against charges of racism outlined in a federal report released November 9.

The federal Office for Civil Rights, after a two-and-a-half-year study,

Ed Berger is a teacher at Grady High School in Brooklyn and a member of the United Federation of Teachers.

found that New York City's public school system discriminates against Black and Latino teachers in hiring, promotions, and assignments.

"We have also found the system denied women access to positions as principals and assistant principals, and paid women athletic coaches less than men," said Martin Gerry, director of the Office for Civil Rights.

Unless the school system acts within ninety days to develop a plan to bring it into compliance with federal regulations, it could face sanctions including

the loss of \$200 million in federal funds.

This is not the first time that the Shankerite UFT leadership and the city-wide school authorities have cooperated to defend discriminatory practices in the schools. Ever since the racist 1968 teachers' strike—aimed at preventing steps toward Black and Latino community control of the schools—the two bureaucracies have worked hand-in-glove to uphold a segregated system.

Shanker termed the report's findings "sloppy and full of contradictions. Anyone with half a course in logic could rip this thing to shreds."

Shanker and Anker's "logic" is to aim their fire at the decentralization law, which gave some minority school districts the power to recruit their own teachers directly.

The law was passed to give these districts an opportunity to select more Black and Latino teachers. It is steps like this to end discrimination—as limited as they have been—that Shanker points to as the "real" source of racism in the school system.

But none of Shanker and Anker's twisted "logic" can obscure the facts of the report.

The city schools, with a pupil popula-

tion of 67 percent minorities, last year employed only 13 percent Black or Latino teachers. That's the poorest showing among the five largest school systems in the country.

Even these figures don't tell the full story. Layoffs over the past year, implemented by strict seniority, have now reduced Black and Latino teachers to less than 5 percent of the work force.

New York is one of only a handful of school systems in the country that has its own teacher hiring test, which is under challenge in federal court for being racially discriminatory. Most systems use state certification or the National Teachers Examination.

Shanker defends the test. The fact that a smaller percentage of minority applicants pass the test than do white test-takers, Shanker insists, does not prove that the exam is discriminatory.

Moreover, the city schools use the test to maximize its discriminatory impact. The first criterion in hiring is the date the list of eligible candidates was issued by the board of education. The second criterion is test score. Applicants who passed later tests (including proportionately more minorities) cannot be hired until earlier lists

are completely exhausted.

When a hiring pool method is used—in which no preference is given to test score or list date—the percentage of minority teachers hired is at least four times higher than under the prevalent method in New York City.

Shanker and the board of education are cooperating to maintain a white job trust at the expense of the Black and Latino communities. As layoffs increase, New York is moving toward having an all-white teachers union in an increasingly nonwhite school system. Shanker's policies sabotage the prospect of a united fight by teachers, students, and the Black and Puerto Rican communities against school cutbacks.

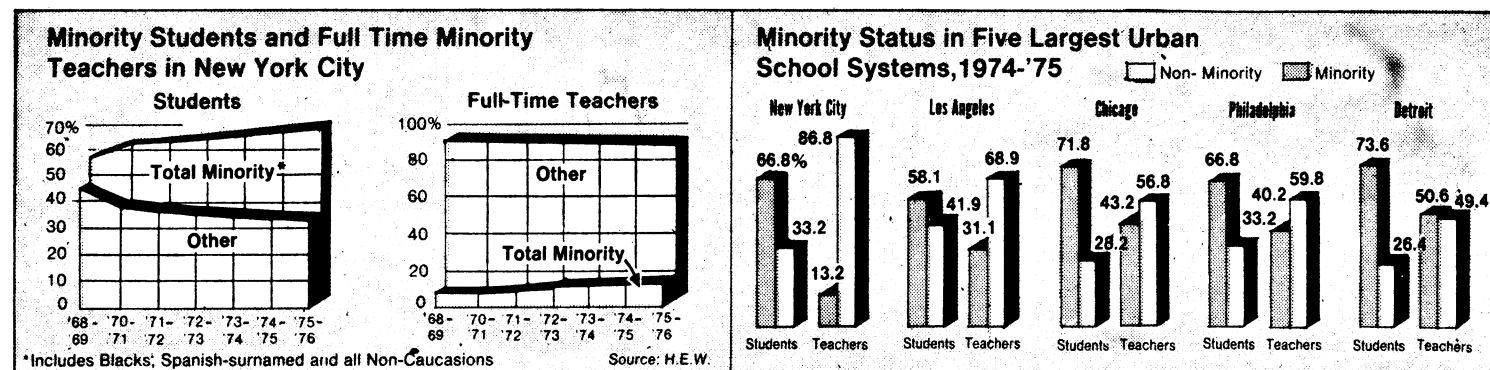
Shanker's logic of collaboration with the board of education is reflected in his recent call for teachers and other municipal workers in New York City to give up their right to collective bargaining for the duration of the fiscal crisis.

He suggested that a government panel like the World War II War Labor Board be empowered to set wages.

"A continuation of bargaining during the crisis period has resulted in a deterioration of morale," Shanker said, "with each group believing that there's something to be gotten—a continuing struggle for nothing that's there."

Continued attempts at bargaining are "just going to create a lot of internal dissension within a union," Shanker believes.

It is not collective bargaining that has demoralized teachers and caused dissension within the UFT, however. It is the defeats brought about by Shanker's policies, which divide teachers from their allies and tie them to their enemies.



New York Times

WHITE FLIGHT?

Facts dispute racist theory



Do court-ordered busing plans simply lead to resegregation of schools?

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—White flight. On its face, the term is racist, raising images of panicked whites rushing to the suburbs and beating a hasty escape from a horde of oncoming urban Blacks.

Yet, despite the raw bigotry of the phrase, in the past several years "white flight" has become an accepted and popular concept in government circles among Democratic and Republican politicians.

In fact, "white flight" is one of the key excuses used by foes of school desegregation to defend their opposition to court-ordered busing.

Unlikely allies

Over the past two years, since the outburst of violent resistance to desegregation riveted attention on Boston, seemingly unlikely allies have given aid and comfort to the antibusing bigots.

One of them is James Coleman, a liberal professor from the University of Chicago. In the 1960s Coleman supported busing. Today he opposes it.

In the wake of Boston's antibusing violence, Coleman came here to lend his ivory-tower credentials to the bigots. He talked a lot about "white flight," but he never once spoke out against the racist terror that faces Black students.

One of Coleman's major challengers is Christine Rossell, a young Boston University professor. Since 1972 Rossell has been investigating the impact of desegregation on a variety of aspects of society. She is a member of Boston's City-wide Coordinating Council, appointed by Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity to monitor the implementation of desegregation.

Rossell is currently working on two books: one about Boston's desegregation crisis, the other on the truth about "white flight."

Her conclusions on "white flight" are entirely different from Coleman's.

Long-term trend

"White flight," Rossell told the *Militant* in a recent interview, "is a misnomer. Whites have been leaving urban centers since the end of World War II and, in some cases, since the turn of the century. To talk about 'flight' implies they are fleeing some-

thing, or that there is no desire of Black people to leave the city, that is, the ghetto."

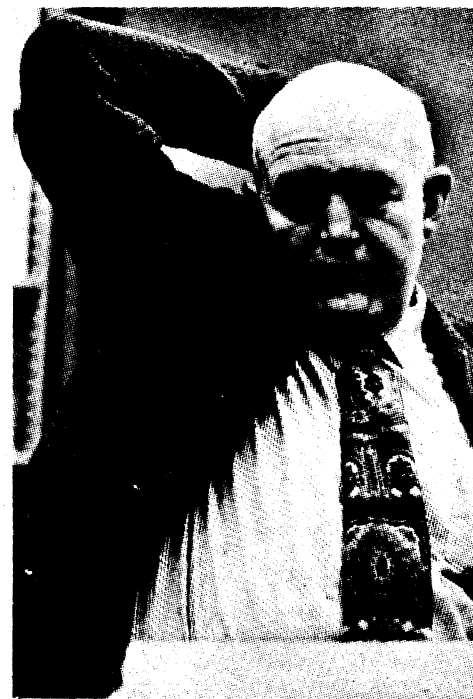
The real "white flight" argument, Rossell said, "is that progressive social change makes whites 'flee.' That is false."

Opponents of desegregation charge that court-ordered busing causes "white flight." I asked Rossell about this.

"First," she said, "it should be understood that there is a general decline of white student enrollment in public schools in cities and suburbs because of a declining birth rate. I have studied the twelve-year impact of desegregation in 113 cities across the country, with 50 of them having undergone extensive busing plans."

"The facts of that research show that only in one-third of those cities was there a slight decline in white enrollment. There was no 'white flight' in two-thirds of the cities. There was a modest Black decline in enrollment in some cases."

"And what was most interesting in the situations where there was a white decline during the first year of desegregation," she added, "is that in the following years the drop decreased, offsetting any significant imbalance. There was no 'flight' in the way the term is used."



JAMES COLEMAN

According to Rossell, the racists are guilty of demagoguery. "What we have in the urban centers for whites is increasing suburbanization over a long period of time—along with a declining birth rate—which has nothing to do with desegregation."

"On the other hand, housing discrimination in the suburbs, job discrimination, and ghettoization in the cities prevent Blacks from moving out of the urban centers, even though some Blacks have managed to leave the cities."

"So whites move out of the cities, not at a massive rate, and Blacks are locked in."

Coleman's association of "white flight" with court-ordered desegregation has no basis in fact. Rossell believes that his views reflect a "decision he made that desegregation is counterproductive."

"Coleman never studied one city where desegregation took place," Rossell said. "He simply attempted to draw conclusions about integration from studying the average number of whites in Black children's classrooms in Detroit, Los Angeles, and Chicago over a three-year period from 1968 to 1970."

"His very premise was false because he was not studying integration. There were no desegregation orders and no

busing plans going on in any of these cities at the time of his survey. The only thing taking place was a typical population pattern. Coleman did not even know why a white or Black student was in a given class. He just saw a gradual white decline."

Leadership

In the minority of cities undergoing desegregation where there has been a drop in white enrollment, Rossell said, the reason is clear. It is not busing, "but leadership. The 'white flight' is caused by a hysteria created by antibusing leaders, by city officials. It is part of attempting to stop desegregation."

In Boston, antibusing forces grouped around ROAR, the main antibusing organization, repeatedly tried to stampede whites into boycotting schools because of "Black crime." In the first year of desegregation, racist leaders Louise Day Hicks and South Boston legislators William Bulger and Michael Flaherty publicized a statement claiming that "100 Black murderers of whites" roamed the streets of Roxbury.

East Boston bigots—thought to be in cahoots with current school committee member Elvira "Pixie" Palladino—circulated rumors of "Black rapists" awaiting white women students bused into Black community schools.

Racist society

Given the shoddiness of Coleman's research, why has he been in the national spotlight, while other academicians who have debunked his theories have been left in the cold?

"We live in a racist society," Rossell said. "There is a movement against busing, and Coleman is its darling. The media have built him up—the convert from probusing to antibusing. He is popular among federal and state officials who are retreating on desegregation."

"We need a policy to combat racism," she said. "Not liberal policies. That really, is what Coleman is. A wishy-washy liberal. We need to get angry—that's the way the gains were made in the 1960s and it has to be done again. The politicians have to be made uncomfortable."

That, she said, "is what the racists have done. And that's what we have to do."



CHRISTINE ROSSELL

Conference pledges to free the Wilmington Ten

By Sarah Ryan

WASHINGTON—The first national conference of the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee met here November 6. The seventy-five participants resolved to widely publicize new evidence proving the innocence of the civil rights activists.

Last February, the ten defendants—Rev. Ben Chavis, eight Black youths, and a white antipoverty worker—began serving sentences totaling 282 years. They were all activists in a struggle against racist practices in the Wilmington, North Carolina, school system when authorities charged them with arson and assault on police and fire fighters.

Widespread public sentiment has

condemned their conviction in 1972 as a racist frame-up.

A breakthrough in their defense came on October 12. Allen Hall, the state's key witness at the trial, recanted his testimony. Hall admitted that the prosecution had forced him to lie. Stating that he had "disgraced myself and the Black community," Hall told reporters that he never witnessed any of the events in question. Defense attorneys have filed an amended motion for the release of the defendants.

At the conference, activists from the Washington, D.C., area, Detroit, Miami, and several other cities heard a history of the case by attorney James

Ferguson. Ann Mitchell of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and Irv Joyner of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ pledged renewed efforts by their groups to publicize the case.

Robert F. Williams was the keynote speaker and a panelist in the political strategies workshop. Williams has faced years of harassment for his role in organizing self-defense against Ku Klux Klan night riders in the Monroe, North Carolina, Black community in 1961. Only last January were trumped-up kidnapping charges against him finally dropped.

Williams told the conference, "My

situation was very similar to that of the Wilmington Ten. We were involved in a civil rights fight, which in this country can make you Public Enemy Number One. You can't win with kid gloves. Only our mobilizing people can win."

Conference participants represented many organizations, including the NAACP, Republic of New Africa, National Black Assembly, National Student Coalition Against Racism, and several Black student unions.

For more information on the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee, write to 1851 Ninth Street NW, Room 104, Washington, D.C. 20001; or call (202) 387-3313.

... FBI forced to retreat another step

Continued from page 1

The FBI chief knew he would face questions about the supposed halt to the FBI's "investigation" of the SWP announced by Washington in September. So on November 1, Kelley sent a teletype order to the FBI's fifty-nine field offices.

"Immediate," the teletype was labeled. A prominent note on the front page called attention to a postscript at the end of the order. The postscript warned agents: "NOTE: Mr. Kelley will be deposed in this lawsuit on 11/3/76, in Washington, D.C." That was a not-so-subtle explanation of why Kelley wanted the field offices to act and report back "no later than noon, 11/2/76."

The order told the Special Agents in Charge of field offices to "personally insure that all SWP/YSA cases in your office have been closed." They were also to "personally insure that the following statement is read as soon as possible to each informant who was furnishing information regarding SWP/YSA at the time these investigations were discontinued."

Kelley's message to informers in the SWP and YSA was, "... we suggest that you remove yourself from the SWP and YSA. ..."

"You are not to report to the FBI information concerning the SWP, YSA, their chapters, leaders or members, nor are you to obtain any documents, copies of documents, any things, or other materials from the SWP, YSA, their leaders or members and furnish these to the FBI."

The SWP lawsuit has already exposed just how informers "obtain" materials. FBI informer Timothy Redfearn broke into YSA members' apartments to steal files. He was recently indicted for burglarizing the Denver SWP headquarters only last July.

The informers were also told to apply for a new job. "If you desire to furnish information concerning another matter," Kelley's message suggested, "you are encouraged to advise the FBI."

Why did the FBI take these new

steps? Because earlier government attempts to convince the American people that the FBI has stopped its attacks on democratic rights have failed.

Since the socialists' lawsuit against government political police agencies was filed in 1973, it has uncovered a seemingly endless stream of FBI crimes: burglaries, disruption programs, illegal mail covers, wiretapping, poison-pen letters, and—as recently as last summer—black-bag jobs by informers.

Two months ago, the government

took steps it hoped would stop this flood of revelations and mounting public outrage. On September 9 Attorney General Edward Levi ordered a halt to the FBI's domestic security investigation of the SWP and YSA.

But the SWP and YSA did not drop their campaign against government crimes. Instead, they demanded that Levi's order be put into practice by removing the sixty-six informers the FBI admitted were in the SWP and YSA and by turning over the eight million pages of files the agency

admitted having on the two organizations.

On September 13, Kelley sent an order to FBI field offices "closing" the case. When it became clear that Kelley's order would be made public through the lawsuit, the FBI chief sent another teletype "clarifying" his first message.

While claiming to end the case on the SWP as an *organization*, however, both these orders gave the FBI a go-ahead to continue investigating SWP members.

One Justice Department official admitted to the *Washington Post* that Kelley's instructions might be considered "a covert signal to continue pursuing the party."

In response to the socialists' demands that the FBI remove its informers, Justice Department spokesperson Robert Havel answered, "It will be up to them [the informers] to decide."

So, the SWP and YSA stepped up their demands to have the informers removed and the records made public.

The FBI faced not only the socialists' legal offensive, but growing public pressure as well. Editorial support came from newspapers and from magazines, such as the *Nation*. *The Nation* wrote:

"The investigation has supposedly been halted. ... But in the light of Kelley's pledge to keep an eye on party members who are 'likely to use force of violence in violation of federal law,' and in view of the bureau's admission that it has sixty-six informants within the party, the SWP is understandably skeptical. ..."

"A court decision to unveil all the Timothy Redfearns within the SWP would be a giant victory for everyone who cares about the Constitution."

Endorsement of the lawsuit by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, approved by the union's International Executive Board in October, dramatized the broad support that the socialists' efforts were winning. These many supporters of civil liberties recognized that Levi's vague administrative order would not end FBI crimes.

The government had to do more in its attempt to restore the FBI's credibility and usefulness.

"The campaign against government surveillance and harassment that won this victory from the FBI must continue," Stapleton said. "The job is far from done."

"The FBI is still armed with the weapons it used to carry out its vendetta against our organizations—the eight million files it has on our members. We demand that these be turned over to us immediately," he said. "The American people have a right to know the full truth about the FBI's illegal operations against two legal political organizations."

Getting the complete FBI record on the socialists is an essential part of the socialists' campaign to prevent the government from renewing its attacks. There is still nothing to prevent the Justice Department from reopening the FBI "investigation" whenever it likes.

In addition, previously censored portions of Levi's September order to the FBI show that the CIA is continuing to spy on and harass the SWP. (See box on page 8.)

The FBI, after all, is only one of Washington's political police agencies being sued by the socialists. In addition, there are the CIA, the Secret Service, Military Intelligence, the supersecret National Security Agency, the post office, and civil service.

Another defendant is the Alcohol, Firearms and Tobacco Division of the Internal Revenue Service, which is currently trying to frame up trade unionists in Springfield, Massachusetts, on phony bomb conspiracy charges. This infamous

Continued on page 30



Syd Stapleton (left), Leonard Boudin at FBI headquarters in Washington to question Clarence Kelley.

Militant/Nancy Cole

A message for informers



FBI CHIEF KELLEY

Below is the text of the teletype order sent by FBI Director Clarence Kelley to all field offices November 1. The teletype is headed "Immediate" and a prominent line at the bottom of page 1 says, "(See note on page 3)," that is, at the end of the order.

Rebutels dated 9/13/76 and 9/23/76 [refers to earlier Kelley teletypes about the SWP and YSA]

Referenced communications instructed that investigations of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), their chapters, leaders and members were to be discontinued and that SWP/YSA informants were to be either directed to other investigations or closed.

At this time, I request that the following actions be taken: First, personally insure that all SWP/YSA cases in your office have been closed, and advise the bureau, Attention: General Investigative Division, no later than

noon, 11/2/76, of this fact. Second, personally insure that the following statement is read as soon as possible to each informant who was furnishing information regarding SWP/YSA at the time these investigations were discontinued.

"The FBI has terminated its investigations of the SWP, the YSA, their chapters and members, and any individuals or groups being investigated because of his (her) or its affiliation with the SWP or YSA. Thus, we suggest that you remove yourself from the SWP and YSA. You must no longer act in behalf of the FBI in regard to your membership in the SWP or YSA, related activities, or, contacts with SWP or YSA members.

"You are not to report to the FBI information concerning the SWP, YSA, their chapters, leaders or members, nor are you to obtain any documents, copies of documents, any things, or other materials from the SWP, YSA, their leaders or members and furnish these to the FBI.

"Unless you have been redirected and are willing to furnish information concerning another investigation, you are to discontinue contact with the FBI. If in the future, however, a problem should arise because of your having furnished information to the FBI or if you desire to furnish information concerning another matter, you are encouraged to advise the FBI."

Advise the bureau, Attention: General Investigative Division, after you have been assured by contacting agents that the above statement has been read to each informant.

Your cooperation concerning this matter is appreciated. I am taking these extraordinary measures to assure all involved in this litigation, including the court, that the FBI's investigations of SWP/YSA are terminated in all respects.

NOTE: Mr. Kelley will be deposed in this lawsuit on 11/3/76, in Washington, D.C.

This teletype sets forth pertinent instructions to each SAC [Special Agent in Charge of the field office].

Execution date nears in Texas

Protests of death penalty set in 3 states

By José G. Pérez

As the bizarre case of Gary Mark Gilmore was being played out in Utah courts and in the news media, opponents of legalized murder in Utah and other states continued organizing.

In Salt Lake City, Utah, a previously scheduled forum, "In Defense of Democratic Rights," has been broadened to include speakers against the death penalty.

The Young Socialist Alliance, which initiated the meeting, says that a major aspect of the forum will be a commemoration of the best-known victim of capital punishment in Utah: Joe Hill.

Hill was an agitator for the Industrial Workers of the World, a radical movement for industrial unionism in the early 1900s.

Hill was a Swedish immigrant, a migrant worker. He was framed up on murder charges for his labor activities. He was shot by a firing squad November 19, 1915.

Joe Hill was best known for the songs he wrote. His message to the IWW the night before he was executed has been an inspiration to generations of rebels. He wrote: "I will die like a true blue rebel. Don't waste any time in mourning. Organize."

The forum will be held November 23 at 7:30 p.m. in East Ballroom University of Utah Union Building, in Salt Lake City. Featured speakers include Morris Starsky of the Political Rights Defense Fund and Shirley Pedler, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Utah.

The November 23 forum will be preceded by a news conference November 19, the anniversary of Hill's murder. The news conference will be held at Sugarhouse Park, where Hill was shot.

In Dallas, Texas, the Dallas Coalition Against the Death Penalty will hold a protest demonstration November 21. The demonstration was originally scheduled to protest an execution set for November 22 by a Dallas judge. That killing was called off by a U.S. Supreme Court justice.

The urgency of the situation in Texas was reemphasized November 12, however, when another Texas judge

sentenced two men to be electrocuted December 10.

In Miami, Florida, the Dade Citizens Against the Death Penalty have called a demonstration for Saturday, December 4. Florida is one of three states whose capital punishment laws were specifically upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, and dates for executions could be set at any time.

Twenty-five people attended a coalition meeting in Miami October 21 to plan the demonstration. Those present included representatives of the American Friends Service Committee; Antonio Smith Defense Committee; All People Incorporated; Concerned Democrats; Florida Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression; American Civil Liberties Union of Florida; Pitts-Lee Justice Committee; Socialist Workers party; Temple Israel; Unitarian Universalist Association; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and Student Coalition Against Racism.

More than 100 persons attended an October 18 meeting against the death penalty organized by the Black studies department at Miami Dade Junior College, North Campus. The featured speakers were Freddie Pitts and Wilbert Lee.

The two Black men spent twelve years in Florida prisons—nine of them on death row—for a murder they didn't commit. They were finally found innocent and freed in 1975.

Had capital punishment been legal in 1972, when they were sentenced to the electric chair for the second time, these two innocent men would be dead today.

In New Orleans, Louisiana, more than 100 persons attended an all-day conference against capital punishment at Loyola University Law School November 6.

The conference launched the Louisiana Committee Against the Death Penalty, which was initiated by the state American Civil Liberties Union.

Other sponsors of the conference included the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons; Angola Students of Islam; State Sen. Sidney Barthelemy;

Rev. Joseph Ingle; and Attorney Milard Farmer.

The two keynote addresses were given by State Rep. Johnny Jackson and Robert Blakesley, a former inmate at Angola prison.

Jackson described the effort to pass the new capital punishment law in Louisiana's legislature after the old one had been struck down this summer. Only 13 out of 130 legislators voted against the new law. He urged the conference to begin a large public education campaign against the death penalty.

Workshops were conducted on "Legal Action Against the Death Penalty"; "The Legislature: Lobbying

Against Capital Punishment"; "Public Awareness and Citizen Action"; "Religious and Moral Opposition to Capital Punishment"; and "Inmate Support and Organizing Inmate Families."

Meanwhile, several states have had their laws against capital punishment found unconstitutional.

In Maryland, California, and New York, state courts have said the laws do not fit the standards set by last summer's U.S. Supreme Court ruling because they had mandatory death sentences for some crimes.

In Pennsylvania, the law was found unconstitutionally "ambiguous and...vague" by a state appeals court.

Down with the guillotine!



Rouge

Some 3,000 people marched November 6 to the Bastille in Paris, France, to demand abolition of the death penalty in that country. A car carrying a replica of the guillotine headed the march. Protesters chanted, "To the East, to the West, abolish the death penalty," "The blade must not fall again," and "Down with the guillotine." At the end of the march, the effigy of the guillotine was destroyed.

'A victory in this suit would be to the advantage of all who are victims of government harassment, including trade unions . . .'

—AFSCME Int'l Executive Board

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, a trade union of 750,000 public employees, has endorsed the Political Rights Defense Fund.

The PRDF is organizing support for the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against government harassment.

The AFSCME resolution, approved by the union's International Executive Board on October 15, reads:

WHEREAS: Various agencies of the federal government, including the F.B.I. and C.I.A., have carried out a long series of unconstitutional acts aimed at harassing, disrupting and destroying dissident political groups, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Indian groups, labor activists, student groups, antiwar organizations and women's organizations; and

WHEREAS: These acts include violations of the law and of civil liberties, such as burglaries, wiretapping, mail covers, harassment, intimidation, infiltration, threatening anonymous letters as those directed against Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.; and

WHEREAS: Recent revelations make it clear that illegal and unconstitutional acts are still being organized and carried out against those who raise their voices against injustice; and

WHEREAS: The Political Rights Defense Fund, an ad hoc, non-partisan civil liberties group, has as its sole purpose winning broad support for a suit against these federal agencies seeking damages and a permanent injunction to stop these attacks on constitutional rights; and

WHEREAS: A victory in this suit would be to the advantage of all who are past, present or future victims of government harassment including trade unions, civil rights, civil liberties and any other organizations or individuals whose ideas the government does not like; and

WHEREAS: This suit itself is helping to bring to light many crimes and transgressions which the American people should know about and which can help inspire more activities in defense of our civil rights;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That at its June 1976 Convention in Miami, Florida, A.F.S.C.M.E. goes on record endorsing the efforts of the Political Rights Defense Fund in this lawsuit.

If you too would like to support PRDF's efforts, return the coupon below to: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of

☐ Please add my name as a sponsor of

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Signature _____

Organization _____
(for identification only)

**Political Rights
Defense Fund**



Foreign ties used as excuse

FBI still targets Communist party

By Nancy Cole

In what should be a warning signal to opponents of government harassment, a secret Justice Department review has directed the FBI to continue its spying operations against the Communist party.

"Informed sources" in the department leaked news of the decision to the *Washington Post* November 8. The official review found no evidence whatsoever of illegal or violent activity by the CP.

The Justice Department, however, alleges close CP ties with the Soviet Union. This, it says, justifies a "foreign intelligence investigation" of the party.

This is the first public reversal of the FBI's "reorganization" announced last August. At that time, FBI chief Clarence Kelley ordered "domestic security investigations"—like those aimed at the Socialist Workers party and the Communist party—transferred from the intelligence division to the general investigative division.

There the cases were to be handled under new Justice Department guidelines. Under these rules (at least for the record) some hint of future illegal activity was to be required to continue spying on an organization.

Since the government has been unable to come up with evidence of illegalities by the CP, it's now tossing the CP operation back to the intelligence division.

The new guidelines devised for domestic cases are phony and filled to the brim with ambiguities and loopholes. But guidelines for foreign intelligence are *top secret*, and therefore nonexistent as far as public scrutiny goes.

The chance to continue unfettered spying on the CP is expected to give a big boost to the gutted morale of FBI agents. The spying on the CP will also make dozens of other organizations targets for FBI harassment on the grounds that they are "infiltrated" by the CP.

The bureau has suffered some stun-

ning defeats recently. The Socialist Workers party's lawsuit against government harassment forced the FBI to publicly declare in September that it was ending its investigation of the socialists.

"Court orders have forced Levi to call off harassment of the Socialist Workers Party," editorialized the CP's *Daily World* November 16. "An even-handed application of the courts' guidelines in the SWP cases would mean ending the McCarthyite persecution of the Communist Party."

The *World* went on to warn, "It would be a disastrous illusion to consider Levi's decision as directed against only the Communist Party. It is basically an effort to use the red herring, the 'Red menace' big lie to preserve the police-state COINTEL-PRO (Counter-Intelligence Program) with which to strike down any dissident, progressive or liberal that the FBI chooses as a target."

As in the case of the SWP, the FBI admits that it began spying on the CP in 1938. Several disruption campaigns, such as those that targeted Martin Luther King, Jr., and the NAACP, were initially justified on the spurious charge of CP infiltration.

The FBI's allegations of foreign connections or domination are by no means limited to the CP.

For example, this has been a straw grasped at by the government in its legal battle with the SWP. The socialists have some sinister connection with forces abroad, argue the spy agencies. Therefore the government has to keep an eye on the SWP.

The SWP has tirelessly explained that there is nothing mysterious about its solidarity with revolutionaries in other countries and its fraternal collaboration with the worldwide Trotskyist organization, the Fourth International.

Nor is there anything illegal about it.

A strong argument could be made that the Catholic church is "dominated" by foreign agents. And who has more "foreign connections" than U.S. "multinational" corporations?

Does the FBI consider *them* fair game for its "counterintelligence" operations? Obviously not.

"Returning the CP case to the intelligence division where all the dissident groups were before the shake-up is just the beginning," says Wendy Lyons of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the committee organizing support for the SWP's suit.

"The heat's on now, and the government has been forced to retreat, especially in its drive against the SWP. But if we let them get away with it, the spies will follow the CP move with others."

The Justice Department declined to comment on the *Post* report, saying it was not departmental policy to make statements every time a case was transferred, dropped, or begun.

No spokesperson of the CP was available for comment when the *Militant* called.

"The Justice Department decision to continue harassing the Communist party shows that the American people are far from victory in the fight against government attacks on constitutional rights," said Syd Stapleton, speaking for the SWP.

"With broad public support, the SWP lawsuit has forced the FBI to retreat on many fronts. But now is no time to relax our campaign.

"If the government continues to claim the right to spy on those with 'foreign connections,' then no one's rights are safe."

CIA to keep spying on SWP



'What's the matter . . . you want to stay free, don't you?'

Auth

"We have noted that information disseminated by the CIA to the FBI indicates a significant link between the Socialist Workers Party and a foreign based political group," states a newly released memo from Attorney General Edward Levi to FBI head Clarence Kelley.

It's one of the escape clauses in the Justice Department's "termination order" for spying on the SWP.

"This type of information should be carefully watched to see whether in the future a reconsideration of this case is required," continues the September 9 memo. "Similarly, if new facts or circumstances emerge which change the character of the group's domestic conduct in such a way as to justify investigation, a reconsideration would be in order."

The above document was turned over to the SWP at the time of Kelley's questioning by the socialists' attorney November 3.

The SWP's "significant" international link—which Levi told Kelley to keep his eyes on while keeping his eyes off the SWP—is not the dark secret that the government pretends it is.

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes testified about this matter under questioning by government attorneys in the socialists' lawsuit. He was asked about the Fourth International, the worldwide Trotskyist organization the SWP collaborates with. Barnes said:

"Revolutionaries believe that you must have an international organization that can share the experiences of revolutionaries in every country and analyze and see the world as a whole, the interrelated developments, and the general trends."

He went on to explain that revolutionaries realize that parties must be developed in each country, each with its own leadership.

"The Fourth International believes in democracy . . .," Barnes said. "The main purpose of the Fourth International is to apply the Marxist program and analyze world politics as a whole, and to aid the construction of revolutionary parties in every single country."

Out of this, the CIA has fashioned a distorted justification for spying on SWP members and their cothinkers all over the world.

Political Rights Defense Fund spokesperson Wendy Lyons points out that CIA spying overseas is sacrosanct, as far as Congress and the courts are concerned.

"Our challenge to the CIA's operations will be strengthened by the latest admission that the agency is collecting information on the Socialist Workers party, a group that even the FBI admits is guilty of no crime," Lyons said.

"We intend to pursue this aspect of our suit to the end." —N.C.

Devlin on U.S. tour: 'Don't hang the Murrays'

By Michael Maggi

"Dublin: Don't Hang Noel and Marie Murray!" declares the banner that hangs behind Bernadette Devlin McAliskey as she speaks during her sixteen-day U.S. tour.

Between November 8 and 11, McAliskey spoke to crowds of more than 400 at the University of Rhode Island in Kingston, 500 at Temple University in Philadelphia, 300 at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., and 500 at the University of Maryland in College Park.

More than 1,000 signatures were collected on petitions demanding that the Murrays not be hanged.

During an interview taped November 11 for ABC-TV's "Good Morning America," McAliskey appealed to the American people to send statements of protest to President-elect Patrick Hillery in Dublin.

The Murrays were tried and sentenced to death by Ireland's Special Criminal Court for bank robbery and murder of an off-duty policeman.

The Special Criminal Court tries only political cases. It doesn't use juries, and it hands out more severe sentences.

Regular courts, for example, sentence "regular" bank robbers to five or ten years in prison. But persons accused of robbing a bank for a political cause are liable to thirty or forty years in jail.

Neither the Murrays nor their attorneys were present during two-thirds of their trial. The only evidence submitted was police statements and a "confession" from Marie Murray obtained through torture. She repudiated the "confession" during the trial.

The Murrays may be executed on as little as twenty-four hours' notice after November 24, when Hillery is expected to sign the hanging order. These would be the first executions in Ireland in more than twenty years.

Among those Americans who have sent letters of protest to Dublin are U.S. Rep. Bella Abzug and New York City Council President Paul O'Dwyer.

"Official killing gives justification to violence and sets an example for others to follow," wrote O'Dwyer. "It creates an atmosphere of violence and lends encouragement to its use."

During the "Good Morning America" interview, ABC's Steve Bell

Continued on page 30



Militant/Marc Strumpf

BERNADETTE DEVLIN McALISKEY

Sadlowski gains in steel local voting

By Andy Rose

In early local voting on nominations, insurgent Ed Sadlowski is making an impressive showing in his campaign for president of the United Steelworkers of America.

"The members of our union are saying they want new leadership," Sadlowski said November 16.

"After one week of nominations," he announced, "we're on the ballot."

Between November 8 and December 7, USWA locals vote on who they will nominate for international president and the four other international offices as well as directors of the USWA's twenty-five districts.

Sadlowski and his Steelworkers Fight Back slate have already received nominations from more than 140 locals, topping the approximately 135 nominations required for a place on the February 8 ballot.

It is the first chance USWA members outside the Chicago-Gary District 31 (where Sadlowski won a landslide victory as district director in 1974) have had to record their opinions in the campaign.

Union members around the country—from basic steel to chemical workers, from fabricating shops to office and technical employees—are turning out to say they prefer Sadlow-

ski's platform of militant and democratic unionism to the procompany "business unionism" of incumbent President I.W. Abel and his hand-picked successor, Lloyd McBride.

In the Pittsburgh area, Sadlowski scored two-to-one victories over McBride at U.S. Steel's Clairton Works, Local 1557; Homestead Works, Local 1397; and National Tube Works, Local 1408.

Steelworkers Fight Back also won the nominations at Bethlehem Steel's Johnstown Works and many smaller locals in Pennsylvania.

In USWA District 9, Eastern Pennsylvania, Sadlowski had been nomi-

nated by two of the three largest locals.

Local 2610 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant, the largest local in District 8 (Baltimore), nominated Sadlowski by a five-to-one margin on November 15.

He has also won the nominations of the largest Ohio local, U.S. Steel's Lorain Works, and all major Cleveland locals that have voted so far.

In Abel's home District 27 (Canton, Ohio), the big Republic Steel Local 1200 nominated Sadlowski.

In the Detroit area, Sadlowski has already been nominated by Local 2015 at American Hoist and Local 7990, office and technical workers at McLouth Steel.

On the West Coast, Local 1440 backed the Steelworkers Fight Back slate by an eight-to-one margin. This local represents workers at U.S. Steel's Pittsburg, California, plant—the biggest basic steel mill in Northern California.

It is a foregone conclusion that McBride, who has the full backing of the international union bureaucracy, will receive the vast majority of nominations.

Steelworkers Fight Back can directly reach only a fraction of the USWA's 5,400 locals. But every local has regular contact with an international staff representative. And right now the top priority of the staff is to get nominations for McBride.

In Pittsburgh and other areas, there have been reports of threats and strong-arm tactics to pressure locals to nominate the self-styled "official family" slate.

In this context, Sadlowski's victory in many basic steel locals whose leaderships are in the hands of the Abel machine—and his ability to go far above the minimum required nominations—is a real show of strength. It testifies to the growing rank-and-file revolt in steel.

Abel sued for misuse of union newspaper

PITTSBURGH—Ed Sadlowski filed suit in federal district court here November 10 against the United Steelworkers of America and three of its top officials.

He charged that they are withholding information necessary to effectively monitor the election and are using the union's monthly newspaper, *Steel Labor*, to attack his candidacy for union president.

Federal labor law prohibits the discriminatory use of union resources to promote or attack any candidate for union office.

According to attorney Joseph Rauh, who represents Sadlowski, "The USWA officers are guilty of a flagrant violation of the law. They use the union's money and list to mail their *Steel Labor* attacks on Sadlowski into every steelworker's home.

"The only way we can restore any semblance of fairness," Rush added, "is to obtain a court order requiring an immediate end to this discrimination and giving Sadlowski a chance

to rebut the attacks."

The May 1976 issue of *Steel Labor* carried a major editorial by outgoing USWA President I.W. Abel criticizing Sadlowski's support to candidates in local elections.

"Abel failed to mention," Sadlowski says, "that I actively campaigned only at my home local or that the real reason for his griping was that independent insurgents knocked off deadwood leadership in many major locals."

The August issue featured an editorial blasting Victor Reuther, a longtime leader of the United Auto Workers, for endorsing Sadlowski's union reform efforts.

Both the September and October issues of *Steel Labor* contain reprints of Abel's August 30 address to the USWA convention in Las Vegas. Abel repeatedly attacked "outsiders" who he claimed are trying to take over the USWA and its "healthy treasury." Abel

specifically named Sadlowski's campaign organization—Steelworkers Fight Back—as one such group.

Sadlowski's court complaint also charges that the USWA officialdom will not provide him with information needed to monitor the polling and vote tabulation at the union's 5,400 locals.

"Once again," Sadlowski charged, "the insiders are making a mockery of union democracy. To keep their grip on the union they'll stop at nothing to control this election."

In separate legal action, attorneys for Ignacio "Nash" Rodriguez, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for USWA secretary, filed suit against the union leadership November 4 in Los Angeles.

The suit charges that Rodriguez was illegally removed from his position as local president of Local 1549 in Los Angeles as a political reprisal for running on the Sadlowski slate.

Fight Back slate welcomed by Chicago rally

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—Ed Sadlowski's slate of candidates for international officers of the United Steelworkers of America received a rousing welcome from more than 250 District 31 steelworkers at an October 25 rally here.

Sadlowski's running mates—Oliver Montgomery, Ignacio "Nash" Rodriguez, Marvin Weinstock, and Andrew Kmec—had traveled to Chicago over the Veterans Day weekend for a campaign strategy session with Sadlowski and campaign coordinators from around the country.

The candidate for vice-president for administration, Marvin Weinstock, reported on a recent campaign tour by Sadlowski and himself in Canada.

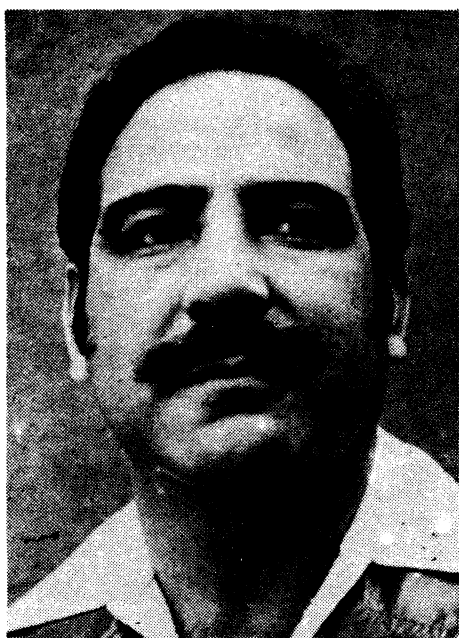
"Our Canadian brothers face the same problems we do, and they want the same kind of changes," Weinstock commented.

"Their problems are a union gone so distant from the members that many steelworkers didn't even know the name of their district director, and they hadn't seen a staffman for years," he asserted.

"The ENA [Experimental Negotiating Agreement—current USWA President I.W. Abel's no-strike deal with the companies] is not in effect in Canada, but I told them that it is still an issue in Canada because the ENA is a reflection of the union's leadership.

"A leadership whose buddy-buddy attitude toward the steel corporations, and looking to 'friends at the top,' has left steelworkers at the bottom without a defense," Weinstock said.

Nash Rodriguez noted that the appointment of Black Tennessee staff-



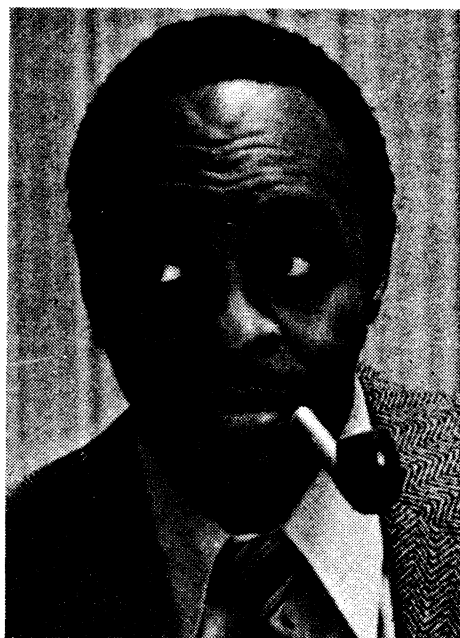
'NASH' RODRIGUEZ: Credits Sadlowski for gains in minority representation in union.

person Leon Lynch as interim vice-president for human affairs was a step forward toward minority representation in the steelworkers union.

"However," the California steelworker said, "if it wasn't for the likes of Ed Sadlowski and the people he represents, there would have been no appointment of Leon Lynch."

Lynch was appointed at the last USWA convention so that the "official family" slate would include a Black member. For years before, Blacks had been refused representation in the top union leadership.

During the wide-ranging question



OLIVER MONTGOMERY: Condemns 'chauvinist attitude' among union leaders toward women workers.

period, all members of the slate took the floor to answer questions from the assembled steelworkers.

A number of familiar issues were raised: opposition to the ENA, support for membership ratification of basic steel contracts, a restructuring of union dues, and an increase of membership control of union affairs.

Montgomery said that opposition to the ENA had been "the basic driving force that has welded the team together."

Weinstock commented, "We should learn a few lessons from history while we are making it. If we had the ENA

in the 1930s and 1940s, would we have union shops, pensions, hospitalization benefits, paid holidays today?" he asked. "The answer is obvious."

Montgomery deplored "the chauvinist attitude" among the union's leaders toward women members. "The existing attitude dates back to the Dark Ages, and we need a sensitivity training on all levels of the union," he said. He said he supported creation of a women's department in the international union.

In response to a question Sadlowski declared that neither Jimmy Carter nor the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill offers any solution to layoffs. "What we have to do is to turn the labor movement around to afford everyone an equal distribution of the wealth that we produce. American labor should share the wealth that we alone create," Sadlowski said.

He also said it was time the decades-old demand for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay be implemented.

In concluding Sadlowski defended Mexicans and other immigrants who have been labeled "illegal aliens" and blamed for unemployment by some figures both inside and outside the union movement.

"They [the employers] throw open the doors to this country to the humble and poor when they need their railroads built, swamps drained, and blast furnaces tended, and they throw them out when they can't give them jobs.

"I don't believe we should have fences around this country. We should be looking at ourselves as citizens of the world," Sadlowski concluded.

Don't let them die!

Utah is now hiring gunmen to carry out the first execution in the United States since 1967.

Ireland is bringing in a hangman all the way from Rhodesia to perform that country's first execution in thirty years.

The plight of Marie and Noel Murray, two Irish nationalists, is symbolic of what the death penalty—whether in Ireland or the United States—is all about.

The Murrays had no jury trial. Instead they were declared guilty by a special court set up to deal with political prisoners.

The only evidence against them was a confession extorted by torture and intimidation, a confession the prisoners later denied.

The Irish government is so anxious to get the executions over with quickly and quietly that it has taken court action against Irish publications that have commented on the case.

Nothing can gloss over the truth: hanging the Murrays is a brutal—though legalized—murder.

Only a worldwide outcry can save the Murrays. And only a united campaign can prevent the electrocutions, gassings, hangings, and shootings from beginning again in this country. We must all join together to demand:

Don't murder Marie and Noel Murray!

Stop the executions!

End spying on CP

The FBI's decision to continue spying on the Communist party is a threat to the rights of all Americans. (See page 8.) The phony excuse of CP links to Soviet "agents" is a smoke screen to mask the government's continued use of unconstitutional disruption campaigns.

According to the *Washington Post*, the FBI's most recent rundown on CP activities includes distributing publications to workers and "endeavoring to gain public recognition as a legitimate political party." Hardly a sinister threat to "national security."

The official Justice Department go-ahead for FBI agents to harass members and supporters of the CP is expected to lift spirits at FBI headquarters. Morale there has disintegrated recently, especially since the Socialist Workers party's lawsuit forced a series of unprecedented government retreats.

The socialists' broadly supported legal action has resulted in victories for all working people in this country. But as long as the Justice Department can carry on business as usual against the CP and other dissenters, there's still much to be done.

A November 16 editorial in the *Daily World*, newspaper of the CP, urges everyone to "unite to demand [the Justice Department decision] be annulled."

We agree.

Affirmative action

The Labor Department's latest retreat on enforcement of affirmative-action programs is an assault on the right of women, Blacks, and other minorities. (See page 4.) It goes hand in hand with attacks on abortion rights, busing, and the Equal rights Amendment—all attempts to roll back the gains of the civil rights and women's liberation movements.

Affirmative-action measures, such as quotas for preferential hiring and advancement, are the only way the victims of centuries of discrimination can achieve genuine equality in jobs and education.

Why does the attack on these programs come now?

It is part of the war by America's wealthy rulers against all working people. It is aimed at forcing us to pay for capitalism's economic woes through lower wages, higher unemployment, and cuts in social services. By singling out women and minorities—the most oppressed workers—to bear the brunt of these attacks, the capitalists hope to divide and weaken the working class, thus avoiding a united response.

Women's and Black groups have begun to organize protest actions against the new guidelines. More and larger protests are urgently needed. The trade-union movement should rally to the defense of the most oppressed workers and add its massive power to this campaign.

Keep on keeping on

We in the National Alliance of Black Feminists thank you for the very good coverage you have been giving our organization such as the articles "If anyone needs the ERA, it's Black Women!" (May 7, 1976) and "Congress' anti-abortion vote stirs outrage" (October 8) to name just a few.

The next time we have a newsworthy event which is national in scope, we will certainly forward you a press release.

Keep on keeping on with your great paper!

Brenda D. Eichelberger

Executive director

National Alliance of Black Feminists
Chicago, Illinois

Questions about Cuba

The in-depth feature questioning the "socialist" nature of the current regime in Angola, "Angola: behind the MPLA's 'socialist' mask," (*Militant*, August 27), was fascinating and quite thought-provoking.

However, the feature also raises some other questions, which the *Militant* has an obligation to further pursue.

In your coverage of Angola, you are quite critical of the role of Cuba and Cuban troops for their aid allegedly being given to help the Angolan government establish a repressive atmosphere. This needs some further discussion.

If Cuba is indeed guilty of such actions, then this must—to some extent, at least—serve as a reflection on current Cuban society and the Cuban government. If it is the contention of the *Militant* that Cuba is joining the Soviet Union as a so-called social-imperialist power, then you need to say so and to analyze any current shortcomings in Cuba and where the Cuban revolution may have "gone wrong." And if this is your contention, would it also be your contention that the current leadership in Cuba—including Castro—have "betrayed" the Cuban revolution, as has been alleged against Stalin in his "betrayal" of the Russian revolution?

If memory serves me, Stalin once observed that it is impossible for one country to occupy another without imposing its own social-political system. While the *Militant* would not endorse the philosophy of Joseph Stalin, it seems that this one observation of the late Soviet dictator holds some validity. And if this is a correct observation, could it also be said that Cuba is imposing "its own" social-political system on Angola through its military forces?

The *Militant* owes it to its readers to examine this.

Northwest reader
Boise, Idaho

Candidates & gay rights

Although I haven't read the *Militant* in a long time, I recently picked up the issues of October 15 and 29. In these issues there are detailed descriptions of the Socialist Workers party election platform. Nowhere did I see any statement of support for the rights of gay people.

It is important for gay voters to know where candidates stand on this issue. In many states there are bills in the works to repeal sodomy statutes which provide a legal basis for the harassment of homosexuals. Also in various states and in the U.S. Congress there are bills on the floor to outlaw discrimination against gays.

Such legislation is of vital importance to twenty million gay Americans.

In the past I knew I could count on the SWP to claim to support the gay struggle. It was never said how the SWP would take up the struggle, but its unbacked claim was still more than most leftist groups would offer. I'm sorry that what little you put forward apparently got forgotten, withdrawn, or ignored; but considering how vague it was, I can see how that happened. J.F.

San Francisco, California

[Editor's note—You can still count on the SWP to support the fight for gay rights. Among other recent issues of the *Militant*, the October 22 issue—which J.F. apparently missed—contained clear statements of the SWP's position in support of full democratic and human rights for gays, on pages 2 and 28.]

The real criminals

Who are the real criminals that should be brought to justice and be punished for their crimes? Like the men who shot down Martin L. King or gunned down Malcolm X in cold blood. Did these men get punished for what they did? Instead they were set free to kill again.

Every time a law is broken the Black man has to pay, even if he did not do it. Just as long as he is Black. They feel as though someone Black has to be punished.

But what and who are the real lawbreakers? The man in the big house—the one who gets away with anything. Like Nixon got off with a pardon and did not have to pay for what he had done. Did they pardon Angela Davis for the time she spent in jail on a trumped-up charge? Instead she paid and did her time.

But we are not really free and we will always be the "guilty" ones as long as justice is not done.

L.C. Jackson
Tacoma, Washington

How they count votes

Voting tabulations here in Rochester are typical of how capitalists count votes. Even though I voted Socialist Workers, the official vote tally for the SWP in Rochester is zero. City election officials only give me the runaround. Another third-party local candidate that I voted for also received zero votes. The SWP made a lot of new friends and supporters and educated people about socialism. That's the most important part of the election campaign.

R.R.
Rochester, New Hampshire

Suggestion for FBI

I came across this letter to the editor in October in the Sunday issue of the *Oregonian*, the major daily newspaper in Portland:

"At last I've thought of a suitable use for the many FBI agents and their myriad of paid informers who face unemployment now that it's no longer a crime to belong to the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers' Party and similar organizations.

"Why not put these persons into Oregon's national forests to catch the lognabbers who are carting off thousands of dollars worth of logs every year? If they display the same zeal in pursuing these criminals that they did in persecuting people for their political beliefs and spying on the sex

Capitalism in Crisis

Andy Rose



Is a tax cut coming?

lives of public officials, they should soon have the problem under control.

"Saving our forests from subversion by real criminals is surely more important than past attempts to save the country from largely imaginary political subversion, most of which existed only in J. Edgar's mind."

Linda M. Malanchuk
Portland, Oregon

The American way of life

I had a nasty experience at school. My teacher wanted to see who would win the election if only my class voted. She gave us small pieces of paper on which we were supposed to write who we wanted for president. Next, she wrote "Carter" and "Ford" on the blackboard. I called her to my desk and told her she forgot to write Peter Camejo's name. She looked at me sort of disgusted.

Naturally I wrote Camejo as my vote. Shortly afterwards she collected the pieces of paper with our votes on them and gave them to one of my classmates. Then she gave a piece of chalk to another student to put marks on the blackboard in front of Carter or Ford.

When my classmate got to my vote, she showed it to my teacher instead of reading it out loud. My teacher snatched it away from her and threw it into the trash.

When I told my father about it he said he was disgusted with her. He also said he would try to find time to go down to my school and raise hell with my teacher for not putting my vote down when I voted for someone who is on the ballot for president.
Sara Stanciliff
San Francisco, California

Inhuman labor practices

In Minnesota some 5,000 migrant workers have filed a suit in U.S. District Court, St. Paul, against Owatonna Canning Company of Owatonna, Minnesota. The suit charges that employment officials in Minnesota and Texas, and the federal government, "conspired to force them to work for Owatonna Canning Company under substandard conditions for less than the federal minimum wage." The Legal Assistance of Ramsey County (LARC) is representing the farm workers.

Some of the improper labor practices cited involve wages and hours, recruitment, housing, and child-labor violations. The workers charge that these violations exist with the knowledge of the government.

Instances of children as young as five working twelve-hour shifts, seven days a week, have been cited. Federal employees have given the companies advance warning of their visits, so children may be pulled from the fields before officials arrive.

Average wages paid to farm workers by Owatonna Canning Company during the April to June asparagus season were fifty to seventy cents an hour—many families say they were not paid at all.

K. H.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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.

The odds are good that one of the Carter administration's first economic policy actions will be a modest tax cut, perhaps an income-tax rebate like the one in 1975. But the odds are close to zero that this will provide the millions of jobs that are needed, or halt the decline in the standard of living of working people.

In a recent column I pointed to one reason why the recovery is sputtering out: Workers' real wages are down and therefore cannot boost retail sales—the necessary first step in capitalist economic recovery.

There is another big factor: the government's refusal to stimulate the economy toward faster growth. By spending more than it receives in taxes, the government can increase the purchasing power of workers and businesses. This "pump priming" spurs economic recovery. (It also causes inflation, but that's another story.)

Many economists now agree, *Business Week* magazine reported October 18, that "an overly cautious governmental hand on monetary and fiscal policy has played a major role in the protracted slowdown."

There is a myth—spread by liberal Democratic politicians and their apologists in the labor officialdom—that conservative government spending policies are solely the result of Ford's vetoes. Not so.

As *Business Week* noted, the congressional budget resolutions for the current fiscal year—drafted and adopted by the Democratic party majority—set spending "about \$10 billion lower than the level . . . needed to maintain last year's level of government services." So, all vetoes aside, that's \$10 billion in new cutbacks that we've got nobody to thank for but the Democrats.

The real program of both the Democratic and Republican parties is for continuing high unemployment and cutbacks in social services. It's not the ten million workers without jobs that has them worried. Now, however, they see a danger that the "pause" in the recovery may turn into a new full-fledged slump, which would slash corporate profits at home and jeopardize the entire world financial structure. This is why capitalist politicians and economists are beginning to urge some additional stimulus for the U.S. economy.

For example, Carter's chief economic adviser, Lawrence Klein, switched his position last month. Klein now calls for stimulus of \$5 billion to \$10 billion next year through some combination of increased

spending and reduced taxes. "What really scares me are the signs of a worldwide slowdown with the economies of the West becoming increasingly synchronized," Klein warned.

"The gloom here is mild compared to sentiment across the Atlantic," says Wall Street's Argus Research Corporation. Argus predicts that "the growth of most European economies during 1977 will be, at best, slightly worse than in 1976 and, at worst, nearly disastrous."

Lawrence Brainard, chief European economist for the Chase Manhattan Bank, agrees: "Everyone has underestimated the European slowdown," he says. "It's much worse than most people think."

The capitalists of these countries are pressing the United States, as the strongest imperialist power, to stimulate its economy, provide a bigger market for their exports, and (they hope) head off the threatening disaster. The U.S. ruling class is weighing these appeals and will decide whether and how much to stimulate. Their decision has nothing to do with which of their two political parties occupies the White House.

None of this offers much hope for the poor and the unemployed, though. Note:

- Even a \$10 billion spending increase—the figure most commonly thrown around today—would only maintain services at their present inadequate level.

- Carter insists that any tax cut or spending increase next year must fit into his plan for a balanced federal budget by 1980—in other words, more cutbacks ahead.

- As for aid to the cities, Carter's representative admonished the recent U.S. Conference of Mayors: "There'll be no turning the spigots on and trying to solve the problems by throwing money at them."

- In exchange for whatever tax cut the ruling class decides on, workers will very likely be asked to accept "voluntary" wage controls.

In short, neither capitalist party is proposing anything remotely like the kind of massive programs needed to provide jobs and social services.

It's not that the politicians are shortsighted and missing an easy way to cure the slowdown. From the standpoint of capitalist profits, there are good reasons *not* to stimulate the economy, even at the risk of a severe slump. We'll take those reasons up in the next column.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Con games & rip-offs

DENVER—The victimization of immigrant workers without visas by *estafadores* (swindlers) was brought to light recently in Los Angeles.

A hearing held by Los Angeles City Attorney Burt Pines revealed that tens of thousands of undocumented workers are regularly shafted by their employers, immigration consultants, and consumer frauds.

One witness, Alonso Zavala, told how he was cheated by a car dealer. He was led to believe he was buying a station wagon for \$4,800. Zavala speaks only Spanish, however, and the contract he signed was in English. Later he found out he had signed a contract obligating him for \$8,300. This included \$721 for car insurance, \$514 for life and disability insurance, and \$2,100 in finance charges.

Another con game played on *mexicanos* without papers is fake marriages.

José León testified that an immigration consultant told him he could obtain immigration papers by marrying an American citizen. For \$1,300 the shyster arranged a sham "marriage" to a woman León had never met before. It took place in the consultant's office.

The ploy did not work. But León never got back a dime of his \$1,300.

City Councilperson Arthur Snyder also appeared as a witness. Snyder's district encompasses one of East Los Angeles's most impoverished barrios.

Snyder testified that undocumented *mexicanos* often work for as little as a dollar an hour under inhuman, unsafe working conditions.

He also cited an example of the kind of extortion employers commonly practice. The manager of a certain laundry plant charges undocumented workers \$200 to get a job. He then fires the person after a couple of months, hires a replacement, and collects another \$200.

The victims are hesitant to complain because the manager threatens to call *la migra* and have them deported.

The biggest racket still remains that of the *coyotes*, who charge money to smuggle workers across the border. The going price is now as much as \$500 per trip from the interior of Mexico to a northern or midwestern U.S. city.

Reports of dozens of such rackets have reached the news media over the past couple of years. The United Farm Workers paper, *El Malcriado*, has reported that farm workers are particularly frequent victims. It documented cases of *campesinos* who were charged exorbitant rates for company housing, meals, and other services. When these charges were subtracted from their pay, the farm workers often ended up—after a full week's work—with literally pennies!

A Dallas newspaper recently called these abuses a form of slavery, and rightly so. But the only solution it offered was enactment of more restrictive immigration laws.

The only real solution is quite simple. Give full rights to all who live here. As long as human beings are held to be "illegal," they will inevitably be the victims of extortion and corruption.

Harry Ring



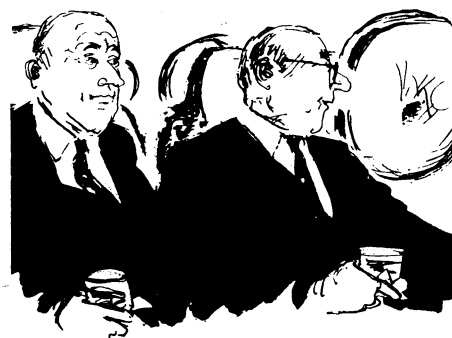
Fills the bill—Louisiana Gov. Edwin Edwards, who admitted that while in Congress he accepted such items as a \$900 table and that his wife took \$10,000 in cash from a Korean businessman, was named to a six-governor task force on promoting trade with foreign nations.

Materialism rears ugly head—A group of British clergy are trying to organize a union, aiming at "the speedy and efficient settlement of the problems surrounding the future re-

muneration and deployment of the clergy." The bishop, we understand, advised that they'll be deployed to the sky and remunerated with pie.

Sounds reasonable—Bayshore Foods is planning to market an all-chicken hot dog. How will it taste? Just like an all-beef frank, the company assures.

Passportmania—The French government decreed every horse in the country must have an ID including



'How little we really own, Tom, when you consider all there is to own.'

breed, age, name, sex, and particular features. They probably won't be able to register at a stable without one.

All heart—A Los Angeles-area doctor pleaded no contest to hiring an underground cop to murder his wife. Since the couple was reconciled by the time of the trial, the doc was let off. He then asked the police to return the \$1,000 deposit he had paid for the projected hit. After the media reported this, he proposed the money be used for Xmas gifts for needy children.

Women in Revolt

Blacks and the ERA

[The following is a guest column by Reba Williams, a member of the Action Coalition for the Equal Rights Amendment in Boston.]

BOSTON—An important victory for women was won in Massachusetts on November 2. Sixty-one percent of the voters ratified a state Equal Rights Amendment. Ballot Question 1, which said, "Equality under the law shall not be denied or abridged because of sex, race, color, creed or national origin," is now part of the state's constitution.

Right-wing opponents of women's rights must be very disappointed. They had scored heavily last year when state ERAs were defeated in New York and New Jersey. Confident that this trend would continue, Phyllis Schlafly, national leader of Stop ERA, called Massachusetts the "bellwether" state. If voters rejected the ERA here, she said, it would spell doom for the amendment around the country.

Schlafly was on the right track in assessing the national ramifications of our referendum. But she was dead wrong in thinking that the tide of public opinion was turning against the ERA.

Support for the Massachusetts ERA was especially high among Blacks. A September 26 poll conducted by the Boston *Herald-American* showed 97 percent of the Black community backing it.

However, the *Bay State Banner*, the Black community paper, came out for a "no" vote on the ERA. Its October 14 editorial mistakenly argued that passage of the amendment would cripple affirmative-action programs for Blacks by enabling courts to outlaw these programs as discriminatory against whites. The editorial completely ignored the special problems and discrimination faced by Black women—more than half of our community.

Black women have a dual fight. We have to fight racism because we are Black. And we have to fight sexism because we are women. *Black women—and the whole Black community—need the ERA.*

This was emphasized in a letter responding to the editorial published in the October 28 *Banner*. It was signed by: Percy Wilson, director, Roxbury Multi-Service Center; Doug Butler, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Pat Bonner-Lyons, director, Aswalos House; Jackie Cooper, director, Roxbury YMCA; Maceo Dixon, national coordinator, National Student Coalition Against Racism; Laura Morris, Family Service Association; and Mac Warren, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in the Ninth Congressional District.

Unlike the *Banner*, these Black leaders applauded Black support for the ERA as a reflection of "the firm commitment of our community to the concept of equal rights for all, including women."

Cindy Jaquith



As for affirmative action, Blacks and women have fought together for these programs to help redress centuries of discrimination. To say that a constitutional amendment outlawing race and sex discrimination hurts this fight makes no sense. As the Black community leaders wrote in their letter, the ERA would be a "weapon" in this fight, providing a "great impetus to furthering the fight to defend and extend affirmative action."

Their letter pointed out that the NAACP and many other Black organizations support the ERA. It then pointed to the ERA's enemies: ROAR; the Ku Klux Klan; and the John Birch Society.

"These forces, which are behind the campaign to defeat the ERA, are also those which have backed the racist campaign against school desegregation, here and around the country," the letter said.

"They are the ones who are opposed to affirmative action, and any other efforts to eliminate racist and sexist discrimination. The defeat of the ERA would be a victory for all those who want to turn back the clock in the fight for equal rights."

The letter concluded, "The black community, and above all black women, need the ERA. It is part of the battle for human equality and its passage is long overdue. . . . Vote yes on Question 1!"

We did, and we won!

By Any Means Necessary

What Blacks expect

As I was saying last week, Jimmy Carter has an important appointment to keep with Black people for giving him his winning margin. That's all that's been said and written by Blacks since November 3: What the Black community expects.

And after digging through a mound of newspapers this high, and searching through a stack of news releases this thick, these tired eyes have come across only one headline that said: "Miracles excluded."

"I would expect him to address himself to the entire problem of poverty and repression, to offer relief where jobs are concerned, meaningful jobs with dignity for the young as well as for adults," said Ralph Abernathy.

"I would hope he would have more success in dealing with institutionalized racism in the federal government than he had with racism in his church," said Carlton Goodlett, head of the Black National Newspaper Publishers Association.

The National Urban League's Vernon Jordan says that "a decent job at a decent wage for all" ought to be a goal of the Carter administration.

"Above all, Blacks expect from Carter full protection of our citizenship and constitutional

rights: a policy abroad that will give us the ability to hold up our face in Africa and other parts of the world," said Roy Wilkins.

Amsterdam News columnist LaMont Flanagan writes, "We expect Carter to alleviate the miseries that beset minorities."

"The Black vote," Flanagan points out, "came from the hearts of the average Black citizen who is unemployed, the average Black housewife who can't make ends meet in the purchasing of food and clothing for her family, the employed father who must spend his paycheck prior to receiving it, and the distraught Black person that feels society has forgotten his existence."

Lorraine Branham, *Philadelphia Tribune* reporter, wrote that "Blacks would like to see brothers and sisters in the executive branch of the government, but they would also like some jobs, and food on their table. They are not going to be satisfied with skimpy handouts. The people who saw fit to elect Carter to office, the Black urban dwellers, want to see some solutions to the problems that plague them—employment, housing, education, health care, day care and transportation."

Baxter Smith



Of course all this outlines a picture of urgency, but Carter says he is concerned. He has pledged himself to solve the problems of Blacks.

Before his election he promised to display "a commitment to equal justice that has been so often lacking for eight years." He told a New York audience he would work to bring an end to discrimination "against the poor and the average working American family." He told Blacks he would "restore that protection" of which they are robbed by racial discrimination.

Carter, in so many words, has therefore promised to do what Abernathy, Goodlett, Jordan, Wilkins, and other Blacks expect of him.

He is intending to end "the entire problem of poverty and repression."

He is planning on "success in dealing with institutionalized racism in the federal government."

And he is planning to make available "a decent job at a decent wage for all."

So, smarty-pants of the world. Label me a circle among squares, if you like, a black jelly bean in a jar of white ones. But I'm not going for it. Miracles are excluded.

Raza Unida parties assess Nov. 2 voting

California

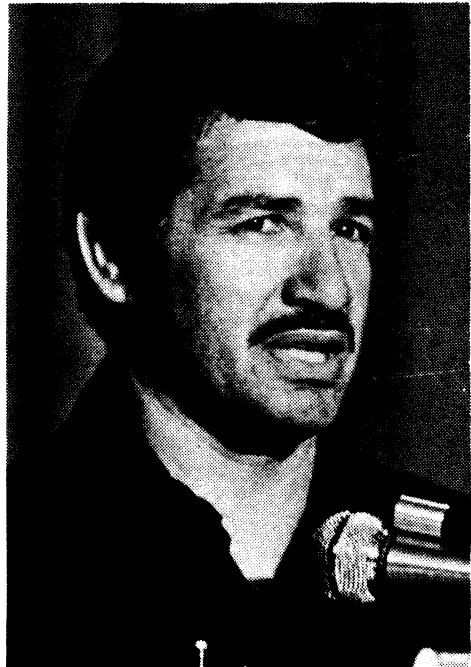
By Steve Warshell

LOS ANGELES—The Raza Unida party scored important successes in its two campaigns for state assembly here.

In the Thirty-ninth Assembly District RUP state chairperson Andrés Torres received 4.5 percent of the vote. In the Sixty-third A.D. José Gonzales won 3.9 percent.

Both Torres and Gonzales ran against Democratic, Republican, and Peace and Freedom party opponents. The two RUP candidates outdistanced their Peace and Freedom challengers and did better than expected in gerrymandered districts where an *anglo* electoral majority is assured.

The Los Angeles RUP's successful legal challenge to the California elec-



ANDRES TORRES Militant/Henry Snipper

tion code was an important victory for the Chicano party.

In 1973 the Raza Unida party, Socialist Workers party, and several other groups joined together in a lawsuit sponsored by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws. The suit was aimed at striking down laws that make it almost impossible for smaller parties to gain ballot status in California.

Although the courts have not yet handed down a final decision on the suit, it was decided that the party could have ballot status by obtaining the signatures of 3 percent of the

registered voters on petitions.

On the basis of this ruling, the RUP petitioned over the summer, gathering more than enough signatures to place four candidates on the ballot in Los Angeles county.

The board of elections, however, undemocratically ruled that three of the four—Ricardo Pérez, Abel Mendoza, and Andrés Torres—had not met all the requirements. Of the three, only Torres was successful in overturning the board's ruling.

Torres told the *Militant* he was satisfied with the results of the election.

"Considering the problems we had—such as lack of money, our problems with getting on the ballot, and our late start in campaigning (we made the decision to run on July 10)—we did well in the voting. We were expecting only about 1 percent of the vote, but both José and I did much better than that."

Colorado

By Miguel Pendás

DENVER—Unofficial vote totals are now in for the two candidates fielded by the Colorado Raza Unida party in this year's elections. Both RUP candidates ran for office in Pueblo, Colorado, about one hundred miles south of Denver.

Joseph Eddy Montour, RUP candidate for county commissioner in Pueblo's First District, polled 3,849 votes—nearly 9 percent of the total. Democrat Charles Williams won the race with 26,191. Williams was trailed by the Republican, Mildred Hall, who received 13,948.

In the race for U.S. Congress in the Third Congressional District, RUP challenger Alfredo Archer won 719 votes.

The contest was won by incumbent Democrat Frank Evans, who tallied 24,796 votes.

Texas

By Steve Wattenmaker

Unofficial and partial vote returns for the Texas Raza Unida party point to mixed results for the party this year.

In Crystal City and Zavala County, where RUP members have held elected office for several years, the party "held its own," according to Zavala County judge and RUP founder José Angel



Militant/Harry Ring

MARIA ELENA MARTINEZ

Gutiérrez.

Five Raza Unida candidates won their elections in Zavala County. In the important race for county sheriff, however, RUP candidate Crespín Treviño lost to Democrat Elfeño Martínez.

Texas RUP state Chairperson Maria Elena Martínez observed that the Democrats are now running more Chicanos for office around the state to undercut the RUP's growing support.

"It's no longer the Chicano against the *anglo*," Martínez told the *Militant*. "Many Chicanos do not understand the difference between the Raza Unida party and the Democratic party. We have a big educational job to do."

As of this writing unofficial vote totals are available for only two other RUP candidates.

In the statewide contest for Texas railroad commissioner, RUP candidate Fred Garza unofficially received 64,000 votes, and Ramón Carrillo, Raza Unida candidate for U.S. Congress in the Twenty-first C.D. near San Antonio, reportedly won 5 percent of the vote.

New Mexico

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—New Mexico Raza Unida party candidates achieved impressive results in the November 2 elections.

Ernesto Borunda, candidate for U.S.

Senate, polled 1,021 votes. Borunda was running against Mexican-American incumbent Joseph Montoya and former astronaut Harrison Schmitt, the Republican winner.

Sam Sánchez, RUP candidate for state corporation commissioner, received 2,952 votes. Jesús Aragón, running for U.S. Congress in northern New Mexico's First C.D., tallied 1,319.

About 300,000 New Mexico voters turned out November 2.

This was the first election in which the New Mexico RUP has run a statewide ticket. In a telephone interview, state party Chairperson Juan José Peña told the *Militant* he thought the party's vote was "damned good."

In a particularly impressive showing RUP candidates took 11 percent of the vote in Rio Arriba county. Rio Arriba, a rural area in the northern part of the state, has long been dominated by the Democratic party machine of former Sheriff Emilio Naranjo.

RUP activists there have been subjected to a virtual reign of terror. RUP county Chairperson Antonio DeVargas has been arrested on phony charges several times. The home of Moisés Morales, RUP candidate for sheriff, was burned to the ground shortly after he announced his candidacy last spring.

DeVargas, running for county commissioner, got 923 votes. The rest of the RUP slate garnered between 437 and 699 votes.

A total of about 9,800 residents of Rio Arriba county voted in the election.

The Socialist Workers party presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid received 2,339 votes in the state. Camejo, whose campaign was endorsed by the New Mexico Raza Unida party, campaigned in the state under RUP auspices.

Juan José Peña said he thought the election results—including the vote for Camejo—were significant and encouraging.

"This is the first time we tried a statewide race," he commented. "The results let people know that the RUP is a serious party. People will see us as a serious contender."

Peña said that the RUP wants to run a full slate of candidates in the 1978 elections for local, state, and national offices. The party, he said, is discussing the possibility of launching the 1978 campaign at its next convention in April 1977.

Dems threaten \$1.5 million Crystal City grant

By John Cannon

SAN ANTONIO—An October 28 ruling by U.S. District Judge Jack Roberts threatens a \$1.5 million federal grant won by Chicanos in Zavala County. The grant was earmarked for the establishment of a 1,000-acre cooperative farm, a savings and loan firm, and an import-export business in Crystal City.

Crystal City is a southern Texas town whose large Chicano population has elected a Raza Unida party administration.

Roberts's ruling came after Texas Gov. Dolph Briscoe, a Democrat, prompted the state to bring suit against the Zavala County Economic Development Corporation (EDC), the recipient of the federal grant. Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, a founding leader of the Texas Raza Unida party, is EDC board chairperson.

The state's suit charges that the federal government and the U.S. Community Services Administration violated laws requiring state review of such grants before they are made final.

In his October 28 ruling Roberts granted the state of Texas sixty days to review the grant. The effect of this is

to delay all EDC expenditures of federal money until December. Gutiérrez says this may put the EDC out of business.

"There's no way we can hang on for another sixty days. . . no way," he said. "We're probably going to let our staff go. We'll probably just close down our offices."

Gutiérrez says the EDC will immediately appeal Roberts's order to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The appeal will seek to win interim funding for the projects until a final decision is made.

"I think we'll win the appeal," he said. "If we can get a favorable ruling [quickly], well, maybe we can stay in business."

Governor Briscoe has demagogically opposed the EDC project. He has made headlines by charging that the Raza Unida party is seeking to set up a "little Cuba on Texas soil."

Gutiérrez says that Briscoe's hysterical opposition to these plans to improve the lives of Zavala County Chicanos is motivated by fear that the governor's own farming and banking interests in neighboring Uvalde County may be threatened.

Texas Raza Unida party Chairperson Maria Elena Martínez told the *Militant* that Judge Roberts's ruling shows him to be "very insensitive to the people's needs." His ruling "may detain or even ruin the spring crop," Martínez said. "The people's needs should have more priority than Briscoe's feelings."

And the people's needs in Zavala County are large. According to Gutiérrez,

the unemployment rate is 62 percent in Zavala County and 43 percent in Crystal City. If the federal grants had been cleared, "\$160,000 in welfare payments now going to persons who would be employed could be saved."

The EDC could help improve the lives of the 1,300 Chicano families who earn less than poverty level incomes.

Continued on page 30



Militant/Howard Petrick

POVERTY IN CRYSTAL CITY. Grant would aid 1,300 poor families.

Another FBI attack on AIM

Skyhorse, Mohawk go on trial for murder

By Dave Brown

LOS ANGELES—Two American Indian Movement activists—Paul Durant Skyhorse and Richard Billings Mohawk—are on trial for murder in Ventura, California, just a few miles from here.

They are charged with killing a cab driver at a camp in the Box Canyon Hills of Ventura County. But the involvement of two FBI agents provocateurs in the case and other evidence shows that this is yet another frame-up in the government's long campaign to destroy AIM.

One of the FBI informers is Virginia DeLuce, a white woman who passed herself off as an Indian named Blue Dove. She spent the day of the murder with Skyhorse and Mohawk and drove them to the camp where the slaying occurred. Officials have since identified her as an FBI agent in AIM.

DeLuce had previously functioned in United People for Wounded Knee, a Los Angeles group organized to win support for the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

Even more significant is the role of Douglas Durham, who had worked his way up the AIM ladder to the post of national security director. He has admitted that he was an FBI operative from the outset.

When the media reported the slain cab driver had been scalped, Durham responded provocatively, saying whites had scalped Indians and now

Indians were getting even. At the same time he tried to persuade AIM leaders that Skyhorse and Mohawk should not be defended.

The cab driver was murdered on the night of October 10, 1974. An anonym-

ous call led police to the body.

Several people who had been passengers in the cab were arrested at the camp, which is a halfway house for Native American ex-prisoners. Skyhorse and Mohawk were not among them.

One of those arrested, Marvin Red Shirt, pleaded guilty to assault with a deadly weapon. He was given five years' probation and is now the principal witness against Skyhorse and Mohawk.

Red Shirt has a personal stake in making his story stick. If his testimony at the trial doesn't satisfy the prosecutor—if, for example, he were to retract incriminating statements against Skyhorse and Mohawk—he could still face murder charges.

Skyhorse and Mohawk were not arrested until a week after the slaying. They were attending an AIM conference in Phoenix, Arizona, at the time.

They voluntarily waived their extradition rights after being told they were sought only as material witnesses. But when they got to Ventura, they were charged with murder.

So far, the prosecution has introduced no physical evidence to link either of them with the crime.

The case has already gone through a record two-month series of pretrial hearings to determine what evidence can be admitted at the trial. Police tape recordings that could aid the defense have been "lost," mutilated, or destroyed.

Ventura County District Attorney Peter Kassouris ordered all sheriff's personnel to refuse interviews by defense attorneys unless conducted in a group. Group interviews are a great help to witnesses concerned with not contradicting each other.

Mohawk and Skyhorse are brought to court in chains. Although the judge ordered that they have access to the prison law library, they've only been allowed to use it three times.

AIM National Director Dennis Banks announced that his organization plans to aid the defense in every way it can. He said he is convinced that the two activists were framed.

The Skyhorse-Mohawk Judicial Liberation Committee asks those concerned with justice to write to presiding Judge Marvin Lewis, U.S. Senators Alan Cranston and John Tunney, and California Gov. Edmund Brown, demanding that:

- Judge Lewis order the FBI, CIA, and police intelligence units to produce all records concerning the case;
- all informers and agents be identified to the defense, and copies of all their reports be turned over;
- complete records be furnished on DeLuce and Durham; and
- the defense be given all tapes or transcripts of phone taps or buggings of the case.

For more information, contact the defense committee at 1344 Pierpoint, Ventura, California 93302.



Witnesses against Ella Ellison admit lying

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—At Framingham state prison there is a Black woman serving five life sentences for a murder and robbery she didn't commit. Her name is Ella Ellison.

Ellison was convicted in November 1974. She was accused of driving the getaway car in a 1973 loan office robbery in which an off-duty cop was killed. But the recantation of false testimony by two key witnesses may win her a new trial.

At the original trial, two of the three men accused of the robbery and murder testified that Ellison was their driver. According to Massachusetts

law, anyone convicted of participating in a felony is equally responsible for a death occurring during it.

Ellison received a life sentence for the cop's death and four life sentences on four counts of armed robbery.

Throughout her trial, Ellison maintained that she was innocent.

During months of incarceration at the Charles Street Jail, the two men who accused Ellison were threatened with life imprisonment or the death penalty unless they named the person who drove the getaway car.

Finally, they said it was Ellison, whom they knew casually.

But their description of their driver did not fit Ellison at all. They said the woman was about eighteen years old, light skinned, and of medium build. Ellison was twenty-seven at the time, is of heavy build, and has dark skin.

In spite of this obvious contradiction, Ellison was convicted.

Recently, however, a hearing was held to determine whether Ellison will be granted a new trial.

At the hearing, both men admitted that they lied at the previous trial. They now say that Ellison was not involved in any way. The hearing concluded on November 9. Judge Roger

Donahue says he will announce his decision in two weeks.

The prosecuting attorney, Newman Flanagan, urged the court to let the previous conviction stand. Flanagan was the racist prosecutor who engineered the case against Dr. Kenneth Edelin, the Black doctor who was convicted in 1975 for manslaughter for performing a legal abortion.

The Ella Ellison Support Committee is working to publicize Ellison's case and win support for a new trial. For more information contact the committee at: 1151 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

False arrests, cop harassment hit Calif. Black

By Joanne Tortorici

PASADENA, Calif.—What started out as a routine trip to Albertson's supermarket ended up as a nightmare ordeal for Pasadena Black activist Michael Zinzun.

Last August 27, Zinzun was arrested and charged with shoplifting a variety of items including a pair of red socks and a tie.

The prominent community activist pleaded innocent to the trumped-up charges, but was found guilty and sentenced to six months in jail.

Both the arresting sheriff and store security cop knew Zinzun, who has been the victim of police harassment since he helped found the Pasadena Community Information Center in 1973.

A founding member of the Student Coalition Against Racism, Zinzun is a former Black Panther party activist. He helped plan the 1975 conference for the Committee Against Segregation in Education and has helped organize demonstrations for school desegrega-

tion and the independence of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa.

Zinzun has been harassed by cops and arrested a number of times since his involvement with the information center.

One such arrest was for driving a car with a broken taillight. Another was for concealing a piece of baby crib in his car.

Another time, Zinzun was pulled over by three cops while towing a car to the junkyard. After viciously attacking him, the cops then arrested him for felony assault.

Zinzun got three years' probation and was still on probation at the time of last August's shoplifting frame-up.

The information center has come under attack, too. Located in the Black community, it was set up as a neighborhood recreation and education center, but has been plagued by the local police since its beginning.

One day late in 1974, cops claimed a robbery suspect ran into the center. Using this as an excuse, thirteen cops

surrounded the center, armed with shotguns and drawn pistols, while a police helicopter hovered overhead.

After a public outcry, police apologized for excessive display of force.

In August 1975, community activists and representatives from the American Civil Liberties Union called a news conference at the center to protest the police violence against it. Just as the meeting was ending, cops smashed into the center and roughed up anyone in their way. Assault charges were slapped on those who defended themselves.

A public pressure campaign will be necessary to prevent further attacks on the information center and Zinzun. Messages of support can be sent to: Michael Zinzun, #4033502, 54320 Los Angeles Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, California 90060; or to: Michael Zinzun Defense Committee, Pasadena Community Information Center, 1020 North Fair Oaks Avenue, Pasadena, California 91103.



MICHAEL ZINZUN

Militant/Harry Ring

The case of Gary Mark Gilmore

[The following article is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press. On November 16, after the article was written, Gary Mark Gilmore and Nicole Barrett both tried to commit suicide. As a result, further hearings on Gilmore's execution have been postponed temporarily.]

By Joseph Hansen

Currently in the top of the news in the United States is the case of Gary Mark Gilmore, the first person scheduled for execution since the Supreme Court announced its 7 to 2 decision last July 2 that the death penalty does not violate the Constitution's ban on "cruel and unusual" punishment.

Gilmore was convicted last October 7 of first degree murder. On July 20, armed with a .22-caliber pistol, he had walked into the lobby of a motel in Provo, Utah, and ordered the night clerk, Bennie Bushnell, a twenty-five-year-old student at Brigham Young University, to lie down on the floor. He then fired a shot into Bushnell's head.

The previous night, Gilmore had allegedly shot and killed Max David Jensen in a service station holdup near Provo. The trial judge set November 15 as the date for execution.

The case attracted nationwide interest because Gilmore's execution would be the first application of capital punishment in the United States since 1967, setting a precedent affecting the fate of about 600 other persons now on death row in various states. The overriding issue, of course, is the setback that the legal murder of Gilmore would deal the long struggle in the United States to end the barbaric sentencing of human beings to die.

Certain lurid aspects of this individual case have tended to obscure the basic issues involved.

Gilmore's attorneys filed papers appealing the conviction. The Utah Supreme Court granted a stay so that all the legal aspects connected with the case could be reviewed. The attorneys also called for a psychiatric examination on the basis of new evidence that the defendant had exhibited suicidal tendencies.

Gilmore fired his attorneys and appealed to the Utah Supreme Court to order the death sentence to be carried out. In a note to the judges he said: "Don't the people of Utah have the courage of their conviction?"

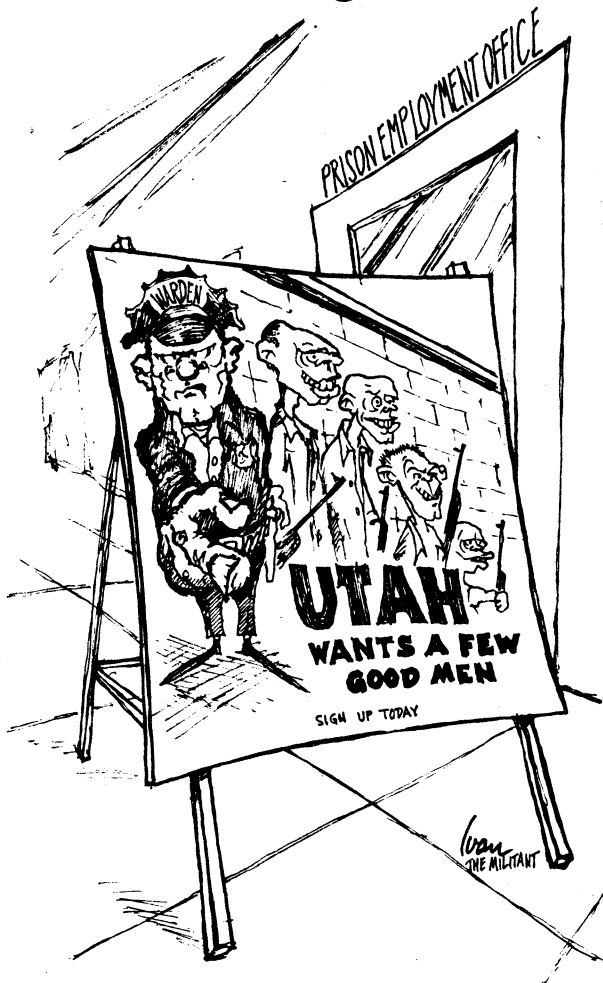
"You sentenced a man to die—me—and when I accept this most extreme punishment with grace and dignity, the people of Utah want to back down and argue with me about it. You're silly. I've been sentenced to die, I accept that. Let's do it."

Gilmore was then permitted to make a personal appearance before the Utah Supreme Court. He again pleaded for death:

"I believe I was given a fair trial, and I think the sentence was proper, and I'm willing to accept it like a man and wish it to be carried out without delay."

The justices vacated the stay of sentence and agreed to let Gilmore be shot as scheduled.

However, Governor Calvin Rampton, himself an advocate of the death penalty, intervened at



NEWS ITEM: Utah Warden Samuel Smith says he is "looking for solid citizens" with no "unhealthy reasons" for volunteering for the firing squad that will execute Gary Mark Gilmore.

this point. He postponed the execution, thereby permitting a last-minute review by the state Board of Pardons.

This added a new sensationalistic note. The head of the Board of Pardons happens to be George W. Latimer, the attorney who organized the campaign to save Lt. William L. Calley from punishment for the premeditated murder of at least 102 unarmed men, women, and children in the tiny South Vietnamese hamlet of My Lai.

The chief argument advanced in behalf of Calley was that an incident like the one he was involved in could not be considered "cruel and unusual" in the general framework of actions ordered by the Pentagon and the White House in Vietnam.

Another sensationalistic feature of the Gilmore case is that in Utah a person facing the death penalty is given the choice of being hanged by the neck until dead or facing a five-man firing squad. Gilmore chose the firing squad.

Warden Samuel W. Smith told the press that there was no lack of volunteers to serve on the firing squad, each of whom receives \$175 for the work (or pleasure) of shooting at the target placed over the heart of the seated victim.

The warden said he was carefully scrutinizing the list of applicants to find "solid citizens" for the task and weed out those motivated by "unhealthy reasons."

Finally, Gilmore announced November 13 through his attorney Dennis Boaz that he was "considering" marrying Nicole Barrett, a Provo woman about twenty-one years old.

The application of the death penalty to Gilmore has thus been top subject on the TV newscasts day after day on prime time, and the newspapers have kept it on the front page, with many additional "feature" articles and sketches of the pending execution. Most of the reportage has tended to obscure the real issues.

For instance, it is argued that Gilmore has a right to determine whether to choose death; and that this is a right everyone should be free to exercise if life, for whatever reason, becomes unbearable.

This question, however, is not involved in the Gilmore case. Gilmore's mental health is involved. The contention that a mentally ill person has the right to commit suicide does not include the right to have the state carry out this death wish through the use of a firing squad, a gallows,

a guillotine, a gas chamber, an electric chair, or similar device. The suicide is converted into legalized murder.

Another contention is that the killing of Gilmore will help deter crime. This hoary argument has always been advanced by the proponents of capital punishment. Thorough studies of this question established long ago that the death penalty—and severe sentences in general—do not deter the commission of crime.

Sentences of that kind do not affect the *social causes* of crime. More than 90 percent of crimes are, in the final analysis, to be explained by the functioning of an economic system that puts profits above human needs.

To this it can be added that the brutal—and brutalizing—prison system of capitalist America adds its share to the breakdown of human beings, furthering their inability to "cope" with the violent stresses of capitalist society.

Gilmore's own record offers the most striking evidence of what the prison system does to people.

Born in 1940, Gilmore at the age of fourteen smashed a school window. For that he was given eighteen months in a reformatory.

After "rehabilitation" in the reform school, Gilmore always seemed to be in trouble, vagrancy being among his problems. In 1960 at the age of twenty he was sentenced to fifteen years in the Oregon Correctional Institution for stealing an automobile.

The newspapers do not indicate when he was released. But in 1964 he was again arrested in Oregon for assault and robbery, drawing fifteen years in prison. There he was listed among the "troublemakers," for joining a sit-down strike in 1971.

The warden decided, however, to "give him a chance," and he was enrolled in Lane Community College in Eugene, Oregon. He showed artistic promise, and has done work in watercolors, charcoal, and oil. Recently the press published some of his poetry.

But he skipped school. After he robbed \$34 from a service station, he was again imprisoned.

Shifted to a federal prison at Marion, Illinois, he seemed to change. The Board of Pardons discharged him three years early.

He went to Provo, Utah, where a job had been offered him by his uncle. He arrived in that small town last April 9.

But after eighteen years conditioning in the prisons of Oregon and Illinois, Gilmore could not make it. After six days working in his uncle's shoe-repair shop, he quit.

In Provo, he met Nicole Barrett. For a time things seemed ideal. Then early in July, Barrett left him.

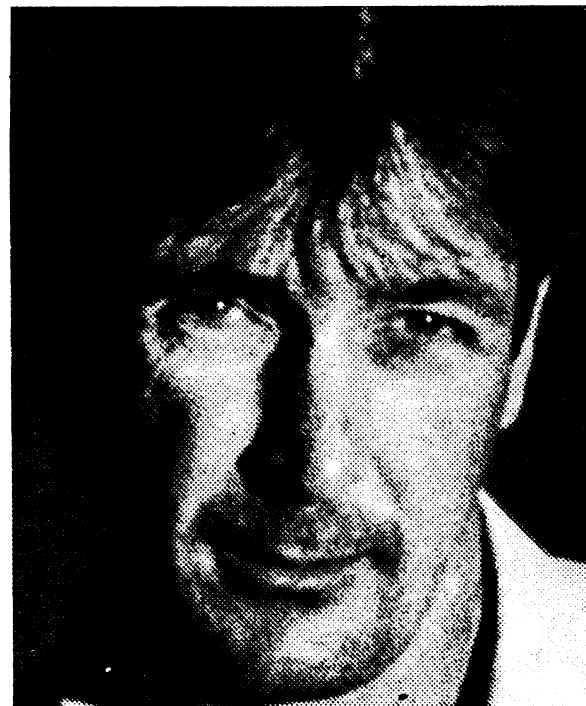
On July 2 the U.S. Supreme Court, as we have noted, approved capital punishment. Did this decision have an effect on Gilmore? On July 19-20 he committed the crimes that meant the end for him. He acted as if the decision upholding the death penalty were an invitation to engage in a course that would place him before a firing squad. It can be cogently argued that reinstitution of capital punishment fostered Gilmore's crime instead of deterring it.

The American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were reported to be considering intervening in the case through whatever legal avenues might be open. Capital punishment has always been applied in the United States with particular vigor to Blacks and poor whites. The death penalty has therefore stood out as one of the most vicious features of class justice in the "land of the free." The racist aspect of capital punishment helped inspire the intense efforts over the years to end this "cruel and unusual" punishment.

In this battle, the interests of Blacks and poor whites as a whole transcend the understandable wish of Gilmore to die rather than be confined for the rest of his life in an American prison, the nature of which he understands only too well.

In furtherance of the struggle as a whole, it is hoped that the savage sentence inflicted on this victim of the capitalist system will be commuted.

Such a turn would help all of those now waiting on death row and make it easier to renew efforts on a broad scale to do away with a form of punishment that belongs to the Dark Ages.



GARY MARK GILMORE

[The day before the November 2 election, Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, debated Michael Harrington, a Carter supporter and chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. The debate, attended by 400 people, was held at Queens College in New York City.

[Harrington and Camejo each presented twenty-minute opening statements, followed by questions from the audience and closing summaries. Michael Wreszin, a Queens College history professor, served as moderator.

[The complete opening statements are printed below. Excerpts from the discussion and summaries will appear in a future issue.]

HARRINGTON

First of all, I'd like to begin by specifying what we're debating. We're not debating whether the United States needs political change much more radical than anything Jimmy Carter offers. Of course it does.

It needs a restructuring of a society in which the government consistently follows corporate priorities to antisocial consequence. It needs, ultimately—both in terms of the nation and the world—democratic socialism. We are not debating the desirability of that.

We are not, as far as I am concerned, debating whether or not the Democratic party is a party filled with contradictions, containing corporate interests, racists, etc. Of course it is.

We are not debating whether or not it is desirable to have a party realignment and to bring the millions of people—perhaps 50 percent of the electorate—who are excluded from this election into the political process. Of course we want to do that.

The question is not whether America needs radical change. The question is not whether America needs a new political voice and current. The question is *how do you get it?*

Vote for Carter

The Socialist Workers party says you get that change by voting tomorrow for Peter Camejo for president of the United States.

I say, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee of which I am chairman says, that tomorrow you should vote for Jimmy Carter—

'I say that you should vote for Jimmy Carter—without illusions—because he is clearly and infinitely better than Gerald Ford, but not good enough.'

without any illusions—because he is clearly and infinitely better than Gerald Ford, but not good enough. You therefore vote for him because he's better, without illusions because he's not good enough. And you seize your vote, you take your vote, not as a final and decisive act, but as the first stage in trying to make the transformation which this society desperately needs.

Let me try to develop that analysis in three different ways.

First of all, by a brief historical-theoretical presentation of the case for my point of view. Second, by a consideration of the question: Is there no difference between Ford and Carter? And third, by asking you: What do you think the impact would be on the politics of social change if tomorrow Gerald Ford wins or if tomorrow Jimmy Carter wins? Which victory is not only better in and of itself, but is better from the point of view of energizing the millions of people in America who must be energized for much more basic change than they can vote for tomorrow?

So, first of all, a historical-theoretical perspective. There was once a socialist political leader. He joined a workers movement, the majority of whose members was not socialist. A workers movement so confused that they elected an industrialist to the board of directors. A workers movement so utterly confused that perhaps the majority of the workers in it were against the right to strike. A workers movement that viewed the limitation of the working day to ten hours as a gigantic triumph. He joined that movement in spite of all those enormous limitations, because it was a movement of the

Michael Harrington is a professor of political science at Queens College in New York City. He is the author of *The Other America, Socialism*, and his newest book, *The Twilight of Capitalism*.



Queens College Phoenix/Kenneth Bizzigotti

working people; because it was a political movement of the working people. He did not require that it have the correct program. He went with the movement because he understood that only by going with the movement can you change the society and change the movement itself.

Corporations backing Ford

That man's name was, of course, Karl Marx. The movement I refer to was the International Workingmen's Association, the First International, the first international association of the socialist movement.

Karl Marx is dead. Karl Marx cannot tell me how to vote tomorrow. But he has an analysis, a point of view that I think permits me to confront situations that Karl Marx never dreamed of. And I want to be as radical as Marx was in the case of the First International. I want to go with workers in political movement because, like Marx, I believe that's where

the possibility of change is.

I suggest to you that this election in a confused way, in a way which I have not invented, but in a very real way, is a counterposition of social classes.

Here is a class-conscious magazine. It's called *Fortune* magazine. It represents the class-consciousness of the corporate rich in America. It tells us that the executives of the top 500 corporations in the United States are going to vote 85.2 percent for Gerald Ford; 10.4 percent for Jimmy Carter.

That class understands where its class interests lie. Corporate big business is not voting for Ford because they like his smile. They are voting for Ford because they know he will represent them.

Second, the labor movement in this country is supporting Carter. Now, the Socialist Workers party in its various campaign analyses says that the workers should "think politically." The problem for the Socialist Workers party is the workers *are* thinking politically. They're thinking Jimmy Carter.

They are thinking politically on an organized class basis. Tomorrow, class organizations of the workers, organizations you can join only by virtue of your membership in a union, are going to be mobilizing voters. If Carter wins, he will owe his victory in considerable measure to the working class politically organized as a class.

That is a reality. One may not like this working class. One may wish it had other politics. I certainly do. But there is a working class in America. It is politically organized. It is for Carter. There is a corporate class. It is politically organized. It is for Ford.

There is in America tomorrow, if you will, a political class struggle taking place at the ballot box. And I suggest that from my point of view, I'm going to go where that workers movement is and

where that corporate movement is not.

Bertolt Brecht, after the East German general strike, said something very nasty to the East German Stalinists who had pointed out the working class had not recognized its own class interests. Brecht said, "Why don't you dissolve this working class and invent a new one instead?"

I'm afraid that's what the SWP is doing. In the name of the working class, they are counterposing themselves to the actual working class.

Moreover, the actual working class, although I don't agree with it on everything, is right that Carter is better for full employment, for national health, for tax reform, for all kinds of issues that affect our lives.

The SWP has a scenario. You can read it in their documents. That scenario: America is going to change, first by the victory of a class-struggle wing in the trade-union movement which will totally transform the trade-union movement. Secondly, the totally transformed trade-union movement will become the basis of a political party. And that political party will become a revolutionary socialist party. *Do not hold your breath* for all that to happen.

In an America in which Gerald Ford is within a hair of winning the presidency of the United States, to talk about revolutionary and cataclysmic possibilities, which is what the SWP does, is to talk, in my opinion, fantasy.

Indeed, if we get the kind of cataclysmic change that the SWP talks about in its documents, I suspect that the beneficiary will not be a socialist movement on the left. If you get that kind of cataclysmic change, it is much more likely that the beneficiary will be a fascist movement of the right.

What I am saying is what we have to do is give up revolutionary fantasies and imaginary working classes and go where real workers are today organized politically. Not to accept what is wrong in their point of view, but to work with them because they will not trust you in talking about where they should go if you're counterposed to them.

Which leads me to the second point. Is there no difference between Ford and Carter? The SWP in its program's got some fine stuff: we have to get jobs for youths, Blacks, women, all kinds of things. Fine.

Full employment is critical. You cannot solve a single problem in the United States without full employment. Is there no difference between Ford and Carter on full employment?

Difference on jobs

Carter is in favor of a bill guaranteeing the right to work to every worker in the United States. That bill's not half good enough. Carter is not half good enough for it. But he is for it and Ford is against it.

We don't have to imagine. Ford vetoes job-generating bills. He's done it. He'll do it. Is there no difference? There's a difference to the more than seven million people who are unemployed in the United States. Ford wants them to be miserable because he sees no reason to do anything else. Carter wants to change their position.

Now, the SWP's answer to this is to basically

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ULD LISTS /OTED RTER?

en Peter Camejo
Harrington



Queens College Phoenix/Kenneth Bizzigotti

CAMEJO

There is one error in what Mr. Harrington said about where the Socialist Workers party stands.

What we say is not that the solution is for you to go into the ballot box on November 2 and vote Socialist Workers party as *the* solution. In fact, we think what happens tomorrow is so much less significant than other things that are happening in this country that part of the problem is the myth that you are making the decision tomorrow of who governs this country or what will happen.

To us, it is the independent mass movements of the people themselves—like the antiwar movement in the streets—that affected American history in a positive way. Like the mass civil rights movement, like the mass labor movement, like the mass women's movement—these are the social forces that have made America move forward and this is the key to our entire strategy.

This is why we challenge and disagree with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, whose strategy is to join the Democratic party, a party which is not known to have called a single antiwar demonstration or a single pro-civil rights demonstration.

Not once has the Democratic party called out the national guard to make sure a strike wins, although it controls most cities, states, and—much of the time—the federal government. It has never acted on your behalf and my behalf. It has never acted to advance the rights of women. In fact, what poor Michael has to do is have to. . . I feel sorry for him. In order to convince you to vote for Carter, he's got to talk about Ford.

Carter's real platform

You know, let's look at Carter. Where does Carter stand? He said Carter is against the sale of arms. Carter was for the war in Vietnam from the beginning to the end, for genocide in Vietnam. He's a man who called a state holiday to support [Lt. William] Calley when he was on trial for ordering the execution of two- and three-year-olds. That's where Carter stood on the question of war.

While we were in the streets fighting against the war in Vietnam, when the majority of the American people were against the war in Vietnam, this man was saying we *should* be in Vietnam, fighting for us to stay in Vietnam and opposing the antiwar movement.

Today Carter is talking about whether or not there's going to be amnesty, and he does it by tricky wording so he leaves out the overwhelming majority of the people—those who refused to violate Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution, which says we cannot go to war without a declaration of war. Did we declare war? No.

That war was illegal and anyone who refused to fight was not violating American law. Instead of

Peter Camejo was on the ballot in twenty-eight states this year as the Socialist Workers party presidential candidate. He has written numerous articles and pamphlets for the socialist movement and a book on Reconstruction called *Racism, Revolution, and Reaction: 1861-1877*.

talking about amnesty for them, we should be talking about whether we give Carter and Ford and the people who got us into that war amnesty. That's what we should be talking about.

Talk about the rights of women. Where does Carter stand on the rights of women? He's opposed to women's right to abortion just like Ford. The majority in this country believe it's a woman's right to choose.

Death penalty. Carter's for the death penalty. He signed it into law in Georgia. The first person that was going to be executed was going to die on October 26 in Georgia. The majority of people on death row in Georgia are Black. Where does Carter stand? For the death penalty.

No unions allowed

We can go down and down and down the list. On the labor movement. Carter's got his own factory. You want to know how he treats labor? No unions allowed in his factory. He pays the minimum wage. He pays white workers more than he pays Black workers. He's for right-to-work laws, that is, nonunion laws. That's what he stands for. He makes it clear. He makes it explicit.

You heard debates for four-and-a-half hours. Did you hear a proposal for how to end unemployment? I'll tell you how we have to end unemployment. We've got to stop wasting \$115 billion on war and use the money for jobs. We've got to stop wasting the \$60 billion in interest payments that is being given to the rich.

What is the problem in New York City? Why are

'Working people have to break with the Democratic party, put up our own candidates, and tell the full truth to the American people: that the Democratic party does not represent them.'

we having these cutbacks? Michael said that there'll be hope for us if Carter's in office. I mean, it's an insult to our intelligence. Who is running New York City? Which party? His [Harrington's] party. The party he belongs to. The party he urges you to join. The party that he urges you to vote for is running this city.

What is the Democratic party doing to the people of this city? It is closing our schools. It is closing our hospitals. It has laid off 50,000 workers. Why? Because it wants to pay \$2 billion in interest to the richest people of this country. Have you heard a single Democrat get up and say, "Instead of paying \$2 billion in interest, we should use this money to put people back to work"?

I want to ask you a question. What would happen if we had a referendum tomorrow in New York City between what Mr. Harrington's party, the Democratic party, stands for—that we close the schools, close the hospitals, keep 50,000 people laid off, make five- and six-year-olds pay to go to school because they can't have free buses anymore, have fire department, sanitation department closed—or the Socialist Workers party's proposal that we give all

these people back their jobs, reopen the schools, reopen the hospitals?

The Democrats say we have to pay the \$2 billion to the rich. We say let's not give one tax dollar to anybody who's making over \$40,000. No welfare for the rich. It would balance the New York City budget, give us a surplus, and put everybody back to work. Now you tell me whose side the majority would be on in that referendum.

Other views excluded

I'll tell you the problem in this country, the problem is no other point of view is heard except the point of view that sides with the corporations. The problem is that Carter and Ford are both for the rich, both for the corporations, both for this system. They are both for a system that puts profits over human needs. And the problem is *no other point of view is heard*.

What we are proposing is not that the solution is simply to vote for the Socialist Workers party. We say we must look at the political arena and the problems that are taking place in the government today in the same way we did in the fight against the war in Vietnam.

We were a tiny minority. Michael Harrington says you have to go with the workers. The majority of the workers in this country were for the war in Vietnam. Does that mean we should have been for it? Sometimes the majority is wrong.

A majority in this country was once for slavery. But the abolitionists went outside the two-party system, didn't they? They ran their own candidates, didn't they? Did they have a chance to win? No.

The Harringtons of the 1840s were telling them, "You're messing things up. Do you want the slave owners' party to get in, the Democrats? You better vote for the Whigs."

Now when we look back in history, what do we say about these abolitionists? They were right! They did the right thing because they went out and started preaching to everyone, "No, both parties are wrong. Both parties are for slavery. Even though one says they'll hit the slave with a mild whip and the other one says with a heavy whip."

The abolitionists said, "That's not the real issue. The problem is, we've got to build a movement, we've got to build a new mass party that'll fight slavery."

And which way would you have voted in 1840, Harrington? Would you have voted for the abolitionists or for the two parties, for the "liberal" party of the slave owners, for the Whigs?

I say today we've got to break with the whole concept that we have to vote for the lesser evil; that is, we have to vote for evil, that we have to go out and support candidates that are against our interests—why? Because they put up somebody else that's worse.

The people that run this country can *always* find somebody else that's worse. They want you to stomach Carter, they put up Ford. If they want you to vote for Mussolini, they'll run Hitler.

They'll use every argument you've heard today to explain why we shouldn't vote for Hitler, we should vote for Mussolini. "Well, are you going to tell me there's no difference?"

Let's have no illusions. Whether you vote for Carter or Ford, you are not making any decision about who runs this government. That is a myth. We must fight that myth.

Stuck with wrong strategy

The corporations run this country. The oil industry gets the secretary of state no matter who wins, Democrat or Republican, every time. The undersecretaries and the cabinet posts, the people who really write the laws, are the people who will continue to run the country no matter who gets elected. Both these parties represent the same class. The rich have two parties. We have none. That's the problem. That's what we must go out and tell people.

We must go out and tell people the truth about the Democratic party. It's a war party; it's a racist party; it's a sexist party; and it's antilabor. And the minute you start telling people to join such a party, you've undermined your entire ability to have a strategy for social change.

And that's why the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and Michael Harrington—who is

Continued on next page



...Camejo

Continued from preceding page

personally absolutely dedicated to having a better society and certainly opposed to the massacre that took place in Vietnam—found themselves stuck in their strategy during the entire antiwar movement.

They were unable to become really heavy participants—as I'm sure, looking back now, they wish they had been—because their strategy of being members of the party that was carrying out the war made it sort of hard to explain to people how you should fight the war—by joining the party that commits the war.

Look, let me give you an example. Carter got up and said he was for "ethnic purity," and then he said he made a slip. He said he was against "Black intrusion" and then said he made a slip.

I want to ask you a question. When's the last time you slipped and said "ethnic purity"? When's the

last time you heard *anybody* "slip" and say "ethnic purity"?

I'll tell you why you haven't heard anybody use that word. Because after Adolph Hitler died that word "purity" associated with race became very unpopular. It was popularized under the Nazis and it's a term that's not used.

Carter says he made a slip. He made no slip. He makes it clear. He says, "Well, the problem, you know, is America is into this neighborhood thing. Irish like to live around Irish, Italians around Italians, Jews around Jews."

You know how it is in America. Italian moves next door to an Irish. They get very upset. There have been several riots recently of Irish. You know, a German moves in across the street from a Swede, several Germans have had their houses burned down because the Swedes don't like it.

Listen, you know and I know exactly what Jimmy Carter was talking about and what Ford was talking about and they both talk about the exact same thing. They're saying *keep Blacks out*. All this business about neighborhoods and keeping the ethnicity up of neighborhoods is nothing but cover-up, double-talk for racism and continuing housing discrimination.

And once you get in with these people and you start trying to justify it, you start falling into it. It's very sad to say that Michael Harrington himself has fallen for this.

He writes in his latest book, "If minority demands for quality education through integration were, and should have been, the dominant consideration, still, ethnic and class concerns for the integrity of neighborhoods. . ."

"Class concerns for the integrity of neighborhoods"? I'll tell you which class has concern over the integrity of their neighborhood.

"... class concerns for the integrity of neighborhoods were not simply a mask for racism, they derived from an authentic emotion."

I'd like to ask you in the summary to state what "authentic emotion" are you talking about when Jimmy Carter says that he wants an ethnically pure neighborhood? I'll tell you what that "emotion" is. The word for it is *racism*. That's the word for it.

Humphrey-Hawkins a fraud

You pull the lever for the Democrats and Republicans, you're voting for unemployment, inflation, racism, sexism. Talk about unemployment and the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. That's an

insult to the intelligence because that bill does not provide a single job.

You know what that bill says? It says it shall be the policy of the United States government that there be almost full employment and that the Congress is authorized to pass the necessary legislation to achieve it.

Now, there's one thing that all of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill supporters never mention. It's that the bill was already passed in 1947 under a different name. It's called the Full Employment Act, which made it the law of the land that the government would have full employment and Congress was authorized to pass all the necessary legislation to make full employment.

So what we're told is: You see, Carter's better because he promises to pass a motion that will promise that we'll have jobs.

If the Democrats, Mr. Harrington's party, had a concrete proposal, they could make it. They run the Congress and the Senate. They run the city. They run the state.

Now, how many times will they tell us we've got



CAMEJO: Mass social movements like 1963 civil rights march in Washington (above), won gains for women, oppressed minorities, and labor.



...Harrington

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repeat a point—the same point Sen. Robert Dole makes—that war spending and mass murder abroad is the only Democratic party formula for providing jobs.

That's not true to begin with historically. It's not true because during the New Deal, Roosevelt didn't create enough jobs, but Roosevelt created jobs before war spending took over in 1939 by public works. And Dole and the SWP can think it was only

the war and simplify a complex case. The war obviously played an enormous role. But public service jobs did something. Kennedy and Johnson generated jobs before the war in Vietnam was escalated.

And I think it is terrible for left-wingers to make a right-wing point and try to miseducate the American people that, either you go all the way to socialism or you can't do anything about unemployment short of a radical restructuring of society. The fact is you can. It has been done.

The fact is the struggle today for jobs is in the Democratic party. It's around the Hawkins-Humphrey bill. It is supported by the working people. It is supported by the Black people and the

Supreme Court that Richard Nixon began. And the Supreme Court, which has already been moved by Nixon's victory to the right, will move further to the right. And the Supreme Court is a crucial area for the women's movement in terms of the right to abortion as many other issues.

National health: there is no difference? Gerald Ford is up there with an absolute swindle lying to the American people that a catastrophic health insurance is a national health program. Jimmy Carter is committed to the Kennedy-Corman national health program.

You know who Carter's likely secretary of health, education and welfare is? Leonard Woodcock, the president of the United Auto Workers, the principal trade-union leader—along with George Meany—of a

'There is a working class in America. It is for Carter. There is a corporate class. It is for Ford. There is in America a political class struggle taking place at the ballot box.'

other minorities in the United States. It is supported by the women's movement, or the best of the politically organized women's movement. There is a difference.

There is no difference between Ford and Carter on New York City? To state the proposition shows you how absurd it is. Ford wants us to drop dead. With Carter we got a chance, not for justice, but to survive.

Tell the kids in the public schools in New York City, tell the kids there is no difference. Tell the teachers. My son's in Public School 3 in Manhattan and we are seeing that school destroyed. And there is a possibility we can do something with a Carter victory. There is none with a Ford victory.

Health care, arms race

There is no difference to women? If Gerald Ford is elected president of the United States, he will continue the miserable, reactionary work in the

fight for national health in this country. You cannot say there is no difference.

On foreign policy. There is no difference between the greatest arms salesman in the world, Gerald Ford, and somebody who wants to curb it, Jimmy Carter?

There is no difference when jobs has been one of the few issues Carter has raised in this campaign? And he raised the issue of nuclear proliferation. That makes a difference, not simply to America, but to all of mankind.

Which leads me to my final point. My final point is, what happens if Ford wins? What happens on Wednesday, November 3?

If Ford wins, do you think the trade-union movement is going to become more militant? Do you think Blacks and other minorities are going to be more militant? Women? Don't you understand that defeat demoralizes people? Defeat convinces people that you can't beat city hall. If Ford wins, it

to vote for them. We've already tried it, haven't we? Michael Harrington was telling me, "Vote for Lyndon Baines Johnson, otherwise we'll end up in a war."

And the Socialist Workers party was saying, "No. As long as the working people have no party of their own, that's when they'll be taking us to war."

We said in the *Militant* before the elections regardless of whether Goldwater or Lyndon Baines Johnson gets elected we are going into a war in Vietnam. We said the best thing to do is to register a protest vote against both.

I'll tell you what'll bring social change and the most effective way to use our vote is if millions of people in this country began to refuse to vote Democrat or Republican. That would put more pressure on the government to have to bend to the demands.

Breaking from two parties

And he said the Democrats are where the workers go. Where are the workers going? The majority aren't going to vote. That's where the workers are going. They're turning their backs on the Democrats and Republicans.

'Carter and Ford are both for the rich, both for the corporations. They are both for the system that puts profits over human needs. The rich have two parties. Working people have none.'

In the primaries, 80 percent of the American people didn't vote. Carter got 4.2 percent. The working class in this country is over 90 percent. So where do you tell me the workers are going for Carter?

Workers in Georgia certainly aren't going for Carter. When he ran for governor there, 93 percent of the Blacks voted against him. Of course, then he was an open racist; now he's an undercover, closet racist.

No, the mass of the people are turning their backs on the Democratic and Republican parties because they see in both these parties no answer to their problems.

So, what should we be doing? Running around like Michael, sincerely, but incorrectly, saying, "Please, please, come back. Please, come back. Look, I know the party has been racist, it's been

sexist, it's for the war in Vietnam, and it threw you out of work, and it created enormous unemployment.

I know it's created inflation, and it's lowered your wages, and women are only making 54 percent of what men make—that's 5 percent worse than it was six years ago—and Blacks are making 56 percent of what whites make, and that's 5 percent worse. I know all this is happening. But please don't leave us. Come back, come back. . . . What do you want—Ford?"

What we should be saying to people is: You're right in leaving these two parties. But the problem is that that's not the solution. What we need is to build a new party, a party of labor in this country.

That is already beginning. The Raza Unida party has appeared in the Southwest. It's an independent party of Chicanos. It has won the elections in several cities, like Crystal City in Zavala County, Texas.

I want to ask Mr. Harrington a question here that he must answer: If he were in Zavala County, would he vote for the Raza Unida party or for his party?

Would he vote for the majority party, a party of workers that already exists, or would he vote for the

party of the bosses, the Democratic party in Texas? Which party would he vote for?

We say, vote for the Raza Unida party to the Texas workers and to Chicanos.

Now, if he's for voting for the Raza Unida party in Zavala County, why not advocate that Blacks form their own party in Detroit where they're a majority and take it over and run it in their interests and the interests of all working people?

Why shouldn't we advocate that working people break with the Democratic party and form their own party?

Sadlowski challenge

I'll tell you the most important election taking place this year, and it's not this election taking place November 2. It's an election in which Mr. Harrington and myself are both on the same side.

And I want to say in this debate that we're arguing about a strategic question. There are many, many points of agreement between us. One of the problems we always have on the left is that we seem to only talk about differences. We should spend a lot of time talking about where we have agreement and where we can work together.

One of those points is the most important election taking place in this country, which is Ed Sadlowski's effort to win control of the steelworkers union for the rank-and-file worker. Here's a rebellion taking place in the largest and most important union of the AFL-CIO, which could put that union back into the hands of working people.

They've already won in the largest district. If they win nationwide and this spreads into other unions, that will create the potential to build a mass labor party in this country that would put human needs before profits.

And that is the solution. The building of an independent party of *our class*.

It is not true that the Carter-Ford conflict is a conflict of two classes. It is like a ping-pong game. They have to have two. How long would you watch it if there was only one playing?

Then everybody tries to figure out who's worse. The polls show that 48 percent think that Ford is worse and 47 percent think that Carter's worse. And everybody's going in to see if they can stop the other one.

Carter went so far as to knock McCarthy off the ballot in New York so people who wanted to vote for McCarthy couldn't, so Carter can get the votes of people who don't even want to vote for him. Now, is that what you want? Is that the type of society we're talking about?

I think we should have a debate. He says with Carter we can have a debate. We had four-and-a-half hours and we didn't hear any debate. All we heard was the "Great Agreement."

No, we're not going to have a debate until we get off our knees and stand up and recognize that the Democratic and Republican parties are not our parties; that working people, Black people, women, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans need to build our own mass party. And, like the early abolitionists, we get up and say it even if we're a tiny minority.

We say we need to put human needs before profits. That's the basic problem. We've got to break with the Democratic party, put up our own candidates, and tell the full truth to the American people: that the Democratic party does not represent them. Thank you.

will be understood by every political person in the United States and the world as a move to the right and people will act accordingly.

On the other hand, if Carter wins, we are not going to get the New Jerusalem. If Carter wins, he will do some horrendous things—I guarantee it. I don't have to be told it, I know it. But if Carter wins, he will also do some good things.

But more than that, the conditions of a Carter victory are the conditions for working-class militancy, and the militancy of minority groups, and the militancy of women, and the militancy of the democratic reform movement. We can actually begin to make victories on full employment, national health, and issues like that.

'Socialist' on sweatshirt

Those nonvoters out there are not going to be convinced by a brilliant speech. They are not going to be convinced by a marvelous article. They will be convinced when they see a political movement actually deliver.

What has turned them off is the feeling that political movements don't deliver. And if we get Ford, they will be turned off. If we get Carter, there is the possibility, an infinitely greater possibility, they can be involved. They can be brought back into politics.

Which is why the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, those of us in it, have participated in the Democratic party. We've gone in with "socialist" very clear on our sweatshirt. We're not "boring from within." We're not conspirators. That's why I testified at the national platform hearing. That's why we were the organizers of the, I think, the best left-wing meeting at the Democratic party convention.

We do not accept the Democratic party as it is. We seek to transform it. But we go with the real live workers and minority groups and women where they are. We do not make our conditions to them. We only want to work with them to transform the society.

Last point. Next fall when the city of New York



HARRINGTON: A Carter administration presents opportunity to reverse urban decay and cutbacks in vital services in cities like New York (above).

begins again the process of destroying City University—and I tell you, it is likely that it will—next fall when the city of New York may well begin the process of destroying Queens College, you will not get any help from President Peter Camejo because he will not be president.

If Gerald Ford is president, *you will not get any help*. If Jimmy Carter is president, there is the possibility. There is the possibility—which is something so much better than the certitude of Gerald Ford spitting in our eye that it is something to vote for.

There is a difference tomorrow. We need every vote we can get in this country. Therefore, I say to you, tomorrow vote for Carter, not with illusions

that he is going to change American society radically. He will not. But with the clear understanding that he is the superior alternative on issues of life and death for ordinary people, the majority of the people of the United States.

And with the understanding that—of those of us who are for democratic social and radical and socialist change are part of the mass movement and not counterposed to it—his victory can be a starting point for the transformation, the debates on the issues, the alternatives which this society doesn't have now but might get through a Carter victory and will be denied through a Ford victory.

Therefore, I say, in that spirit and for those reasons, you should vote for Carter tomorrow.

1,000 at U.N. demand: 'Free the Five!'

By José G. Pérez

NEW YORK—"Free Andrés, free the five, free Puerto Rico—right now!" resounded outside the United Nations building here November 13.

Nearly 1,000 people—mostly Puerto Ricans—rallied to demand the immediate, unconditional release of Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Irving Flores, and Oscar Collazo.

The five have been in U.S. prisons

since the early 1950s when they carried out armed actions in Washington, D.C., in support of Puerto Rican independence. They are the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

The demonstrators gathered at Union Square in Lower Manhattan and then marched forty blocks to a rally at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza in front of the United Nations.

Participants came from as far away

as Buffalo, Boston, and Philadelphia. Most stayed for the entire two-hour rally, despite near-freezing cold.

Speakers at the rally included Father Antonio Stevens and Mirta Rodríguez, representing the National Coordinating Committee to Free the Five which sponsored the demonstration; Mara Siegel and Emilio Soler, attorneys for the five; Helen Sobell; Digna Sánchez of the Puerto Rican Socialist party (PSP); and Russell Means of the American Indian Movement.

The featured speaker was Carlos Feliciano, recently elected president of the Nationalist party of Puerto Rico. Feliciano has twice been imprisoned for his support to independence, most recently in New York where he was framed up on bombing charges a few years ago.

When Feliciano was introduced, the crowd burst out chanting. "Carlos, seguro, a los Yanquis dale duro!" (Carlos, for sure, hit the Yanquis hard!)

He said that when the nationalists rebelled against U.S. rule in 1950, some people accused them of being crazy. "Yes, we were crazy," Feliciano said. "We were crazy for the freedom of our homeland, we were crazy of the invasion of our country; we were crazy of years of oppression."

To loud applause, Feliciano declared, "Today before this United Nations building we say we won't ever be happy until the five are free and we have thrown every last Yanqui invader



Militant/Rich Robohm

CARLOS FELICIANO

and capitalist exploiter from our beaches."

He described his vision of a free Puerto Rico—a country where misery and want would be eliminated, where every family would have a decent home, where every youth would get a full education.

"We want a just system of work," he said, "where the producers are the ones who control and there are no exploiters."

Feliciano thanked all those who had attended the demonstration, "whether Puerto Rican, Hispanic, Black, Native American, Asian, or North American.

"We are separated by nothing," he said. "We fight the same struggle. The

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Militant/Barry Chann

Demonstrators demanded freedom for five Puerto Rican nationalists

'To be effective, you can't just apply a bandaid'

By Gale Shangold

TACOMA, Wash.—Darlene Conley has spent all of her nineteen years living in this city.

She was raised in a family of staunch Democrats. Following their example, Darlene licked envelopes and



distributed brochures for George McGovern in 1972.

Recently Darlene told me why she decided to break from the Democratic party.

"When you are a Democrat you always have to apologize for your candidate. Blacks in the Democratic party always have to make compromises. For instance, right now none of the Democratic party candidates sup-

port busing because it's not good for winning more votes."

Darlene was looking for an alternative when a professor at Pacific Lutheran University, where she is a sophomore, sold her a subscription to the *Militant*. Darlene was impressed by the Socialist Workers party's unequivocal support for busing.

"I was bused, so I knew it could work," she told me. "And I knew what it was like to go to school without busing—not learning anything."

At Pacific Lutheran University, Darlene became a leader of the Student Coalition Against Racism and worked with some SWP members to organize a forum on school desegregation. She saw that the SWP isn't just talk; it's an activist party.

"It seems that the SWP cares about individuals as well as society as a whole," she said. "The SWP came right to the aid of Gary Tyler and Joanne Little. If you get framed up in this racist society, the SWP will stand right behind you."

Another turning point for Darlene was reading *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*.

"I liked the way Malcolm pointed out that the masses, not individuals, create



Militant/Wayne Glover

DARLENE CONLEY

change. After reading *The Autobiography* I knew I couldn't sit back anymore. I also knew about Malcolm's respect for the SWP," she said.

Darlene became a provisional member of the SWP at the first meeting of the new Tacoma branch in September. Provisional membership enables party supporters to become more familiar with the SWP before joining by participating in its activities for three months.

Darlene is glad she met the socialists in an election year. "This time I did not have to apologize for my candidates," she said. "Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid stand for Black rights, period!"

By being in the party, Darlene commented, "I get a lot of respect and fulfillment. You can't just apply a bandaid. To be effective you have to go about changing all of society."

If you would like to join the SWP, contact the branch nearest you listed on page 31 or write: SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Camejo & Reid fund tops \$20,000 goal

By Andrea Morell, director 1976 campaign committee

Contributions from around the country poured in during the final week of the fall Camejo and Reid campaign fund drive, bringing the total raised to \$23,303.

Even though the election was over, contributors sent in the highest amount ever for one week—\$5,668. These contributions shot us \$3,303 over our goal of raising \$20,000 by November 15.

The fall fund drive was the second successful fund-raising effort by the Camejo and Reid campaign this year. In a two-and-a-half month period this spring, \$15,994 was contributed to finance campaign activities.

The success of the fall fund drive will help make it possible for the Camejo and Reid campaign to end without any debts for printing, travel, telephone, or other items.

In the two months of the drive, thousands of individuals contributed to the fund. Many attended local

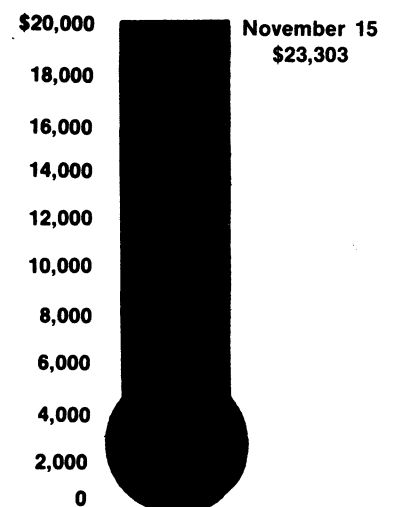
campaign rallies in the fifty-four cities where Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid toured between Labor Day and Election Day. Their contributions made up \$15,489 of the total received.

Others contributed directly to the national campaign committee. When Peter Camejo appealed for funds on NBC's network "Tomorrow" show, 1,002 viewers sent in a total of \$2,923.

An additional 192 people contributed \$3,581 in response to advertisements in the *Militant* and a special fund-appeal mailing. More than \$1,300 was sent to us by supporters who had read the SWP platform, the "Bill of Rights for Working People," and other campaign literature.

The Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign thanks everyone for making this vitally needed fund drive a success. We hope that all who participated in the drive will continue to support the ongoing activities of the Socialist Workers party.

Over the top!



Interview with Elfego Baca

Chicano activist stands up to Crusade slander

By Miguel Pendás

DENVER—If there is one person who has become the central target of the Crusade for Justice in recent months, that person is Elfego Baca.

The Crusade, whose central leader is Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, recently went on a drive to oust Baca, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, from his post as chairperson of the Metropolitan State College MEChA, the campus Chicano group.

Last month Baca lost that post by a vote of fourteen to thirty-one in a special election. Crusade members in the MEChA spearheaded the recall effort. The election, which was agreed to by Baca, was held in an atmosphere of tension and intimidation.

In its drive to remove Baca from his MEChA post, the Crusade has resorted to slanders, insults, and lies. Crusade members have even made threats of physical violence.

In early October, when SWP leaders Fred Halstead and Steve Chainey went to Crusade headquarters to discuss these threats with Gonzales, they were beaten by Ernesto Vigil and other Crusade members. In response, more than forty movement activists in Denver and throughout the country signed a statement calling on the Crusade leadership to repudiate the use of violence to settle differences in the movement.

The Crusade's newspaper, *El Gallo*, recently wrote, "Is Elfego Baca an agent provocateur, a puppet in an SWP anti-Crusade campaign, a drug traffic sympathizer, or just a very disturbed person. . . ?"

Crusade leaders know as well as anyone that Baca is none of these. He has for many years been a dedicated activist in Denver's Chicano community.

It was at the weekly Crusade gatherings called Fishermen's meetings that

I interviewed Baca recently to find out more about his background and his involvement in the Chicano movement.

Baca, twenty-eight, grew up in a working-class family in Denver's impoverished Near West Side barrio. His father worked for twenty years as a machinist in a steel mill "until he just wore out," Baca says.

As a small child, Baca—like most other Chicanos—was the target of racist insults because he was "dark," "Mexican," and "different." Those painful experiences were the seeds of his nationalist consciousness, he says.

As a high school student in the early 1960s, Baca became interested in the Black civil rights struggle. One of the most important moments in his political life came when a friend took him to a Fishermen's meeting at the Crusade around 1968 or 1969.

Baca liked what he heard there. He became a regular at the meetings, where Corky Gonzales often spoke. What attracted him to the Crusade?

"They were speaking on issues that concerned the Chicano community," he said. Corky Gonzales and others were saying that "Chicanos had to develop strength and stick together to solve their problems. They also talked about our culture and our history and about the Vietnam War."

Capitalist 'justice'

Like many other Chicano youths, Baca has had run-ins with "the man." At the age of nineteen, he landed in the reformatory at Buenavista for robbery. This experience only deepened his conviction that he lived in a racist society.

"While I was in there," he said, "because of my contact with the Crusade, I began to talk with other Chicano brothers about our culture and heritage and Chicanos working together."

Before long, Baca was organizing meetings that drew up to thirty-five inmates. So the authorities transferred him to the state penitentiary at Canon City.

After spending more than two years in jails, Baca got a job at the mammoth Coors beer plant. He was soon fired, however, for missing one day of work. He had traveled to Los Angeles that day in August 1970 to march with 30,000 other Chicanos in the Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam War.

Cuba visit

After this, Baca decided to visit Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade. He spent two months there, working in the cane fields, attending classes, and "checking things out."

"I was really impressed by Cuba in a lot of ways," he said. "I wasn't totally convinced that everything they were doing was correct. But I felt that the kind of socialist economy they were putting together was much better than the conditions that the *cubanos* were living under prior to the revolution."

When he returned, he encouraged others to go to Cuba, and helped raise funds for their trips.

Movement artist

One way Baca has expressed his commitment to the struggle for Chicano liberation has been through art. Along with Manuel Martínez, another Chicano artist, he painted a mural at Mestizo Park. He has drawn and designed several posters for Crusade-sponsored activities as well.

Baca also did the artwork for the *Escritor del Pueblo*, a community newspaper edited by Freddie Granado. Granado, a well-known student activist

and a Raza Unida party candidate, was murdered along with several other Chicano activists.

Despite his active participation in the Crusade for several years, Baca, along with other community activists, began to develop criticisms of the organization. The use of violence and intimidation by the Crusade became a serious problem. When a conflict developed between the Crusade and leaders of the Chicano community on the West Side, some Crusade members tried to settle it by assaulting one of their opponents.

When Baca spoke out against such

these important Chicano community struggles.

While a student at Metro State, Baca also worked closely with the Young Socialist Alliance. He joined the YSA last January. "I finally decided to join," he said, "realizing that being part of the *movimiento* was much of what my life was about."

He had attended several YSA conventions. "I felt that I could utilize my time and energy more constructively and creatively by being part of the YSA," he said. "I was a socialist and I was a nationalist, and I felt that the YSA expressed the relationship be-



Militant/John Gray

CHICANO MORATORIUM AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM, LOS ANGELES, 1970: Baca was fired for taking the day off to travel to this demonstration of 30,000 Chicanos.

methods at a subsequent Fishermen's meeting, he was applauded by people from the community.

Recently, the Crusade's desire to discredit Baca has led them to spread outright lies. I asked Baca about a slanderous charge against him contained in the most recent issue of *El Gallo*. The paper asserts that in 1971 Baca fire bombed a Raza Unida party headquarters in Denver.

First of all, Baca explained, the RUP headquarters referred to in the article was never bombed. But, he added, "it's ridiculous to make such an irresponsible charge, knowing that I've been a strong advocate of the Raza Unida party. I supported the concept of Chicanos creating an independent political party that's opposed to the Republicans and especially the Democrats."

"I've voted for all Raza Unida candidates locally and on a statewide level."

Baca's active support of the RUP is a matter of public record. While a student at Metro State, Baca drafted a letter urging support to the Chicano party. He got leaders of the United Mexican American Students (UMAS—the predecessor of MEChA) to sign the letter, along with a number of Chicano professors. The letter was printed in the *Denver Post*.

Baca has also been a leader in support activities on the Metro campus for the United Farm Workers union. He is an activist in the Concerned Citizens for Equal Education, a coalition organized to fight racist attacks on bilingual-bicultural education, school desegregation, and affirmative-action hiring programs in Denver schools.

Perhaps one of the chief reasons for the Crusade's vendetta against Baca is that, in its growing sectarianism, it has almost completely abstained from

tween the two really well."

It was after he joined the YSA that things came to a head in MEChA. A number of students began to develop criticisms of the Crusade's role in the student group. While the participation of the Crusade was welcomed, Baca emphasized, the students didn't want the Crusade to dominate MEChA to the exclusion of others.

An opposition slate developed in the elections with Baca running for chairperson. This slate won nearly all the posts.

Since that time, in their effort to oust Baca, Crusade members have engaged in a steady campaign of intimidation, causing tensions to run high at the MEChA meetings. In late September, Crusade members in MEChA tried to impeach Baca on the charge that he was late to the Crusade-sponsored September 16 Mexican independence activities, and other such spurious charges.

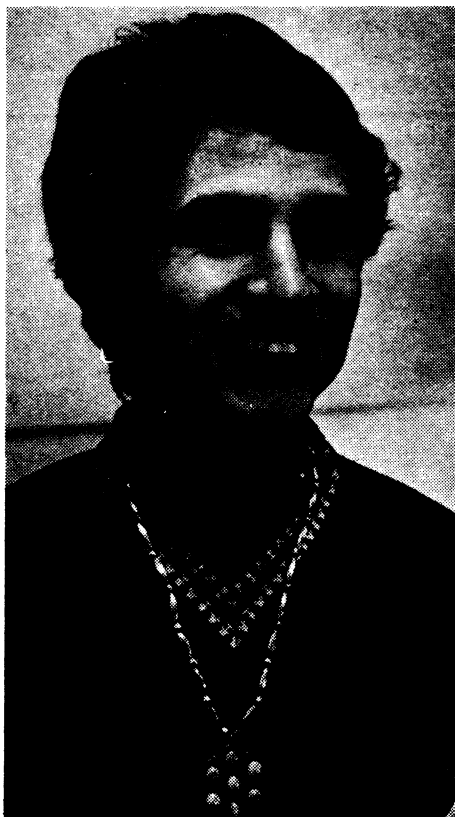
'Democratic process'

Differences of opinion are bound to develop in the movement, Baca pointed out. "I feel that the best way to deal with these problems is with an open mind and a sense of the democratic process."

"There's no need to create a lot of animosity and violence simply because we disagree with each other. The best way to fight a wrong idea is with another, better idea."

"We have to learn to accept criticism and build a better movement from criticism."

The slanders against Baca are so vile and outrageous that they discredit the Crusade more than their intended victim. Unless this campaign of lies is repudiated by the Crusade, it can only contribute to the decline of what was once an organization that inspired thousands of Chicanos—including Elfego Baca—to fight against their oppression.



Militant/Miguel Pendás

ELFEGO BACA

I first met Elfego Baca about five years ago. Socialists were welcome there and I attended the meetings regularly.

On one occasion, however, some persons in the audience red-baited me. Many, if not most, of the Crusade members present did not agree with this. But only one person had the nerve to speak out in my defense. That was Elfego Baca.

From that time to this, I have known him to be a person who is not afraid to fight for what he believes in, even when he is in a minority.

...Africa

Continued from back page

embargo on the South African regime. It demanded that the United States, Britain, and France not veto such measures, as they have in the past.

A voluntary arms embargo was voted by the UN in 1963. But as foes of apartheid in this year's General Assembly session charged, this embargo has been widely violated by the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, and other imperialist powers.

These governments have also engaged in significant trade and investment in South Africa. Such economic relations were also blasted in the November 9 voting.

Washington and its military allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have been bolstering the South African military for a long time.

Use of U.S.-manufactured C-141 Starlifter transport jets during South Africa's invasion of Angola is one example.

Between 1967 and 1972, U.S. aircraft manufacturers sold \$272.8 million worth of planes to South Africa. These were described as commercial products to evade a public outcry over violations of the UN arms embargo. In fact, however, these planes—including the C-141s—are considered "dual purpose" equipment and are an important component of South Africa's counterinsurgency equipment.

As Washington was defending its apartheid ally at the United Nations, other U.S. diplomats were in Geneva trying to shore up another white minority regime. Assistant Secretaries of State William Schaefle and John Reinhardt were sent there to participate in negotiations between the racist

Ian Smith government and Rhodesian Black leaders.

In private discussions leading up to Geneva, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger confronted Smith with intelligence estimates that the guerrilla struggle would lead to military and economic disaster for the Rhodesian regime in a year.

Kissinger, according to the November 16 *New York Times*, told Smith that "Communism would only increase in Africa if there was no move toward a negotiated settlement now that would allow moderate blacks to take power in Rhodesia."

The Kissinger-created framework for the Geneva talks is designed to accomplish such a settlement. It calls for a two-year biracial interim government that would give way to Black majority rule. At Smith's insistence, the Kissinger plan was amended to include provisions that white racists retain control of police and military ministries in the interim government.

The racists have refused any compromise on these provisions with Black delegates at Geneva. The Black leaders think the proposed two-year life span for the interim government is too long and have not agreed to white racist control of key security posts.

So despite pressure from Washington to head off what it sees as a disaster on the battlefield, the Geneva negotiations have been stalled since October 28.

From the United Nations in New York to Geneva, it is apparent that Washington's aims in Africa are to preserve racist exploitation as best it can in the face of the rising Black freedom struggle. Defenders of democratic rights must be on guard against the government's political, economic, and military aid to South Africa and Rhodesia. We must be prepared to mobilize the American people to protest against these policies.

'No to Transkei scheme!'

Activists in Washington, D.C., and Minnesota have added their voices to the growing outcry against the racist regimes in southern Africa.

Militant correspondent Mitchel Rosenberg reports from D.C. that 200 people attended a Howard University protest meeting November 12. The featured speakers were Herbert Vilakazi, a Black South African (now a U.S. citizen) who was an eyewitness to the anti-apartheid struggles in Soweto in June, and noted Pan-Africanist scholar C.L.R. James. Also speaking were Vince Benson of Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks Local 1906, and Vince Eagan, a staffer of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

The Howard African studies department and campus SCAR chapter sponsored the protest.

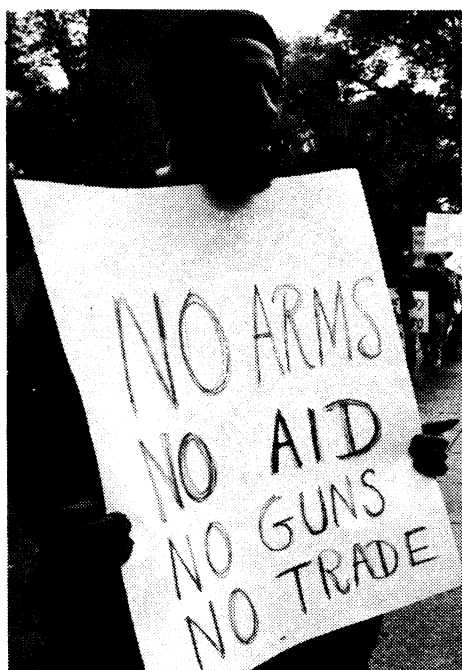
Another D.C. protest, called by the

June 16 Coalition, took place October 25. More than 200 demonstrators circled the White House chanting, "No support for the Vorster regime, no support for the Transkei scheme," and other slogans.

In Minnesota, opponents of racist rule in Africa have formed the Minnesota Committee on Southern Africa.

According to correspondent Holly Harkness, the committee has been holding public forums throughout Minneapolis and St. Paul.

The committee plans to introduce motions before the Minneapolis and St. Paul city councils in support of Black majority rule. They also plan a tour by Bill Anderson, a South African army deserter. Anderson's talk exposes atrocities committed by the South African army during its invasion of Angola.



June 16 Coalition

Young socialists to rally opposition to apartheid

By Peter Archer

"No to racism from Boston to southern Africa!"

"Free all South African political prisoners!"

"No to apartheid—Black majority rule now!"

In the coming months, these slogans

them will be members of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

And many will also be members of the Young Socialist Alliance. YSA members have actively participated in NSCAR since its founding in February 1975. And we'll continue to be in the front lines of NSCAR's campaign around southern Africa this year.

At the YSA's national convention in Chicago, December 31-January 2, delegates from across the country will discuss and vote on a special resolution on the fight against racism in southern Africa.

Another resolution to be discussed and voted on is "Socialist Strategy for 1977." "Since June of this year, thousands of Africans, Asians, and Coloureds (people of mixed African, Asian, and European descent) have filled the streets of Cape Town, Johannesburg, Soweto, and other cities and

townships in a massive rebellion against apartheid," the resolution says.

"What began as a student struggle against the imposition of the Afrikaans language in Black schools has evolved into a revolt that challenges the basic racist fabric of South African society."

The YSA has a long history of struggle against racism, both at home and abroad. When the YSA was founded in 1960, many of our members were involved in the growing civil rights struggle in the South. YSA members organized picket lines demanding that Woolworth's desegregate its lunch counters in southern cities.

Later, in the mid-1960s, YSA members helped publicize the speeches and writings of Malcolm X. We hailed Malcolm's message that Black people must build their own political power

independently of the white-controlled two-party system.

For the past two years, YSA members have helped build support for school desegregation in Boston, along with NSCAR, the NAACP, and many other groups.

Racism isn't just a "mistake." It's built into the system we live under—the private-profit system of capitalism. Members of the Young Socialist Alliance want to do away with this system and create a world based on human needs, not profits. In a socialist world, racism would not exist.

The YSA convention this winter will be an exciting opportunity to find out more about what socialists believe in. It's an important convention for everyone involved in the struggle against racism to attend.

If you want more information, write: YSA, Post Office Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

YSA
Convention
Dec. 31-Jan. 2 Chicago

are going to be painted on picket signs and chanted by students from colleges and high schools across the United States. Many of the people chanting

U.S. Maoists echo attacks on 'gang of four'

By Les Evans

Not surprisingly, the very last groups on the American left to venture an opinion about what is going on in China are those that claim to be the special representatives of Mao Tsetung Thought.

This cautious policy is easily explained. Groups such as the October League (OL) and the Revolutionary Communist party (RCP) are in heated competition for Peking's official nod as the U.S. Maoist organization. So they wanted to be sure who won in the current purge of Mao's best-known follower before hailing any successor.

Giving the RCP the benefit of the doubt, let's assume that the latest issue of its monthly newspaper *Revolution*—although dated October 15—was already at the printers the first week in October when the arrest of the four top party leaders was first reported.

Even so, *Revolution* was cautiously

attempting to avoid any embarrassing slip-ups. A full four pages in the October 15 issue are devoted to an article on China after Mao. Half of this very long article provides a detailed account of the purge of Teng Hsiao-ping earlier this year. Yet, the author succeeds in not once mentioning by name a single living leader in the Chinese Communist party.

That's one way to avoid saying anything favorable about someone who might turn out to be a loser.

The October League also hedged its bets. The October 25 issue of its weekly *Call* announced that "amid speculation and rumors in the capitalist press, China is making great gains in carrying on its revolution under the conditions of socialism." This was ten days after mass demonstrations had begun in China to denounce Chiang Ch'ing and her supporters. The *Call* limited its

news from China to reporting the planned publication of volume five of Mao Tsetung's *Selected Works*.

Finally on November 1, the *Call* announced, "'Gang of Four' Exposed; Millions Rally in China."

The exposé consisted of an abridged account of Peking Mayor Wu Teh's speech at an October 24 rally in Peking.

"Wu Teh went on to document the crimes of the gang of four. . .," the *Call* wrote. How did Wu Teh "document" these alleged crimes? By "referring to [the 'gang of four's'] attempts to revise Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, tamper with Chairman Mao's instructions and oppose his revolutionary line on international and domestic matters. Wu said the four were guilty of 'plotting tirelessly to overthrow a large number of leading comrades in the party, government

and army at the central and local levels.' He also said that the four had 'worshipped things foreign, fawned on foreigners and maintained illicit foreign relationships, engaging in flagrant activities of capitulationism and national betrayal.'"

On the basis of such "evidence," the OL simply swallows whole the current regime's charges against the four.

One explanation of the October League's conduct was suggested in a letter published in the somewhat more independent New York Maoist weekly *Guardian*. E.B. of Chicago writes in the November 17 issue:

"And what would these people be saying had the so-called 'gang of four' instead purged Premier Hua? You know as well as I do: they'd be denouncing the 'capitalist-roader' Hua. To the October League, the 'correct' line is the winning line."

World Outlook

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

NOVEMBER 26, 1976

Student protest leader reports

Behind the growing upsurge in South Africa

[Tsietshi Mashinini is the president of the Soweto Students Representative Council and a central leader of the mass student protests that began in Soweto in mid-June. An interview with him was obtained October 9 in London, from which the following are major excerpts. The footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. Could you tell us what life is like in Soweto?

Answer. I don't know in what way I can portray the picture. But Soweto is the biggest Black township in South Africa. It has about 80,000 houses, which are inhabited by more than one million people.

I come from a family of twelve kids. And my parents make it fourteen. We stayed in a four-room house, and the rooms are about eight by ten. Very few houses have electricity. Of those with electricity, most of them belong to the bourgeoisie in Soweto. It is ghetto life all the way. Very few gas stoves around. There are lots of basic needs people cannot afford, because of very low wages. In fact, when a survey was done in 1974 it was found that 60 percent of the people in Soweto had wages just to keep them alive, and not to have any other needs a human being has.

You don't own any property except your furniture. The house is not yours—it belongs to the Bantu Administration Board. You are in the urban areas for the purpose of either schooling or working. If you are not doing either of the two, you are sent to the Homelands.

Soweto has very few recreational facilities. It has two cinemas, about six municipal halls, and scattered playgrounds here and there. It has almost 300 schools, from grade level Sub A through matriculation. There is no university in Soweto. If you want to go to university, you go to one of the tribal universities.

Q. You mentioned bourgeois layers in Soweto. Can you explain that further?

A. They are a very small percentage. In fact, they have a special township, a place for the rich, called Dube. That is where you find most of the big houses and mansions. Most of the people who stay there are doctors, lawyers, and people who have got the best jobs in town. The rest of the people are labourers and drivers. They constitute 85 percent.

Schools

Q. Could you describe the conditions in the schools and the education system for Blacks in South Africa?

A. Besides having to buy everything you need at school, you pay high school fees. There are a number of bursaries that are granted on merit, but usually they are granted to students from rich families.

The classes have almost eighty pupils in them. There are two or three on a desk even at high-school level. At primary-school level you sit down on benches in rows with no desks at all. Our schools don't have heaters. The school simply has a classroom, a blackboard, and the Department of Bantu Education provides the chalk and writing material for the blackboard. Everything else in the classroom is provided by the pupils.

After April, the Bantu Education Constitution laid down that if you have not paid the fees you should be sent out from the school. If you don't wear the proper school uniform every day, you are liable to expulsion. Teachers cane you for whatever offence, and each school has its own regulations.

The school I came from, you enter at 7 a.m. and school goes out at 5:30 p.m., with two breaks in between: one at ten o'clock for twenty minutes and a lunch break between one and two o'clock. You get punished for not having shoelaces, belts, ties, and buttons. And if you are a girl and you are wearing a tunic, you get punished if your buttons do not correspond to your tunic.

In South Africa, the teaching is very impersonal and indifferent. It's only in rare cases where you find the teacher with an interest in his students or pupils. Most of the time the teacher just comes in, gives you work, and goes out.

Q. Are all the teachers Black?

A. Yes, all Black. In my school there was a white teacher. He came this year and was not well received by the students. I understand there are almost eighty white teachers in high schools all over South Africa. This is supposed to project an image overseas that Blacks and whites are living quite happily, that we even have white teachers in Black schools. I don't know how many times that teacher nearly got beaten up at school by students because of the bitterness the Black people have.

Afrikaans

Q. Until now all teaching was done in English?

A. Yes, all the time.

Q. And the protests began after the proposal was made that all or some of the teaching be in Afrikaans?

A. Every student is doing seven



subjects, at least until high-school level: the two official languages, English and Afrikaans, your mother tongue, and four other subjects. This Afrikaans policy compelled you to do two of the subjects in Afrikaans and two in English.

With the type of education we have and where you do not have much material to do research on, students find difficulty in understanding the concepts involved in physics, biology, and geography. And now if you have to do all these things in a language you are not conversant in, and the teacher has never been taught to teach in Afrikaans—Afrikaans has got very few circles in society because everywhere the medium of English is used, except in official pamphlets where Afrikaans and English are used—and all the time for almost eleven years you have been taught through the medium of English, it is difficult to switch over.

A number of junior secondary schools went on strike and then some went back. But there was one in particular, Phuti, which went on strike for six weeks, and they would not go back until Afrikaans was scrapped as a medium of instruction.

When any school was involved in an incident of some sort, the press built it up as another protest against the Afrikaans language. There was an incident at Naledi high school where security branch officers went to pick up a student for detention. When they got there, the students decided to beat up the security branch officers and burn their car. The press picked that up as another protest against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and then it was the talk of the township.

We were getting sick and tired because instead of oppression being gradually removed from us, the system was in fact implementing some of the

thoughts of oppressing us. I realised that people were fed up with this sort of thing, but nobody had the guts to start anything. I decided that if we were to demonstrate it would have an effect because there has never been a demonstration before in Soweto. There were demonstrations some time before we were born or when we were little kids, like the Sharpeville demonstration—of which we know very little because any material, written material, about Sharpeville was banned.

We heard that the students of the University of Witwatersrand had demonstrated. So I thought that if we could demonstrate it would be something out of the way. I was the president of the South African Student Movement [SASM] at my high school, Morris Isaacson. I called the students together, and on the Wednesday a week before June 16, we talked about it. I delivered a speech on the South African situation and got the students in a mood to do anything.

On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday I gave them the briefing for the demonstration. On Saturday we put a placard at the school gates, saying: "Notice—no Security Branch allowed. Enter at risk of your skin." Now the press put that up again as another protest against the Afrikaans issue. On Sunday there was a SASM meeting of all the students in Soweto. I went to the meeting and got a few chaps from the other schools to help me, and we decided to mobilise all the high schools and junior secondary schools.

We did that on Monday and Tuesday, and then on Wednesday we went on the streets demonstrating. We were very peaceful all the time and there were just placards denouncing Afrikaans as another method of oppression.

The idea was to converge on this junior secondary school, and there

Continued on next page

1. Afrikaans is the Dutch-based language of the Boer section of the white population.

Behind the growing upsurge in South Africa...

Continued from preceding page

myself and a number of other students had drawn up a memorandum to the effect that we Soweto students totally rejected Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and we were not going back until this was scrapped. We were converged already, and I was still trying to tell the students to settle down so that we could address them properly, when the cops started shooting.

Q. How many students were involved on June 16?

A. The press put it at 10,000. I am not very good at estimating how many people were there, but I have seen what 10,000 people are. And if I was to compare that demonstration with others, we had the biggest crowd on June 16. I think nearly all the students in central, north, east, and west Soweto were involved. Only the south was not involved.

Black workers

Q. How were the workers' strikes organised after the student protests?

A. After June 16 we realised that there were too many killings, so we tried to get a method whereby we could hit the system and reduce the casualties. As we did not have guns, our only weapon was to cripple the economy of the country, which lies in Black hands. So the idea was to stop workers going to work.

So we sent word to the parents, the workers. We requested that from such and such a date to such and such a date nobody should go to work. And that is how the workers came into it. They pledged solidarity with the students and stayed at home. We distributed pamphlets, and students were circulating them, that is how they were organised. All the time they wanted to be involved in the struggle, but there was no concrete organisation which could announce: "Don't go to work." It could only be done through the students.

Q. Are Black workers being organised on a wide scale?

A. Yes. I have seen some of their underground work.

Q. The clash between some of the hostel workers² and other residents in Soweto, what caused that?

A. Now, in the course of the struggle, since the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was established and even since Mandela's time,³ the hostel dwellers were always overlooked as a sector of the community. Not much consciousness raising was done. So the system went to these people and told them to kill the Black leaders. They gave them pictures of Black leaders; my picture was included. They gave them a number of houses to burn belonging to Black leaders. So we knew about this, but we were not in a position to do anything about it.

It was confirmed that the system

2. Migrant workers in the urban areas are generally housed in barracks-like hostels so as to isolate them from the rest of the Black population.

3. Nelson Mandela, a central leader of the African National Congress in the late 1950s and early 1960s. He is now serving a life sentence on Robben Island.



Black students protesting compulsory instruction in Afrikaans sparked current upsurge.

had mobilised all the hostels and fortunately enough some of the hostels did not participate. Only one hostel did participate in the murder of Black people. Immediately afterwards, the Black community reorganised itself to pick up the people who did not want to pledge themselves in solidarity with the Black students.

But the hostel dwellers became aware of the fact that the system was just using them and so they pledged solidarity with the students. Now they are hitting very hard against the system. The only thing which will happen is that it won't be reported what the hostel dwellers are doing against the system. It will only be reported what they are doing against the students.

Q. What was the Students Representative Council?

'As long as there is oppression, there will be Black power. As long as there is a Black person oppressed in South Africa, there will be Black movements which will result in the concept of Black power—the eruption of the Black masses. Black power is every Black person in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe.'

A. The SRC was formed after June 16, when we were planning the second demonstration for the release of detainees. I requested each school to send two representatives and these representatives formed the SRC. We could not have SASM representatives. We did not want this thing to appear as if it had been organised by SASM, otherwise SASM would be declared a restricted organisation. But even so, all the members of SASM were detained and I am the only one left of the national and regional executive councils.

Q. Have all the leaders of the South

African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention been detained?

A. Yes, all of them. The SASO general student council was from July 5 to July 9. The national president who was elected after the riots was detained in connection with the riots. Before the demonstrations Mongezi Stofile was an ordinary student, but after he was elected national president he was detained in connection with the riots.

Black Consciousness

Q. Can you say something more about the BCM, its origins and links with similar movements elsewhere?

A. The BCM was formed in 1968. There were student councils in Natal, Orange Free State, all over South Africa. And they came together and

concerned is to peacefully bring about a change in the South African social aspect and to bring about the total liberation of the Black man.

The BCM, which is a very strong movement, gained momentum from 1972 until the death of Tiro, the person who established SASM in 1972 and who was assassinated by a letter bomb in Botswana in 1974. He was permanent organiser of SASM and the first national president of SASM at the high-school level. He is one of the Black leaders who died for the Black cause.

Q. We have heard that the BCM is influenced by ideas from the American Black national movement?

A. I am not sure. I myself have read very little material about the Black power movement in America. The students in South Africa do not identify Black power the way it is identified in America. I don't even know how it is identified in America.

I believe that Black power is the realisation of the people of oppression. Immediately they realise they are oppressed they recoup themselves to fight against the system. As long as there is oppression, there will be Black power. As long as there is a Black person oppressed in South Africa, there will be Black movements which will result in the concept of Black power—the eruption of the Black masses. Black power is every Black person in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe.

Q. To what extent have you involved sections of the Asian and Coloured population?⁴

A. The ideology of the BCM defines Blackness as an attitude of the mind, and not of the colour of the skin. So it makes provision for the Coloured and Indian population to be involved in the BCM. The Black man is any member of the South African community. The difference between the Coloureds, Indians, and Blacks is that the Blacks are not referred to as Blacks, but as Africans. If you want to differentiate between the three groups, one is African, one Indian, and one Coloured. They are all referred to as Blacks.

Banned books

Q. What have you read in South Africa? Are books and pamphlets smuggled in which give people an idea as to what happens in the rest of Africa?

A. There are a number of books which are smuggled into the country. A lot of people possess banned material. You just do not lend it to people to read because that is where the offence is, by giving it to people, by circulating it in fact. So if you have banned material you keep it to yourself. If the system picks you up and you are in possession of banned material, that is another offence.

The first banned book I read was *The Immorality Act*, which is a story

4. South Africa's Black population is composed of 17.8 million Africans, 2.3 million Coloureds, and 710,000 Indians. The Indians were originally brought to South Africa as indentured workers, and the Coloureds are descendants of the early white settlers, Indians, Malay slaves, and Khoikhoi, San, and other African peoples.

...eyewitness account by student leader

written by a judge about a white man who was in love with a Black woman. The next was this book by Nelson Mandela, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*. There are quite a number of copies in South Africa. Mostly what is not banned are SASO and SASM newsletters, but they are banned after a month or two. Since June 16, everything that was Black was banned, even before it was released.

Q. What about Marxist books? Books by Marx and Lenin?

A. Not even in the libraries. I only learnt what it was when I was in Botswana in exile, that the concept of Marxism is based on "each according to his abilities, each according to his needs." Then I realised this was exactly what we were fighting for in South Africa.

If you ask the people what type of government they would like to have, a person cannot articulate in those terms. But a person will tell you that those people in Dube are rich and other people in white cities eat cows and this is obscene. That person is getting 40 rands and the other person 140 rands per month. If these things could be equal, people would live better. In such parables people tell you exactly what they want; and when you come to analyse it all, they want Marxism. They have been oppressed and suppressed for so long they only want to live in an equal society.

Q. How did developments in Mozambique and Angola affect the Blacks in South Africa?

A. It brought political awareness of the potential Black people carried in their hands. SASO tried to have a rally some time just before the independence of Mozambique and that rally was banned. Now, I was a political infant, and the question arose in my mind. "Why was this rally banned?"

You tend to like everything the white regime hates. They don't like anything to do with Frelimo; then you are for Frelimo.⁵ When they were fighting Cubans and Angolans in Angola, then we were for those people they don't like. The fact that they don't like communism makes you think what communism is, and "no, I think I want

5. Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front).



TSIETSI MASHININI Red Weekly

this." They are not aware that they are creating this type of thing.

The system more or less made me what I am now because of their constant oppression. My character was built by the environment that I lived in. That is why I claim that I am not the only Tsietshi Mashinini—there are lots of other students who will become active because of what the system is doing to them.

Repression

Q. Because of the level of repression since June 16, do you think that the South African regime will be able to crush this movement?

A. I think they will ban the BCM and claim that they are behind all this. But a new liberation front will come up. They are going to drive the people underground, because the people are going to be afraid to act the way the BCM has done. A lot of underground work is going to be done without the knowledge of the system. They will only see various acts of underground work, but they won't know who is responsible.

cringe before the Boers. We will continue to resist until the day of victory. We are prepared to be killed rather than to go over to the enemy's side.

Rumours have been circulating recently that comrade Ja Toivo and some others are to be released so that they can participate in the Turnhalle.³ This is only South African propaganda aimed at dividing our People's Movement. The Namibians on Robben Island have discussed this issue several times. One of our main decisions was that we will never talk to the South African regime because we are in prison and the South Africans are

3. The Turnhalle talks between white officials and Namibian tribal chiefs began in Windhoek in September 1975. Pretoria initiated the talks in an attempt to politically isolate SWAPO, which is fighting for Namibian independence from South African rule.—IP

The system itself has created so many enemies. There were people who sympathized with the BCM, but did not want to have anything to do with politics for fear of detention. The system was raiding almost fifty homes a night after June 16, looking for that person or this person. So many people were killed or detained. So many people have grudges against the system that they are prepared to do anything against the system anytime. So many mothers have lost their children. So many fathers have lost their children. So many husbands have lost their wives. That is because of the system.

In fact, I would say that the system has done more to heighten consciousness than SASO, SASM, and BPC have managed in their history.

Q. What do you think of the Kissinger talks with Vorster?

A. We are aware of the role of Kissinger with his peace talks. The peace talks mean that Kissinger is representing the Western world in South Africa. The Western world has economic interests in South Africa. The Black masses are revolting against the racist regime. Kissinger has got to establish peace in South Africa such that their interests are not tampered with.

The Black student is just beginning to realise that his fight is not just against the racist regime, but that the racist regime has got its power resources in the whole of the Western world. And that is why they are rejecting people like Kissinger and so on.

Q. What attitude do you think the neighboring states should take towards the South African struggles?

A. If they could make military aid available to the South African struggle it would contribute a lot, because that is the only language the people want to understand now. Armed struggle against the racist regime, that's the only thing they see as possible to bring us total freedom. If you could look into the history of the struggle, you could see that all other means have been exhausted. The only thing left is armed struggle against the racist regime.

When we protest in demonstrations, we are mad because we don't have guns. When we try to negotiate, it is always that the government is still

quite aware of the fact that we don't get any news about what is going on outside prison walls. We have no newspapers or radios. We also feel we have nothing to negotiate with the South African regime, since it was given the Mandate to administer Namibia without consultation with the Namibian people.⁴

I feel that South Africa will only transfer us to Namibia when international pressure and the effect of our political and armed struggle have become unbearable—that is when South Africa will be completely defeated.

4. Shortly after World War I, the League of Nations granted South Africa a mandate to administer Namibia, a former German colony, as a "sacred trust of civilization." In 1966, the United Nations revoked the mandate, declaring South Africa's continued occupation of the territory illegal.—IP

considering for an indefinite period. And if anybody comes into leadership, they are detained for an indefinite period. The racist regime has created so many draconian laws to protect itself against the Blacks that if you obeyed the South African laws there would be no political movement in South Africa.

Transkei

Q. What do you think of the Bantustans?

A. Bantustans are supposed to be independent, but they cannot be independent when they are dependent on the racist regime. If the Bantustans have their own parliament, prime minister, and legislative assembly, the final word will always come from Pretoria. Whatever they want to do on a Homeland scale, the final word will always come from Pretoria.

The Black people do not recognise any leader who is working within the system to try and bring about a change. All the leaders of the government platform can only speak that "ar and no further. Immediately they go over their limit, they are just sacked from their position as Homeland leaders and some other puppet is brought in.

Pretoria is creating all the puppets—a dozen a day—because they are aware of the political role these people could play to try and suppress the protests of the people. Now we do not recognise them, especially the students, who constitute a very powerful liberation front. As long as the students do not recognise Homeland leaders, urban Bantu councillors, and so on, everybody within the government framework, then independence shall be recognised as writing only, not by the people.

Q. What message would you have to people in Britain, France, or the USA to help the struggle?

A. For one, by not recognising the coming independence of Transkei, which is just a political swindle as far as I am concerned, between Blacks and whites in South Africa.

The people must understand that the racist regime is dependent entirely on Britain and other countries for arms and so on. And if they don't support the racist regime, it is entirely their duty to ensure that Britain cuts all relations with South Africa.



HERMAN JA TOIVO

...prison

Continued from page 26

kept in isolation in what the Boers call "single cells" (in order to deceive the international bodies which visit the Island): they are very tiny.

On days when there is no work we are locked up the whole day and [are] only given a few minutes outside the cells.

The Boers treat us here worse than they would treat dogs. They try to subdue and frighten us. But we are determined and resolved never to

Island since 1968. Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were central leaders of the African National Congress until their arrest and imprisonment in the early 1960s; both are serving life sentences.—IP

Letter from South African prison: 'They treat us worse than dogs'

[The following letter is by a Namibian imprisoned on South Africa's Robben Island, a prison island located a few miles off Cape Town where many of the country's convicted political prisoners are kept. The letter appeared in the September issue of *Namibia News*, a monthly magazine published in London by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).]

* * *

I am writing to you to tell you of our plight and to try to summarise the conditions prevailing at Robben Island, in the hope that you will be able to make these things known to the world. The South African regime spreads a lot of lies about this place, and we want you to broadcast the truth.

We are forced to do the dirtiest and worst kinds of hard labour thought up by the Boers¹ and designed to make life difficult and unbearable for us. For one year we were working at the "Bamboos" (it is a kind of sea-weed) factory. Some of us were drawing the "Bamboos" from the sea, while others carried them to the factory. After they dry they are milled, put into bags, and exported to the United States, through San Francisco; to Japan, through Yokohama; and to France, through Marseille. We were forced to produce up to 40 bags a day, each weighing 200kg. [440 pounds]. We understand from a reliable source that these imperialist powers—who are now sucking the last drops of blood of the prisoners—are producing about 26 different products from these "Bamboos"—including jelly and perfume.

The factory where we were milling the "Bamboos" was full of dust from the machines. A doctor established that the dust is dangerous and injurious to the lungs and throat. The "equipment" we were given for protection against the dust was of the poorest quality, and didn't even serve its purpose. In November 1975 we decided to go on strike, since they had constructed an enclosure which was accessible to the dust coming from the machine, and forced us to chop the "Bamboos" in that enclosure. The strike was successful in a sense, for

they replaced us with common law prisoners, who have their gaol about one kilometre from ours. Early this year the Boers tried us for this: they found us "guilty" and punished us.

Quarry

Comrades also have to work in the lime quarry, which is about 80 metres long and 40-50 metres wide. Its depth is approximately 10-15 metres! The surface is hard like a stone, but we are forced, violently, to break it with picks. Often the lime is not needed, and they throw it into the sea. If you were to visit Robben Island and see the lime quarries dug by human strength, you would certainly not believe your eyes. We also have to break stones, for gravel.

South Africa always tries to make visitors to the Island believe that hard labour does not exist there. They do this by concealing the existence of the quarries and wood camps; by giving those who work in these places other kinds of work to do whenever they have a visitor from abroad; and by giving deceptive explanations as to why people are working in such places.

There is in fact a place called the "hospital" but it is one only in name, for people do not get proper treatment there. The "doctors" who visit the Island are quacks: comrades are often given wrong tablets and medicines. Or the officers see to it that we don't get the tablets at all. We have put this matter on many occasions to the International Red Cross, but the Boers explain it away, and our complaints only intensify our maltreatment. Sometimes those who are ill and need urgently to be in hospital are put in isolation cells and receive no medical attention.

Victims

The following comrades lost their lives or parts of their bodies because they were not given proper medical attention by the Boer doctors:

- Erasmus Kapolo had an abscess of the gum while in detention in Pretoria from 1966. The doctor extracted his tooth without anaesthetic, and when the abscess got worse and he asked for further treatment he was given electric shock torture. A few days later, in 1967, he died.

- Angula Shoonnyeka was wounded during the capture at Ongulumbashe, but had recovered by the time he was taken to Pretoria. There the Security Police tortured and murdered him. They hung his body in his cell and said he had committed suicide. Two or



three days before his death, on 9 October 1966, he told one of his comrades that he had been beaten and was going to be taken back to the torture chamber.

- Festus Nehale had an incomplete rectum operation and was returned to the section only three days after the operation. The surgeon had not sewn him up properly, and comrade Nehale was so weak that the comrades had to wash him and support him. On 8 March 1970, a few days after the Boers had finally taken him to the local "hospital," comrade Nehale died.

- Petrus Nilenge died on 4 March 1974, from TB. He had been taken to Cape Town for treatment, but returned in a worse condition. The back of his head swelled up, and he partly lost the power of speech. All the time until his death he was kept in isolation in the hospital—we were not allowed to see him. The Boers refused to admit for about 20 days after his death that he had died—they said they had released him.

- John Shiponeni's knee was injured by the Boer torturers in Pretoria. One day on the Island he stumbled in the lime quarry and further damaged it. He was refused treatment for a month, then taken to Cape Town where his leg was amputated, without his knowledge or consent. They told him he had cancer and there was nothing they could do to save his leg. He now stays permanently in the "hospital."

- Nghidipo Haufiki has high blood pressure; so does Sakeus Itika; Lazarus Sakaria has TB; Jonas Shimweefeleni has kidney trouble, the doctors have on numerous occasions recommended that he be released, but his request has been refused by the South African regime.

Mental torture

Study on Robben Island is a privilege which the Boers may take away or suspend whenever it pleases them. Books are taken away from us soon after we receive them; those who take examinations never pass them, no matter how hard they work. It is very expensive to study—the greedy capitalist college owners are squeezing prisoners dry. There is a library, but we are only allowed to visit it at intervals of months, if at all. When we are sent books by the Red Cross or other international organizations, they simp-

ly do not reach us.

The comrades are punished every day by the Boers to destroy their psychological resistance. But brutality only helps to toughen the comrades. There is a "court" conducted by the Boer warders to punish us. If you are found "guilty" you are sent to isolation cells for 20-30 days, where you undergo a dietary punishment called "spare diet": for breakfast you get mealie-meal in hot water without salt; for lunch you get a beaker of soup without salt; dinner is the same as breakfast.

Maltreatment is an everyday thing. We are assaulted by warders and officers alike, then left in isolation cells until we no longer bear the marks, then taken to the hospital so the doctors can "prove" we have not been beaten. Sometimes they come and beat us with handles in the night.

Food

The food is very unwholesome. For breakfast one gets porridge; for lunch—mealies; for dinner—porridge, with a tiny piece of meat or fish. "Coffee" is made from roasted mealie-meal and tastes terrible. Because of the poor food and brackish water, more than ¾ of the prisoners suffer from high blood pressure.

We are allowed to write one letter a month, and receive one a month; if one has no visitor that month, one can write and receive two letters. The letters take months to reach us; they are censored and mutilated. Sometimes one only receives the name and address of the person who wrote the letter—the contents have been cut out. Our letters are also censored.

We are not allowed to have contact visits, or even to shake hands with our visitors. We have to speak through a glass panel about 40 sq. cm., so that we cannot even see each other clearly. The visit lasts 30 minutes—once a month—and the Security Police are present and tape our conversations.

There are no beds—we have to sleep on hard sisal mats. Sometimes the cement is so cold that one cannot sleep and has to spend the night awake.

Comrades Ja Toivo, Mandela, Sisulu,² and 37 other South Africans are

Continued on page 25

2. Toivo Herman ja Toivo was a founder of the South West Africa People's Organisation and has been imprisoned on Robben

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By Frank Lovell

Peter Camejo, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, was right when he predicted that 51 percent of those who would vote didn't want Ford and the rest didn't want Carter. That was what the preelection polls indicated and that is the way the vote went.

A very high percentage of eligible voters didn't care one way or the other. Of the some 150 million who could have voted, only 53.3 percent bothered, the lowest percentage since 1948. As it turned out, only about a quarter of the total eligible voters chose Carter.

These facts might seem to show the weakness of the president-elect, and some may think that he will seek support in office by helping those who voted for him. But that is not how it works in this two-party system of government, as all politicians in the Republican and Democratic parties know. It is strictly a matter of jobs for them, and the job they do is always in the service of the wealthy minority that owns the ruling parties and runs the government. The majority of voters—the poor and working people—get little attention after the election.

The overriding fact in this election is that Carter will be in office for the next four years. How he got there will soon be forgotten.

But in the first week after the election many organizations and individuals claimed that their special efforts made the difference between victory and defeat for Carter. Each hopes to receive special rewards from the new administration in Washington. Among these supplicants were the top union officials, who contributed much and expect rich returns even though their requests sound modest.

They have not tried to overstate their contributions. AFL-CIO President George Meany said it most humbly: "We in the labor movement worked hard for the election of Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale. . . ."

Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, was bolder. He reminded Carter that the electoral votes in the industrial states of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio made the difference, and "they certainly would have been lost without the efforts of the labor movement."

United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock, embarrassed by his failure to carry Michigan for Carter, claimed credit for electing a Democrat to the U.S. Senate and several others to the House of Representatives.

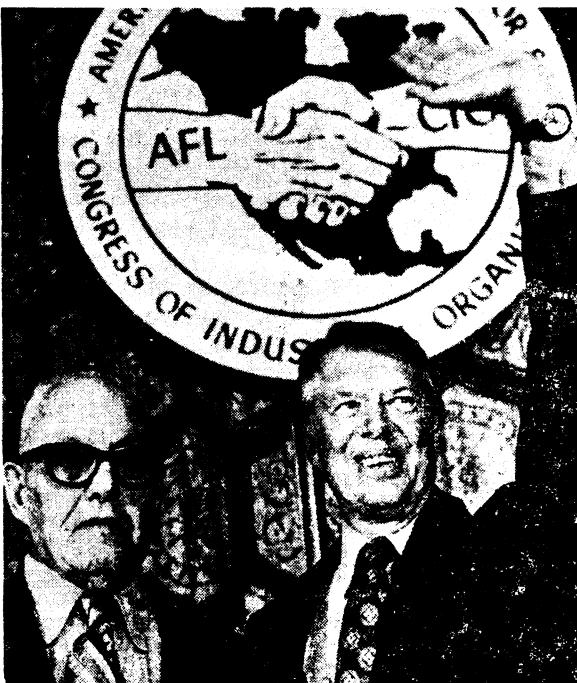
The truth is that Carter would not have been elected without the support of the union officialdom. More union money was spent on his election than any previous one, and nearly 70 percent of all union members who voted cast ballots for Carter.

Carter has made clear what he intends to do when he takes office. But the union officials are reluctant to say what they want him to do, which is more than he promises. In view of their extraordinary contribution to his election victory, it would seem only fair for them to say what they expect in return and not just hint at it.

They say that all they really want "in the

WHAT LABOR OFFICIALS EXPECT FROM CARTER

and what they'll get



beginning" is a new economic policy. George Meany put it most diplomatically as becomes a Labor Statesman. "I can assure the president-elect that, as he sets forth to solve the problems facing America, he will have the full cooperation and assistance of the AFL-CIO," Meany said.

Stephen Schlossberg, attorney for the United Auto Workers, was more explicit. "This is the moment of truth on our ability to deal effectively with unemployment and inflation," he said. "The other things can wait."

These "other things" include repeal of antiunion "right to work" laws, enactment of a shorter

workweek to create jobs, and a new law for labor-management-government control of the construction industry similar to the so-called common-site picketing bill that Ford vetoed.

Andrew Biemiller, AFL-CIO legislative director, said that jobs and the economy "take precedence over everything." He agreed that what Schlossberg called "parochial stuff like right to work or reform of the labor laws" should wait.

This means in practice that the union organizing drive will remain stalled in the South, where "right to work" laws are used to keep unions out. The labor alliance with antiunion Southern politicians inside the Democratic party has been one of the main reasons for the failure to organize the South since the days of Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Carter, for his part, leaves no doubt about how he intends to deal with the combined problem of unemployment and inflation. In a preelection interview with *Time* magazine he said he would be working with business and labor leaders "to establish a framework for voluntary wage and price restraints." And after the election he said that "if labor ever asked me for anything other than to try to work for the control of inflation and decrease of the unemployment rate, I would not comply with their recommendation."

In order to signal that top union officials seek only to participate in tripartite labor-management-government committees to regulate the economy, both Woodcock and Meany have recommended that John Dunlop, Nixon's secretary of labor, be reappointed to that post in the Carter cabinet.

Dunlop is the architect of tripartite regulation of the construction industry, and was head of Nixon's wage control board. He is an economics professor at Harvard and a management consultant, a slick antiunion operator who maintains friendly ties with the union bureaucracy.

Why do the top union officials seem to be afraid to tell Carter that they will demand of "their" Democratic party, which they put in power, the repeal of all antiunion legislation? It is true that Carter is supported by "right to work" business interests in the open-shop South. But do the union officials fear him on this account?

I think the answer to these questions is that they don't fear Carter, who they hope will be their friend, nearly as much as they fear the members of their own unions. They hope Carter will get the employers to grant a few economic concessions and establish an official labor-management partnership that will assure their control over the unions and the perpetuation of their privileges.

It is an unlikely prospect, judging by the facts of the election, the condition of the economy, and the mood of the workers.

This is not to say that Carter's longtime friends won't be taken care of, only that the union officials who have recently flocked to his side may be surprised to receive what they deserve and dread.

Oakland CWA strikers: massive support needed

By Jeff Mackler

OAKLAND, Calif.—Ninety communications workers—cable installers, technicians, and clerical workers—have been on strike against Focus Cable TV here since July 7.

They are up against professional union-busters, daily police and FBI harassment, a multi-million-dollar lawsuit falsely charging their union with "arson," and company refusal to negotiate.

The strikers and their union, Local 9455 of the Communications Workers of America, have set a valuable example of how to fight back.

They have organized regular strike support rallies and demonstrations aimed at actively involving other unionists. Through a community leafletting and phoning campaign they have convinced 6,000 of Focus's 24,000 customers to cancel their subscriptions.

Roving picket squads have been organized to discourage scabs.

The union has also sought the

support of Black and Chicano community groups and students for its contract demands relating to affirmative action. CWA rank-and-filers have spoken before scores of union meetings and campus classes.

Most Bay Area labor officials, however, have been reluctant to contribute more than the usual token check and an occasional business agent to walk the picket line. They have failed to see that the attack on CWA Local 9455 threatens the entire labor movement, and requires a massive outpouring of solidarity.

On October 30 some 100 strikers and supporters from other unions demonstrated at Focus Cable TV's headquarters. It was an inspiring show of the militancy and determination of the CWA rank and file.

But so far only small groups of supporters from a dozen or so Bay Area unions have joined in the CWA demonstrations. Most labor officials had other plans for the day—such as

rounding up last-minute support for the Democratic party just before the elections.

An incident in the CWA strike sheds light on the dubious value of this reliance on the Democrats.

The *Daily Californian* recently revealed that Elijah Turner, a one-time Black community activist and now public relations officer for Focus, had contributed \$500 to the campaign of Democrat John George for county supervisor.

Turner, now a Democratic party stalwart, also planned to host a fund-raising party for the congressional campaign of incumbent Ronald Dellums.

The CWA asked George and Dellums to reject the support of open strike-breaker Turner. Both refused.

Instead, these liberal Democrats used their influence with some local labor officials to pressure the union to cancel plans to picket the fund raiser. The CWA would not do so.

It was a dramatic example of how many labor officials today are more concerned about their relations with capitalist party politicians than with defending union brothers and sisters under attack.

After this incident, CWA Local 455 wrote to all elected officials in the area requesting immediate support for the strike. The letter, signed by local President Jack Rasmus, concluded by informing the politicians that their response or nonresponse would be reported to the CWA membership and to the Alameda County Central Labor Council.

The CWA's plans for the coming weeks center on winning new support from labor and the community to build the political and economic pressure necessary to compel a favorable settlement.

The strikers are still determined to continue their fight. All-out support from the rest of the labor movement is required if they are to be successful.

Racism, Revolution, Reaction, 1861-1877:

Racism, Revolution, Reaction, 1861-1877: The Rise and Fall of Radical Reconstruction by Peter Camejo. New York: Monad Press, distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. 269 pp. \$3.45.

By Tim Wohlforth

All the hoopla over the 200th anniversary of the United States cannot cover up the realities of life facing the 11 percent of the population who are Black, as well as the other oppressed minorities.

In fact, in many respects the economic and social conditions of the Black masses have recently deteriorated from an already inferior position. Unemployment is rising more heavily among Blacks, while cuts in social services hit Blacks and other oppressed minorities the hardest. A presidential campaign has just been completed during which both major parties acted as if 11 percent of the population did not even exist.

Peter Camejo's book is an attempt to probe the historical roots of this racism, which is so all-pervading today. Such an understanding can only strengthen our struggle against racism.

Southern slavocracy

Camejo traces the origins of racism in this country to the slave system in the South. He explains that the United States for most of its first hundred years was ruled by a bloc between the slave-owning class of the South and the commercial

Books

and industrial capitalists of the North. These forces had a common interest—mutual profits. While the slave owners based their production on a precapitalist form of labor exploitation, they sold the product of this labor, essentially cotton, on the world capitalist market. To them slaves were not people, but a capital investment.

The Northern commercial interests profited from the processing, world marketing, and shipping of the products of slave labor. At the same time, Southern plantations were markets for Northern manufactured goods.

The expression of these class forces in the political arena, however, revealed important inter-capitalist conflicts. The masses of the people, hostile to all the exploiting elements, were demagogically lined up behind one or another section of exploiters.

On the one hand, the bloc of slave owners with the mass of small farmers made up the main base of the Democratic party. This party railed against the eastern capitalist interests and especially opposed the efforts of eastern manufacturers to impose a high tariff to defend their home market from foreign competition. To these elements, tariffs meant higher prices on the goods they had to buy.

Important sections of the fledgling working class also supported this bloc because of its attacks on their bosses and because of its "common people" image.

Opposing the Democrats was a party supported primarily by manufacturing interests from the northeastern seaboard but also receiving support from some farmers, workers, and slave owners repelled by the plebeian demagoguery of the Democrats. This party can be considered the descendant of the original party that controlled the government at the time of the Constitution—the Federalists. But by this time it was known as the Whigs.

It was the Democratic party that dominated government during most of the half century before the American Civil War.

Industrial capitalism

The development of industrial capitalism in the North and the tremendous expansion of the population to the West created the conditions for the American Civil War, Camejo explains. For a whole period cotton production by cheap slave labor was profitable to all sections of the rich who dominated America. In this period abolitionists represented a very small and persecuted minority. But the more capitalism expanded and the country grew, the more the slave system in the South appeared as a

barrier to the development of an integrated national economy based on free labor.

In contrast, the slave owners had their own reasons to extend their system. The opening up of new lands to plantation production in the Southwest (in those days this meant areas like Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and East Texas), whetted the appetites of the slavocracy for even more land.

'Free soil'

The American Civil War did not erupt directly over the issue of slavery itself. It was not a moral crusade against an inhuman system. Rather, the central issue that set off the war was the question of whether or not the new lands of the West should be slave or free—what was in those days called the issue of "free soil."

The small farmers of the West, which was rapidly becoming the most populous region of the nation, developed deep convictions on this issue. They wanted the land for themselves and their children to develop as small farmers—not for slave plantations.

The manufacturing interests also began to gravitate to this position. Manufacturing had already begun to shift from the eastern coastal region to the Great Lakes region in the Middle West. The interests of capital became more dependent on the development of the West than on slavery in the South. Also, manufacturing interests were becoming increasingly restless under the political yoke of the Democratic party bloc. They now desperately needed high tariffs for further industrial development, as well as an effective transport system.

During the ten years before the Civil War, the issue of slavery agitated the nation, pushing all other issues to the side. The political alignments of the past period, which reflected social alignments, were smashed up. A new party—the Republican party—arose almost overnight. It rallied the bulk of the midwestern farming class, as well as the capitalist elements of the old Whig party, which faded from the scene. The Democratic party was split into Northern and Southern factions, creating the conditions for Abraham Lincoln to become president.

Civil War

The election of Lincoln touched off the secession of the Southern states. This forced the issue of war, which began primarily around the issue of preservation of the Union. However, the struggle had its own dynamic. Much against the wishes of Lincoln and other compromising representatives of the capitalists in the Republican leadership, it began to take on a revolutionary character. That is, it slowly and grudgingly became transformed into a war for the abolition of slavery—a revolutionary war, a war in which masses of Blacks had to be mobilized to struggle for their own liberation.

This set the stage for the main topic of Camejo's book—What happened to the Blacks in the aftermath of that war? The answer to this question, by no means predetermined at the time, would shape the fate of the Black masses for a century to come. It has also posed to socialists in America today a set of tasks distinct from socialists in other countries.

In the course of the Civil War, a faction emerged within the Republican party known as the Radicals. This faction was originally formed around the issue of demanding a more determined conduct of the war. It urged an emancipation policy for the slaves and the use of the ex-slaves in the military effort.

In the postwar period this group urged that the revolutionary aspects of the war be carried through to the end. They favored giving Blacks full political rights. Their more radical elements urged a division of confiscated plantations so that each former slave could have forty acres and a mule, as well as the credit necessary to function as free farmers.

That program, if realized, would have meant that the Civil War completed the democratic tasks history posed to it, and the position of Blacks in American society today would have been far different than it is.

What actually took place was highly contradictory. Periods of great hope and revolutionary potential were followed by betrayal and terror.

The first period in the postwar South was characterized by the dominance of reaction encouraged from on top by President Andrew Johnson. Official Washington policy was one of appeasement to the leaders of the former insurgency. Land taken over by ex-slaves was returned to the former slave owners. The Ku Klux Klan emerged to terrorize Blacks, hoping to force them to work for their former masters under conditions similar to slavery. Black Codes were passed denying Blacks all rights.

This period did not last for long. It represented too sharp a counterrevolutionary shift too soon after a revolutionary war. Many people in the North were sympathetic to the ex-slaves and hostile to the former insurgents. This sentiment was expressed through the growing influence of the Radicals within the Republican party.

Another element within the Republican party, the Stalwarts, joined the Radicals to create the bloc that would bring about a major change in policy. These were the machine politicians who feared that an unreconstructed South would return the Democrats to power and thus deprive them of the very extensive booty of office in that period. They were backed by large sections of capital who wanted Republican rule to protect business with tariffs and to push through the huge giveaways to the railroads.

This dominant bloc within the Republican party carried through Radical Reconstruction in the South. Even this radical step was a compromise. De jure (by law) equality was established through guaranteeing Blacks the right to vote, backed up by federal troops. But de facto inequality persisted, because the Radicals held back from any land distribution program.

Reconstruction governments

The effect was nonetheless extremely positive, and Radical Reconstruction remains one of the truly heroic periods of the American working class and the Black masses. The great Black historian W.E.B. DuBois even characterized these governments as workers regimes, which, Camejo points out, is incorrect.

Nevertheless, for the first time in American history, ordinary working people, and Black ones at that, were seated in government on all levels in the South. They expressed the needs of the masses for land, for the opportunity to advance themselves. They instituted many highly progressive changes. Above all, they fought for free education so the masses of Blacks could gain the knowledge long denied them. The rights of women were supported and advanced way beyond the level of that day. Despite later events, these Radical legislators left an indelible and progressive mark on American history.

Camejo dispels the illusions about this period still preached in the schools. While corruption did exist in the South, it was actually far less than in the North at the time, and was imposed upon the Blacks by capitalist interests. While the Radicals received a solid Black vote, they also received a substantial white vote, much of it coming from the poor white farmers who had always been hostile to the plantation elements.

Capitalists move in

The most important aspect of Camejo's treatment of this period is his explanation of the penetration of the South by Northern capital and the resulting overthrow of Radical Reconstruction.

Camejo proves—contrary to popular myth—that the ex-slave owners were unable to play any independent role in the aftermath of the Civil War. As a class, they were destroyed and would never rise again.

In their place came Northern capitalists, who took over the main economic institutions of the South. They hired the old Southern colonels and generals to front for them, much as Colonel Sanders does today for the Kentucky Fried Chicken corporation. These Northern capitalist interests had their agents in both the Republican party of the South and in its bitter rivals—the "redeemers"—who would carry through the counterrevolutionary overthrow of the Reconstruction legislators.

Northern and Southern interests also quickly reached agreement on the central question of the

The Rise & Fall of Radical Reconstruction



Black voters register for first municipal election in Richmond, Virginia, after Civil War

postbellum South—the labor question. Without originally intending to, Northern capital emancipated the slaves. But the major concern of Southern agriculture, now largely dominated by Northern capital, was how to transform these emancipated Blacks into a cheap labor force for cotton production.

This problem was made more burning—as well as more difficult—by the growing world market for cotton, which was combined with the entry into this world market of other countries—particularly Egypt and India. On the one hand, profits could be made by expanding cotton production, while on the other hand, this could only be done by reducing labor costs to be competitive with the product of the impoverished masses of the colonial countries.

The solution arrived at was the sharecropping system, which left Blacks largely enslaved by the local landowners, who in turn were controlled by the banks and merchants. This could not be effectively and permanently done as long as the Blacks retained a real voice in government.

End of Radical Reconstruction

So sentiment among the capitalists shifted more and more in the direction of “healing the wounds” of the Civil War. What this meant in practice was to allow the “redeemer” forces to organize paramilitary groups to terrorize the Blacks and their white supporters in order to reduce the Republican vote and take over the legislatures.

The capitalists were no longer as worried over the possibility that this could allow the Democratic party to again take over the federal government. Camejo points out that the postwar industrial expansion led to such a transformation of the political parties that—by the end of this period—little distinguished them from each other.

One of the most sickening aspects of this counterrevolution was the role of liberal reformers. Because of the great growth of corruption within the Republican party, the issue of govern-

ment reform and cleaning up corruption was directed mainly against the Stalwart section of this party. This led the liberal camp to become openly anti-Black and racist. Thus Carl Schurz, an important radical defender of the North in the Civil War ended his political career as a racist defender of crushing Radical Reconstruction.

Robber barons

Camejo gives a graphic picture of this period. As the robber barons built their great industrial empires, federal troops had their first peacetime use against masses of workers in the 1877 national railway strike. At the same time, troops were employed in the West in an open policy of genocide against the Indians. Meanwhile, back in the South, the federal troops stood by while armed white hordes murdered Black men, women, and children in their efforts to undemocratically seize governmental power.

Such was the way the great corporations that rule this nation today got their start. For some reason or other, this episode in American history got very little treatment in this year's bicentennial celebrations—not even a moment on TV!

The resulting counterrevolution, Camejo insists, did *not* reinstitute the rule of the former slave owners. Rather, it consolidated capitalist rule North and South. Southern “home rule” and the “rebel yell” were demagogic covers for an assault on Black rights and a largely successful attempt to rally poor white support against the Blacks. These poor whites, far from reaping any benefits from the takeover, were pushed down further by the new Democratic party-dominated governments. The price paid for racism among Southern whites has been the poorest farms on the countryside and—in the cities—the lowest wages, unprotected by unions.

One has only to look at what Jimmy Carter's family pays workers—white and Black—even today in Georgia.

Here Camejo comes into conflict with the official

mythology on this period popularized by the Communist party and still believed in wide circles of the left. He explains that the Communist party, to serve the interests of Stalinist Russia, continues to distinguish between the Southern “Bourbons” and Northern capital. This way they can urge critical support for the “progressive” sections of capital against this ‘Bourbon’ element. This becomes a substitute for struggling against the whole capitalist system.

In the concluding section of the book, Camejo explains how Black migration to the North, as well as the mechanization and industrialization of the South, led to a large-scale integration of Blacks into industry alongside whites. This set the stage for elimination of Jim Crow, which emerged from this counterrevolution. But *de jure* segregation was finally removed only through the massive action of the Blacks themselves, buttressed by the impact of the colonial revolution in Asia and Africa.

Yet the Black masses remain a *de facto* oppressed minority, and this status has also been forced upon other minorities, such as Chicanos and Puerto Ricans. The inability of capitalism to provide a progressive solution to the Black question in the wake of the Civil War means that this task now falls to the working class under socialist leadership. This is why the coming American revolution will have a *combined* character, bringing together the struggle for socialism with the struggle of the Black masses for self-determination.

Not a single progressive step can be taken by those fighting for the interests of the working class without a total commitment to the struggle against racism in America.

Peter Camejo has done more than just write about these conceptions. He has spent the last year carrying them out in practice running as the Socialist Workers party's candidate for president against the two capitalist and racist parties—the products of the counterrevolution of 1877.

...Murrays

Continued from page 8

asked McAliskey if the execution of "terrorists" was within the framework of justice.

"The real terrorist weapons are the twenty thousand guns of the British Army," she answered. "Irish people are sent to jail for thirty or forty years for shooting a British soldier. Over seventeen hundred Irish people have been killed in the last few years by the army and not one British soldier has gone to jail.

"Is not Irish blood worth as much as English blood?" she asked. "Are not Irish people human beings also?"

McAliskey's tour will conclude in New York on November 20.

...Texas

Continued from page 13

Gutiérrez explains that "there is a complete absence of utilities other than water, and housing is deplorable. We have only one doctor, no recreational facilities, and our youth are unemployed."

But improving the lives of Texas Chicanos has never been a goal of Briscoe and other Democratic and Republican party politicians. Instead, they have leveled fraudulent charges that efforts by Zavala County Chicanos to better their lives are illegal.

Gutiérrez says these smear attempts are aimed at discrediting all such self-help actions. "Ours is one of only two such grants in the state and there are only forty-five in the entire nation. . . . Mexican-Americans are at the bottom of the federal programs totem pole now."

Briscoe knew about the grant application well in advance. His administration had plenty of time to review it, Gutiérrez said. "The governor's representative in Washington was given copies of the application as early as last May," he explained. And the Middle Rio Grande Valley Council of Governments had also approved the grants. "In fact," said Gutiérrez, "their staff helped write most of it."

The fifty people from Zavala County

who protested outside the October 28 hearing in Roberts's court had Briscoe's maneuver pegged just right. "Hold back Briscoe, not economic development," they chanted. "People's needs, not Briscoe's greed."

...P.R. five

Continued from page 20

enemy is the same. We dream the same dream."

A similar demonstration held the same day in San Francisco drew 300 people. Speakers there included Carter Camp of the American Indian Movement and three of the San Quentin Six.

Leading up to the November 13 demonstrations, several forums were held to publicize the planned protests. On November 5, about 100 people attended a forum at St. Gregory's Church on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. Speakers included Mirta Rodríguez; Martin Sostre, former political prisoner; and folk singer Barbara Dane.

On November 10, fifty people attended a community forum in New York's Lower East Side. The forum featured Elizabeth Colón of the District One Community School Board; Pedro Reyes of the PSP; Mirta Rodríguez; and *Militant* staff writer José G. Pérez.

On November 12, forty people attended a similar forum sponsored by the *Librería Militante* in Newark. The featured speaker there was Carlos Feliciano. Rodríguez and Pérez also spoke.

...church

Continued from back page

stood guarding a door. Beside her stood a county sheriff's deputy.

The eyes of the world were focused on this small church, built in 1906. In addition to crews from the major networks, reporters were here from as far away as Australia and Europe. A young woman with a tape recorder strapped over her shoulder was reporting for French radio.

Besides the press, as many as 300

onlookers gathered in front of the church. They stood outside a roped-off perimeter guarded by Georgia state patrolmen and Secret Service agents.

One seventy-two-year-old man had just driven up from Moultrie, Georgia. When asked what he thought about the rule barring Blacks, he insisted that it was the democratic right of the people in the church to let in whomever they wanted.

One man passing out copies of a KKK newspaper said that he had come from Ohio to "help out Bill Wilkinson."

King said that he welcomed the church's decision and that he would be back next week.

...FBI

Continued from page 6

unit has also used its informers and provocateurs to victimize Chicano activists.

"The government will simply have its informers reporting to other

agencies instead of the FBI if they can get away with it," Stapleton warned. "That is why we will continue our efforts to have the court call a halt to this kind of activity by any government agency."

Other evidence also shows that the government plans to continue its spying and disruption of dissenters. The Justice Department, for example, has decided to continue the FBI's "investigation" of the Communist party. (See article on page 8.)

The CP, like the SWP, is a legal organization that the government admits has broken no laws.

As long as the government claims the right to "investigate"—a code word for harass—any legal political organization whatsoever, everyone's democratic rights are threatened.

The FBI retreat won by the SWP "shows that victories can be won by concerted effort with broad public support," Stapleton explained.

"It must be used as a stepping-stone in the fight to end all government restrictions on and interference with constitutional rights."

Sara (Weber) Jacobs dies, was a secretary to Trotsky



Joseph Hansen

Sara (Weber) Jacobs in Mexico with Sol Lankin, one of Trotsky's guards

By George Novack

Sara (Weber) Jacobs, former secretary of Leon Trotsky and close friend of Natalia Sedova-Trotsky, died in New York City of cancer November 6.

Born in Grodno, Poland, in 1900, she came to the United States around 1920 and lived for most of her life in New York, where she furthered her interest in Marxist ideas.

In 1931, Sara journeyed to Prinkipo, Turkey, where the Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky was experiencing his third exile, twice at the hands of the tsar and then on orders by Stalin, his arch-opponent. Since she knew five languages—Polish, Russian, French, German and English—she proved to be a valuable aide in his literary work and voluminous correspondence. At that time she served as his secretary for almost three years.

After Trotsky secured asylum in Mexico some years later, she acted in the same capacity for him during 1939 and was regarded as a cherished member of the household. Shortly after Trotsky was assassinated by an agent of Stalin in August 1940, she returned to the house in Coyoacan where the couple had been living and stayed with Natalia for some months.

During the next twenty-two years of Natalia's life, Sara remained in constant communication with Trotsky's widow, for whom she was a trusted confidante who shared her views. She was named by Natalia as executor of her estate. Sara related some reminiscences of Natalia during this period in a memorial volume entitled *Homage to Natalia Sedova-Trotsky*, published in Paris in 1962. She also wrote about her recollections of Trotsky in *Modern Occasions Quarterly* several years ago. She had translated and collected the moving correspondence conducted with Natalia for two decades and was seeking a publisher for the letters before her death.

One of her last political acts was the signing of the statement condemning the slander campaign by Gerry Healy's Revolutionary Workers party of Britain against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and other leaders of the Socialist Workers party. This was accompanied by a letter testifying from personal knowledge to the truth about Hansen's contact with a GPU agent at Trotsky's request.

Sara worked for many years with a refugee organization in New York. She is survived by her husband, Jack (Weber) Jacobs.

Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean

José G. Pérez



PUERTO RICO: U.S. COLONY IN THE CARIBBEAN

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

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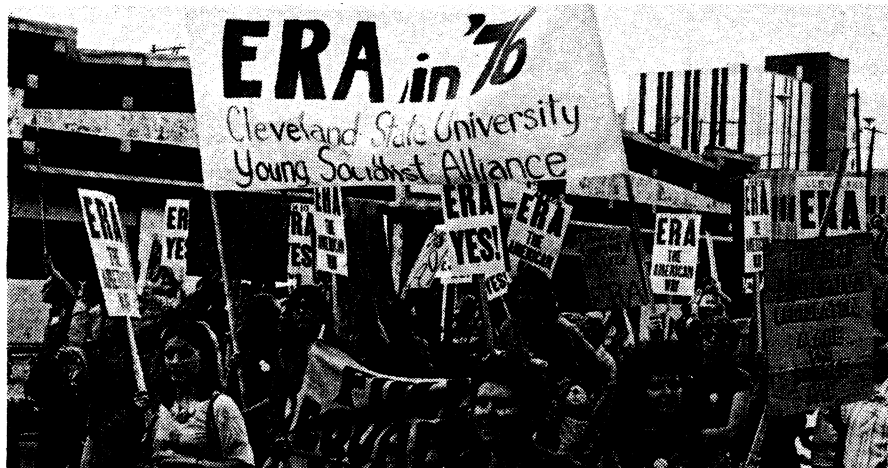
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THE MILITANT

UN blasts South Africa racism

By Peter Seidman

Steamrolling over U.S. objections, the United Nations General Assembly November 9 passed ten resolutions condemning South Africa's racist regime. The resolutions, according to the *New York Times*, were the "most

INSIDE: Eyewitness accounts of antiapartheid struggles in South Africa. See *World Outlook*, pages 23-26.

comprehensive assault" on apartheid in UN history.

One resolution branded the South African government as "illegitimate" with "no right to represent the people

of South Africa." It proclaimed "the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, by all possible means, for the seizure of power by the people."

In language reminiscent of Washington's propaganda against the Vietnamese freedom struggle, one U.S. delegate attacked the resolution as "tantamount to a call for an uprising in South Africa which would in effect be a racial bloodbath."

But the UN vote only reflected the mounting pressure of worldwide revulsion against Pretoria's inhuman oppression of 18 million Blacks.

Another resolution "strongly condemns the continuing and increasing

collaboration by Israel with the South African racist regime as a flagrant violation of the resolutions of the United Nations and as an encouragement to the South African racist regime to persist in its criminal policies."

Opponents of this resolution blasted it as "double-faced hypocrisy" and "political gimmickry." They pointed to the economic ties that also exist between South Africa and a number of African and Arab states that voted to single out the Zionist regime for criticism.

But such attacks on nations such as Mozambique and Zambia do not take Israel off the hook. South Africa's imperialist economy and its historical

role as an exploiter of labor from neighboring African countries have created economic dependencies that these weak, neocolonial regimes cannot readily overcome.

This cannot be equated with Israel's policy of stepped-up military and economic collaboration with South Africa and its halt to criticism of apartheid.

The Israeli UN delegation boycotted the sessions where the antiapartheid resolutions were up for vote. In fact, Israel has been absent or abstained on every UN antiapartheid resolution since the October 1973 war.

A third resolution called on the UN Security Council to enforce an arms *Continued on page 22*

Report from Plains

WHAT HAPPENED AT CARTER'S CHURCH?

By Nelson Blackstock

PLAINS, Ga., Nov. 14—While members of Jimmy Carter's church barred Rev. Clennon King for the third consecutive Sunday this morning, three members of the Ku Klux Klan from Louisiana were welcomed into the men's Sunday school class. They sat just a few feet from the Democratic president-elect.

King had tried unsuccessfully to enter the Sunday school class, which began before the regular church services. It was not clear whether Carter knew the Klansmen were present.

KKK Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson said that members of the Plains Baptist Church had invited him to come to this small Georgia town.

Some apologists for King's exclusion have justified it on the grounds that the Black minister does not live in Plains. He is from nearby Albany, Georgia.

The presence of the three out-of-state Klansmen made it clear that there is only one reason King has been blocked from entering the church: the color of his skin.

The furor has been raging around Carter's church since just before election day. King focused national attention on its whites-only policy when he showed up to apply for membership on October 31.

That morning the church's pastor, Rev. Bruce Edwards, told King that the deacons had voted to implement a church rule banning "niggers and civil rights agitators" and had canceled services rather than admit the Black man. (The deacons later insisted that the term in the resolution was "negroes," not "niggers.")

The church this morning voted 120 to 66 to drop its policy excluding Blacks. The meeting where the vote was taken was closed to all

nonmembers, including the three Klansmen.

The congregation also voted to override the deacons' decision to fire Reverend Edwards who opposed the whites-only policy.

The vote is being hailed in the press as a victory for Carter. "I am proud of my church," Carter announced upon leaving the white wood-frame building.

It is by no means clear, however, that Blacks will actually be allowed to join the church. A "watch-care committee" was established to screen applicants for membership. Deacons who had voted to uphold the segregation rule will make up a majority of that committee.

After the vote was announced, Imperial Wizard Wilkinson said that most of the deacons were still opposed to the "open-door policy." He and two other Klansmen appeared in front of the church in full Klan regalia when services concluded.

Carter said that he was "completely satisfied with the watch-care committee."

For the time being the church vote appears to have let Carter off the hook. The publicity around King's exclusion had put Carter in an untenable situation. It simply would not do to have the president of the United States—the champion of the "free world"—holding membership in a church openly banning Blacks.

A young Black man accompanying Reverend King this morning pointed to Carter's dilemma. "How can Carter go to Africa and negotiate with Africans about breaking down walls between Blacks and whites," he said, "when they know he comes from a church that bars people based on skin tone?"

King huddled close to the building, trying to shelter himself from a cold rain. A few feet away a church member

Continued on page 30



CLENNON KING: Barred from Sunday school class



JIMMY CARTER: Taught Sunday school class



Photos by Nelson Blackstock/Militant

KU KLUX KLAN: Welcomed to Sunday school class