

THE MILITANT

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

Nationwide
protests
sound
alarm on
**ABORTION
RIGHTS**

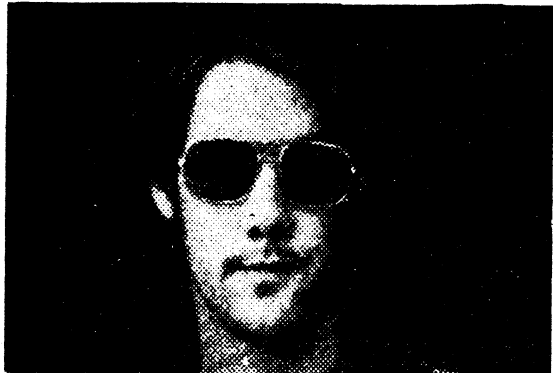
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STEEL ELECTION

Right-wingers
hit Sadlowski
on arms
spending

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'INFORMER NO. 481-S'



Denver
grand jury
details FBI
burglary ring

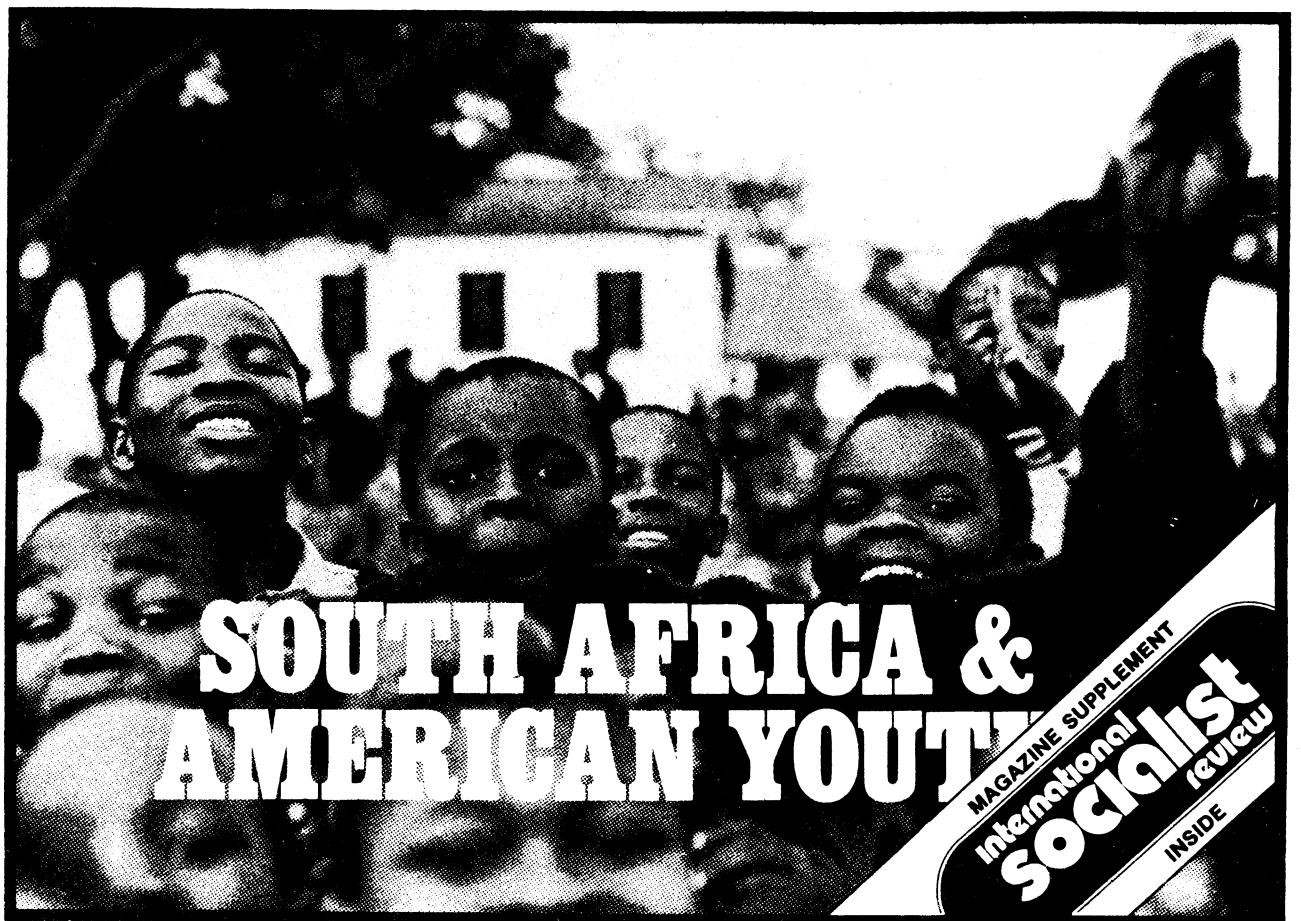
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Carter's pardon 800,000 VETS STILL WAITING



Exiled deserters,
thousands with
bad discharges,
not covered
by plan

—PAGE 3



**SOUTH AFRICA &
AMERICAN YOUTH**

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
**International
Socialist**
review
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BRAND SHAKUR TRIAL, A 'LEGAL LYNCHING': The trial of Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) began January 18 in the New Jersey superior court in New Brunswick. Shakur's lawyers have so far been unsuccessful in efforts to get the trial moved to federal court or out of Middlesex County.

Shakur is facing murder and assault charges stemming from a 1973 shoot-out during which a New Jersey state trooper was killed. Her lawyers say the frame-up hysteria around Shakur's case makes it impossible for the trial to be anything but a "legal lynching." William Kunstler heads the defense legal team.

Her lawyers say presiding Judge Theodore Appleby has shown "overwhelming bias and prejudice" against Shakur. Appleby has already ordered court clerks to count the number of times Shakur refuses to rise when the judge enters the room. Shakur's Islamic religion bars such practices.

A random telephone poll of 450 Middlesex County residents found that 83 percent of those asked had heard of Shakur. Seventy percent believe she is guilty. Middlesex County is the area from which a jury of Shakur's "peers" will be selected.

CAIFI DELEGATION TO IRANIAN CONSULATE: According to a report in the January 9 *Manchester Guardian*, three leading Iranian dissidents were recently either tortured to death or assassinated. Seeking information on this report, the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) organized a delegation to the Iranian consulate in New York January 24.



Militant/Peter Seidman
CAIFI DELEGATION TO IRANIAN CONSULATE (from left): Muriel Rukeyser; CAIFI National Field Secretary Fariborz Khasha; Reza Baraheni; Eric Bentley; and Frances FitzGerald.

Making up the delegation were writers Eric Bentley and Frances FitzGerald, poet Muriel Rukeyser (vice-president of the international writers' group PEN), and CAIFI's honorary chairperson and former Iranian political prisoner Reza Baraheni.

The four—along with reporters and CAIFI supporters—got no farther than a glass-windowed reception area. The door to the consulate's inner offices was barred by three tough-looking men.

Despite having received confirmation of its appointment over the phone, the delegation was told that chief consul Nasser Shirzad was not in and that no one else in the office

could answer their list of questions: What is the truth in reports that Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi and Atefeh Gorgin have been assassinated? If they are still alive, will the Iranian government allow them to appear before the international press? Has Golam-Hossein Sa'edi been tortured? Why is he not being allowed to travel abroad?

CAIFI says it will continue its protests of these latest reports of the shah's regime of terror.

ANTONIO SMITH FREED: After spending a year and a half in New Mexico prisons, Antonio Smith—an eighteen-year-old retarded Black youth—recently returned to his Miami home a free man.

Smith had been framed up on manslaughter charges and convicted by an all-white New Mexico jury. His conviction was overturned by the New Mexico Supreme Court December 17.

Elizabeth Smith, Antonio's mother and chairperson of the Antonio Smith Defense Committee, said support from the Black community and church groups was key to winning Smith's release.

DELBERT TIBBS RELEASED ON BAIL: On January 7 Delbert Tibbs was released from a Ft. Myers, Florida, jail on \$90,000 bail. Tibbs is a Chicago Black man who was convicted by an all-white jury on rape and murder charges. He has spent nearly two years on Florida's death row for a crime he did not commit.

The Florida Supreme Court overturned Tibbs's conviction in August 1976 saying there was insufficient evidence. But Florida prosecutors are still hoping for a conviction. A new trial date is expected to be set for later this year.

NOTE ON SOCIALIST VOTE IN S.F.: Sylvia Weinstein was the Socialist Workers party candidate for school board in last November's election in San Francisco.

Weinstein won 14.2 percent of the vote in the heavily Latino and working-class Mission District, according to the December *El Tecolote*, a bilingual community newspaper.

Although there were no party designations in the officially nonpartisan school board race, Weinstein's occupation was listed on the ballot as "Socialist Worker." City-wide, Weinstein tallied 7.7 percent of the vote.

Communist Labor party school board candidate Michael Miller received 13.9 percent in the Mission District and 6.5 percent city-wide.

JAMES BALDWIN APPEALS TO CARTER: In an open letter to President Carter published in the January 23 *New York Times*, Black novelist James Baldwin makes a moving plea for the release of the Wilmington Ten and Charlotte Three, two prominent cases in which Black civil rights activists were framed by racist North Carolina courts.

Baldwin said "the situations of the Wilmington 10, and the Charlotte 3, are very small symptoms of the monstrous and continuing wrongs for which you, as the elected leader, are now responsible."

The novelist charged that these frame-ups are "a matter of Federal collusion, and would not be possible without that collusion."
—Peter Seidman

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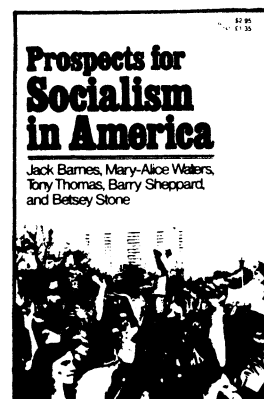
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Carter pardon says no to 800,000 vets

By Steve Wattenmaker

President Carter's first act in office proved a "bitter disappointment" for David Minugh, an army deserter who has lived exiled in Sweden for the past six years.

Like 800,000 other individuals victimized for resisting the Vietnam War, he was left out of the president's January 21 pardon of draft-law violators.

The president confined his pardon to about 10,000 men who defied the Military Selective Service Act by going into exile, going to jail, or going underground to avoid prosecution.

Excluded from the Carter plan are: 20,000 military deserters who are still in exile; upwards of 790,000 veterans who were railroaded out of the military with less-than-honorable discharges; and an uncounted number of civilian protesters who were arrested or persecuted in some way for demonstrating their opposition to the war.

Carter promised to initiate a study, involving the military, to consider the fate of deserters and veterans with bad discharges.

Minugh, who spoke to the *Militant* from Canada where he and other resisters are gathering to assess Carter's plan, condemned the president's action as affecting "only a very, very small number of those who were hurt by the Vietnam War."

"It doesn't cover the majority of those who were used by the war machine and now are still just cast aside," Minugh said. Deserters and others not included in the pardon are much more likely than draft resisters to be Black and poor.

"Carter had to do something about war resisters. He had to make a concession just like Ford had to make a concession because people all over the United States have been pushing for amnesty, for better conditions for vets," said Minugh.

While many war resisters in Canada and Europe were skeptical that Carter would issue a sweeping, universal amnesty immediately, many in the exile community, Minugh told the *Militant*, were shocked by how narrow Carter's action was.

During his campaign Carter explained that he favored a "pardon" rather than amnesty.

Amnesty "says what you did was right," Carter said. He could not agree

with that position, he said hypocritically, because so many poor, often Black Georgians didn't have the resources to get college deferments or seek exile in Canada or Sweden. "They thought the war was wrong. They preferred to stay home, but still they went to Vietnam."

After Carter's election, proamnesty groups pressured the president-elect to live up to his professed sympathies by extending his pardon to embrace veterans with less-than-honorable discharges and deserters.

On December 15 Carter aide David Berg announced to the press that "substantial agreement" had been reached on such an extended plan.

However, Carter and top adviser Charles Kirbo—both strong supporters of the war during their days together in Georgia politics—opted for the original idea of a narrow pardon.

Press reports portrayed the president as making a balanced, moderate decision—not popular with anyone, but morally the "right thing to do."

The *Wall Street Journal* editorialized that "the general and varied discontents over [Carter's] pardon of Vietnam draft evaders suggest that he at least succeeded in striking a rough balance. To have expected more than that on such a divisive and emotional issue would have been unrealistic."

Perhaps unrealistic to Carter and the *Wall Street Journal*, but the prospect of a universal amnesty seemed very realistic to the hundreds of thousands who need amnesty and have every right to it.

During the campaign, Carter termed the Vietnam War "racist." Carter cabinet members Cyrus Vance and Harold Brown—two chief architects of the war under Lyndon Johnson—recently called Vietnam a "mistake" and a "very, very catastrophic time in American history...."

"It is sheer hypocrisy for Carter to say it was okay for some people to resist and not okay for others," said Mike Powers, a resister who has lived in Sweden for eight years. "Either the war was right or it was wrong."

Reactions to the pardon from proamnesty organizations and resisters was uniformly critical of the program.

Aryeh Neier, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, said he was "delighted on behalf of the draft resisters" but observed that only

A Black ex-GI speaks out

Andrew Pulley, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party, is typical in many ways of veterans left out in the cold by Carter's pardon.

When Pulley was eighteen, a judge in Cleveland gave him a choice of punishments for his role in the Black ghetto upsurge following the assassination of Martin Luther King. Pulley could either go to reform school or join the army. He joined the army.

Stationed at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, Pulley helped organize GIs United Against the War.

Following a peaceful, legal meeting of GIs to talk about Vietnam and racism in the military, the army brass framed up Pulley and other leaders of GIs United on charges that could have sent them to jail for years.

After two months in the stockade, a nationwide defense campaign forced the army to drop all charges against the Fort Jackson Eight.

Nonetheless, Pulley was drummed out of the service with an undesirable discharge. His only crime was that he spoke out against the war.

What does Andrew Pulley think of Carter's pardon? This is what he told the *Militant*.

First of all I think Carter is using twisted logic. He implied that somehow he doesn't have the authority to grant amnesty to deserters or vets with bad discharges.

In reality, Carter is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. That's all it takes.

I think his pardon is a victory



Militant/Ed Weaver

ANDREW PULLEY

for draft resisters, but it must be widened to include the majority who still need amnesty.

And I know a good number of these are Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos.

If you put down on a job application that you have a bad discharge, you can bet your life you're not going to be hired unless the job is absolutely worthless and they can't find anyone else to do it.

When I went back to school recently to learn a trade, I had to pay for that myself. Because of getting an undesirable discharge, I get no GI Bill benefits.

GIs who were Black or from other oppressed minorities were doubly penalized. We faced racism and brutality in the service. And then if we rebelled, we were punished for life with a bad discharge.

about 4,000 draft-evasion cases remained open. He said that "99 percent of the people who could have benefited from a full amnesty still needed to be dealt with."

Jack Colhoun, an army deserter and editor of *Amex-Canada*—a magazine put out by and for American exiles—branded the pardon "a real sham, sinister, almost Nixonesque."

The New York-based Safe Return

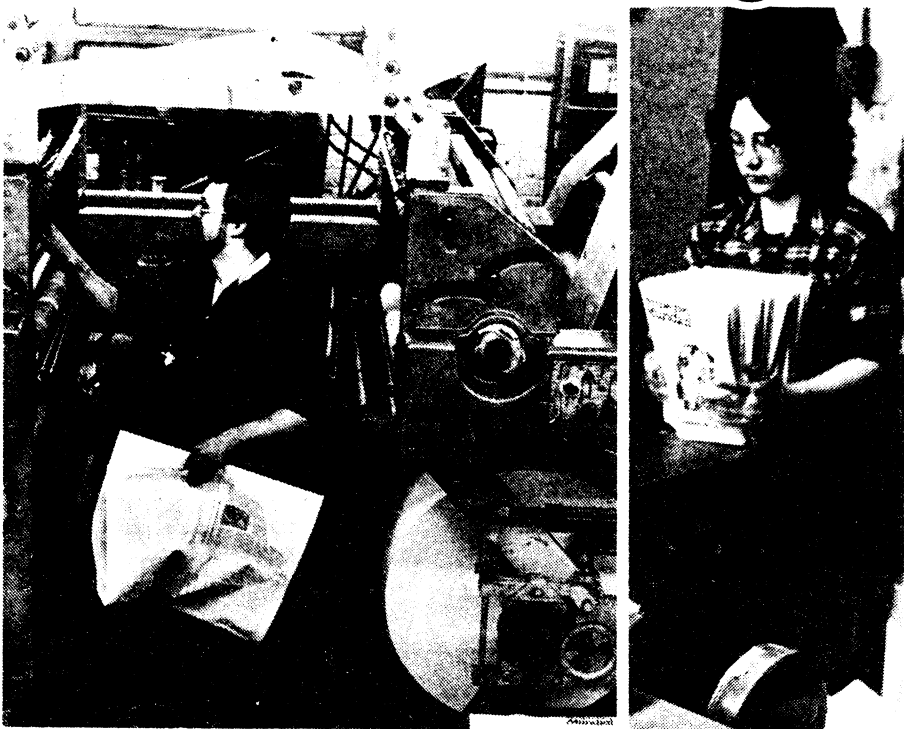
Amnesty Committee termed Carter's intention to have the Pentagon review one-by-one the cases of deserters and veterans with less-than-honorable discharges "totally unacceptable."

"It's like asking the prosecutor to be the jury," said a spokesperson for the group.

The National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty (NCUUA)

Continued on page 30

Off and running



Militant/Mary Hendrickson

Volume 1, number 1 of *Perspectiva Mundial* rolled off the press Wednesday, January 19. Dan DeWitt attends the web press while Little Sheets bundles *Perspectiva*, the first Spanish language biweekly newsmagazine ever published by the Trotskyist movement in the United States.

Perspectiva Mundial

En nuestro próximo número:

- Trabajadores Chinos Exigen al Presidente Hua Derechos Democráticos
- Lucha en Egipto contra el Aumento de Precios
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Eight nationalists hanged

Racist terror escalates in Rhodesia

By Omari Musa

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's racist regime continued its campaign of terror against the African population by hanging eight Black nationalists January 17.

In racist parlance, the eight were "found guilty of acts of urban terrorism and sabotage." They had been on death row since November and were hanged despite pleas their mothers and wives made to Rhodesian President John Wrathall.

The relatives were only told of the executions after the fact.

Actually, Smith's regime is the *real* terrorist in Zimbabwe. It has forced Blacks into "protected villages"—similar to the "strategic hamlets" used by Washington in its war against the people of Vietnam. A report released by Amnesty International last March estimated that 100,000 to 300,000 Blacks have been herded into these compounds.

The "protected villages" along the 700-mile border with Mozambique are under curfew. Black curfew violators are shot by Rhodesian security forces.

Armed attacks by the Smith regime against neighboring countries have also increased in the last few months.

In one such raid August 9, Rhodesian security forces massacred 600 Zimbabwean refugees at the Nyazonia Camp inside Mozambique. Another assault October 31 drove sixty miles into Mozambique. Mozambican authorities also report that at least eighteen people were killed when Rhodesian troops fired on a passenger train in Mapai.

On January 14 the United Nations Security Council "rallied to the support of Botswana in condemning a pattern of armed incursions from neighboring Rhodesia," according to the *New York Times*. Two abstaining votes were cast: the United States and England.

This escalation of terror by the Smith government has as its goal the imposition of a neocolonial regime to keep the Zimbabwean masses subservient to the political and economic needs of U.S., South African, and European business interests.

At the Geneva talks on Rhodesia, for example, Smith is demanding that whites maintain control of the ministries of law and order and defense in any future interim government. In other words, if any Blacks are allowed in the government, Smith wants to make sure that whites keep a tight grip on the army and police.

Smith's escalated terror campaign during the Geneva talks shows why he considers this condition so important—and why all the nationalist groups have so far rejected it.

Smith simply wants to buy time at Geneva to continue his military campaign against the growing liberation forces and head off the prospect of Black majority rule.

March 25-26 protests

The National Student Coalition Against Racism has materials ready to help build the upcoming March 25-26 actions for majority rule in southern Africa.

NSCAR has prepared fact sheets on the U.S. role in southern Africa, as well as a button and a new issue of the *Student Mobilizer* newspaper.

Also available are biographies of Tsietshi Mashinini and George Khotsa, two leaders of the Soweto student protests who will be touring the United States.

Send in the coupon below to: **NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121.**

Send me _____ "U.S. out of southern Africa! Protest March 25 & 26" buttons. (35 cents each for 10 or more. \$1 for 1.)

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Tanzanians protest apartheid



Tanzanian workers protest South African apartheid. March and rally in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, was part of a week of protests January 16-22 called by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. In white shirt at head of march is Aron Pemba, leader of South African Congress of Trade Unions.

Egyptian upsurge turns back price hikes

By Peter Seidman

The biggest antigovernment protests since the overthrow of the monarchy in 1952 forced the government of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat to back down after only two days on proposed price increases.

On January 17 the government announced that the price of bottled gas for cooking and heating was to rise from \$1.60 to \$2.40. Price hikes on other basic necessities were equally brutal. Flour was to go up 63 percent, bread 50 percent.

There were also to be sharp increases in the price of sugar, rice, soap, gasoline, cigarettes, and some textiles.

In a country where the minimum wage is less than a dollar a day in real terms, such increases spelled disaster for most Egyptians.

The day after the price hikes were announced, tens of thousands of demonstrators took to the streets in nearly every Egyptian city.

Their prime targets were government buildings. In Alexandria, where the protests began, a beach house belonging to Vice-president Hosni Mubarak was burned. In Cairo the headquarters of the Arab Socialist Union, Egypt's only legal party, was torched.

In Helwan, south of Cairo, protesters marched on the People's Assembly. A January 18 Reuters dispatch reported, "All gates leading to the Assembly were locked with heavy chains. Public transport between Helwan and central Cairo was stopped, apparently to prevent workers from reaching the

area. Streets leading to the Assembly were blocked by police."

The demonstrators chanted slogans that revealed their deep anger over the contrast between the wealth and comfort enjoyed by Egypt's ruling minority and their own misery.

Referring to the recent marriage of Sadat's youngest daughter to the son of one of Egypt's richest families, protesters screamed, "Your daughter is dressed in the latest fashions and we are 10 to a room."

Blasting Sadat himself, they said, "You are living it up in Aswan while we have to eat stones."

Other slogans reported by Reuters were "Down with Sadat!" and "Nasser! Nasser! Nasser!" (The social reforms under attack by Sadat were won by the masses during the period of Nasser's rule.)

The government's initial reaction to the protests was to crack down hard. All universities were ordered closed. Riot police using clubs, plastic shields, and tear-gas grenades were unable to control crowds that had taken over the streets of Alexandria, Cairo, and Suez City. So the police began to use their guns.

On the second day of protests, the government declared a curfew in Cairo, Alexandria, and Suez City. Army units were called in. The January 21 *New York Times* reported, "Soldiers armed with machine guns were stationed at strategic spots, with orders to shoot to kill rioters."

But this massive repression failed to

halt the protesters. They coined a new slogan in response: "We are dying of hunger anyway so kill us, Sadat, with your bullets."

On January 19 the government backed down. It announced a "suspension" of the price increases "pending reconsideration."

By that point, however, according to official figures at least sixty-five per-

sons had been killed and hundreds more wounded. In Cairo and Alexandria alone about 1,400 had been arrested.

According to *Washington Post* correspondent Thomas W. Lippman, the eruption in Egypt "was exactly the reaction that the government had feared if it cut the subsidies that have held the price of these commodities to an artificially low level and enabled the country's impoverished masses to keep eating."

Then why did Sadat announce the increases?

The debt-ridden regime was forced to satisfy the demands of its foreign creditors. Egypt's floundering economy has depended on loans and aid from the United States, Japan, Saudi Arabia, and other countries estimated at \$5 billion since the 1973 Mideast war.

These creditors are now telling Sadat that if he wants more foreign investment, he must win their trust by scaling down Egypt's annual budget deficit. The way to do this, they say, is by attacking the standard of living of the workers and peasants.

But the January 18-19 protests show that Sadat's masters have set him a dangerous task.

This explosion by Egypt's urban workers points the way forward to struggles that can ultimately accomplish the socialist transformation of the Arab East. Only this can sweep away the poverty and underdevelopment now imposed on the Arab masses by imperialism.



New York Times

Puerto Ricans to NYC: 'End bias in housing'

By Catarino Garza

NEW YORK—Two hundred Puerto Ricans—most of them women—braved bitter cold January 13 to picket city hall. The protesters were demanding housing for Puerto Ricans in the Williamsburgh section of Brooklyn. Their focus was the city-financed housing at Roberto Clemente Plaza.

A bilingual leaflet issued by the Williamsburgh Fair Housing Committee explained the demonstrators' demands.

In 1964, the committee said, the city began a vast urban renewal project in Brooklyn aimed at upgrading housing. Of 1,458 units to be constructed, a majority were to be occupied by Blacks or Hispanics.

"This is not the case now in our community," the committee leaflet asserted. This has created a "discriminatory injustice."

According to city regulations, the new housing should be rented so that the ethnic makeup is the same as before the renovation, the leaflet pointed out.

The committee went on to note that 70 percent of the rentals in the urban renewal zone were to whites, although Blacks and Puerto Ricans are in the majority.

The Williamsburgh Fair Housing Committee is suing the city, charging it with practices discriminating against Blacks and Hispanics.

A delegation from the picketers and city council member Luis Olmedo met with City Council President Paul O'Dwyer and Mayor Abraham Beame.

They reported later that O'Dwyer was "very concerned" and that the mayor said he would investigate the matter but didn't want to comment because the case was in court.

Some groups have incorrectly portrayed the struggle as a religious battle because most of the whites involved are Hasidic Jews. A group calling itself the Concerned Christian Community of Williamsburgh issued a leaflet at the picket line claiming that "the City has apparently designed the *destruction of the Christian communities in Williamsburgh and Crown Heights*, in order to create a religious enclave for Hasidic Jews who refuse to live with non-Jews."

Posing the fight as a religious one clouds over the issue of housing for Blacks and Puerto Ricans. The Hasidic Jews can then be portrayed as a victimized minority seeking equal housing, when in fact it is Blacks and Puerto Ricans who are the victims of racist discrimination.

Further actions are being considered. "If you want to move to an apartment that is comfortable and free of violations; where your children can grow up in a good environment and can obtain a good education, then you're part of our fight," declared the Fair Housing Committee leaflet.

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L.A. school board bars busing

By Sherry Smith

LOS ANGELES—At a packed meeting of more than 500 people January 17, the Los Angeles Board of Education turned down a plan to desegregate the schools in this country's third-largest city.

By a vote of five to two the board rejected a proposal from the Citizens Advisory Committee on School Integration (CACSI). The proposal had called for busing 62,000 students. It also had recommended that bilingual, bicultural programs be established for Chicano students being bused to schools with predominantly non-Spanish-speaking student bodies.

CACSI is a school board-established task force of parent and community leaders. Its proposed plan was designed to help the school board comply with last June's order by the California Supreme Court to desegregate the Los Angeles school system.

Of the 199 schools targeted by CACSI's desegregation plan, 99 have minority enrollments of 98-100 percent. These schools—in the Black and Chicano communities of South Central and East Los Angeles—are the most overcrowded and understaffed in the Los Angeles school district. They have the worst facilities.

CACSI's busing proposals would give the students in these schools access to the better-funded schools now attended by white students.

The school board substituted an inadequate three-year plan for CACSI's desegregation proposal. In the first year of the board's plan, fourth through sixth grade students in schools found to be segregated (under as yet undefined standards) would be bused to desegregated "specialized learning centers" for only *one nine-week period out of each school year!*

Students in grades seven through nine of segregated schools would attend the nine-week "learning cen-

ters" beginning in the 1978-79 school year.

In the third year, students in grades ten through twelve would begin to participate.

Students in kindergarten through third grade would be exempt from this plan altogether.

Diane Watson, the only Black member of the board, condemned the January 17 decision as "a travesty of justice and an insult to the public."

The audience at the board meeting cheered and applauded when Watson announced she would oppose the board's proposal before the state superior court. The superior court is charged with certifying the school board's compliance with the state supreme court's desegregation order.

Rev. James Lawson, education committee chairperson of the Los Angeles NAACP and a member of CACSI, accused the board of "catering to

racists who want to leave things just as they are." Lawson said the NAACP would also oppose the board's plan in court.

Rev. Garnett Henning of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Community Task Force for Better Education said, "This is no integration plan. It's an absolutely ridiculous nonleadership approach to the problem of school integration."

Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, also blasted the school board's move at the meeting (see box). Others who spoke against the board's proposals included Neil Sandburg, American Jewish Committee; Carol Plotkin, Positive Leadership to Upgrade Schools (PLUS); Dr. Robert House, executive secretary, Black Education Commission, Los Angeles Board of Education; John Mack, Urban League; and William Taylor, Communist party candidate for school board, Seat Two.

'Shameful capitulation'

LOS ANGELES—Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, was one of those who spoke out against the school board's decision at the January 17 meeting. He branded the board's alternate plan "a shameful capitulation to the racist hysteria against busing."

Manuel also attacked the antibusing positions of Democratic Mayor Tom Bradley. "Mayor Bradley is taking a stand against the rights of 60 percent of the students in this district," Manuel said.

Supporters of Virginia Garza, SWP candidate for school board, Seat Two, circulated a statement at the school board meeting. The state-

ment charged the board with standing "in solidarity with racists like those in Bustop [a San Fernando Valley-based antibusing group] and like those in Boston who attacked Black schoolchildren who were bused into South Boston."

Garza pointed to Garfield High School in East Los Angeles as an example of the board's policies of racist neglect. "You have treated it so callously," she said, "that it cannot even meet standards for accreditation."

The socialist candidate pledged "to do all that I can to help continue the fight for school desegregation and bilingual, bicultural programs."

—S.S.

Desegregation retreat in New York

By John Hawkins

Ewald Nyquist, New York State education commissioner, has dealt another setback to what little school desegregation currently exists in New York.

On January 17 Nyquist rescinded a 1975 order desegregating five junior high schools in the East Flatbush and Canarsie sections of Brooklyn.

Two of the schools that will now become resegregated were scenes of racist antibusing violence in the fall of 1972. White mobs, including members of the Jewish Defense League and the Italian-American Civil Rights League, occupied the schools for several days.

When police finally forced the mobs out of the schools, the racists launched a school boycott. Each day white parents gathered outside the schools. They taunted, jeered, and shouted racist slurs at the Black children bused in from the Tilden Houses in Brownsville.

In rescinding his previous order, Nyquist said that desegregation in Canarsie and East Flatbush had become "counterproductive." He argued along with opponents of school desegregation that the order—not racist prejudices—had caused "white flight." Nyquist's new order is scheduled to go into effect next fall.

While Nyquist was hacking away at school desegregation, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare issued a study showing a consistent pattern of racial discrimination in the New York City school system. This report is the second to come out of a three-year investigation of New York schools by HEW's Office of Civil Rights.

The first report, published two months ago, detailed racial and sexual



Militant/Flax Hermes

discrimination in hiring, promotions, and job assignments for teachers.

The second report, published the day after Nyquist's new order, described the racial discrimination students face.

According to the report, Black, Puerto Rican, and other minority students are segregated in elementary school classrooms, even where the school itself is integrated. Tracking is used to assign disproportionate numbers of Black and Puerto Rican students to classes for the mentally retarded.

Bilingual education is not provided to any substantial degree in the city schools. Students whose first language is not English, the report says, are "barred from meaningful participation in education programs."

Tracking on the junior high school and high school level forces Black, Puerto Rican, and female students into "less-desirable and more restricted academic, vocational and special programs."

Schools in Black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods are systematically shortchanged when it comes to funds, facilities, and school personnel such as counselors. "As the percentage of minority students attending a school increases," says the report, "so does the prospect of poor lighting, unsanitary conditions and infestation by vermin."

The report shows that Black, Puerto Rican, and other minority students are three to four times more likely to be suspended from school than whites.

The report also describes the school board's consistent policy of disregard for handicapped students.

Publication of the report is an important event for prodesegregation forces. It tells the truth about racism in New York City schools and arms us with facts to aid our fight to eliminate such racism.

"The report justifies those who say the policy [of the school board] is one of segregation," said James Meyerson, assistant general counsel to the NAACP.

"Insofar as it relates to the treatment of Puerto Rican children, we had been alleging this in a lawsuit since 1972," said Herbert Teitelbaum, legal director of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund.

The school board has until March 18 to present the Civil Rights Office with a plan for ending segregation in New York City schools and its discriminatory employment and promotion practices.

Five activists fired

Houston steel local faces antiunion attack

By Stu Singer

HOUSTON—Hughes Tool Company has launched an antiunion drive "where our most active union members are being disciplined and suspended on trumped-up charges," says W.R. Morris, president of United Steelworkers Local 1742.

At a January 21 news conference, Morris documented the cases of five union activists who have been fired in recent weeks.

One is David Riehle, a prominent local supporter of Ed Sadlowski's campaign for USWA president. Riehle had won reinstatement after being fired once before for his union activity.

This time Riehle was fired for "unexcused absence" after taking a day off to campaign with Steelworkers Fight Back vice-presidential candidate Oliver Montgomery.

Another victim was John Ramirez, a Chicano who was fired for circulating a petition in the plant in support of Morris's right to function as local union president.

Ray Grant and Kenneth Story were both fired on the arbitrary charge of using "abusive language."

The fifth is Morris himself, who was fired last year for "abusive language." Now, while his firing is being appealed through the grievance procedure, the company has fired him a second time! Management dug up a thirteen-year-old police record and charged Morris with falsifying his original job application by failing to report an old felony

conviction.

Morris, a young Chicano steelworker, was elected local president last December. But Hughes has barred him from the plant, denying union members the right to be represented by officials of their own choosing.

At the news conference, Morris explained the context of this escalating series of antiunion attacks. "Our contract is coming up in September. We're trying to organize our people for the contract," he said.

"We're trying to put together an oil tool conference in [USWA] District 37.

"We are the largest local. If they bust us up the others will be next. This will affect every other labor organization in the country."

"Right to work" laws in Texas prohibit the union shop. About 2,600 of the 3,500 workers at Hughes belong to the union. The 900 nonunion members and a steady stream of new workers are watching this confrontation between the company and the union. The union members themselves are getting angry about worsening job conditions.

The news conference, held at the union office near the plant, was packed with young union activists, most of them Blacks and Chicanos. A number of young women—who make up a growing portion of the Hughes work force—were there.

One of the reporters suggested that Morris was using the union to fight out his personal problems with the company. A young Chicano worker outside

Montgomery in Texas



Militant/Stu Singer

Oliver Montgomery, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for international vice-president for human affairs, addresses rally of Houston steelworkers January 12. The rally was held at the headquarters of Local 16000. Local president Fabian Greenwell is seated behind the podium.

voiced his feelings on this charge:

"This is definitely not a personal thing between W.R. Morris and the company. It is a personal thing between the company and Local 1742. That should be made clear.

"That's why these people are here today—because they are union members and their rights as union members are being violated every day and nothing is being done."

A young Black woman told the *Militant*: "We had this news conference to make it public. It used to be that the company would do things like this and it would get swept under the rug. But I feel we need more publicity. More people need to know what's being done by the company to the employees, to the union members."

A young Black worker wearing a Sadlowski button said, "The company is getting ready for the next contract. They are showing propaganda films in each department and sending out letters showing how the company is 'losing money' so we should not ask for more money.

"I don't believe they're losing money. They are the biggest company in the world producing drill bits. They're producing helicopter parts.

"They're constantly hiring, they're constantly buying new machinery, they're working more overtime than

normal."

A Chicano worker noted the bitter opposition to Morris by some older workers and their refusal to defend his rights. "This is the first Chicano president we've had," he said. "There are a lot of old prejudiced people in Hughes Tool Company. They're showing their faces now that a Chicano has been elected."

Most of the workers at the news conference were wearing Sadlowski buttons. One young Chicano told the *Militant* why:

"You have to start somewhere. You have to back someone you can support or keep going with the Abel people. That's all McBride is going to be, just stepping into Abel's shoes.

"With Sadlowski, although I don't know very much about the man, I do know that he's worked in steel mills and he has better identification with workers in the plant. He won't stay in his office all day."

John Sarge, a third-shift grievance man and Sadlowski activist, told the *Militant* that Morris, who had backed Sadlowski earlier in the campaign, has switched to campaigning for McBride.

"But most of the militants who got him elected are supporting Sadlowski," Sarge said. "It's obvious to us that it makes a big difference for our local if

Continued on page 30

Steel campaign notes

CANDIDATES TO DEBATE ON NATIONWIDE TV: Both candidates for president of the United Steelworkers of America—insurgent Ed Sadlowski and administration-backed Lloyd McBride—will appear on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press" on Sunday, January 30. The program is scheduled for 12:30 p.m. to 1:00 p.m.

BLACK STEELWORKERS BACK SADLOWSKI: A coalition of half a dozen Black caucuses in the USWA has issued a leaflet urging: "To end Discrimination in the Union and on the Job—Elect the Sadlowski Team." The leaflet cites campaign pledges by Sadlowski in three areas:

- Sadlowski pledges to establish an affirmative-action program to ensure representation by Blacks, Chicanos, and other minorities, and women at all levels of the union staff and leadership, commensurate with their membership in the union.
- He pledges to increase the responsibility and authority of local union civil rights committees and the international Civil Rights Department as part of a fight to eliminate all discriminatory practices in the plants.
- He pledges to establish an adequately staffed department of women's affairs to study the problems of women steelworkers and advance their interests.

The leaflet is signed by the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers, Steelworkers Black Caucus, Black Steelworkers Leadership Caucus, and several groups of Black steelworkers in the Chicago area.

FORTRESS BREACHED: One turret in the fortress that is the United States Steel Corporation was breached in January as Sadlowski campaigners leafleted on company property for the first time in history.

In August 1975 the National Labor Relations Board struck down U.S. Steel's ban on distribution of union materials on company property. The ruling was upheld last December by a U.S. court of appeals. U.S. Steel employees are now legally guaranteed the right to distribute materials on "walkways, parking lots, and lunch rooms" on company property on their own time.

Nevertheless, U.S. Steel ordered the arrest of three Sadlowski leafleters exercising their rights at the gates of its Gary (Indiana) Works January 4. Gary police released the three without charging them, however, and the cops have since refused to arrest other steelworkers leafleting at Gary Works.

Overturning the decades-old policy of U.S. Steel opens the way for extending discussion of union politics into workplaces throughout the country.

STRAIGHT FROM THE HORSE'S. . . According to an article in the January 21 *Chicago Reader*, Lloyd McBride still recalls the bosses' use of red-baiting against union organizers. "Hell, when I was getting started in the labor movement, I was called a Communist," McBride told journalist David Moberg. "I participated in a May Day celebration in St. Louis while I was on strike in 1938."

So why does he sling the same mud at Ed Sadlowski today? "I hope that it will help to get me elected and to get him defeated, that's all," McBride said.

'Militant' steel sales

By Nancy Fields

With only two weeks left before the United Steelworkers election, Socialist Workers party branches are stepping up *Militant* sales at steel plants.

In some parts of the country, snow and subzero temperatures hampered sales of the special January 21 issue, headlined "Behind the steel union election fight: What a Sadlowski victory can mean."

In Houston, however, *Militant* salespeople sold 128 copies at plant gates. More than 50 were sold at Hughes Tool Company, where the USWA local has come under sharp attack.

According to Stu Singer, local organizer of the SWP, many union activists at Huges are carefully following the *Militant's* steel coverage. "People are already waiting for next week's issue to come out," he said.

The Denver SWP sent a sales team to Pueblo, an hour-and-a-half drive away, to introduce the *Militant* to workers at Colorado Fuel and Iron, the biggest steel plant in the state.

In one day the team sold seventy-one *Militants* at the plant gate and door to

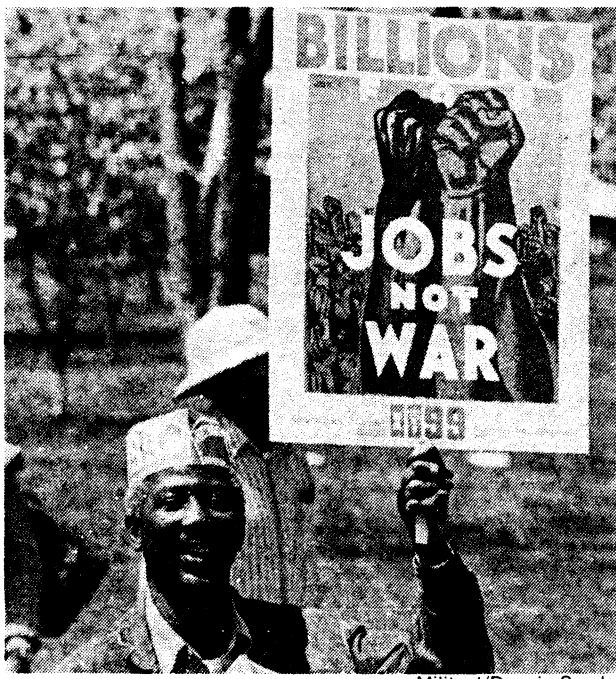
door. Joe Henry, Denver SWP organizer, reported that many older workers walked by without buying the paper, saying that they were Sadlowski supporters already. After going through the gates, however, many would change their minds, return, and get a copy.

Despite the winter storms and cold, the Cleveland Heights-East Cleveland SWP sold 102 copies at plant gates and in working-class neighborhoods.

Chris Rayson, SWP organizer, said that at Republic Steel "the sales team showed up at the same time that McBride supporters were passing out their literature. But many workers were wearing Sadlowski buttons and came over to pick up a copy of the *Militant*."

Cleveland SWP members also traveled to Youngstown, Ohio, to attend a Sadlowski rally and sold eighteen *Militants* there.

Interest in the *Militant's* steel coverage continues to run high in the San Francisco Bay Area. More than seventy copies were sold at small fabricating plants in the area and at the big U.S. Steel plant in Pittsburg, California.



Union member at April 26, 1975, march on Washington for jobs.

DOES THE WAR BUDGET AFFECT STEELWORKERS?

Right-wingers blast Sadlowski's call to cut Pentagon spending

By Lynn Henderson

The attacks on Ed Sadlowski, in his challenge to the incumbent Abel-McBride bureaucracy for the presidency of the United Steelworkers of America, continue to mount in frenzy, frequency, and ferocity as the February 8 union election approaches.

Recently, for the second time in five weeks, right-wing journalists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak devoted their nationally syndicated column to attacking Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign.

Evans and Novak say that "superficially, Sadlowski's campaign has been the traditional insurgent's claim of bringing greater militancy to the collective bargaining table."

But in reality, as Evans and Novak tell it, Sadlowski has little interest in the "bread and butter" issues normally associated with trade unionism. Sadlowski is really an "ideologue," they say, pushing issues that the average steelworker has no interest or belief in.

This became clear, according to Evans and Novak, when Sadlowski "broke his silence on national security issues" in a column in the December 14 *Boston Globe*.

Sadlowski declared that labor leaders "cannot mindlessly defend unnecessary and exorbitant programs like

the B-1 bomber simply because it will generate some jobs." He refers to the "hideous overkill capacity" of the U.S. military and condemns the war budget's "hidden subsidies to incompetent big businesses like Lockheed."

According to Evans and Novak, Sadlowski's "soft-line views" are sure to be "offensive to [the] union's rank-and-file." Exposing these views could "undermine his struggle for power." And that's precisely what they hope to do.

Distortion techniques

First of all, Sadlowski's column did not "break his silence." This is one of the distortion techniques Evans and Novak typically use to create the impression that they are the source of dramatic new information.

Sadlowski has spoken out publicly and often on the war budget and "national security."

Writing in the *Nation* magazine more than a year ago he cited the "inflationary pressure" that results because "too much of the wealth produced by [manufacturing] has for too long been shunted into non-consumable goods, particularly in the weapons economy."

In 1968 Sadlowski spoke out against the war in Vietnam on the floor of the

United Steelworkers convention. Evans and Novak, on the other hand, beat the drums for escalation and continuation of the war right up until the bitter end.

They make no mention of Sadlowski's Vietnam stand because they know that most Americans, including most steelworkers, would today agree that Sadlowski was right and Evans and Novak were wrong.

The fact is that Sadlowski's condemnation of the Vietnam War draws heavy applause—at meetings of steelworkers.

The *Boston Globe* column by Sadlowski deals with the persistent high level of unemployment in this country. Sadlowski says that a "full-employment economy in the U.S. will require a major revision of our national priorities. . . .

"The most obvious area in which to eliminate excessive governmental spending and, at the same time, create more jobs is to cut back military expenditures."

With tens of thousands of steelworkers unemployed, this is hardly a question in which steelworkers have no interest—or in which interest is restricted to "ideologues."

'Bread and butter'

It is precisely because the Sadlowski campaign is so relevant to the fundamental problems of steelworkers and other workers that those who write, speak, and act for the bosses—like Evans and Novak—are mounting such a barrage against the Fight Back candidates.

Sadlowski does speak directly to the "bread and butter" issues that steelworkers face in the plant.

- He opposes the no-strike agreement that the Abel-McBride leadership signed with the steel bosses.

- He's against the present union policy denying workers in basic steel the right to vote on their contracts.

- He's opposed to the joint labor-management "productivity committees" that have wiped out tens of thousands of jobs.

- He favors on-the-job action to enforce safe working conditions, rather than the present cumbersome and ineffective grievance machinery.

But Sadlowski also speaks to another truth. *The conflict between the needs of the workers and the profits of the employers goes far beyond the walls of the plant.*

The U.S. attack on Vietnam was in the interest of higher profits for the employers. It was not in the interest of workers.

"It wasn't the Wall Street bankers' sons that were out there," Sadlowski says. "It was steelworkers' sons and it was auto workers' sons."

Unions that fight for the needs of workers should have opposed the war, Sadlowski maintains.

"I'm firmly convinced," he says, "that situation [the Vietnam War] wouldn't have existed if George Meany and company would have stood up and

said, Vietnam is wrong. The Lyndon Johnsons and Richard Nixons would never have crossed that line."

Who profits?

The multi-billion-dollar war budget—bigger today than at the height of the Vietnam aggression—is also in the interest of higher profits for the employers. But it is not in the interest of steelworkers or any other workers.

Contrary to the myth nurtured by the arms industry, war spending creates relatively few jobs per dollar spent. Sadlowski is absolutely correct in his *Boston Globe* column when he writes, "Virtually any other expenditure of that magnitude would generate far more jobs."

Sadlowski says that billions should be taken from the Pentagon and used for "housing, urban redevelopment, mass transit, parks and other necessities of a good life for all Americans."

Instead, what is produced by these massive expenditures? Ultraexpensive military hardware whose only purpose is to protect the global investments and profits of U.S. corporations. Engines of death, waiting to be declared obsolete and replaced by even more expensive hardware. Or worse yet, to be used.

Used to prop up dictatorships like in South Korea.

Used to overthrow elected governments like in Chile.

Used to put CIA mercenary armies in the field.

Used in the next Vietnam—will it be southern Africa? the Middle East?

Or used in the ultimate insanity of a nuclear holocaust.

Welfare for bosses

"Men and women presently making armaments," Sadlowski writes, "need be no less happy or less well paid if their energies are directed toward producing socially useful goods and services."

But employers are happier producing arms. They make more profits that way.

Where else could a company like Lockheed be paid millions of our tax dollars to build airplanes that don't fly—then be paid millions more to bribe government and military officials who purchase the planes—then when they still get into trouble be bailed out with millions more of our tax dollars?

The war budget is a huge welfare program for the employers. It has nothing to do with protecting the security of steelworkers or any other workers.

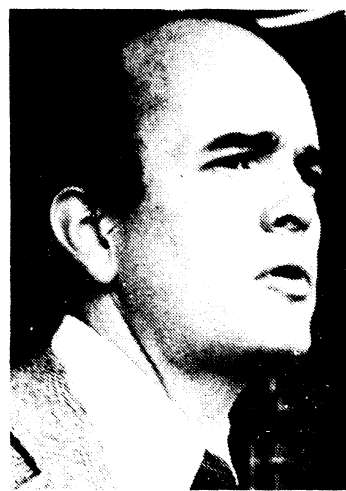
Unions have the right and the duty to speak out on this issue, Sadlowski says. And as he explains in the *Boston Globe* column, only the labor movement can change the situation. "There simply is no other force in this country with the necessary commitment and political muscle," he writes.

Sadlowski implies, however, that

Continued on page 30

Hear Jack Barnes,

National secretary of the Socialist Workers party.



SADLOWSKI'S CHALLENGE IN STEEL

What it means for U.S. politics

PITTSBURGH Sunday, January 30, 7 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

CLEVELAND Wednesday, February 2, 8 p.m. Room 364, University Center, Cleveland State University. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

HOUSTON Saturday, February 5, 7:30 p.m. San Jacinto-Sonora Room, 2nd Floor of University Center, University of Houston. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

DETROIT Thursday, February 10. For information call (313) 961-5675.

LOS ANGELES Saturday, February 19. For information call (213) 732-8197.

SAN FRANCISCO Friday, February 25. For information call (415) 285-4686.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY Saturday, February 26. For information call (415) 261-1210.

Protests sound alarm on abortion rights

By Nancy Cole

For the past three years it's been a date to celebrate victory. But this year it provided a forum from which to sound a warning signal.

On January 22, 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court legalized abortion for the first three months of pregnancy. On September 17, 1976, Congress approved a bill—the Hyde amendment—that would deny Medicaid funds for abortions.

A full-page ad in the *New York Times* January 23 was headlined, "American Women Demand That Abortion Remain Legal." The ad, sponsored by the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) and the National Abortion Council, was signed by 140 prominent women.

"The threat to legalized abortion and the freedom to choose is real and pressing," the ad said.

That was the theme of rallies, teach-ins, speak-outs, workshops, and picket lines across the country on Saturday, January 22. The actions were not massive, but they were noteworthy in their broad sponsorships and in their resolve to fight to protect abortion rights.

Participants were buoyed by the victory of women in Italy the day before. There, a campaign by supporters of abortion forced a vote by the Chamber of Deputies January 21 in favor of a liberalized abortion law.

The existing Italian law, drafted under fascism, holds abortion a "crime against the race." The Italian Senate has still to pass the new bill, but is expected to do so.

"The Vatican has lost out on its home turf," Kay Whitlock told a meeting of seventy-five in Philadelphia. Whitlock is executive vice-president of the Philadelphia chapter of the National Organization for Women.

She blasted the Hyde amendment as "tantamount to declaring war on all poor women, especially minority women."

The Philadelphia "Abortion Resource Day" was held in the headquarters of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

"We need to organize an educational war chest to counter the [anti-abortion] myth because the opposition has been organizing very rapidly," said Henry Nicholas, 1199C president.

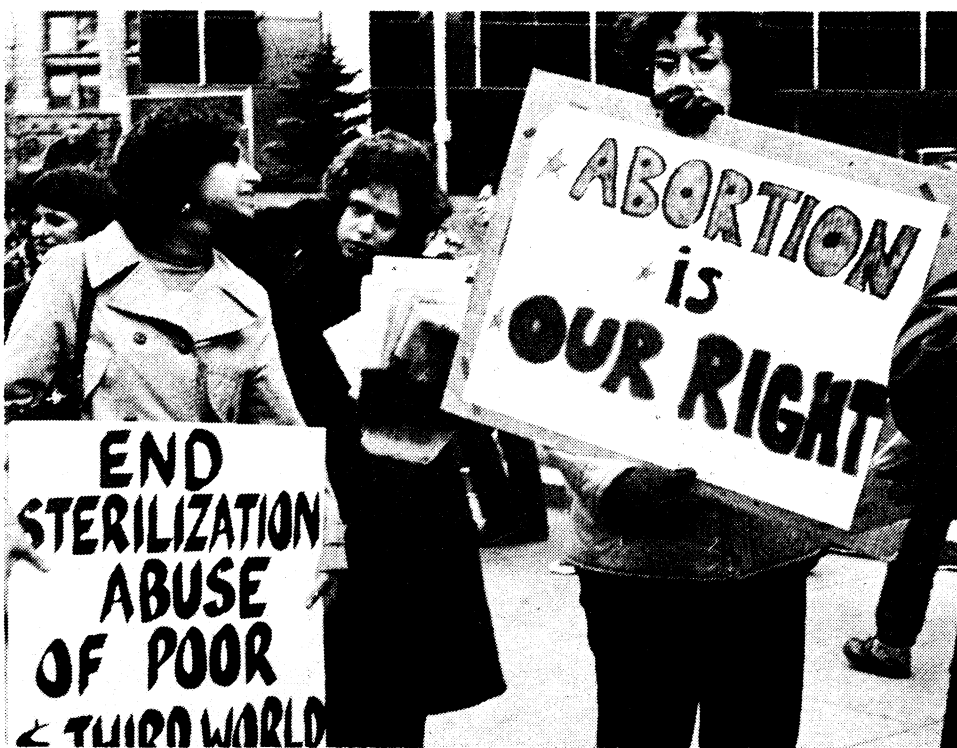
In Seattle, 175 supporters of abortion rights marched through downtown and rallied at the Gethsemane Lutheran Church.

The action was sponsored by a long list of groups, including the American Civil Liberties Union, NOW, Socialist Workers party, Unitarians for Social Justice, Washington State NARAL, Action Childcare Coalition, and Women's Political Caucus.

One hundred people gathered at the Tacoma, Washington, YWCA for an abortion teach-in. Judie Fortier, from the Tacoma Human Relations Commission, noted that during 1976 alone, fifty bills were submitted in the U.S. House of Representatives aimed at curtailing or abolishing abortion rights.

Twenty-six organizations sponsored an abortion rights speak-out in Milwaukee. It was attended by seventy-five people.

"We cannot be afraid to take the anti-abortion, anti-ERA, antiwomen forces head-on in the public arena," Milwaukee NOW executive board



Militant/Caryl Loeb

member Adrienne Kaplan told the meeting.

In Lexington, Kentucky, twenty people joined a vigil at the federal courthouse. The action demanded a woman's right to choose and was sponsored by several campus and community groups.

An abortion speak-out at the University of Toledo attracted more than eighty-five people. The event was organized by the January 22nd Coalition, which includes Toledo NOW, Socialist Workers party, and the Toledo Medical Services Clinic.

Eleven people spoke, representing women's groups and the religious, legal, and medical fields.

In Minneapolis, ninety people attended a meeting called "Celebrate a Woman's Right to Choose." It was sponsored by Twin Cities NOW.

St. Paul's abortion speak-out heard thirteen speakers from a wide range of groups. They included the Minnesota Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, Twin Cities Coalition of Labor Union Women, GOP Feminists, Socialist Workers party, and the Macalester College Feminists.

"We can no longer be complacent about this right," declared Betty Benjamin from the Abortion Rights Council.

That sentiment was echoed in Cleveland on January 23 by longtime defender of contraceptive and abortion rights Bill Baird. "Unless we put the anti-abortion forces on the defensive, we may lose the right to choose during the next few years," Baird told a meeting of ninety.

For their part, the anti-abortionists spared no expense in demonstrating their opposition to a woman's right to choose. With the resources of the Catholic church and right-wing outfits available, they bussed in thousands to Washington, D.C., for a January 22 protest. Estimates ranged from 30,000 to 40,000.

These enemies of women mobilized in other cities as well. In Cleveland

they were aided by Mayor Ralph Perk, who declared January 22 "Pro-Right to Life Day." Perk also addressed a meeting of some 2,200 anti-abortionists. Twenty-five supporters of abortion picketed the evening meeting.

In Tacoma, sixty pro-abortion protesters picketed a dinner held January 22 by the Human Life Organization.

And in the Twin Cities, a crowd of more than 2,500, including many school children, marched in opposition to abortion. Television coverage that night gave equal billing to the right-wing demonstration and the St. Paul pro-abortion speak-out.

Edelin: 'We must never let it happen again'

By Candace Wagner

NEW YORK—"Who were the women who died from back-alley abortions before the 1973 Supreme Court decision?" asked Dr. Kenneth Edelin. "By and large they were poor women; very often they were Black women."

The 250 women and men participating in a teach-in here to "Defend a Woman's Right to Choose" agreed. The January 22 meeting protested the Hyde amendment to withhold Medicaid abortions, the Supreme Court ruling attacking maternity benefits, and increased sterilization abuse.

Edelin is the Boston doctor who was convicted of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion. His conviction was overturned in December.

Describing the horrors of pre-1973 botched illegal abortions, he declared, "We must never let this happen again!"

The coalition responsible for organizing the teach-in included members of the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse, Puerto Rican Socialist party, National Organization for Women, Socialist Workers party, and National Abortion Rights Action League.

In addition to representatives from these groups, the teach-in heard Kate Millett; Betty Friedan; Vivian Gornick, feminist author and contributor to *Village Voice*; Joan Harriman, president, Catholic Alternatives; and New York State Sen. Carol Bellamy.

All speakers agreed that the women's movement and its supporters must come together to fight these attacks on women's rights.

Greetings were read from feminists in Italy, France, and England. The



Militant/Caryl Loeb

New York meeting, in turn, sent a message to the National Tribunal on Abortion Rights scheduled for London on January 29.

Pat Wright, a day-care worker and former SWP congressional candidate, told the meeting, "Some women have been saying, 'Don't rock the boat. Give Carter a chance.'"

"Carter has had lots of chances. Let's give ourselves a chance. Let's rely on our own strength. We need to be out in the street showing that 81 percent of the American people support a woman's right to choose abortion."

Prior to the teach-in a news conference at the New York NOW office denounced Carter's appointment of anti-abortionist Joseph Califano as head of the Health, Education and Welfare Department.

St. Paul abortion clinic celebrates opening

By Susan Vass

ST. PAUL—Freedom of choice won a victory here when Planned Parenthood officially opened its new facility in Highland Park January 15.

More than five hundred people came to an informational open house in wind-chill temperatures of sixty-four degrees below zero. The brick building at 1965 Ford Parkway has been the focal point of controversy since last summer.

Opponents of a woman's right to choose abortion vowed to prevent the facility from settling in the community because it includes first-trimester abortion in its range of services.

Citizens for Community Action, an anti-abortion group, carried out a campaign of harassment and intimidation.

The group even threatened to photograph and harass women going into the facility. They vowed that abortions would never be performed in the Highland Park community, but they were wrong.

The Concerned Neighbors Coalition was formed to welcome the Planned Parenthood clinic.

The coalition has organized a community meeting and a petition drive, placed ads in newspapers, and sold buttons.

The campaign was successful in establishing the clinic in the community. One week before the open house the facility was operative and six abortions were performed.

As expected, the partisans of forced motherhood picketed the open house, but they were a dispirited lot. The picket line fluctuated from twenty to a hundred, and it included many children.

The weather, unseasonably cold even for Minnesota, soon forced many of the pickets to enter the hated building to warm up. Staff members and volunteers toured the opposition through the impressive facility gave them literature and graciously answered all questions—even hostile ones.

As the thawing pickets passed the actual abortion section, they seemed disappointed that it looked like a regular doctor's office suite and lounge. Victims of their own propaganda, they apparently expected to see a hideous, gory sight.

The open house was covered by several television stations and newspapers. Coverage was biased in favor of the "pro-life" view, but one conclusion was inescapable. They had to admit that it was a de facto victory for freedom of choice in St. Paul.

One down, three to go: HOW CAN WE WIN THE ERA?

By Nancy Cole

The year 1976 ended with not one state legislature voting to ratify the federal Equal Rights Amendment.

For Phyllis Schlafly, guru of the anti-ERA movement, it was a "great year." By the new year she was chortling that "the prospects are excellent for holding the line" against further ERA ratifications in 1977.

Fortunately, Schlafly was proved wrong January 18 when Indiana ratified the amendment, making it the thirty-fifth state to do so. Thirty-eight are needed to make the ERA part of the U.S. Constitution.

But the week before in Georgia—where many feminist leaders were confident of success—the state senate tabled the measure for 1977.

With a 1979 deadline for ratification, supporters of the ERA are in a race with the clock. Forces on both sides agree that this year is crucial.

It's essential then that the women's movement stand back and take a look at what led to the different outcomes of the new year's first two ERA votes.

Indiana is like the first stone in a long-dormant rock slide. The avalanche of ratifications isn't necessarily going to follow unless we figure out how to continue the tremor.

Georgia actions

In Georgia ERA supporters have carried out some of the most consistent mobilizations anywhere over the past few years.

But this fall many women's liberation leaders refused to join in a call for mass actions to demand ratification by the incoming legislature. The election of Jimmy Carter and some new pro-ERA state legislators was enough to ensure ratification, they argued.

The National Organization for Women even canceled a vigil planned to correspond with its January 13 "women's state of the union" address.

A public confession by Georgia leaders of the National Organization for Women January 13 explained what lay behind their turn away from action. In exchange for using "more conventional tactics" and keeping a "low profile," NOW leaders were guaranteed state senate approval of the ERA this year.

House approval, under the "deal," was to wait until 1978.

Enraged by the senate tabling action, the NOW leaders charged "betrayal" at their women's state of the union rally.

At a special Atlanta NOW meeting January 18, women discussed the dead-end consequences of relying on politicians' promises. They pledged to end their "low key" approach and to call for a picket line at the state capitol January 31.

Indiana victory

Yet just six days after the Georgia betrayal, NOW President Karen DeCrow credited the Indiana victory to the same pie-in-the-sky approach. The ERA won there because "the strategy of defeating anti-ERA candidates worked in Indiana," DeCrow told reporters.

"And we have high hopes that within the next couple of months it will work" in other states, she added.

So while politicians dumped on women in one state, they delivered the goods in another. And, if we're patient enough, the deliveries should continue. Is that it? Or is there something else involved?

News coverage of the Indiana victory did not

note—nor, apparently, did DeCrow—that 600 ERA supporters from Indiana and surrounding states rallied in Indianapolis January 9.

Indiana NOW originally planned the action for January 15, then canceled. As in Georgia, the leadership proclaimed that enough pro-ERA politicians were elected in November to guarantee the ERA's passage.

Unlike Georgia, however, an uproar from NOW members forced leaders of the group to reschedule the protest for January 9.

Meanwhile, Stop ERA's Schlafly arrived in town and branded the upcoming action the work of "lesbians" and the "Socialist Workers party."

Schlafly—who is clear on the need for visible, public action for her side—organized some right-wing rallies, picket lines, and vigils to pressure the legislature.

Without question, the spirited January 9 rally of 600 pro-ERA supporters—200 of whom braved a snowstorm to march from the capitol—reached the ears of the legislators.

This is not to say that the ERA passed in Indiana solely because the women's movement there mobilized on the eve of the vote.

Nothing but trouble

But it does show, that victories for women do not result from back-room deals. "Low-profiling" it, while capitalist politicians give lip service to our rights, has netted us nothing throughout history but trouble.

The gains women have made—like those made by Blacks, Chicanos, and all working people—were wrung from those very politicians and the monied interests they represent. This country's rulers never gave us anything.

Take the anti-Vietnam War movement as one of the most recent examples. The United States was forced to withdraw its troops, not because enough Democrats were convinced by lobbying, but in large part because millions marched in the streets.

We currently face an economic crisis where the trend is away from giving women equal status. Democratic and Republican politicians are loyal first and foremost to the employer interests that control their parties.

Only a national movement independent of those parties can stave off the growing attacks on women and secure the ERA and other rights.

The May 16, 1976, march of more than 8,000 in Springfield, Illinois, was the embryo of that kind of movement. Called by NOW, the national demonstration was nothing short of inspirational to women's rights advocates across the country.

It was a devastating blow to Schlafly and her bunch, whose countermobilization mustered only 400.

It should have been the beginning of national and local actions that aimed to involve more and more women, trade unionists, Blacks, and others in pursuit of a victory to benefit all these forces.

Instead, the leadership of the women's movement, with NOW the central organization, stuck its head in the sand, waiting for the November elections.

Jimmy Carter held out such fine-sounding bait as his pledge "to see that the amendment becomes law, and to set a style of leadership that clearly and unmistakably makes equal rights and equal opportunity national goals."

NOW leaders even bragged that Carter promised to come up with three of the four needed ratifications. For some reason Carter never bothered to explain, women were supposed to produce the fourth.

Carter reportedly pulled his first string in December with a phone call to a Democratic leader of the state legislature in Illinois. He also sent his daughter-in-law to sit in on the debate.

But the ERA lost there.

Then Rosalynn Carter attended a news conference earlier this month in Atlanta to express support for the ERA. She helped provide cover for the deal that later sold women down the river.

But the Indiana victory was credited by some to a single phone call from Rosalynn Carter to a wavering legislator.

But why should we believe Carter's magic-wand-waving made the difference in Indiana when it failed in two other states? Even the Indiana legislator denied the next day that Rosalynn Carter's call changed his mind.

These token gestures by Carter are insulting. They aim to apply the least amount of pressure, while giving the appearance of trying to deliver.

Not only has Carter's lip service to women's rights produced no results, but Georgia NOW leaders charge that the betrayal there extended to the president's doorstep.

This is one now-public example of Carter's complicity in trying to derail the women's movement.

If this is what we get from Carter's home state, what can we expect from others?

More of the same and worse unless the women's liberation movement ends this dependence on capitalist politicians. Not only will we not win the ERA, but we stand to lose a lot more.

The "support your friendly Democrat" strategy is a simple one. But it seeps into every nook and cranny of the movement. It works like this:

If you want to bargain for something from the politicians—for example, immediate ratification—you have to give something in return. First, you give up rallies, marches, teach-ins—any public displays of power that threaten or embarrass the legislators.

This demobilization is tantamount to giving up the movement itself.

'Offending' politicians

But it goes further. In order not to "offend" pro-ERA politicians, nor to "discredit" the women's movement, you have to sacrifice other issues of critical importance to women.

During the freewheeling assault on women's rights in recent months, abortion emerged as the most "offensive" issue to Carter and to "sensitive" Democratic state legislators. So NOW and others declined this fall to respond to this serious threat to women's rights.

ERA, the reasoning seemed to go, is for all women. Only poor women are affected by the Hyde amendment cutting off Medicaid funds for abortions.

This is exactly what the enemies of women's rights hoped for. To divide the women's movement. To prevent a united response to the attacks.

It weakened the struggle for all women's rights.

The politicians' fear of further Georgia ERA actions shows where our real strength and power lie. It's not in deals with Democrats, but in continued mobilizations.

The women's liberation movement needs to discuss these issues and chart a strategy to get the ratifications rolling. Hopefully, NOW's national convention in April will make room for a full debate that can help do just that.



May 16, 1976, march in Springfield, Illinois

Militant/Pat Hayes

In Our Opinion

Free Gary Tyler!

The Louisiana State Supreme Court has refused to grant a new trial to Gary Tyler. The court's action is a mockery of justice.

From beginning to end the case against the Black youth has been a transparent and outrageous frame-up.

The state's star witness has recanted her testimony—which she says she only gave because officials threatened her with prosecution. By refusing to recognize that the frame-up has crumbled, the judges have compounded the injustice.

Sentenced to die in the electric chair when he was seventeen, Gary Tyler has already suffered cruel and unusual punishment. Now the court says he must spend the rest of his life at hard labor.

Defense of Gary Tyler has become a rallying point for opponents of racism.

The Gary Tyler Defense Fund has been helping to organize support for Tyler's defense. The defense fund was started by Gary Tyler's mother, Juanita Tyler, who has been touring the country telling the truth about her son's case and raising funds for legal expenses. All supporters of justice should redouble their efforts to free Gary Tyler.

Abu Daoud affair

The Abu Daoud affair brought a big hue and cry from defenders of Zionism around the world. The decision of France to release the Palestinian leader, rather than extradite him to Israel or West Germany, was called capitulation to "international terrorism." Joining in the chorus was Jimmy Carter, who said he was "deeply disturbed," and Henry Kissinger, who was "outraged."

Abu Daoud has been tried and convicted by the capitalist media without even the pretense of a trial.

Reflecting the impact of this press campaign are letters from readers on the case printed in the *New York Times*, which contain flat and incorrect assertions such as that Daoud is a "self-confessed principal" in the attack on Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympics in Munich.

But neither Israel, West Germany, the United States, or France has produced a single piece of evidence to back up the contention that Abu Daoud "masterminded" the attack.

Only the West German police claim to have any "proof," but they haven't seen fit to share it with the rest of the world. Abu Daoud insists on his innocence.

In fact, after his release from France, he offered to fly immediately to West Germany and stand trial if the Bonn government would guarantee his safety. Bonn refused.

A review of the facts of the case demonstrates who is the criminal and who is the victim.

The affair began in Paris January 3 when Mahmoud Ould Saleh, a onetime Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) representative there, was shot down as he left a bookstore he managed. The killing bore the earmarks of an Israeli operation.

Daoud arrived in France a few days later as part of a Palestinian delegation to Saleh's funeral. Daoud's presence was hardly a secret. He met with a French official on January 7.

He was arrested that night by French counterintelligence agents, who apparently hadn't consulted with their bosses.

The January 24 *Time* magazine speculates that the arrest was concocted by Israel and carried out by their friends in the French secret police to embarrass Paris for its pro-Arab policy. The ploy also served to take the heat off the murderers of Saleh, whose death now faded into the background.

Both West Germany and Israel demanded Daoud's extradition. Shipping him to Israel would have resulted in a virtual lynching. West Germany dragged its feet. *Time* suggested Bonn moved slowly because it had only a very weak legal case against Daoud.

"Just imagine what the international reaction against us would be if a German court were to declare Daoud innocent," *Time* quoted a West German Foreign Ministry official as saying.

West Germany had no case, and Paris didn't want to be left holding the bag. So Daoud was released.

And a man who came to Paris to mourn a terrorist's murder victim somehow becomes himself an "international terrorist mastermind," without the chance to say a single word in his own defense.

Letters

An appeal for Philip Agee from Emile de Antonio

Friends,

If the enclosed letter is of interest, use it. I am sending it to no other U.S. publication.

Sincerely,

Emile de Antonio
New York, New York

President Jimmy Carter
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Carter,

Your pardon is a decent but small beginning. It did not go far enough or include enough. At least you didn't begin your administration with the pardon of a great criminal—Mr. Nixon's Christmas dinner, 1972 (Hark the Herald Angels and roasted Vietnamese children) perhaps drew a faint smile from the Ghost of Christmas Past at Berchtesgaden.

I write of the present, however, concerning the problem of Philip Agee. Not for a pardon; Mr. Agee has not been accused of anything; in fact, a decoration might be appropriate for exposing that creature of deformity, the CIA, which seems to have sired a race of little monsters:

The Shah of Shahs; Pinochet; Thieu and Ky; Greek colonels and generals; anyone at all whose greed and savagery were great enough to

betray their own countries for CIA dollars.

I don't think the CIA represents me and I don't think it represents most of the people of the United States.

The point: Mr. Agee is, at this moment, threatened with deportation from England. He has bought a house in Cambridge. He has lived in England for more than two years.

No rational person can believe that this isn't a CIA job. Your staff could prevent it.

The CIA consistently lies in the name of national security. In this case even the CIA lie would be unnecessary. Mr. Agee has been away from the CIA for too long to be a threat to national security.

A second aspect of the Agee affair needs investigation by the executive. For the past eighteen months, the American Civil Liberties Union in New York has repeatedly asked the Department of Justice if Agee would be prosecuted if he returned to the United States.

No answer has ever been given. In this particular case, no answer is a cruel and inhuman answer.

I hope your staff can do something.

Sincerely,
Emile de Antonio

Evans & Novak

I would like to thank the *Militant* and Andy Rose for consistent and very good coverage of the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign.

The article in the January 14 issue, "Anatomy of a hatchet job," was not only informative, but enjoyable reading. Having participated in the antiwar demonstrations Rose mentions in his article, I remember the right-wing red-baiters Evans and Novak quite well.

But I had forgotten that they were still around, dropping their dung all over the American left and anyone working for social change.

One last word for our sisters and brothers in steel across the country: In San Diego, activists will try their hardest to get the word out to workers here about Sadlowski's campaign, especially at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO), the largest industrial firm in the city.

Keep up the great work!

Jeff Stephenson
San Diego, California

More on 'The Front'

This letter is a response to Tim Smith's letter, which criticized the movie *The Front* (*Militant*, January 14).

It is not surprising that *The Front* or any other movie produced under capitalism does not have a Marxist line. To expect such is idealistic. To be critical of it because of its "anti-intellectual and emotional political thought" is reflective of nothing other than Stalinism.

Smith's criticism seems to be not so much with *The Front* as with the *Militant* and Peter Seidman. Art reviews in the *Militant* are just that:

art reviews. That only certain types of art are reviewed reflects that the *Militant* is directed toward the socially conscious.

Aside from that, however, the fact that Trotsky read and appreciated French novels (certainly not Marxist!) and that Lenin adored classical music (how bourgeois!) shows that a revolutionary's appreciation of art can go beyond socialist realism. Extend your criticisms further Mr. Smith: the impressionists, expressionists, cubists, and romanticists would not count as having any social or artistic value.

Contrary to Smith's statement, approval of art, movies, and books created under capitalism is not contradictory to any values of the left (except Stalinism). To be sure, read *Trotsky on Literature and Art*. And so what if *The Front* isn't Marxist, it is a lucky day when any kind of leftist movie hits the box offices!

Jenny Oswald
St. Louis, Missouri

Who's insane?

Nancy Cole's excellent article on the phony, racist psychological "theories" of Cyril Burt and his followers (*Militant*, December 31) provides yet another illustration of how the bourgeoisie uses science to support its repressive institutions.

In addition to the concept of IQ, another set of theoretical assumptions that has been coming under increasing attack recently by some social scientists is that used in developing a definition of "insanity."

Radical psychotherapists like R.D. Laing have attacked the bourgeois psychiatric establishment's definition

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International Socialist review

The African Freedom Struggle and American Youth

By Cathy Sedwick

[Cathy Sedwick is the national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. The following is a major section of the report she gave to the YSA convention held December 31-January 2.]

The date of June 16 and the city of Soweto will hold a page of honor in the history of the struggle against capitalism and all of its atrocities. The brave fighters of Soweto will be remembered, in their own words, as "soldiers of liberation who prefer to die from a bullet, rather than swallow a poisonous education which relegates them and their parents to a position of perpetual subordination."

It was on that day and in that township of more than one million South Africans—the largest Black city in South Africa—that students stood up to the viciously repressive South African regime and shouted "Amandla!"—which means "Power!" With this one word they were saying "No more!" to the oppression and degradation they face daily in their own country.

Ten thousand students took to the streets on June 16 to challenge the racist system of apartheid. They carried no weapons. They marched peacefully with banners that read: "Down with Afrikaans [one of the languages of the white South Africans]," and "Viva Azania [an African name for South Africa]."

The South African government attacked the students with murderous force. Their bullets killed two students. One was only seven years old but had in his short life seen enough of apartheid to want to put his life on the line and fight back.

The American capitalist class had its finger on the trigger that killed that seven-year-old child and the nearly four hundred others who were killed in the months that followed.

The U.S. policy in support of racism in South Africa is consistent with its racist policies here in this country, where thousands of Blacks are killed yearly by the poverty and degradation to which capitalism condemns them.

The struggles of the Black majorities of Namibia and Zimbabwe have also intensified. In February 1976 the Zimbabwean freedom fighters sharply stepped up their guerrilla campaign against the Smith regime. The Zimbabwean masses have grown more militant.

Demonstrations of more than 100,000 Blacks were held in October in the two largest cities to mark the return of two nationalist leaders. Two hundred thousand cheering Blacks greeted Bishop Abel Muzorewa, one of the nationalist leaders, on December 12, 1976—a sign that the Zimbabwean masses are hungry for their freedom.



The freedom struggle in Namibia, which has been a colony of South Africa since the end of World War I, has also advanced. The South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) has stepped up its actions against the South African occupation forces in Namibia and has increased its political influence among the Namibian population this year.

The struggle in Soweto began over the policy of the racist regime requiring African students to learn the social sciences and mathematics in Afrikaans, a Dutch-based language that is spoken by part of the white population of South Africa but is spoken nowhere else in the world.

Most instruction in these subjects had been in

English. The students prefer English because its international usage gives them access to ideas and knowledge outside of South Africa; ideas and knowledge not filtered or distorted by the racist South African government.

The main aim of the Bantu Education Administration, which oversees the education of Africans, is to prepare them to be useful and controllable tools for the apartheid system. Like everything else under apartheid, education is extremely unequal.

For whites, education is free and compulsory from age six to sixteen. For Blacks, education is optional even at the primary level and costs the equivalent of about \$50 annually. Since the per

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Also In This Issue: Farrell Dobbs's Account of the First Smith Act Frame-up Trial

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

The Sorensen Affair

The charges that led Theodore Sorensen, Jimmy Carter's nominee for head of the Central Intelligence Agency, to withdraw his name from consideration January 17 shed light on the prospects for "open" and "honest" government in the next four years. The objections to Sorensen are particularly revealing for what they indicate about the role of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, the body assigned to "investigate" the CIA.

Sorensen was chosen by Carter in the hope that his liberal reputation would help clean up the image of the CIA and take the heat off the agency. Sorensen had no qualms about taking command of this gang of spies, assassins, and "advisers" to torturers like the shah of Iran.

As an intimate of President Kennedy, Sorensen helped direct the CIA-sponsored invasion of Cuba in April 1961. Despite his reported "moral" objections to killing, he was a top figure in an administration that sent thousands of troops to fight the Vietnamese and plotted to assassinate Fidel Castro.

Later he acted as an attorney for CIA-sponsored tyrannies in Iran and Zaïre providing, as he said, "across-the-board representation of their legal interests in foreign countries."

Sorensen had no objections to CIA "covert activities." Such programs would continue, he promised, provided "the chances of success are high and the cost of doing the same job in a public, overt manner would be too high."

Under Sorensen, the CIA would have continued its assassination plots, its "destabilization" programs against regimes suspected of being too unreliable, and its harassment of socialist groups, trade unions, and other organizations of the oppressed at home and abroad.

However, the bipartisan opposition to Sorensen's appointment that developed in the Senate Intelligence Committee stemmed not at all from Sorensen's complicity in the crimes of the Kennedy administration and his promises to do more of the same.

His offense in the senators' eyes was submitting an affidavit in 1973 for use by defense attorneys for Daniel Ellsberg. The affidavit revealed that it was common practice for retiring government officials to appropriate and publish classified government materials, and even more common for presidents and their aides to selectively "leak" classified material that they thought would bolster support for government policy. Sorensen admitted engaging in such practices.

The affidavit helped undermine the government's charge that Ellsberg was guilty of endangering national security by exposing the Pentagon papers.

In the capitalist press, some pundits sympathetic to Sorensen were critical of this action. For example, Joseph Kraft wrote in the January 18 *Washington Post*, "Sorensen

was wrong to mix his own use of documents, which was benign, with the Ellsberg case."

In the eyes of U.S. imperialism's policy makers, and of their apologists like Kraft, Ellsberg's publication of the Pentagon papers was not "benign" because it revealed that U.S. foreign policy is planned and carried out behind the backs of the American people. It showed that government officials lie to the public about such matters as a matter of course, and that the purpose of official "secrecy" is to protect the government not from foreign "enemies" but from the American people.

By making an example of Sorensen—despite his demonstrated devotion to the imperialist objectives and illegal methods of the CIA—the senators were making it clear that they want no more Ellsbergs and no more "deep throats" to let the American people in on more of the ugly truth about how the U.S. government operates. Like the congresspeople who poured taxpayers' dollars into harassing Daniel Schorr for revealing their report on the CIA, the Senate committee stands for more secrecy, not less, in government.

These senators realize that without "covert actions" and official lies, U.S. imperialism's designs would be frustrated by the opposition of millions of Americans, as happened in the cases of Vietnam and Angola. That knowledge, shared by the entire ruling class, is the reason for the existence of the CIA.

Opponents of the CIA's spying and assassination programs at home and abroad can put no faith in the Senate and House committees, nor in Jimmy Carter's appointees. These figures are completely committed to the basic antidemocratic purposes of the CIA.

An effective way to fight the plague of "official secrecy" and "covert actions" is to support the antigovernment lawsuits of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance, the relatives of Fred Hampton, the Rosenberg sons, the Texas Raza Unida party, and others, which are forcing the U.S. spy agencies to disgorge some of their dirty secrets.

Stirrings in E. Europe

A shop foreman in a Polish factory recently told a *New York Times* reporter: "They [the government] can't do anything big without our say-so anymore. They try and we stop work, it's that simple. So we are getting more democracy."

A new wave of dissent is sweeping Eastern Europe, more powerful than at any time since the upsurges in 1953-56 and 1968. Masses of working people in these countries are beginning to feel confidence in their own power.

Dissatisfaction is on the rise partly in response to rising prices and other economic hardships imposed on the masses by the East European bureaucratic regimes.

In addition, dissidents in these countries, and in the Soviet Union itself, have felt strengthened by the statements of some Western Communist party leaders in their defense. This has been due, in turn, to the pressure of the workers in Western Europe, who are less ready than ever to accept totalitarianism in any guise.

An important feature of the new wave of

struggle for socialist democracy is the degree of open organization and activity of the dissident forces.

In **Poland**, the Committee to Defend the Worker Victims of the Repression was formed following the general strike that occurred last June in protest against government price rises. The committee functions openly, collecting signatures of workers on public protest petitions and raising money to aid families of arrested or fired workers. In the leadership of this committee are the most respected Polish writers and intellectuals. The French Communist party has come out in defense of the victimized workers.

In **Czechoslovakia**, fighters for "socialism with a human face" have launched an open campaign in defense of the democratic rights guaranteed in the Czechoslovakian constitution. During the past year their declaration, called Charter 77, has been signed by 242 prominent intellectual and political figures. The number of signers has continued to grow despite brutal police harassment of those associated with the Charter. Protests against the repression of Charter 77 have been voiced by the Italian and Spanish Communist parties and by American writers such as Francine DuPlessix Gray, Edward Albee, Kurt Vonnegut, John Hersey, and Ralph Ellison.

East Germany has seen the first widespread public protests since the general strike of 1953. The main issue is the forced exile of the communist poet and singer Wolf Biermann. Twelve dissidents have been imprisoned for demanding his right to return to his country.

Last spring, eleven human rights activists in the **Soviet Union** formed the Public Group to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Accords. They urged groups in other countries as well to coordinate monitoring of violations of human rights by all signatory governments. Leaders of this committee have suffered raids on their apartments, interrogation, and other forms of intimidation.

Meanwhile, a January 21 Reuters dispatch from Moscow cited testimony of a recently released dissident that "prisoners in scores of Soviet labor camps have staged hunger strikes and work stoppages as part of a resistance campaign against the camp authorities. . . ."

The open protest organizations in Eastern Europe and the USSR are the expression of a stirring of much bigger forces among workers, students, and intellectuals who want socialist democracy. They deserve the support of working people in this country. Their struggle is akin to the struggle of American workers who are demanding trade-union democracy and to the struggles of women and of Black people and other oppressed peoples.

Both the capitalist rulers and the Stalinists put forth the lie that the struggles for democratic rights in the workers states are basically procapitalist. To the contrary, they are the greatest hope for the socialist movement. These struggles are helping to prove that the elimination of capitalist rule and the institution of a planned economy does *not* automatically mean dictatorship, which is the fear of masses throughout the world. As the Polish workers are demanding, working people can win *both* democratic rights and control over the economy, to be run in the service of human needs.

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...African Freedom Struggle and American Youth

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capita income of Blacks averages only about one-twentieth of that of whites, the tuition fee places an elementary education out of the range of many Black families.

There are ten universities for the 4.3 million whites, and 1 in 60 of white high school graduates qualify for college. But for the more than 18 million Africans, there are only three universities, and 1 in every 2,500 of the African high school graduates have an opportunity to attend college. And even with a college education, it is very difficult for Blacks to make a decent living under the apartheid system.

Apartheid is based on segregation in many areas of social life and on the denial of all democratic rights to Blacks. All Black organizations are limited by government rules; any organization that advocates a change in the present order can be declared illegal. Blacks live under a police reign of terror, never knowing when they will be arrested or detained by the security police. South Africa has one of the highest execution rates in the world.

The movement of Blacks from place to place is governed by a rigid pass system. Thousands of Blacks are arrested annually for violation of the pass laws.

Under apartheid, Blacks are told where they can live, whom they can marry, and what kinds of jobs they can work at. The language policy for Black students obviously falls in line with all the other policies of the regime aimed at holding back the education and consciousness of Blacks.

The racists' hope is to stay the tide of history and maintain the oppressive and barbaric system of apartheid. The South African regime wants to keep Blacks out of all decision-making processes that affect their lives.

But they will not succeed in keeping Blacks out, as demonstrated by Soweto. The fervor of revolution is too powerful.

Violence and Repression

The main weapon of the white minority regime is violence and repression. Their answer to the just demands of Black students for a fair chance at an education is machine guns, automatic rifles, helicopters, and armored cars.

The South African security police have launched a massive witch-hunt since the rebellion, searching out virtually every known leader of the protests in all the major cities. Hardest hit by the repression have been the students and youth.

Central targets of the police are the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (two leading organizations in the Black Consciousness movement), the South African Student Movement (SASM), and the Soweto Students Representative Council, the latter two being high school organizations.

In addition to student leaders, the government has rounded up and imprisoned trade unionists, doctors, religious figures, women leaders, journalists, poets, playwrights, and actors. Between June 16 and October 31, nearly 4,200 persons were arrested and charged in court, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations. In addition, 423 persons were known to be held without charges under various security laws. As a result of brutal treatment, at least six Blacks have died in prison.

The security police continue to comb Soweto and other townships, seizing students from homes and classrooms. It is estimated that 600 to 1,500 students have fled the country in fear for their lives.

Despite this fierce repression, the protests continued and spread to other parts of the country. By August 20 more than seventy Black townships, located outside of every major city in the country, had been swept by massive unrest. Black university students throughout South Africa organized sit-ins, rallies, strikes, and other protests in support of the Soweto students. Some white students marched in solidarity as well, chanting "Power to Soweto!"

In Johannesburg students carried off a highly successful boycott of year-end school exams, according to a November 18 *New York Times* dispatch. In the same article, the power and



Charles Ostrofsky

Some participants at Young Socialist Alliance convention.

influence of the students was described in this way: "The group known as the Soweto Students Representative Council has become almost a shadow government in the sprawling township outside of Johannesburg."

Students and the Black Workers

One of the most important developments during the protests has been the ability of the students to draw in the Black working class. The general strike of Black workers that took place August 23-25 was called by the Soweto Students Representative Council. A major demand of the strike was for the release of all political prisoners.

An estimated 70-80 percent of the 320,000 Black workers who commute from Soweto to Johannesburg daily joined in the August strike, crippling economic activity in the city for three days. This strike dramatically demonstrated the dependency of the South African economy on the more than seven million Black workers.

The second general strike, staged September 13-15, was even more successful. This strike spread from Soweto to two other Black townships near Johannesburg, as well as to Cape Town, where Coloureds (people of mixed African, Asian, and European descent) form the majority of the working class.

The involvement of the Coloureds in these protests was a shock to the South African

regime, which has sought to divide Coloureds from Africans by placing fewer restrictions on them under the apartheid system. A white South African journalist explained to Michael Kaufman of the *New York Times*, "The most astounding thing for us here has been to watch colored and black youths standing together, saying exactly the same thing."

The fact is that the apartheid regime has little more to offer the Coloureds and Indians than it does the Africans.

Many Coloured and Indian youth are viewing themselves more and more as part of a Black power movement. They are rejecting the regime's divide-and-rule strategy, which has hampered the South African struggle for decades. They are joining hands with their African brothers and sisters to fight against the common enemy, the racist white minority regime.

The successful general strikes and the ability of Black youth to continue organizing protests has heightened the confidence and militancy of the Black population as a whole.

The workers and students of South Africa have continued their struggle in spite of the killings and arrests by the South African government because they are aware of the very high stakes involved. There is awareness that theirs is a battle to rid the African continent of the most powerful of the remaining white colonial-settler rulers.

Victories in Angola and Mozambique

Over the past two years, the liberation struggles in two other African countries, Angola and Mozambique, scored big victories, dealing a political setback to South African imperialism and its allies, particularly Washington.

The economies of both Angola and Mozambique were intertwined with the economy of South Africa. U.S. imperialism also had sizable investments in Angola. But even more important was the strategic position occupied by Angola and Mozambique. They acted as buffer zones between the white supremacist regimes of Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa and Black-ruled Africa.

The collapse of direct colonial rule in Angola and Mozambique has contributed greatly to the new confidence displayed by the African masses living under the domination of the remaining racist white minority regimes.

These same political factors that have given confidence to the African masses, to revolutionaries, and to others who support their struggle have at the same time given the imperialists a severe headache and sent them scurrying for a solution.

It is clear to the United States and other imperialist rulers that June 16 and the rebellion that followed was only a small indication of the resentment and the power of the African masses. These developments pose a threat to the survival of the racist regime in South Africa, the most important of the white-run regimes remaining on the continent.

South Africa serves as the main striking force of imperialism—militarily, economically, and politically—to protect imperialist investments throughout the region. It was South African troops, for example, that intervened in the Angolan civil war when Washington was unable to because of resistance at home.

In addition, the country has vast supplies of valuable resources needed by the imperialists. More than 60 percent of the gold supply of the capitalist world comes from South Africa. It also has important deposits of nickel, manganese, diamonds, and other minerals. Including its colony of Namibia, South Africa controls 26 percent of the world uranium reserves.

South Africa is of strategic importance to the imperialists for other reasons as well. It controls the vital shipping route around the Cape of Good Hope, over which much of the world's trade is transported, including an estimated seven million barrels of Mideast oil shipped every day to Europe (which is about one-half the oil consumption of the European NATO countries). The South African regime has some of the largest naval bases bordering on the Indian Ocean as well as the best port facilities in all of Africa.

Furthermore, South Africa is an important



Lou Howort

CATHY SEDWICK



The Observer (London)

center of imperialist investments. The apartheid laws and low wages paid to Black workers make the profit rate for foreign investors in South Africa among the highest in the world. Most strikes by Black workers are illegal.

More than 350 American companies have approximately \$1.6 billion directly invested in the South African economy.

Indirect American investment in South Africa, mostly in the form of bank loans to private and government-run companies, now surpasses \$2 billion.

A memo on southern Africa written by Henry Kissinger in 1970 stated that one of the primary goals of the American ruling class is "to protect economic, scientific and strategic interests and opportunities in the region, including the orderly marketing of South Africa's gold." This sums up exactly what the U.S. policy is today in southern Africa—despite the claims of Kissinger and the new United Nations ambassador Andrew Young to the contrary.

Washington and the other imperialist powers know that southern Africa is like a time bomb. The rise in the struggles for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe and Namibia could lead to the toppling of those colonial regimes, placing the South African regime in grave danger.

The Geneva talks concerning Black majority rule in Zimbabwe, and the multiracial conference in Namibia, which is supposed to lead the country to independence and majority rule by 1978, are all part of this strategy. The aim is to set up Black neocolonial regimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia that are willing to protect the economic and political interests of the imperialists.

The U.S. government says it is against the injustices of the white-minority regimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia and for majority rule in these countries. Yet, little or nothing is said about the equally racist policies applied to South Africa, the most repressive of the white regimes. This is because the real interests of the imperialists are not compatible with freedom for the Black majority.

Washington's real position on majority rule was symbolized by Kissinger's cordial meeting with South Africa's Prime Minister John Vorster last fall, as Blacks were being murdered in the streets of Soweto. The occasional criticisms voiced by U.S. officials of the white-minority regime are nothing more than a smoke screen to distract attention from the millions of dollars worth of military and political aid the U.S. gives to South Africa.

Arming the Vorster Regime

Washington and its allies continue to supply South Africa with arms and know-how to protect imperialist interests in southern Africa. The South African army and police force are equipped with NATO FN rifles, manufactured in South Africa under license from NATO. This could not be done without U.S. support.

As part of its secret "Tar Baby" policy adopted in 1970, Washington sold Pretoria millions of dollars worth of "dual purpose" equipment. "Dual purpose" means that it is supposedly earmarked for civilian use, but this equipment can also be used for military purposes. Included in this "dual purpose" equipment were Bell helicopters, Lear jets, and C-141 and C-130 military transport planes.

Under this same cover, between 1967 and 1972 the United States exported to South Africa \$22 million worth of communications equipment—including radar and electronic "search and detection gear"—and more than \$10 million worth of herbicides and defoliants of the type

used against the freedom fighters in Vietnam.

The United States is not alone in its interest in maintaining apartheid. Joining Washington in backing up the Vorster regime are Britain, France, West Germany, and other imperialist powers with large investments in South Africa.

In its aid to the Vorster regime, however, the American ruling class is in somewhat of a difficult position. They have to cope with the fact that there are 24 million Blacks in the United States who oppose the brutal oppression of their brothers and sisters in southern Africa and oppose any U.S. aid to these regimes.

So Washington is handling the South Africa issue with kid gloves. Politicians and the media have gone on a subtle public-relations campaign to paint the apartheid system as one of "separate development" which is not really so bad.

There is also a campaign by U.S. corporations to portray their investments in South Africa as playing a progressive role.

The appointment of former civil rights leader Andrew Young as ambassador to the United Nations is part of this effort to make Washington look like a friend of the African freedom struggle.

Young's appointment will not change U.S. policy, however, as he himself admits. Young, speaking at a press conference following his appointment, "refused to be drawn into a policy discussion, making clear that as a representative at the United Nations he did not make policy but only participated in its evolution," according to the December 17 *New York Times*.

A Struggle for Power

The strength and determination displayed by Blacks in the South African uprisings forced the Vorster regime to make some token concessions in an effort to dampen the struggle. The policy prescribing the use of Afrikaans in the schools was withdrawn. In another reform, Blacks were permitted to buy homes in urban areas without first having to give up their South African citizenship to become citizens of the Black reservations (Bantustans), as had been the previous policy.

But these few concessions are clearly not enough. The upsurge last summer was aimed against the whole system of apartheid, which allows the complete domination of nearly 22 million Blacks (composed of Africans, Coloureds, and Indians) by the 4.3 million white minority.

What the Blacks in South Africa are talking about is not simply the language question, or the right to buy a run-down slum housing unit. They are talking about *power*. They are talking about



Kissinger and S. African premier Vorster are eager to 'protect economic, scientific and strategic interests.'

who should rule. They are talking about taking the power from the white majority and placing it in the hands of the Black majority.

The language issue was the spark that lit the resentment that has been brewing among Black South Africans for decades. The protest over language turned quickly into a protest against the system, including workers' strikes, mass demonstrations, and defiance by students of "whites only" subway entrances and other facilities.

These struggles pose a big challenge to the apartheid system, which is based on denying Blacks basic democratic rights. They demonstrated how struggles for democratic rights or elementary economic improvements—such as higher wages, the right to buy a house, or the right to an education—can quickly become a challenge to the whole apartheid system and the capitalist system, which profits from apartheid.

The struggle for Black majority rule in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia presses in the direction of confrontation with the power and priorities of the ruling capitalist class and toward socialist revolution.

South Africa and the Young Socialist Alliance

Support to the struggle for Black majority rule in southern Africa is important for the Young Socialist Alliance for many reasons.

First, as an organization of students and youth, we have a special sense of solidarity and responsibility because of the key role that students and young people have played in the struggle in South Africa. Black South African students helped initiate and organize the two general strikes of Black workers in August and September, showing the potential of students to spark and help lead freedom struggles much broader than for their own immediate concerns.

The history of the student movement in South Africa is filled with battles against apartheid. We have an obligation to our brothers and sisters in South Africa to aid them in any way possible in their struggle against repression.

Secondly, there is a very close link between the Black struggle in this country and the struggle of Blacks in Africa. The civil rights struggles of the 1960s instilled a new consciousness in Black Americans. Blacks in the United States are proud of our African heritage and identify very closely with the African freedom struggle.

The strategy of the U.S. ruling class towards Blacks in this country has also been influenced by the African liberation struggles. When African nations began standing up and demanding their independence in the post-World-War-II period, the U.S. government had to change its image by revising some of its racist policies at home in order to add to its credibility in dealing with these newly independent Black governments. The colonial revolution was a big factor in leading to the historic 1954 Brown decision of the Supreme Court, which declared school segregation unconstitutional.

Every defeat for U.S. imperialism in southern Africa is a victory for American working people, and particularly for the 24 million Blacks in this country fighting for their freedom.

Thirdly, the Young Socialist Alliance is an internationalist organization. We were formed in the early 1960s by young activists who radicalized not only around events in this country, but in response to events such as the uprisings for socialist democracy in Hungary and Poland in 1956 and the Cuban revolution in 1959-60.

One of the first campaigns of the YSA was in defense of the Cuban revolution; we helped initiate and lead the Fair Play for Cuba committees.

During the 1960s and 1970s, a major focus of our activity was building the movement against the Vietnam War.

Our defense of the African liberation struggles is also not new. In the early 1960s, the YSA helped organize a campaign against U.S. intervention in the Congo (now Zaïre) and in defense of African liberation leader Patrice Lumumba, who was killed by U.S.-backed forces.

When the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) was formed in 1972, the YSA helped organize and build activities initiated by the ALSC in defense of the African liberation struggles and for the withdrawal of Gulf, Shell, Polaroid, and other U.S. corporations exploiting Africa.

When the United States intervened in the Angolan civil war in 1975, the Young Socialist Alliance played an important role in helping to educate about the U.S. role in southern Africa

Interested in joining the Young Socialist Alliance? Write to YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Want to help build the protests planned for March 25-26 against the white minority regimes in southern Africa? Write the National Student Coalition Against Racism, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Ma. 02121. Phone: (617) 288-6200.

and beginning to build a movement to demand "Hands off Angola."

Leaders of the YSA and the Socialist Workers party toured the country speaking on "Angola: the Next Vietnam?" YSA chapters helped build forums, teach-ins, rallies, and picket lines demanding that the United States and South Africa get out of Angola.

The Fight Against Racism Is International

We recognize that the fight against racism is international. The Black students in South Africa have a lot in common with the Black students who ride the buses every day into the racist stronghold of South Boston. They are fighting the same enemy, whether it is the U.S.-backed white racist regimes in southern Africa, or the government-coddled racist mobs in Boston, Louisville, Cleveland, and other cities.

As students living in a country that is one of the major props of the white minority regimes, we have an important role to play in the African freedom struggle.

We can expect that any mobilization by the African masses that poses a threat to American interests will face retaliation—direct or indirect—by Washington. We saw in Angola how quickly the United States threatened to go to war against the African liberation struggle.

In this situation, the very best material aid we can give to the African freedom fighters is to

build a mass movement in this country to demand an end to U.S. support to the racist southern African regimes.

The Soweto students showed dramatically the potential power of the student movement to inspire other sectors of the population into struggle. Students and youth in this country can play a similar role in building up a movement that will be strong enough to tie the hands of the American government.

Through our participation in helping to organize a movement demanding U.S. out of southern Africa we will meet many activists, especially Black youth, who will be won to the ideas of revolutionary socialism and will join the YSA.

Through fighting on the side of the freedom fighters in southern Africa, we will be winning over and training a new layer of young leaders, including Black leaders. We will win the most uncompromising fighters to the struggle for socialism, which will eliminate racism from the face of the earth.

Japanese Socialist: 'I Will Take the S. Africa Campaign Home With Me'

By Diane Wang

It is 6,993 miles from Tokyo to Chicago, about a fourteen-hour flight. Motoko Kurokawa of the Japanese Revolutionary Communist League and Carol MacLeish, a North American student studying in Japan, made that trip to attend the sixteenth national Young Socialist Alliance convention over the New Year's weekend.

Kurokawa brought greetings to the convention from the Japan Communist Youth (JCY), the youth organization in political solidarity with the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (JRCL), the Japanese section of the Fourth International. Her visit gave socialists in the United States a chance to discuss and compare work with one of their sister organizations in Japan.

The JCY, Kurokawa said, is similar in size to the YSA. "I think there is another similarity," MacLeish added, "in that the JCY got a big impetus from the campaign against the war in Vietnam and won many people from the student struggles of the late 1960s."

Kurokawa brought with her a thick batch of newsletters from Japanese groups defending South Korean political prisoners. That was her main work, Kurokawa explained. "This is very important for Asian liberation; we carried out a big campaign last year."

Last March eighteen intellectuals and Christians in South Korea published an appeal for democracy in that country. On December 29, just before the YSA convention, a South Korean court upheld the conviction of the eighteen for the political crime. The dissidents were given prison terms ranging from two to five years.

"We had a big petition campaign for these prisoners last summer with several other organizations, including Korean organizations in Japan," Kurokawa described.

"Together we collected about one million signatures. In November we had a rally and demonstration. Four thousand people came."

Much of the discussion at the YSA convention must have sounded familiar to Kurokawa and MacLeish. The campaign to defend

Gary Tyler, the Black high school student in Louisiana framed for murder, for example, is similar to one of the campaigns the Japanese socialists are involved in.

"Frame-up" is an American idiom, but it happens around the world.

In the United States defense cases have often become rallying points for the Black liberation struggle. Similarly, in Japan the struggle of the oppressed Buraku people has focused on defense of Kazuo Ishikawa. Ishikawa is a Buraku man arrested in 1963 for supposedly raping and murdering a high school student.

The oppression of Buraku people is based not on color, but on a centuries-old caste system.

"Long ago in Japan the butcher was treated as the lowest level of society," Kurokawa explained. "Those were the Buraku people." They were considered the "untouchables," and fit only for the dirtiest occupations. About one hundred years ago the laws were changed and people were formally to be equal. Yet the three million Buraku people remain restricted to the lowest-paying, menial jobs. They are segregated into Buraku communities.

"There was a lot of pressure on

the police to find out who had raped and killed the student," MacLeish said of the Ishikawa case. "So the police went to look among the Buraku communities. They had the preconception that a Buraku man must have committed the crime."

"There was evidence against other suspects, but they committed suicide. The police still wanted to get someone for it, so they put Ishikawa in prison."

Kurokawa described the defense campaign effort. "In October about 100,000 people came to a big rally and demonstration initiated by radical left-wing groups and the Buraku Liberation League—very significant."

One political issue that Japan and the United States share is the Lockheed bribery scandal. In September the JRCL and the Socialist Workers party in the United States issued a joint statement demanding that the full record of Lockheed's dealings, CIA maneuvering, and cover-up by the U.S. and Japanese governments be exposed.

"Just as the capitalist rulers in Washington and Tokyo have a common interest in covering up the Lockheed scandal, so the working people of Japan and the United

States have a common interest in exposing the full truth," said the statement.

"The JRCL has been one of the most active groups organizing demonstrations against the Lockheed scandal," said MacLeish. "They have been very successful in drawing other left groups and labor union groups into demonstrations."

Kurokawa explained that the Lockheed scandal had caused a crisis of confidence in the government that almost brought down the ruling Liberal Democratic party. "We call on the Communist party and Socialist party, [huge working-class parties in Japan] to form a government of workers and farmers."

At the women's liberation workshop at the YSA convention, MacLeish described the Japanese women's movement:

"The situation in Japan is very different. There isn't really a mass feminist movement like there is here," she explained.

However, the trade unions in Japan have women and youth sections. "A lot of women are being drawn into struggle around things like occupational diseases, demands for maternity leaves, and demands for child care. Child care is a very big issue."

And what did the Japanese socialists think of the YSA and its convention?

"Very good!" was Kurokawa's reply. "Many women comrades and Black comrades, Chicano and Puerto Rican comrades have joined the YSA. I think that is very good."

"Most important," Kurokawa said, "is South Africa." She was referring to the campaign the YSA launched to support the Black freedom struggles in southern Africa.

"Racism has a long history in America that American people could understand and fight against. Now there is South Africa."

"In Japan there is a little bit heard about South Africa," she said, "but not yet a big campaign." That is so even though Japanese companies have large investments in South Africa.

"When I return to Japan," Kurokawa declared, "I will take the South Africa campaign with me!"



Tokyo rally of 100,000 in October for Buraku freedom

Sekai Kakumei

Some Background to the Following Article

By Barbara West

Farrell Dobbs's forthcoming book, *Teamster Bureaucracy*, published by Monad Press, will be the fourth and final volume of his account of the evolution of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters from the standpoint of a leader of the 1930s' struggles in the Midwest that built the Teamsters into a powerful union. (Volumes one through three are *Teamster Rebellion*, *Teamster Power*, and *Teamster Politics*, all published by Monad Press.)

Printed here by permission of the publisher are excerpts from two chapters of *Teamster Bureaucracy*, entitled "Prosecutor's Tricks" and "Coached Witnesses." (Copyright 1977 by the Anchor Foundation.)

In this fourth volume Dobbs describes how one of the most popular liberal Democratic presidents used the FBI and the courts in a vicious attack on the trade-union movement.

On the one side were Franklin D. Roosevelt, the capitalist bosses of Minneapolis, and the Teamsters national officialdom. On the other, the Minneapolis Teamsters leaders and the Socialist Workers party—and, indirectly, the antiwar, class-struggle wing of the working-class movement.

By 1941, when this frame-up was concocted, World War II was raging throughout most of the world, and Roosevelt was clearly angling to draw the United States into active participation. The capitalists were strongly in favor of entry into the war, with an eye to beating out their imperialist rivals in a redivision of the world market, as well as increased profits from war production.

War was an attractive prospect to the capitalists for domestic reasons as well. Spurred by the conditions of the Great Depression of the 1930s, workers had carried out a series of massive strikes that succeeded in creating a powerful, self-confident industrial union movement—the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Basic industries such as auto and steel were organized for the first time.

The bosses and the government saw this "patriotic war" as a timely opportunity to jolt the economy into an upswing and blunt the labor upsurge.

Forces in opposition to the war faced a difficult situation.

In his attempts to bring the labor movement behind the war effort, Roosevelt received the cooperation of the bureaucrats at the head of both the AFL and CIO, who felt the workers' militancy as a threat to their positions.

Once Germany invaded the Soviet Union, the Communist party's antiwar stance was replaced by vociferous support to the interimperialist slaughter. Communist party members became notorious for their strikebreaking role throughout the war. The Socialist party capitulated to the war effort as well.

The Socialist Workers party and the *Militant* were the most outspoken opponents of the war, characterizing it as a war in which workers were forced to fight each other on behalf of rival imperialists.

Although small, the SWP had come to the attention of both the bosses and the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Daniel J. Tobin. In 1934, SWP members, including Farrell Dobbs, were among the central leaders of three hard-fought Teamsters strikes in Minneapolis, which opened the way to unionization of many industries in that city. After the Teamsters had been firmly established in Minneapolis, Dobbs headed up a Teamsters organizing drive in an eleven-state area.

As respect for the SWP leaders grew among trade unionists in the region, Tobin made a series of attempts to curb their influence by intervening in the affairs of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544, which had been the backbone of the unionization drive in that city and which had a number of SWP members in its elected leadership. Tobin's campaign culminated in an order

that Local 544 accept receivership.

In defense of its right to elect its own leadership and make its own decisions, Local 544 voted at a membership meeting of nearly four thousand to withdraw from the Teamsters, an AFL affiliate, and join the CIO.

Tobin appealed directly to Roosevelt for help against the Trotskyists and the union local. In response, the FBI raided the headquarters of the SWP and of Local 544 in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and a federal grand jury indicted twenty-nine men and women on charges of "seditious conspiracy."

This indictment was the government's first use of the reactionary Smith Act. Dobbs describes the flagrantly political nature of the charges, which made the advocacy of Marxist ideas a federal offense.

Many labor unions, civil libertarians, and intellectuals realized that this frame-up trial represented a grave threat to freedom of speech and association. The Civil Rights Defense Committee was formed to publicize the case and to raise funds for the defense.

It recorded protests by some 600 labor and progressive organizations, speaking for about six million members. The committee took up the tradition of the IWW and the early years of the International Labor Defense that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

The Communist party remained conspicuously absent from these defense efforts. In fact, before and during the trial, CP leaders and their newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, called for stepped-up prosecution of the Trotskyists as "agents of fascism."

For years afterwards—until CP members were the target of later Smith Act indictments—the Stalinists continued to charge approvingly that the Minneapolis defendants had been imprisoned for sabotaging the war effort.

The union defense guard, mentioned in these excerpts, was a major target of the prosecution in its attempt to frighten the jury with the claim that the defendants presented a threat to law and order. The defense guard, described in Dobbs's *Teamster Politics*, was established in 1938 in response to the threat of an armed raid by local fascists on Local 544's headquarters.

Rather than depending on the police, who had thoroughly demonstrated their unreliability and antilabor bias, the union publicly announced that it was taking the initiative in forming a body for "defense of the union's picket lines, headquarters, and members against antilabor violence."

Because they hoped to draw other unions as well as other potential victims of the fascists into a united-front defense, it was initiated by leading members of the union but was not an official part of the local.

The prejudicial conduct of the prosecution and the mounting war hysteria were such that eighteen of the defendants were convicted, under provisions of the Smith Act that have since been declared unconstitutional. Sentenced the day after the attack on Pearl Harbor, they served terms of up to sixteen months.

These portions of Dobbs's new book will be of particular interest to readers who have been following recent developments in the Socialist Workers party's suit against government surveillance and harassment. For the first time, documentation of the scope and manner of the government's use of informers against its political opponents is coming to light.

Earlier volumes of Dobbs's history of the Teamsters described FBI participation in framing up union organizers and leaders in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and Sioux City, Iowa, and WPA (Works Progress Administration) strikers in Minneapolis.

As Dobbs's account of the 1941 trial shows, the FBI has long been in the business of coaching and pressuring witnesses and intervening in the internal affairs of trade unions, socialist groups, and other organizations they hope to destroy. But in 1977, as opposed to 1941, it is the government and its agents who are the defendants.

By Farrell Dobbs

Trial of the twenty-eight¹ began on October 27, 1941, before Judge Matthew M. Joyce. We knew from the outset what to expect from this particular judge, since he had also presided over the railroading to prison of WPA strikers in 1939.

U.S. District Attorney Anderson's role as one of the prosecutors was equally predictable. He was an aggressive and unbridled reactionary, whom militants of Local 544's Federal Workers Section had faced before in the WPA trials.

Assistant Attorney General Schweinhaut, the main prosecutor, proved to be a somewhat slicker article. It quickly became clear that Biddle² had assigned him the task of giving the government's case a pseudo-sophisticated political aura for the purpose of confounding those who were protesting against the frame-up. Schweinhaut undertook, accordingly, to twist and distort our views so as to make them appear to have the opposite of their real meaning. As "evidence" for that purpose, he had stacks of books, pamphlets, and newspapers before him at the prosecution table. He also kept FBI agents hanging around in the courtroom and in the adjacent corridor, eavesdropping for snatches of conversation that might be turned to the government's advantage.

The immediate targets of this attack—an exceptionally large group of twenty-eight defendants—were allotted the barest minimum of space in the small courtroom used for the trial. Jammed together like cattle in a slaughterhouse pen, these principled fighters for working-class rights had to listen with burning indignation while the prosecutors described them as sneaky characters engaged in a sinister plot to grab state power by force and violence.

Outside the courtroom, however, the defendants received constant inspiration, which helped them to maintain high morale throughout the trial. Arrangements were made to serve hot meals twice daily for the entire group at the SWP's local headquarters. Cooking duties were performed by comrades not directly involved in the case, and people throughout the state who sympathized with us sent food and financial donations for the commissary. Concrete aid came in another form as well. Among the few spectators able to get into the crowded courtroom were trade unionists who dropped by to show their support of our cause. They would listen to the proceedings for a time, and when a recess was called, one or another of them would press a few dollars into a defendant's hand to help meet trial expenses.

Gathering together for meals twice daily did more than hold down eating costs. These regular sessions had the quality of continuing acts of solidarity, which buoyed our spirits; and at the same time a useful vehicle was provided for the collective shaping of defense policy on a day-to-day basis.

For the latter purpose a steering committee was selected. It consisted of three national officers of the SWP who were among those on trial—James P. Cannon, Albert Goldman, and myself. Our functions were to guide the overall handling of the defense, acting in consultation with the rest of the twenty-eight, and to make quick decisions required while in court. Implementation of our policy course during the actual legal proceedings was then guided by Goldman, who was both a defendant and chief counsel for the defense. He was a skilled trial lawyer with a wide range of experience, which included serving as Trotsky's legal agent from 1937 to the time of

1. One of the original twenty-nine indicted, Grant Dunne, committed suicide before the case came to trial.

2. Francis Biddle was U.S. attorney general.

From Farrell Dobbs's Forthcoming Book

Antiwar Unionists on Trial During WW II

his assassination in 1940.

One defendant, Nick Wagner, elected to have his own individual counsel—he was represented by Samuel Dolf, a local attorney. There were valid reasons for that exceptional situation.

Wagner, a former organizer for the IBT in Chicago, had been sent to Minneapolis by Tobin as part of the strong-arm force used against the General Drivers back in 1936. After that attack was halted, Wagner was included in the reorganized leadership of newly chartered Local 544. From then on he functioned loyally as a member of the local's executive board; despite his limited political education, Nick identified himself completely with our class-struggle policies at the trade union level, sensing their intrinsic worth. That, in turn, caused the "Committee of 99" to finger him to the FBI, and he wound up as one of those indicted for "sedition."

Under the given circumstances, it was advisable for Wagner to have his own lawyer because it helped to demonstrate that he was not an active member of the Socialist Workers Party. So he took that course with our agreement, being careful at the same time to make certain that Dolf did nothing likely to cause the other defendants problems.

Several questions of major importance had already been raised in pretrial legal proceedings. The defense had submitted a motion calling for application of the judicial doctrine that the government must show a "clear and present danger" to its continued existence in order to prosecute the defendants on the charges made in the indictment. Joyce flatly denied the motion.

Our lawyers then demanded to know whether we were accused of actually preparing to overthrow the government, or if the charge was one of advocating such action. As matters stood, they argued, the language of the indictment was vague and indefinite. There was a complete lack of any factual evidence as to the nature of the alleged conspiracy and as to the means by which it was to be carried out. A question existed, therefore, whether we were being prosecuted for a

criminal offense or persecuted for our ideas.

Anderson said in reply, "The Government will bring out in the trial all the facts which are necessary to prove that a seditious conspiracy existed." And the judge upheld his contention.

At that point the defense called upon the government to provide a bill of particulars regarding the alleged facts of which Anderson spoke, so that a proper opportunity could be afforded us for preparation of a reply to the allegations. As the indictment stood, our legal staff and Dolf joined in arguing, it contained nothing but the conclusions of the prosecutors. There were no details about steps through which the "overthrow of the government" was to be brought about. Moreover, there was no record in the indictment of the roles allegedly played by individual defendants. Blanket charges were made against all persons named; and if the defendants were not apprised individually of the specific accusations against each of them, to put them on trial would be a violation of their constitutional rights.

Schweinhaut handled the rebuttal on this issue. "When a conspiracy is the gist of the crime," he argued, "it is not necessary for the government to allege with great particularity the details of the crime. . . . A bill of particulars would unnecessarily confine the government and limit its testimony." In routine fashion, Joyce ruled in Schweinhaut's favor, and we were unable to obtain advance information about specific charges against us.

At the very least, our lawyers next argued, each defendant should be tried separately, in keeping with the constitutional rights involved. If all the accused were tried together, evidence introduced against one would not necessarily pertain to others. Yet the jury would be unable to relate each piece of evidence solely to the particular defendant involved. A cumulative impression would thus be created in the jurors' minds that every act charged applied to the entire twenty-eight, and they would thereby be denied a fair trial.

Anderson opposed individual trials, stating

curtly: "Evidence against one is evidence against all inasmuch as all took part in the conspiracy." As usual, the judge agreed with him, ruling that the defense should not make "too rigid demands" upon the prosecution.

With the legal dice thus loaded against us, the prosecutors proceeded to rig the jury. On the first day of the trial a big panel of prospective jurors—already screened to make sure none were connected with the labor movement—were herded into the courtroom. Our lawyers immediately called for a list of the panel, so that a quick check could be made to peg those most likely to be biased against the defendants. Access to the list was refused, however, and the defense was granted nothing more than the exercise of ten peremptory challenges to eliminate the most unwanted jurors. After those challenges were used, the judge arbitrarily decided who would be chosen to serve.

Of the twelve finally selected, eleven were men and one a woman. Most had middle-class backgrounds. Listed by occupation, the jury consisted of a bank executive, the owner of a grain elevator chain, a lumber company sales manager, the owner of a rural newspaper, a cook for a backwoods jail, a small-town plumber, a hardware clerk, an owner of a general store, a general store clerk, a farmer, a farm laborer, and a garage owner.

Most of the jurors came from rural districts. Although Minneapolis—where the trial took place—was one of the best organized cities in the country, there was not a single trade unionist among them. Nor was there a single Farmer-Laborite; all supported either the Republicans or the Democrats.

Theoretically, these twelve people were to sit in judgment over defendants accused of crimes against the government. Actually, though, they were being called upon to make a sweeping decision—thumbs up or thumbs down, like spectators at a Roman circus—concerning the exercise of working-class rights in capitalist society. Fundamental guarantees set forth in the Bill of Rights were at stake—freedom of thought,



Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers party, raided in 1941 by the FBI

Preston and Reed/Minneapolis Star

freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly. Hence the jurors bore a grave social responsibility in reaching a verdict, and they deserved honesty from the federal authorities concerning every aspect of the case.

But when Anderson made the opening statement for the government, he sought to conceal—not reveal—the true nature of the trial. Instead of explaining our constitutional right to think for ourselves and to say what we thought, he told the jurors: "The very program of the Socialist Workers Party is a violation of the statutes It is the position of the government in this case that proof of overt acts is not required and that the conspiracy in itself is unlawful." As those remarks showed, Biddle's earlier attempt to hide the true nature of the indictment with talk about "overt acts" was now thrust aside. The jury was urged to convict us because of our socialist philosophy and principles.

Anderson charged that we espoused the revolutionary doctrines of Marx and of "a more recent writer by the name of Engels." Lenin's teachings were also embraced by us, he added, as were those of Trotsky. Hence, our purpose was to "further the international revolution against organized society." Toward that end we called for

in Washington. A political movement had been put on trial because it opposed the war policies of the Roosevelt administration. To conceal that fact, charges of conspiring against the government were falsely introduced, when in reality the whole business was a political prosecution from start to finish.

Goldman then touched upon specific positions held by the SWP which were to be explained more fully during the defense testimony. These included: why we were internationalists and why that was not a crime; the reasons for our opposition to imperialist war and our right to express these views; the nature of the fascist threat to the working class; why Local 544's defense guard was formed; and the facts about its one and only function, which was to exercise the union's right of self-defense.

Concerning the government's charge that we "fomented strikes," the real situation, he explained, was that a constant struggle went on between workers and capitalists. We didn't need to advocate such a conflict; it was a fact of life. No less false, he added, was the allegation that the defendants imposed their control upon trade unions. They did nothing more than attempt to carry out whatever responsibilities the workers

nist Manifesto, written nearly one hundred years earlier by Marx and Engels. Other items in this category were mainly works by Lenin and Trotsky.

Also presented as government exhibits were various pieces of literature published by, or on behalf of, the Socialist Workers Party. Included among them were numerous issues of *The Militant* and the *Socialist Appeal*, copies of the theoretical magazines *New International* and *Fourth International*, leaflets printed for mass distribution, educational brochures, and mimeographed bulletins used for purposes of internal party discussion.

Apart from isolated passages jerked out of revolutionary writings, the government's case rested mainly upon false testimony by Tobinites. They were used to allege that we did and said one thing for public consumption, while we meant and did the opposite in private.

Those who made such charges were members and supporters of the "Committee of 99."³ Some had material interests at stake in attacking us, and others were motivated by personal grudges against defendants. Upon taking the witness stand they performed like trained seals, giving every indication of having been coached by the political cops. Besides that, they were allowed—despite our objections—to sit in court and listen to one another's testimony, a practice which enabled them to use pretty much the same language in answering the prosecutor's questions.

The Tobinites claimed to have held private conversations with various defendants during which, curiously enough, there was never a third party present. Use of that tactic made it their word against ours, so they felt emboldened to lie with reckless abandon. It was in such private talks, the prosecution had them say, that they were initiated into the "real" aim of the Socialist Workers Party, which was to prepare an "armed revolution."

James Bartlett was the government's lead-off witness. His testimony had obviously been well rehearsed, for he exhibited a strangely precise memory. Among other acts of stool-pigeonry, this Tobin agent named most of the defendants as SWP members, described those named as active in the party, and branded each one an advocate of "force and violence."

Anderson also had Bartlett elaborate on various aspects of discussions allegedly heard at SWP meetings or held in private with one or another defendant. A few examples from the official abstract will illustrate the tenor of fabrications presented to the jury.

"Q: And what was then and there said [at a January 1938 meeting of the newly founded SWP] about this new party?

"A: Considerable contrast was made between the Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Party and it was pointed out during the discussion that the Socialist Party was moving under the illusion that it could bring socialism into effect by use of the ballot box, whereas the Socialist Workers Party entertained no such illusions and maintained that it was necessary for an armed overthrow of the capitalist form of government in order to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. . . .

"Q: Now what was said there [at later meetings of the SWP in Minneapolis] if you can recall, and state by whom, with respect to use of the unions by the party in seeking control of the government?

"A: I recall one time, V. R. Dunne making a report at a party meeting . . . he pointed out how, under the leadership of the party, developing its program and espousing it in the trade union movement, [the party] was able effectively to take over the city of Minneapolis. He pointed that out as an example of how effectively that could be done on a nation-wide scale if the party had fine leaders with influence and prestige in the important trade unions on a national scale. . . ."

As this farce continued, a strained attempt was made to cast Local 544's defense guard in a seditious light. On that subject Anderson led Bartlett into a phony account of a talk with



Rally held by Civil Rights Defense Committee. The committee won the endorsement of some 600 labor and other organizations for freedom for the eighteen Smith Act defendants.

defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. In doing so, moreover, we claimed that the U.S. government was imperialistic, which he construed to mean that we were against our own country.

To achieve our "subversive" ends, he contended, the SWP carried on organized propagation of its ideas. Meetings were held to draw in innocents; literature was published for the same purpose; and, of equally sinister import, party members were instructed to be active in the trade unions. By means of the latter policy, he alleged, Local 544 had been brought completely under the party's domination, and an antiwar platform had been promulgated through the local "to hinder and delay the processes" of military conscription.

When Anderson had finished his diatribe, we were allowed to make a preliminary statement of our defense against the government's charges. If the jurors were to listen to us with an open mind, we reasoned, they had to be shown that the term "revolution" was a scientific political characterization of fundamental change in the social structure, not a description of wild-eyed bomb throwers. They needed to understand what we really stood for and why. Above all, it was imperative to make them aware of the vital constitutional rights involved in the case. This, of course, was easier said than done; but Goldman, who made our opening presentation, gave it a good try.

"It is a peculiar kind of criminals you have," he told the jury, "who insist upon their right to do what they are doing and to say what they are saying."

The truth was, Goldman emphasized, that this was not an ordinary criminal case. We faced charges under an indictment that had originated

entrusted to them, and in Local 544 under their leadership the best kind of democracy had prevailed.

Turning to our advocacy of a fundamental change in the social order, Goldman pointed out that we preferred a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. History had shown, though, that capitalist minorities abroad had resorted to force in an effort to retain power and protect their special privileges. For that historic reason we warned the workers that a similar course would most likely be taken by the capitalists in this country, when a majority decided change was needed in the social system. It was this prediction of probable resort to force by the present ruling class in the United States—against a future socialist majority—that the prosecution was trying to twist into "proof" that we advocated force and violence against the capitalist government.

After Goldman had completed his statement, detailed presentation of the government's case began. At the outset the prosecutors submitted an inventory of items seized the previous June when the FBI raided the SWP headquarters in Minneapolis and Saint Paul. These items were tabulated in the form of court exhibits to be used as "evidence" against us.

Among the exhibits were a photograph of Leon Trotsky autographed to V. R. Dunne; an armband, a lapel button, and a membership card issued by Local 544's defense guard; and a red banner with white letters reading "Socialist Workers Party." In addition, there were 110 different items of literature. This printed material, which had been taken in varying quantities per item, added up to a total of 2,442 pieces.

Several Marxist classics had been grabbed by the political cops. One of these was the *Commu-*

3. The so-called Committee of 100 was formed earlier in 1941 by politically backward elements in Local 544 to contest union offices through a campaign of red-baiting of the union leadership. It was reduced to the "Committee of 99" by the death of Tommy Williams, who had initiated it.

Trotsky when Harry DeBoer and Bartlett had gone to Mexico on a vacation trip. The gist of the tale follows:

"Q: Mr. Bartlett, while you and Harry DeBoer were with Leon Trotsky on this trip, was there anything said about defense guards?"

"A: Yes, Leon Trotsky said that he gave the idea to the American party. . . ."

"Q: What did he [Trotsky] say about the defense guard movement?"

"A: Well, he stated that it should be developed even further on a national scale because it could be used as the nucleus for an armed uprising at the opportune time. . . ."

"Q: Well, did he say to whom he had given the idea of this [in the] American party?"

"A: Yes, he mentioned Emil Hansen's name."

"Mr. Goldman: Just a minute. I object and move that it be stricken [from the record]. I don't think that the indictment charges Trotsky was a conspirator. . . ."

"Mr. Anderson: We charge—include Leon Trotsky as a co-conspirator in this indictment. . . ."

Still another ploy was used concerning the *Communist Manifesto*. Bartlett identified for the record a copy of that historic work, stating he had bought it at the SWP headquarters. He claimed to have studied the document carefully and to have discovered that it "advocated force and violence." As will be noted later, the prosecution had a special reason for putting on this particular ham act.

Bartlett's performance was followed by further parading of government witnesses to the stand who either belonged to or supported the "Committee of 99." They emulated him in naming defendants as SWP members and linking those named with the alleged conspiracy to overthrow the government. The general nature of their testimony can be summed up through references to specific categories of accusations as those were made by various individuals.

Violet Williams (widow of Tommy Williams) gave the jury this outlandish description of a talk by Ray Dunne: "At one meeting that I attended he said they would put men in key positions in various industries and even stated that the army and navy would have party people in key positions and that when the right time came it wouldn't be any trick at all. He said there wouldn't be any voting; the workers would just take over the government by armed force."

Eugene J. Williams added to those brazen lies. He claimed Ray Dunne told him in private talks: "That the party members, when they were inducted into the army, [were] to form cliques, to kick about anything they could think of to kick about, so it would get into the papers and make the public think they were being treated rotten in the army, words along that line. . . . Dunne stated that at the time of the revolution, the men in the army with their cliques they had formed would take control of everything that they could, the arsenals, and turn the guns on the ones in power."

Roy F. Wieneke undertook to give the jurors the inside dope about Local 544's defense guard, as follows: "In 1939 V. R. Dunne spoke at a membership meeting of the party at which he said that the idea for a union defense guard had come from Trotsky and that masquerading under the object of fighting fascism or the Silver Shirts, it would in reality be the first part of the militia for the Socialist Workers Party. He said that the Socialist Workers Party controlled Local 544 through the leadership there and that would give the party control of the union defense guard."

To top it all off John Novack was called to testify as a government witness. He was a rather pathetic individual, who had somewhat less than the fullest powers of mental perception. Anderson led Novack into an assertion that an SWP member named "Rube," whose last name he didn't know, had told him: "We have guns and ammunition planted in the walls of churches. We have bullets that will go through an inch and a half or two inches of armored plate, which is better than the United States army."

The prosecution surely knew what Novack would say. Yet, outrageous though the above assertion was, he was asked the leading question which evoked it. There could have been only one reason for such a performance. It was a cynical trick designed to shock the jury.

After the prosecution had guided the "Committee of 99" witnesses through this sinister bur-

For Unconditional Defense of the Soviet Union

A Program Of Victory For The Soviet Union

THE MILITANT

Formerly the SOCIALIST APPEAL
Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

WE stand for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, as everyone knows who is acquainted with our party's position. The Socialist Workers Party is not only the only party in the United States which stands for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, but also the only party which stands for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union.

The word "unconditional" is plain enough. It means that we set no conditions whatsoever before we defend the Soviet Union. We do not demand that Stalin make any concessions to us before we defend the Soviet Union.

We defend the Soviet Union because the foundation of socialism established by the October revolution of 1917, the nationalized property, still remains and this foundation it is necessary to defend at all costs.

The Trotskyists in this country in the Soviet Union and everywhere in the world say to the Soviet government: "This is the most dangerous revolution in the world and it must be defended at all costs."

It is to assure victory in the struggle against Hitler that our party presents a minimum program of immediate tasks for the Soviet Union. Whether the Soviet government accepts or rejects this program, we will defend the Soviet Union. But we must that this minimum program is vital to our strength immediately the lightning of the Soviet Union.

1. Release all pro-Soviet political prisoners. Restore them to their rightful place in industry and the Red Army.

In the jails and concentration camps of the Kowalski there are tens of thousands of loyal revolutionaries who proved themselves in the struggle against the White Guards and imperialist intervention in the Civil War of 1918-1921 and in the struggle to build industry in the Soviet Union.

In spite of the persecutions to which they have been subjected by the Kowalski bureaucracy, the loyalty of these men and women to the Soviet Union cannot be questioned for one moment. Given the opportunity they would immediately rush to the front prepared to offer their lives in the struggle against Hitler.

The release of these great souls of comrades is a present kept to just add because Stalin found it expedient to his false policies, is imperative for the salvation of the Soviet Union.

2. Revive the democratically-elected Soviets. Workers' democracy in the Soviet Union.

The tens of millions of workers and peasants who fought so heroically and self-sacrificingly in the Civil War were organized in the Soviets. The Soviets, constituted by representatives democratically elected in the factories and villages, directly representing the needs of millions of workers and peasants, were the basis of the Soviet Union. They were the basis of the Soviet Union.

Without the Soviets, victory would have been impossible in the Civil War. But these Soviets, based on occupational representation, no longer exist. Stalin has destroyed them.

The Soviets of Workers and Peasants must be revived. Communist democracy must be restored to the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union must be given the right to elect an open political organization to represent the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union.

3. Legislation of all pro-Soviet political parties. Their right to present their programs to the masses.

As part of the restoration of workers' democracy in the Soviet Union, all pro-Soviet political parties must be given legal status. Every political party that is for the defense of the Soviet Union must be given the right to elect an open political organization to represent the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union.

4. For revolutionary unity with the German working class. For the Socialist United States of Europe.

In order to bring Hitler to a halt, the Soviet government must make an appeal to the workers of Germany, calling upon them to overthrow Hitler and the capitalist system which gave birth to Hitler. The Soviet government must call upon the workers of Germany to join hands with the Soviet Union to create the Socialist United States of Europe.

Hitler is now drawing unmeasurable strength from the German workers and the workers of a large number of other countries. The workers of the Soviet Union must make an appeal to the workers of Germany to join hands with the Soviet Union to create the Socialist United States of Europe.

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feel bitter towards me, but you should listen to what I have to say. He then outlined to me how the government was proceeding against officials in 544, and Dobbs and some others in New York, for their subversive activities. Because I was a Teamster official and had very close working relationships with Dobbs and leaders of Local 544, he told me, my testimony would be extremely helpful. In return for that, he said, an early parole was assured and he could guarantee a job with the Teamsters when I got out.

"I was outraged. I said to him, you represent the people who harassed me, framed me, and railroaded me into this prison and now you come here and have the guts and poor sense to propose to me that I can get out of this joint by framing some other worker into it. Then I demanded that the warden return me to my cell or work detail. I also told the warden I was aware of my rights and that he should never again subject me to any goddam interrogation unless my lawyer was present. In leaving I said to the agent you can go to hell with your offers. I heard no more on the issue.

"A few days later Shorty Stultz, who was also doing time on the same rap as me, was called to the warden's office. A bit later he left the prison in custody of US marshals. Before he was returned to the prison we learned from the newspapers that he was a government witness against you and the others on trial in Minneapolis. Most convicts hate snitches and informers and they were pretty angry. The warden knew this and Stultz was kept in the 'rat hole' until he was released on parole a short time later."

Two other officers of Omaha Local 554—Thomas V. Smith and Malcolm G. Love—were brought to Minneapolis and put on the stand as government witnesses. Smith testified first. The prosecution tried to prove through him that we had invaded the Omaha union with the object of dictating its policies. But Smith told the jury that those defendants who had been active in Omaha had come there in response to an official request from the local for help.

An attempt was also made to show that we had flooded the union with "subversive" propaganda. Smith said on that point yes, Russell⁴ had once suggested that he read the *Communist Manifesto*, but he found he couldn't understand it very well. Yes, when he told Dobbs that he hadn't understood what he read, Dobbs asked Russell to organize a study class for those interested in discussing the document. Yes, Russell had organized such a class and Smith attended it. "We asked him questions and he tried to explain them."

If the prosecutors expected Smith to help them show that our activities in Omaha had been "subversive," the notion was soon exploded. On cross-examination Goldman asked the witness if Dobbs had advocated "force and violence" in private talks or in speeches he had heard. Smith replied:

"I never heard him advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence during any of those meetings nor in any private conversation I ever had with him did he advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

Under questioning by the prosecutor Smith testified that he had joined the SWP in the spring of 1940. Goldman asked why he had done so and Smith answered:

"What made me join the Socialist Workers Party? I was an officer of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in Omaha. I know the conditions we had before this set-up of the Eleven-State Area [IBT over-the-road committee] and conditions in Minneapolis, Saint Paul—at this meeting [in the Twin Cities during January 1938], and seeing the work that Local 544 and their officers were doing, helping out the smaller locals, and their entire board and staff, as I knew them, all of them labor-minded, trying to help the poor, and I found out that they were members of it [the SWP] and I figured that if that was what the Socialist Workers Party was, that put out those kind of people, that that was good enough for me and I joined them."

When Love was called to the stand the prosecutor asked him only a few perfunctory questions, seeking to avoid a repetition of the

disaster experienced with Smith. But Goldman refused to cooperate in that attempt. The results are illustrated in the following passage from his cross-examination of Love, beginning with Love's answer to Goldman's question as to why he had joined the SWP:

"A: Why did I join? Well, I will tell you. I joined the party for practically the same reason that Tommy [Smith] gave.

"Q: Did you ever hear Farrell Dobbs make speeches?

"A: I have heard him make a lot of speeches. . . .

"Q: Did he ever say anything about overthrowing the government by force and violence?

"A: No, sir."

Among the government's witnesses were a few who were used for one or another specific purpose. Edward P. Shurick, a radio station manager, identified transcripts of radio talks given by Grace Carlson as a candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota in the 1940 elections. Excerpts from those talks were then twisted around by the prosecution to claim that she had advocated armed overthrow of the government.

Charles H. Chalmers, who was in the oil burner business, testified that Ray Dunne—as a guest speaker at a Minneapolis luncheon club—said he had a lot to do with the writing of the Declaration of Principles adopted by the SWP in 1938.

Myrtle Levenius told of buying a copy of the 1938 Declaration of Principles at the SWP headquarters. This had been done not long before the trial, she said, upon instructions from her employer. The employer turned out to be the Associated Industries, successor to the defunct Citizens Alliance which had earned widespread hatred because of its brutal attacks on striking workers.

During this stage of the trial the defense renewed its objections to introduction of the *Communist Manifesto* as government "evidence." The prosecution argued in rebuttal that the document had served as the basis for a study class in Omaha; that Bartlett's testimony had revealed its advocacy of force and violence; and that proof had, therefore, been presented of the defendants' use of the *Communist Manifesto* in violation of the Smith Act. As before, the judge ruled in the government's favor.

This example of the government's methods in prosecuting us was denounced during the trial by Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union. He did so in a speech at a public meeting held in Minneapolis on November 13, 1941.

"Only one overt act has been charged against the defendants—organization of a defense guard in 1938," Baldwin told the audience, "so the prosecution in the main is based on what they thought. . . . For the first time in our history they are trying men and women for the ideas in the ninety-three-year-old *Communist Manifesto*."

Three days later Robert Minor, acting national secretary of the Communist Party, took an opposite stand. He did so as the principal speaker at a Stalinist-sponsored affair, also held in Minneapolis while we were on trial. Minor was substituting for Earl Browder, the CP's national secretary, who was serving a term in federal prison after having been framed up on passport charges. The frame-up had occurred during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. Since then, however, the CP had switched back to support of

U.S. imperialism, and it was now fervently backing Roosevelt against opponents of his foreign policy. The president reciprocated by freeing Browder a bit later.

In his Minneapolis speech Minor called for "a national front of all patriotic Americans in support of administration policy," and he denounced the Trotskyists who were on trial in federal court as "fifth columnists" (a term used during the Spanish Civil War to describe agents of Franco, the fascist dictator). Referring to the presence of *Militant* distributors outside the meeting hall, Minor urged the audience not to believe "those who have strange sources of money with which to stand on sidewalks and give away papers."

In sharp contrast to the Stalinists' finky role, trade unionists were becoming increasingly critical of the government's tactics in prosecuting the Trotskyists. This trend was reflected in a resolution adopted during the trial by the San Francisco CIO Industrial Union Council. That body declared:

"We condemn the use of government agencies to oppress and harass any labor or political organizations in the pursuit of their legitimate activities, . . . we call upon the Department of Justice to dismiss the indictments against the twenty-eight defendants in the Minnesota case, and . . . we request all affiliated locals to give full moral and financial support to these twenty-eight defendants."

Sharp criticism of the prosecution also came from middle-class circles. A stinging editorial appeared, for instance, in the *Belview Independent*, one of Minnesota's well-known rural weeklies. In its issue of November 7, 1941, this paper asserted:

"Whether we may or may not agree with the Socialist Workers Party's ideals, a great deal more is at stake in this trial than the guilt of the persons charged, and that is whether the people of the United States have the right of freedom of speech, freedom of press and other civil rights. . . .

"Frankly we feel that the entire case is the outcome of the controversy between the AFL and the CIO. Local 544 of the CIO has had the short end of the deal all the way through. In fact, if the letter of the law had been followed, an election would have been called and the members of the union could have voted and made the decision themselves as to which group they wished to have represent them.

"It is hard to believe that their organization would be guilty of fomenting revolution of the bloody type, when a more anti-war organization never existed in the United States. Their reason for opposing the war is not necessarily from the point of view of expense but because they feel that the rank and file of working people of the United States will be spilling their blood for a war that will bring profits only to a few and death and disaster to the working people."

As the views expressed by Baldwin, the San Francisco CIO, and the Minnesota rural weekly signified, there was strong backing for a demand that prosecution of the twenty-eight be dropped; and our defense counsel made a motion to that effect at the trial. Specifically, the judge was asked to instruct the jury to return a verdict of not guilty in the case of each defendant.

Argument for such a directed verdict was presented along the following lines: there was no proof of any conspiracy whatever, unless the very existence of the SWP—a legal party—was held to be a conspiracy; "evidence" submitted against us consisted of speeches and writings, all dealing with an analysis of historical events and with changes anticipated on the basis of scientific prediction; there was no proof of attempts to foment insubordination in the armed forces; all the government could point to was Local 544's defense guard organized for the union's own protection, and the idea that such a small formation could threaten the government was preposterous.

Schweinhaut opposed the defense motion, contending that testimony by government witnesses had proven two things: the hoped-for revolution was expected to come soon, and draftees were urged to create unrest and dissatisfaction in the army. The fact of party membership, he also insisted, showed a clear and absolute intent to overthrow the government by force if the opportunity presented itself. Those things, Schweinhaut argued, clearly demonstrat-

Further Reading on Defense Against Government Attacks

Teamster Rebellion (\$2.45), **Teamster Power** (\$2.95), **Teamster Politics** (\$2.95), by Farrell Dobbs.

Socialism on Trial, by James P. Cannon (paper \$2.25). Contains Cannon's court testimony from 1941 Smith Act trial.

Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom, by Nelson Blackstock, introduction by Noam Chomsky. Story of the Socialist Workers party's suit against the government.

Order from:

Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

4. Al Russell, one of the defendants, had been recording secretary of Local 554 in Omaha, Nebraska.

ed the conspiracy charged in the indictment.

In his ruling on the defense motion, Judge Joyce ordered that verdicts of not guilty be returned for George Frosig, Walter Hagstrom, Dorothy Schultz, Rose Seiler, and Nick Wagner. He said there was not sufficient evidence that those five defendants had knowledge of the SWP or that they had participated in activities to overthrow the government by force and violence.

Joyce's reasons for freeing the five had an

ominous ring. He was telling the jury, in effect, that the SWP—as a party—was being tried on conspiracy charges; and that those who were shown to be active members of the party were automatically to be found guilty, if the jury accepted the government's contention that the SWP itself constituted a conspiracy.

On those premises the judge instructed the remaining twenty-three defendants to proceed with their answer to the government's case

against them.

Speaking for the five whom Joyce had freed, Dorothy Schultz told the press: "We remain in complete solidarity with the defendants. We must redouble our efforts to save our comrades and friends. The rest of the judge's ruling today means that we must prepare for the worst."

BOOKS

Science and Politics of IQ

The Science & Politics of IQ

By Leon J. Kamin. Halstead Press, New York, 1974.

By Bill Hudson

Over the past few years a debate has raged over the racist theory of "genetic inferiority" of Blacks, championed by psychologists Arthur Jensen, Richard Herrnstein, and William Shockley in the United States and by Hans Eysenck in Britain. Much of this debate has centered on the social implications of Jensen's theory, such as his argument that Head Start programs for Black children have been tried and failed, supposedly because of Black genetic inferiority.

While educators have shown that such social policy statements are both racist and unsupported by fact, some psychologists have been quietly discrediting these genetic-inferiority theories by other means. They have looked at the basic premise of genetic inferiority claims—that intelligence, which they assume is measured by IQ tests, is inherited—and have demonstrated that most of the data used as evidence for this claim have been either misrepresented to fit the racists' theories or in some cases totally fabricated. They have argued that not only is there no real evidence for the intellectual inferiority of Black people's genes, but there are also no reliable data to show that the IQ of a person of any race is significantly determined by heredity.

Over the last four years, Prof. Leon Kamin has been one of the attackers of the supposed evidence that IQ is genetically determined. But his work has received only a fraction of the publicity given the theories of racists such as Arthur Jensen.

In October 1976, however, Kamin's book, *The Science and Politics of IQ*, received some public notice when the London *Times* printed a scientific exposé of one of Professor Kamin's favorite targets, Sir Cyril Burt. Burt, who died in 1971, spent a lengthy career as an educational psychologist amassing mountains of data (often cited by Jensen and friends) supposedly showing that IQ is approximately 80 percent determined by heredity.

However, recent evidence suggests that Burt's earlier research (which resulted in his becoming the first psychologist to be knighted) relied not only on the fabrication of data to fit his theory, but also on the invention of imaginary research associates to produce similar data. The recent *Times* article revealed that two of Burt's closest collaborators at University College of London (M. Howard and J. Connor) apparently never existed. Both the *Times* and other British

psychologists have been unable to find evidence that these two, who authored important articles in a journal edited by Burt, ever worked at University College or anywhere else for that matter. Despite widespread publicity concerning these two in Britain, the United States, and Australia, no one can be found who knows them or their whereabouts.

In scrutinizing the research on IQ and heredity, Kamin's book has performed a number of important functions. First, Kamin has examined in detail the most important studies of heredity and IQ, and shows their lack of reliable, valid results. Second, he looks at the claims made by hereditarians such as Burt and demonstrates how their claims are based on misrepresentation of existing data or on evidence that has been totally manufactured. Finally, Kamin has written an extremely valuable historical introduction to the current controversy over heredity, race, and IQ. He documents that it was the original American developers of the IQ test who helped justify ("scientifically") the racist immigration policies and quotas of the United States after the turn of the century.

Naturally Occurring Experiments

According to Kamin, there are three main types of psychological studies that try to provide evidence for the heritability of IQ: twin studies, kinship correlations, and studies of adopted children. Because even psychologists such as Jensen are unwilling to directly manipulate environmental and genetic factors in human development (for example, by deliberately separating identical twins at birth and raising one twin in an extremely deprived environment), each of these methods relies on complex statistical analysis of the effects of naturally occurring quasi-experiments, such as the early adoption of the child of two middle-class parents by a family of another class.

While Kamin devotes a separate chapter to his criticism of each of these three types of research, it is sufficient to look at his revelations concerning only one of them—comparison of separated identical twins—in order to show the overall flimsiness of the hereditarians' case.

From a theoretical standpoint, a statistical comparison of the IQs of identical twins who have been raised in radically different environments (for example, different families) is a good way of investigating the effects of environment on IQ, since the twins' heredity will be the same. According to Kamin, there are only four studies in existence using such a comparison, with the largest and most influential being the one by Sir Cyril Burt. Through meticulous analysis of Burt's work, Kamin shows it to be full of contradictions, references to nonexistent information in earlier studies, and omissions of key details (such as the size of his samples).

Of this wide range of deceptive methods, Kamin's most dramatic revelations concern Burt's calculation of the relationship between the measured intelligence of pairs of identical twins,



Bob Nellans

Student protest against William Shockley at University of Georgia in 1974.

which is a crucial calculation for the hereditarians' case. In his desire to impress his scientific audience, Burt (in 1955) looked at one group of twenty-one pairs of twins and figured the correlation between the twins' IQs to the third decimal point: 0.771.

(Such correlation figures are a measure of how much members of pairs are alike in any particular trait. A correlation of 1.0 means the members of the pairs are completely alike in that trait, while a correlation of zero means they are no more alike than two randomly chosen individuals.)

Normally such apparent precision to three decimal points would be cause for admiration; for Burt, however, it was his eventual downfall. Eleven years later he reported exactly the same correlation (0.771) in relation to a larger group of twins (fifty-three pairs). Statistically, it is virtually impossible for two studies with such different sample sizes to produce identical results—unless the data are fabricated.

This is only one example of Burt's many attempts to make his data fit his own theory of inheritance. Another of Burt's tricks noted by Kamin is that Burt would measure some children's IQ very carefully using standard tests, but in other cases he would use teachers' guesses or his own personal guesses to figure the IQs of

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children and their parents.

Racist Politics of Intelligence Testing

To those who are already convinced of the invalidity of the "scientific" evidence that IQ is inherited (and for those who have trouble wading through complex statistical arguments), Kamin's major contribution may be his excellent review of the early politics of intelligence testing in the United States, based on original sources ranging from the *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics* and *Eugenical News* to documents of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in the 1920s. From this material he shows the role of the most famous psychologists of the day in justifying the forced sterilization laws (for "mental defectives") and racist immigration quotas and laws that were adopted in the early 1900s.

As most introductory psychology textbooks explain, the standardized IQ test was originally designed in 1905 by the Frenchman Alfred Binet to help identify students who required remedial instruction. When imported into the United States, however, this test was quickly put to work serving the needs of the American ruling class: that is, it was used to justify the racist and class divisions fostered by capitalism.

Kamin looks at the role of the early importers and translators of the IQ test, two of the most important being Lewis Terman of Stanford University and Henry Goddard of the Vineland Training School. These "pioneers" of intelligence testing in the United States shared the beliefs that 1) their tests measured "innate intelligence," 2) the tests could thus be used to identify the genetically inferior, and 3) for the good of society the reproduction of these inferiors should be reduced or eliminated by sterilization.

To appreciate the racist nature of these beliefs, one must read some of these academicians' own words, as cited by Kamin. Terman, for instance, states that borderline mental deficiency (IQ of 70 to 80) "is very, very common among Spanish-Indian and Mexican families of the Southwest and also among negroes. Their dullness seems to be racial, or at least inherent in the family stocks from which they come . . . the whole question of racial differences in mental traits will have to be taken up anew and by experimental methods. The writer predicts that when this is done there will be discovered enormously significant racial differences in general intelligence, differences which cannot be wiped out by any scheme of mental culture."

Terman also advocated a sterilization policy for racial minorities and the poor. In 1917 he made the following comment on "feeble-mindedness": "only recently have we begun to recognize how serious a menace it is to the social, economic and moral welfare of the state. . . . It is responsible . . . for the majority of cases of chronic and semichronic pauperism. . . .

" . . . the feeble-minded continue to multiply . . . organized charities . . . often contribute to the survival of individuals who would otherwise not be able to live and reproduce. . . .

"If we would preserve our state for a class of people worthy to possess it, we must prevent, as far as possible, the propagation of mental degenerates . . . curtailing the increasing spawn of degeneracy."

Not to be outdone, Terman's colleague Henry Goddard used his reputation of psychological expertise to argue against progressives of the early 1900s:

"These men in their ultra altruistic and humane attitude, their desire to be fair to the workman, maintain that the great inequalities in social life are wrong and unjust. For example, here is a man who says, 'I am wearing \$12.00 shoes, there is a laborer who is wearing \$3.00 shoes; why should I spend \$12.00 while he can only afford \$3.00? I live in a home that is artistically decorated, carpets, high-priced furniture, expensive pictures and other luxuries; there is a laborer that lives in a hovel with no carpets, no pictures, and the coarsest kind of furniture. It is not right, it is unjust.' . . . As we have said, the argument is fallacious. It assumes that that laborer is on the same mental level with the man who is defending him. . . .

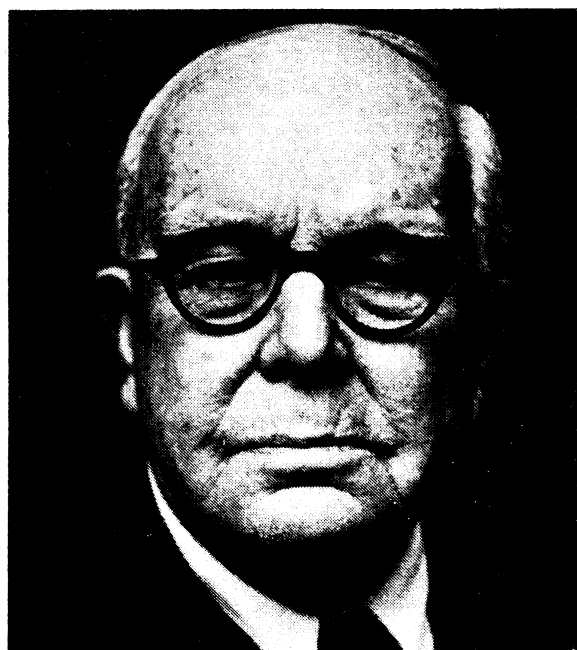
"How can there be such a thing as social equality with this wide range of mental capacity? The different levels of intelligence have different interests and require different treatment to make them happy. . . ."

Forced Sterilization Laws

While these psychologists were developing their intelligence tests and their pseudoscientific theories of genetic inferiority, a number of state legislatures were enacting forced sterilization laws. Kamin cites an Iowa state law passed in 1913 as an example. It arranged for "the prevention of the procreation of criminals, rapists, idiots, feeble-minded, imbeciles, lunatics, drunkards, drug fiends, epileptics, syphilitics, moral and sexual perverts, and diseased and degenerate persons."

While such laws in New Jersey, Indiana, Washington, and elsewhere were not uniformly enforced, it was not due to lack of effort by psychologists such as Terman. Their effort, Kamin notes, produced a tribute of sorts from the California legislature, which drafted a compulsory sterilization law in 1918. In deference to men like Terman (who was then at Stanford), this law required approval of sterilizations by a "clinical psychologist holding the degree of Ph.D."

In terms of the number of people affected, the worst misuse of intelligence tests was the use of



CYRIL BURT. Knighted psychologist turns out to be total fraud.

IQ as a justification for the racist U.S. immigration policies of the early twentieth century, culminating in the Immigration Act of 1924.

Kamin's review of this chapter in the history of American psychology focuses on Doctors Terman and Goddard, as well as on Dr. Robert Yerkes. These psychologists, it must be remembered, were developing their intelligence tests in a period of increasing national chauvinism that was beginning to focus on the racial composition of the increasing immigration from southeastern Europe. Partially in response to the cry for limitations on these new immigrants, the U.S. Public Health Service enlisted the aid of Terman and his test to "assess" the intelligence of immigrants arriving at Ellis Island.

Goddard published the results of this testing in the *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics* in 1913, revealing that 83 percent of the Jews, 80 percent of the Hungarians, 79 percent of the Italians, and 87 percent of the Russians were supposedly "feeble-minded." Correspondingly, Goddard noted elsewhere that the "number of aliens deported because of feeble-mindedness . . . increased approximately 350 percent in 1913 and 570 percent in 1914. . . ."

Not to be outdone by Terman, a colleague of his named Robert Yerkes turned his attention to the task of testing the IQ of 2 million American males in preparation for World War I. Yerkes, it should be noted, was no insignificant figure in psychology; he was president of the American Psychological Association, a member of the Eugenics Committee of the National Commission of Prisons, and chairperson of the Eugenics Research Association's Committee on the Inheritance of Mental Traits. Thus, when Yerkes edited an analysis of some of the army IQ data in 1921, it was accepted as good scientific evidence concerning intelligence.

A portion of the Yerkes report on the "Relation of Intelligence Ratings to Nativity" was significant in its general duplication of Terman's earlier results concerning supposed "racial inferiority." It concluded that foreign-born Americans could be divided into groups on the basis of intelligence, and that Americans of "Latin and

Slavic" origin were the most inferior.

Dr. Carl Brigham of Princeton (a fellow member with Yerkes of the Eugenics Research Association) published a further analysis of the army IQ data in 1923. He not only repeated the earlier assertions of Yerkes but also claimed that the intelligence of foreign-born Americans was related to the number of years they had lived in the United States (the fewer the years, the lower the IQ).

Rather than draw the obvious conclusion that the IQ tests simply measured assimilation to American culture and language, Brigham said that the data indicate "a gradual deterioration in the class of immigrants examined in the army, who came to this country in each succeeding five year period since 1902," and maintained that continued immigration from eastern and south-eastern Europe would result in a rapid decline in American intelligence.

His final conclusion was:

"The deterioration of American intelligence is not inevitable, however, if public action can be aroused to prevent it. There is no reason why legal steps should not be taken which would assure a continuously progressive upward evolution."

"The steps that should be taken to preserve or increase our present intellectual capacity must of course be dictated by science and not by political expediency. Immigration should not only be restrictive but highly selective. And the revision of the immigration and naturalization laws will only afford a slight relief from our present difficulty. The really important steps are those looking toward the prevention of the continued propagation of defective strains in the present population."

The "scientific arguments" of psychologists such as Brigham (who, incidentally, later designed and developed the Scholastic Aptitude Test, or SAT) did not fall on deaf ears. The data of Terman (by then the president of the American Psychological Association), Yerkes, and Goddard were featured prominently in the hearings of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, chaired by Rep. Albert Johnson (who was also chairperson of the Eugenics Research Association). The result of these hearings was the Johnson-Lodge Immigration Act of 1924.

'German Quota' Filled

This act first established national quotas as a lasting part of U.S. immigration law. More significantly, these quotas were "to be based on the U.S. census of 1890"—which was before the immigration of eastern and southeastern Europeans. As Kamin notes, because of the underrepresentation of eastern Europeans in this census, "The new law made the country safe for Professor Brigham's Nordics, but it did little for the safety of Alpines and Mediterraneans. The law, for which the science of mental testing may claim substantial credit, resulted in the deaths of literally hundreds of thousands of victims of the Nazi biological theorists. The victims were denied admission to the United States because the 'German quota' was filled, although the quotas of many other Nordic countries were vastly undersubscribed."

In light of this historical evidence and Kamin's extensive documentation, it is somewhat incredible that one reviewer of Kamin's book in *Contemporary Psychology* (published by the American Psychological Association) asserts that "IQ tests played almost no role in the debate on immigration policy."

Such historical blindness is, by no coincidence, exactly the target of Kamin's book. By showing the links between the early history of the IQ testing movement and the current pseudoscience of the IQ and genetic inferiority theorists, Professor Kamin cultivates a feeling of déjà vu in the reader. We are, it is shown, hearing the same arguments from Jensen, Shockley, and friends that were heard in the early 1900s, with only minor modifications.

Such people as Arthur Jensen may still try to claim the historical and scientific impartiality of their racist work and theories. However, books like Kamin's can arm us with the information needed to show the descent of Jensen et al from the racists, national chauvinists, "scientific" frauds, and ruling-class apologists of the past.

By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins



About 'quality education'

Continued from page 10

of "insanity," "psychosis," and "schizophrenia." They point out that such concepts are often used by the power structure to suppress modes of consciousness and behavior that in a sense constitute a "revolutionary" criticism of bourgeois cultural institutions such as the nuclear family.

Laing, for example, sees "psychosis" as a normal response of the human personality to a sick society that promotes "values" like genocidal war, racism, sexism, ruthless competition, and nuclear annihilation.

We know that the Stalinists in the Soviet Union use the charge of "insanity" to discredit political dissidents. Is the same thing going on in the so-called democratic capitalist countries?

What are the conditions in bourgeois mental hospitals? Is potentially revolutionary thought being subtly or overtly suppressed by this decadent imperialist culture and the intellectual thugs that try to continue to prop it up? Maybe the *Militant* could do an article on this problem.

Michael Beslin

Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Defends capital punishment

The claim that capital punishment doesn't deter crime is absurd. The main reason that crime is so rampant is because of lenient judges. Criminals have hardly anything to fear even if caught. Since capital punishment was banned in 1967, the violent crime rate has doubled.

The *Militant* blames unemployment and poverty for this. Yet there are many other countries that have a higher unemployment rate but much less crime. Those countries probably have a law system that people respect.

Capital punishment will make people think twice about kidnapping or killing. A great many murders are committed by repeated killers. If they had been executed after their first killing, there wouldn't have been any more victims.

When other criminals hear about these executions, then they wouldn't want this to happen to themselves so they wouldn't disregard the law so easily.

The *Militant* always publishes protests against the death penalty by various groups. You try to make it seem that the people overwhelmingly oppose it. This view is fallacious—the majority support it.

The death penalty isn't discriminatory if applied with undeviating uniformity. Whoever commits a capital offense should be treated harshly without regard to color.

Capital punishment isn't "cruel and inhumane"—what did the criminal do to deserve capital punishment? Isn't that much more cruel?

Capital punishment also isn't "vengeance." It is the protection of society. I think that it's time the law protects the innocent citizens instead of these vicious killers.

Michael Lopez

Pittsburg, California

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.

Whenever somebody talks about *quality education* these days, you have to be on guard. More than likely the phrase *quality education* is just a convenient cover for what is really meant.

Take, for instance, one white, middle-class neighborhood in Houston, Texas. Voters in that neighborhood went to the polls in mid-January and voted to separate from the Houston School District.

They decided to set up their own school system to be named the Westheimer Independent School District. They said they wanted to insure that their children would get a "quality education."

After Westheimer declared its secession, other white enclaves within the Houston School District announced that they would also break away. Presumably they too are seeking "quality education."

The election that created the would-be Westheimer Independent School District was supposed to be the first of several to reform Houston's school system. The election was also illegal.

The week before it took place the Justice Department refused to approve it. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 requires that any changes in election practices be submitted to the U.S. attorney general.

Why did the Justice Department refuse to approve it? Because the would-be Westheimer school system would "have the effect of discriminating on the account of race or membership in a language minority."

Apparently the residents of this neighborhood are undisturbed by the Justice Department's actions. They are going ahead with their attempts to separate from the Houston school system by next fall. Maybe it's because they know they see eye-to-eye with Carter's choice for attorney general and the Supreme Court on

"quality education."

Meanwhile, Right to Read, a Washington, D.C.-based project sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, has helped blow the white-separatists' cover. A national survey of seventeen-year-old high school students tested for basic reading skills shows that school busing and desegregation have not had a negative effect on education.

Results of the survey show among other things that gains have been made in reading ability by both Black and white students involved in cross-district busing programs. Reading skills of Black students rose 5 percent, while those of white students rose 2 percent.

According to the study, literacy is on the rise nationally.

Still, one out of ten students ready to graduate high school is functionally illiterate. And while 92 percent of white students are literate, only 58 percent of Black students are.

"There have been some strong suggestions made that busing would cause white achievement to go down," commented Dr. Roy Forbes, director of National Assessment of Educational Progress. "But if we look at the data in the Southeast, it shows gains both for whites as well as Blacks."

"What it says about the busing situation," he added, "is that if busing is bad and causes people trouble, then [schools] must be doing some awfully good things to offset it. . . . We found no situations in which Blacks were going up and whites were going down."

Studies like these tell the truth about school busing. They prove that quality education is not the concern of antibusing bigots. What the bigots are concerned with is maintaining white privilege at the expense of Blacks.

Free Lance

Dave Freeman

An important album

He was the troubadour of the student movement, the most important and best political singer-songwriter of the 1960s.

Phil Ochs translated into lyrics and melodies the fervor and anger of a generation. The two-record set, *Chords of Fame*, just released by A and M Records, captures the best of Ochs.

Last year Phil Ochs committed suicide—at least partly, some say, because he found himself unable to write songs anymore. To say it was a tragedy somehow doesn't convey the depth of the loss.

Ochs wrote and sang the words of protest better and more consistently than anyone during the Vietnam era. His power and wit and skillful arrangements made a few of his songs near-anthems during those years—a period which, despite its energy, emotion, and breadth, produced little lasting political music.

Ochs didn't just write about the movement. He was part of it. He sang at antiwar rallies and defense meetings for frame-up victims. On the current album he sings about the murder of NAACP official Medgar Evers, freedom of speech, the war-mongers in Washington, Vietnam, the draft, and the hypocrisy of liberalism.

In one of his most beautiful songs, "When I'm Gone," Ochs explains that "I can't add my name to the fight when I'm gone, so I guess I'll have to do it while I'm here."

The song is all the more chilling, now that he's dead.

His songs were originals, not retreads from Woody Guthrie's or other 1930s political music. Ochs was an artist, a professional. He wrote some duds, as he would surely admit himself. But he also crafted some timeless lyrics that hit their mark precisely because of their subtlety.

He etched many memorable lines. In "There But For Fortune," he wrote, "Show me a prison/ Show me a jail/ Show me a prison man whose face is growing

pale/ And I'll show you a young man with many reasons why/ There but for fortune/ May go you or I."

It is a line worth 100 sociology books on the subject.

In another song, Ochs writes, "I'm just a student sir, and only want to learn/ But it's hard to read through the smoke from the books you like to burn/ So I'd like to make a promise/ and I'd like to make a vow/ I've got something to say sir/ And I'm going to say it now." Less subtle, but a song of the times.

Ochs had his political lapses, twists, and turns as so many do. He supported Eugene McCarthy in 1968, a procapitalist and Democratic party candidate who was running for president as a purported critic of the Vietnam War. But I remember when I asked Ochs about it once, he seemed almost embarrassed and didn't try to defend it.

Ochs had difficulty steering a clear course through the necessary but harrowing political fights in those years that pitted the various tendencies against each other.

But the essence of Ochs was in his art that transcended the political debates, in songs like, "I Ain't a Marchin' Anymore" and "Power and the Glory" and "Love Me I'm a Liberal" and his cynical "Outside of a Small Circle of Friends."

The television networks were afraid of Ochs, much as they were afraid of the millions of radicalizing youth, marching against the Vietnam War. Although Ochs played to standing-room only concerts, he was blacklisted from television. And no wonder. Many of his songs were, in a general sense, a call to action.

For friends of the political art form, this is a wonderful record album. A and M Records has done a service by putting it out.

Listening to this collection, one cannot help but be reminded that our political singers are few and precious. There is Pete Seeger. There was Bob Dylan for a time. And there was Phil Ochs. He will be missed.

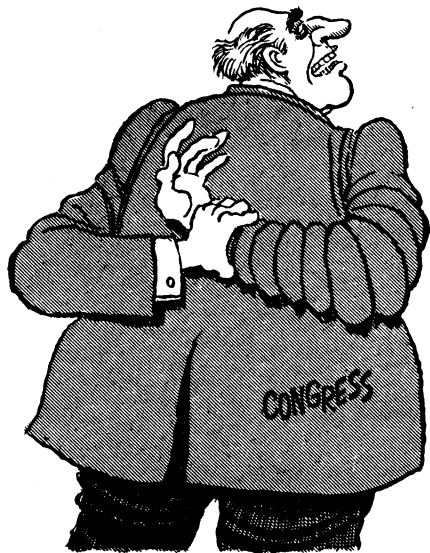
The Great Society

Harry Ring



Mr. Natural—Frozen yogurt contains a few things besides yogurt, including a variety of chemical additives. "Probably the public does look toward yogurt as a natural product," one distributor said. "But if the good lord made chemicals just about the same time he made vegetables and strawberries, aren't they more or less natural too?" Sure, just like arsenic.

Give me tobacco or give me death?—Bemoaning increased no-smoking regulations, William Dwyer of the Tobacco Institute declared, "The idea of legislating an area of personal choice—to smoke or not to smoke—just because it bothers some people threatens the very foundations of individual freedom on which this country was



'Ow! Oh! Ouch! Okay, okay! I'll give you the pay raise.'

built. Nonsmoker activism makes a mockery of the ideals of Patrick Henry. . . ."

Thought for the week—"The problem of sun rights must be solved before solar energy can be fully accepted. No established legal rights to solar radiation exist."—From *Schoolhouse*, a newsletter of Educational Facilities Laboratories, a Ford Foundation agency.

Vital statistics—It may be worse to inhale someone else's smoke than your own, report HEW researchers. Because it isn't filtered through the cigarette, the smoke from the tip of the burning weed contains twice as much tar and nicotine, five times as much carbon

monoxide, and forty-six times as much ammonia.

As young as their politics—The right-wing Young Americans for Freedom have an age limit of forty. Those over the limit can be associate members.

F.O.B. your local precinct—Tons of crackers purchased in the 1960s to stock Maryland air-raid shelters are now rancid and being offered free as pig feed.

Tough situation—Tens of thousands of pine trees in California's national forests have been damaged by air pollution. "There's nothing we can do about it," one official remarked.

Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



Pardon me?

Iva Toguri (D'Aquino), labeled "Tokyo Rose" during World War II, was "forgiven" January 19.

In one of his last official acts as president, Gerald Ford responded to the growing support for Toguri in the Japanese-American community by granting her a pardon.

Toguri, one of at least a dozen "Tokyo Roses," was convicted on one count of treason twenty-seven years ago. The events surrounding her conviction are a reminder of the seaminess of American justice and all its racist, sexist, flag-waving traditions.

Family illness, a human problem, sent Toguri to Japan just before the war started. War hysteria and racism locked her into tragic events that led to her forty years of victimization.

Toguri was considered an "enemy alien" in both the country of her racial origin and the country of her birth. She was held prisoner to the will of Japanese imperialism, with no help from her country of citizenship.

She was finally given a job on Radio Tokyo that required her to read scripts prepared by U.S. prisoners of war between recordings of American

music. The scripts reinforced the sexist image of the Asian woman as a seductress. This was the basis for the "Terry and the Pirates" stereotype that became "Tokyo Rose."

Japanese in the United States, many of whom were native-born or naturalized citizens, were stripped of all their possessions and forced by Washington into detention camps.

Washington dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, slaughtering tens of thousands of civilians.

When the war ended, the U.S. Army and Justice Department both concluded that there was no evidence to warrant the prosecution of "Tokyo Rose" for treason.

When Toguri asked to return to the United States, however, the flag-wavers pressured the government to intervene. The process called justice was set in motion.

Official opinions were rewritten. Documents that contradicted the new charges were destroyed. Government agents were used as witnesses to

corroborate the "case" against Toguri.

Racist and chauvinist hysteria was whipped up. Federal prosecutor Tom de Wolfe said, "It was necessary for me to practically make a Fourth of July speech to get an indictment."

De Wolfe referred to Toguri as a "Jap" throughout the trial. Blacks and Asian-Americans were carefully excluded from the jury.

Presiding Judge Michael Roche moved to block any testimony from Japanese defense witnesses. He personally reinterpreted the definition of treason for the jurors and pressured them for a guilty verdict.

John Mann, the jury foreman, now says he wishes he "had a little more guts to stick with my vote for acquittal."

National boundaries don't help individual citizens such as Iva Toguri. Patriotism serves the needs of competitive capitalist governments that won't hesitate to sacrifice anything and anybody for the "big prize" of world domination.

In this racist society the Iva Toguris can never expect to hear "I'm sorry"—just "You're forgiven."

The American Way of Life

Cold: a 'natural' disaster?

January 18, 1977.

The temperature in New York City was two degrees below zero, the coldest January 18 on record. The cold lingered and lingered.

Most New Yorkers put on an extra sweater or two or tried to stay indoors.

But for some, there was no relief. Two elderly men froze to death in their beds in a cheap Manhattan residence hotel. The building had been without heat for nearly a week.

Tenants called the police when they found Pinkney Carson, sixty-six, shivering under a single worn blanket, unable to get up. He was dead by the time the cops arrived.

A check of the building turned up another corpse. Herman Jackson's room was so cold that ice had formed on the inside of the window.

A social worker had unsuccessfully sought extra blankets for the building's residents. He was turned down by the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the U.S. Army, and the national guard.

The men of the Hudson Residence Hotel weren't alone in their plight. A city emergency bureau reported more than 10,000 calls complaining of no heat. How many other people froze to death in unheated buildings isn't known.

But at least one other death caused by cold temperatures and a money-hungry landlord was that of ninety-five-year-old Martha Furgeson.

Mrs. Furgeson lived with her son and granddaughter. All three slept with their clothes on. They kept an electric heater, all their stove burners, and their oven burning constantly in a futile attempt to keep warm.

Mrs. Furgeson complained January 14 that the "cold is killing me." Her son rushed her to the hospital, where she died. Her body temperature was eighty degrees.

Her building had sixty-one housing-code violations. Her son, whose entire income consists of a \$180 monthly Social Security check, pays \$108 a month for the apartment.

What did the city do in this crisis affecting the lives of tens of thousands of its residents?

The response befit the deep concern the city government has shown in the past for crises affecting the poorest New Yorkers—that is, practically nothing.

Mayor Abraham Beame announced that four churches and a community center in the five boroughs were now emergency shelters, set up with a few cots and blankets.

The city refuses to do anything substantial to help tenants. In early December, two landlords were arrested for willfully failing to provide heat and hot water.

But the cases have dragged on and on. The city has already announced it seeks no further arrests of landlords.

Two days after the two men froze to death, the city sent 300 blankets to the Hudson Hotel. Turns out there's an emergency stockpile of woolen blankets set aside for disasters. But no one seemed to know about it in time.

And a private donation made 100 electric blankets also available. The money came from the building's owner, Daniel Gold.

Gold can afford to be generous. He owes the city \$53,000 in back real estate taxes and rents shabby single rooms for thirty-five dollars a week.

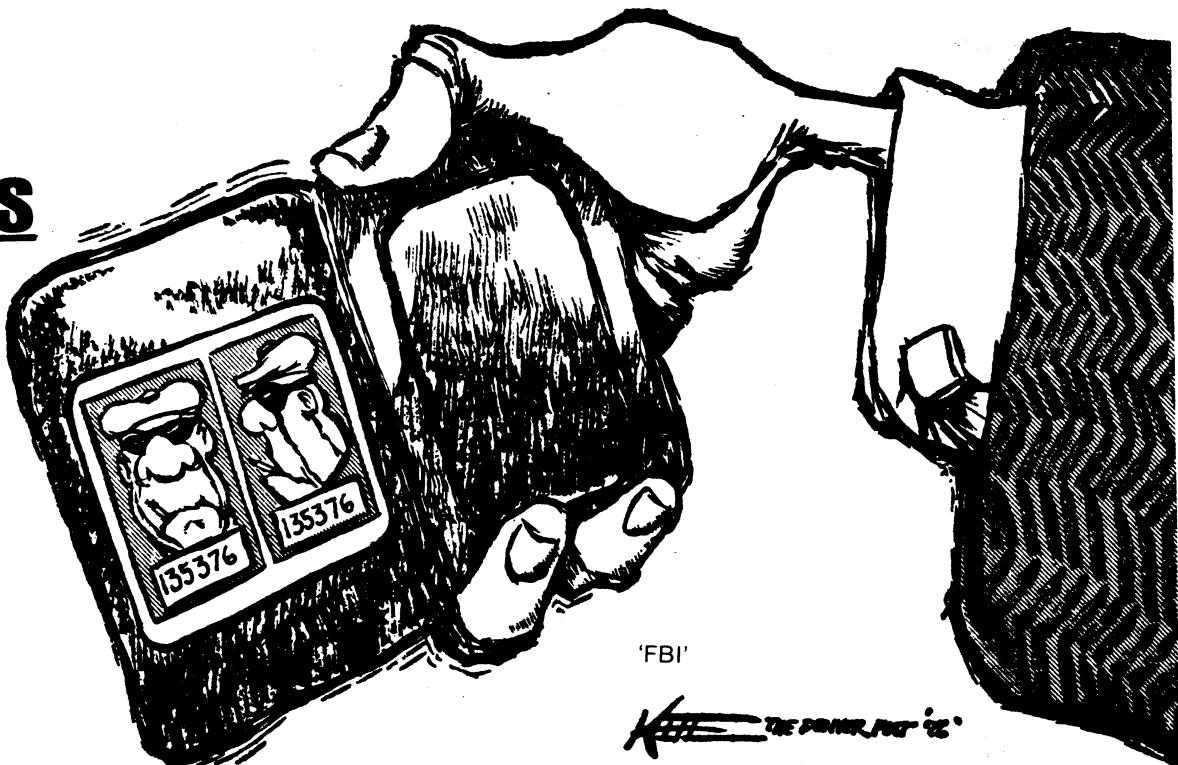
He hasn't set foot in the building in twenty years, according to the manager. Maybe that way he can claim ignorance of the forty building-code violations.

You can bet that the law won't touch Daniel Gold. And the cold can't touch him either. You see, Daniel Gold lives in Miami.

—Arnold Weissberg

Denver grand jury files

The case of FBI informer No. 481-S



By Diane Wang

Mrs. Kehr came home June 24 and found her house and garage broken into, her furniture gone.

So she called the police, and a Detective Cross came for her statement.

But there were no fingerprints and no suspects.

Those last weeks of June were a low point for some twenty FBI agents around the country too. William Gardner, a lawyer in the Justice Department, had phoned them. There was going to be an official inquiry into political burglaries done during the early 1970s.

"You have the right to remain silent. Anything you say can be taken down and used against you." Gardner had read them their rights because they—G-men, J. Edgar Hoover's guardians of America—were under investigation.

A few weeks later Mrs. Kehr saw an ad for a bracelet. Who knows why it caught her eye? For whatever reason, she decided to check it out.

The person selling it lived just down the block. A young woman named Frances answered the door and invited Mrs. Kehr in. Have a seat, Frances said, while I get the bracelet.

Mrs. Kehr looked around the room—dumbstruck. That chair. The couch. The library table. It was all hers, her stolen furniture.

An agitated Mrs. Kehr went home and called the cops. She just wanted her furniture back. She didn't know her call would help touch off a nationwide scandal for the FBI.

Frances's roommate, the man who had Mrs. Kehr's stolen furniture, turned out to be no ordinary prowler.

He was FBI informer 481-S. Timothy Redfearn. Or, "lennon," as he signed his reports on the Young Socialist Alliance, the group he had infiltrated.

Because Mrs. Kehr called the cops; because the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers party were suing the FBI; because Redfearn and his bosses had a falling out among thieves; and because people just don't like the smell of Watergate-style tactics—for all those reasons a huge government cover-up unraveled last summer.

The Heist

A few weeks ago, January 5, Redfearn was sentenced to up to ten years for burglary. The grand jury that indicted him released its evidence to the public. This story about the robbery and cover-up is based on those grand jury records and on some Denver newspaper interviews with Redfearn.

It wasn't the furniture heist that became a national scandal though, but another burglary that Redfearn pulled July 7.

About 4:30 that morning he drove over to the Militant Bookstore, headquarters for the Denver SWP and YSA. He cut through the padlock, quietly entered, and went straight for a file cabinet in the inside office.

He dumped mimeograph paper out of some boxes and filled them with files, all the files in the four-drawer cabinet.

Then he saw the small box the socialists used for collecting money and subscription blanks for the Militant. "A rather shoddy box," Redfearn later recalled for the district attorney.

"I pried it open and took maybe—I don't know. There couldn't have been more than five dollars in there. And I took that, that was it."

He stuffed the money and subscription blanks into his pocket and left. Later, at a more reasonable time in the morning, he called his control agent, John Almon.

John Almon, according to Redfearn, "looks just like another agent, except that he's older." He comes from Texas and sports a hearing aide.

Almon had been in the bureau since 1942. But he was still a street agent. As he put it before the grand jury, "I'm the lowest one in the echelon. I'm an agent. . . . I had no clear orders, directions, in that sort of a situation. I just follow it like the army."

When Redfearn phoned, Almon was excited. "He said, 'Wonderful, I'm proud of you,'" Redfearn recalled. "He said they were dancing in the streets."

Almon told his informer to park downtown somewhere where they could meet. But instead Redfearn drove down to the FBI's offices and went upstairs for Almon.

Informers aren't supposed to do that. "It never happened before, and I hope it never happens again," Almon later said.

They went down to the car. Since there were other people in the elevator they couldn't discuss the files, only Redfearn's ankle. He had broken it a few weeks before and wanted help with medical expenses. (Someone might ask, in retrospect, whether Redfearn broke it moving furniture.)

You should stay off that ankle, Almon advised. At the car, Redfearn opened the trunk. This should be good for a raise, he said.

Almon flipped through some of the files. How'd you get these? he asked.

"You don't want to know," the informer answered.

After all, that was their method. "Tim, I don't care how you get the information. . . . Just do a good job and I will pay you well," Redfearn recalled his agent's instructions. "He said, 'It's between me and you and nobody else.' He said, 'I won't even ask you how you got it.'"

It was obvious, Almon later admitted, that Redfearn had not borrowed the socialists' files with their permission. The agent decided he had better go upstairs and find out what to do next from his boss, Mr. Volz.

Frederick Volz, like Almon, has been with the FBI for decades. He had been assigned head of the "security squad" July 6. But though it was only his second day on that job, he knew what to do. Call Washington.

His call got through right away. George Lex and Joe McMahon, two FBI officials, told him to have Redfearn return the files.

Why did he call Washington? the grand jurors pressed Volz later. Did he call because he realized the files were stolen?

"Because of the pending litigation," Volz explained, the lawsuit the socialists have against the FBI. "We did not want to take possession of anything which belonged to the SWP."

Another worry, he said, was that the SWP might have sent Redfearn over with the files. "That was the first question when I called headquarters, is there a possibility of a setup," Volz said.

As it turned out, the socialists did not, and did not need to, "set up" the FBI. The G-men did that themselves.

Washington also told Volz to be sure the government lawyers working on the SWP lawsuit heard about the incident. "The first thing that they told me . . . was to notify the United States attorney in New York who was conducting the litigation between the Socialist Workers party and the FBI."

In New York the government lawyers were battling it out against the SWP and YSA lawsuit that had been filed in 1973. The socialists have sued for \$40 million and a halt to government spying and harassment.

The lawyers for the FBI were trying to get the \$40 million damage claim dropped. Their argument went something like this: To sue the United States you must file an administrative claim within two years after the crime. The SWP did not file soon enough after the crimes. It was all argued in legal terms—torts, statute of limitations.

But most of the FBI crimes were exposed only years after they were committed, in the course of the lawsuit.

"It is ludicrous to talk about us knowing something when [government officials] have followed a pattern of lying," Leonard Boudin, the socialists' attorney answered at a July 8 hearing. "You not only have non-knowledge of these facts but you have deliberate concealment by the government."

In Denver, Almon went down to give Redfearn Washington's message. Redfearn was disappointed. "Well, they used to be glad to get information of this nature," he grumbled.

Before he left, though, Redfearn gave Almon some things from his pocket, the subscription blanks he had scooped up with the money from that little box.

Almon also took a list of people's names that had been among the stolen goods. He went upstairs and filled out the official report. Received July 7, "in person" from 481-S.

Redfearn took home the rest of the files and put them in his closet. The next day he took off for a week in Texas.

The Alibi

Also the next day the Socialist Workers party held a news conference. "The FBI has admitted to similar cloak-and-dagger type break-ins," said Priscilla Schenk, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress. "Did they engineer this black-bag job as well?" she asked.

Al Kamen of the Rocky Mountain News thought that was an interesting angle. So he called the FBI. The head of the Denver office, Theodore Rosack, was on a leave, but the Assistant Special Agent in Charge of the office, Simon Tullai, answered Kamen's question. The FBI had "absolutely no knowledge of the break-in."

And so the official cover-up began.

The Denver FBI took action on several fronts. First, the Denver cops. How much did they know?

According to an FBI teletype dated July 8, Denver police intelligence detective Dan Malloy "advised" the FBI of what the socialists had charged. (The memo doesn't indicate whether Malloy called the bureau as a "professional courtesy," or whether the G-men had called him for an inside tip.)

"Detective Malloy stated that insofar as the Denver PD [police department] is concerned, the matter is closed," recorded the memo.

The July 8 teletype from Denver also alerted FBI headquarters in Washington to the media's interest in the case. It outlined a version of what had happened July 7. "Newspaper inquiries will receive reply that this office knows nothing of the burglary at SWP headquarters." (Tullai later told the grand jury he was sure he took that line out, even though it turned up on the file copy.)

That memo also said the Denver office had decided to discontinue Redfearn as an informer. Their story was to be that Redfearn had been on his own during the wee hours of July 7.

Agent Volz also called Washington to discuss the problem. "I think that's the time they said they were going to have to turn it over to the Department [of Justice] and . . . they were going to or that they had notified the United States attorney in New York," Volz recalled.

In the New York courtroom that day attorneys for the socialists were trying to get information about the FBI burglaries the Justice Department was investigating. Was the SWP a target of those black-bag jobs after 1968?

"We were running into difficulties in discovery [that is, getting the government to turn over evidence] particularly relating to recent and current activities of the FBI," attorney Herbert Jordan explained to the judge, "—and most specifically, to burglaries."

"If I may have one comment, Your Honor," replied William Brandt, the lawyer from the U.S. attorney's office. "Any document concerning entries [FBI lingo for burglaries] that is relevant to this case has been turned over to the plaintiffs."

Ruth Getts, the SWP organizer in Denver, set up a meeting with the Denver cops July 8. She demanded a progress report on their investigation.

"There's nothing we can do, no evidence," the cops insisted.

"Do you realize how many bicycles are stolen every night in Denver?" one began a lecture.

Getts pointed out that this was a political burglary, not a bicycle theft. But the cops still said they could do nothing without leads.

"The first place you should call is the FBI," Getts suggested.

On what basis?

"Read the newspapers," she said. There were plenty of stories about the Justice Department probe into FBI burglaries done in the early 1970s. And the SWP's lawsuit had uncovered ninety-two burglaries by G-men of the SWP national office in the 1960s.

But the cops refused. "We can't just call up the FBI without any evidence."

'Tim, I don't care how you get the information. Just do a good job and I will pay you well. I won't even ask how you got it.'
—FBI agent

Things seemed to be going smoothly for the Denver bureau. The incident might blow over.

The Denver FBI sent a teletype message to headquarters the Monday after the burglary. At 9:40 p.m. on July 12, to be exact.

"The Denver PD was not informed, but conducted investigation and concluded it was an inside job," said the message. "DPD believes this is an attempt by SWP to gain publicity . . . Denver [FBI] does not recommend local PD be notified."

What the FBI didn't know was that on that very day Mrs. Kehr had seen her furniture at Redfearn's place and had called the police.

Undone

The cops recovered Mrs. Kehr's furniture, all but one vase. Redfearn was still in Texas, but Detective Cross went to a judge for an arrest warrant.

A deputy district attorney overheard Cross talking to the judge and mentioned to the detective that Redfearn was a federal informer. At the time Cross just shrugged it off as a passing conversation.

Cross found out from Redfearn's apartment manager when the suspect was expected back from his trip. As Redfearn stepped off the plane July 14, Cross and two other cops arrested him for stealing Mrs. Kehr's furniture.

About midnight Almon got an anonymous tip. "Tim's in jail," said a woman's voice. "Better get him out."

So the next morning Almon called Cross for the details. Washington got word of Redfearn's arrest.

And Washington quickly replied. McMahon and Lex "telephonically contacted" Denver office head Theodore Rosack (to use his jargon) with the text of an "urgent" message from FBI Director Clarence Kelley:

"You are therefore instructed to orally advise appropriate authorities in the Denver Police Department of the identity of the source as the individual in possession of SWP/YSA records."



TIMOTHY REDFEARN

Rosack called Denver Police Chief Art Dill. It was eight days after Redfearn had brought his booty to the FBI.

The cops decided it was best to recover the stolen files without a search warrant. Dill later told reporters he had not wanted to have another search warrant issued so soon after Redfearn's place had been scoured for the stolen furniture.

There is no legal basis for that hesitation though. Perhaps the cops and FBI just didn't want the recovery of the files down on paper. Maybe they wanted to keep their options open, in case a cover-up was still possible.

First thing in the morning July 16 police Division Chief Montoya called Cross to ask if any "militant or subversive literature" had been found at Redfearn's along with Mrs. Kehr's furniture. Cross told him no. "There were kinky problems with the case," Montoya warned Cross.

Later, Cross's lieutenant called with an order from Chief Dill. Cross was to go over and persuade Redfearn to tell him where the files were from a robbery at the SWP. "He told me over the phone that this was very hush-hush."

So Cross went over to Redfearn's apartment. (The informer had made bail five hours after his arrest.) "I told him right out front that 'I know for a fact—or have information—you were involved in burglaries of the Socialist Workers party on Kalamath Street and you better talk for yourself,'" Cross recalled for the district attorney.

The detective was running a bluff on Redfearn. But it worked. He collected the four boxes of files and took them to police headquarters.

There he was pulled into a meeting with a collection of police and FBI officials. Chief Dill, Captains Montoya and McKelvy were there, and Detective Bravo, who had been assigned to cover the July 7 burglary when the department "considered the matter closed." Rosack and an aide came from the FBI.

They had Cross tell about his morning's dealings with Redfearn. At the end of the meeting, the FBI agreed that the cops could not cover up for the bureau.

"We are not covering anything up or protecting anybody," Montoya commented in the meeting. "but trying to bail out the FBI because they left their ass hanging out in the open in no uncertain terms."

Finally, at a luncheon on July 19, Chief Dill told the Denver district attorney what was up. The DA began bringing in people to get sworn statements: Cross, Bravo, Redfearn.

The day Redfearn went in to give his statement to the district attorney's office, he called Chief Dill.

'But he did tell me to go ahead and get what I can, so I felt I was under orders.'

—FBI informer

Maybe he wanted a deal. Or maybe he just wanted to share a lesson:

"I said there was a time when you could do things like with the FBI, and you could—you know, a few years ago you could infiltrate radical groups and

actually burglarize or take or steal, however you want to put it. You could do that and get away with it, but you can't any more. And I mentioned that to him on the phone."

Redfearn also tried calling his former bosses. He wanted money—no deal. He wanted a psychiatrist—no help. He wanted a new name and relocation.

"After what you did, Tim, I may have to be relocated myself," Almon answered. Redfearn recalled Almon explaining, "Washington's raising hell, the Socialist Workers party is raising hell, I'm in jeopardy of losing my job as well as a couple of other people, losing our pensions, that sort of thing."

Evidence

There were many contradictions between Redfearn's and Almon's stories given to the district attorney's office. The big question was: How much had Almon known about the burglary?

Redfearn claimed Almon had egged him on just three days before the burglary—on the Fourth of July. "He said, I know they have files in there, and I wouldn't mind taking a look at them, and I think that a lot of other people would like to take a look at them too," Redfearn recalled.

Almon's line was innocent ignorance: "Here is this man who has come down here unexpectedly and dumped all this stuff on our doorstep."

Who to believe—Redfearn or Almon?

It's a tough choice.

On the one side is an informer who made his living by lying. On the other is an agent who contradicted his own and other agents' later testimony at least six times.

But . . . Redfearn did take and pass a lie detector test with his story. Almon refused to take that test.

Getting Almon to take a lie detector test was only one of the district attorney's problems. Once Rosack got a copy of Almon's sworn statement, he refused to let any other agents testify unless they

'We are not covering up anything or protecting anybody, but trying to bail out the FBI because they left their ass hanging out in no uncertain terms.'

—Denver police captain

were actually subpoenaed before the grand jury. And he refused to turn over any files.

In New York there was also a legal battle to get documents going on. Herbert Jordan had given the government lawyer names of six informers whose identities had already been revealed. The socialists wanted the files on these six. Brandt, the government lawyer, was working on the request—slowly.

At a July 23 hearing Judge Thomas Griesa, who is presiding over the SWP case in U.S. district court, told Brandt:

"I'll tell you now, this business about informants is something that worries me, and I will expect prompt action on that issue, because I know at some day we are going to have a lot of work to do about that. I just know it.

"So I would urge you, please, when something comes in about the informant problem, give it the top priority."

By July 23 Getts and the SWP had heard no real news about the progress of the investigation.

The only word Getts had from the cops was a lie: On July 21 Detective Cross told her the cops had two Black suspects. He asked her why common street criminals would be interested in the files. Were the cops and G-men still hoping to squirm out of the scandal at that late date?

But things had already gone too far for a cover-up that would stick. News of Redfearn's arrest and FBI involvement hit Denver newsstands July 24.

Redfearn had not been one of the six known informers, so the socialists hadn't asked for his records the week before. But at a July 28 hearing they requested his file. The entire file. Without FBI censors going through to delete everything incriminating.

Brandt objected. The incident had recently been turned over to Gardner in the Justice Department and was the subject of a criminal investigation.

Judge Griesa did not agree with Brandt that turning over the file to the SWP would interfere with a criminal probe. He ordered Redfearn's entire, uncensored record produced.

Attorneys for the socialists flew out to Denver to get Redfearn's sworn statement.

That same afternoon, July 28, the Denver FBI got a teletype message saying two agents working on Gardner's probe would arrive in Denver that night.

A lawyer from Gardner's office called the district attorney.

The FBI still refused to give sworn statements until the grand jury met. But Rosack took the district attorney some files. Gardner's agents gave him some more.

And the socialists gave the prosecutor still more, from the Redfearn files they obtained through Griesa's court order. Getts pointed out new evidence to the prosecutor.

Almon's July 7 report on material received from 481-S "in person," showed that the FBI had taken some of the stolen goods after all.

Plus, there were 1973 FBI reports about burglaries Redfearn had done. Back then, too, the FBI had taken the goods.

When the Denver grand jury convened August 3 it had a lot of questions to ask.

Grand Jury

The grand jurors were eager to hear what FBI agent Boyd Adsit had to say. Adsit had retired July 2, so he wasn't in the office for the latest uproar. But he was the agent who had received reports from Redfearn's 1973 thefts.

The district attorney confronted Adsit with a phrase from Redfearn's report:

DA. "Enclosed are items stolen from the YSA local office. . . . Were you surprised to see the word 'stolen'?"

Adsit. "No, I was not. . . . Because I don't believe that Mr. Redfearn truly meant 'stolen.'"

DA. "What did he mean?"

Adsit. "He meant that he had access to these documents. He borrowed them, and as he says in his second sentence, that he's returning them."

A grand juror pressed Adsit on this idea:

Grand juror. "If I were to invite you to my home for dinner and if behind my back you slipped a fork of mine into your pocket, and if I didn't notice the fact that a fork was missing, would that fork have been stolen by you?"

Adsit. "I'm not prepared to say that I would use the word stolen. I was an invitee into your home. You took me as I was."

Grand juror. "So if I invite people to my home and if when they leave, without my knowledge, they carry away some of my property, then we would not, using your terminology, use the word stolen to refer to that act, is that right?"

Adsit. "I would have to know all the facts in the situation. I don't believe we have discussed here that situation."

Grand juror. "No. No. I'm talking about my hypothetical situation where I'm giving you all of the facts. You see, we don't have to know more than, say, somebody walked out with four ashtrays or a record of mine or three books without my authorization or approval or knowledge; would you use the word stolen under those circumstances?"

Adsit. "I still don't believe you have given me enough facts to base an opinion on and, therefore, I'm not going to give you an opinion."

"If I were in a Las Vegas nightclub and there was an ashtray sitting there, no one said I could take it, but I took it, would that be stealing? I don't know. I would have to know absolutely all of the facts, so I have no specific opinion."

DA. "Let me follow up on that question. You would not know whether taking the ashtray was stealing?"

Adsit. I would not know because I would not know the policy of the casino. Many casinos put the ashtrays out as advertisements."

Theodore Rosack was also grilled by the grand jury. August 3 was the first anniversary of his appointment as Special Agent in Charge of the Denver office. He had come to Denver from Oklahoma City, where his tenure as acting agent in charge had also been stormy.

In 1974 Rosack's office had been in charge of investigating the mysterious death of Karen Silkwood, the Kerr-McGee employee who was going to spill the beans on the company's unsafe nuclear plant. Silkwood was murdered in a car accident while on her way to meet a reporter and union representative with evidence about the nuclear plant.

Rosack had left that scene for the calm of Denver. And here, on his first anniversary, he sat before a grand jury answering questions about another FBI cover-up.

'I don't believe that Mr. Redfearn truly meant stolen. . . . He borrowed them.'

—FBI agent

Rosack answered questions about Redfearn, about policy, about withholding files from the DA, about Washington's instructions.

Finally, after the second day the agent had been grilled, the district attorney asked, "Anything else you would like to say, Mr. Rosack?"

"Well, this is a wonderful opportunity," Rosack said. He paused. Then he let everything pent up in him pour out in one long, garbled statement:

"There is a statute . . . which says, in effect, that we will and it is our responsibility and our jurisdiction to investigate organizations which with the intent publishes, distributes, discusses, spouts, and I don't have all the exact wording here with me now, but any organization with that intent is investigated as a possible organization which does not have the best interests of this country at heart. That law is still on the books.

"This includes the Socialist Workers party because the SWP, if it hasn't been said here before, was organized by a man named Leon Trotsky, who is a splinter from the Communist party. He was killed down in Mexico quite a few years ago, but that is the basis for this organization. As far as we know, their intent has not actually changed, although it's getting easier every day for any organization of that type to achieve its purposes using our own system against us, and here I'm

alluding to the action being taken in the New York case involving the Socialist Workers party. They're, in effect, going a long way toward destroying the FBI and law enforcement effectiveness to investigate such groups.

" . . . I just wanted to make sure that you understood the basis that this thing is all occurring, the basis for having an informant in this organization. There is a reason for it," Rosack concluded.

"Anything else that you would like to add?" the district attorney asked.

"No," Rosack answered, satisfied. "That does it for me except that I do thank you for your attention. I appreciate it."

The Verdict

After hearing the evidence, the grand jury was faced with a maze of questions: Did Almon tell Redfearn the FBI wanted to see the files?

Why didn't the federal lawmen call the cops, especially after they heard a report of the SWP charges? Why did the FBI continue to withhold files from the district attorney?

Is stealing legitimate as long as it's called "borrowing"?

What about Dan Malloy of the Denver cops who "advised" the FBI on July 8 that the "matter was closed"? How much had the G-men worked out with the cops by that time?

And what about the assistant DA who told detective Cross that Redfearn was a FBI informer? How much did the district attorney's office know before it decided to take up the case?

Other questions also come to mind. If, as Volz testified, the Justice Department was notified of the SWP's stolen files July 8, why did it take almost a month for Gardner to begin his investigation of the Denver burglary?

If, as Volz said, government lawyers working on the case in New York were alerted by July 8, why didn't they bring the problem to the court's attention?

The Denver grand jury sifted through all the evidence and came up with a verdict: Let Redfearn take the rap. The grand jury indicted him. After pleading guilty, he was sentenced on January 5.

Several reporters have spoken to Redfearn since then. "It doesn't seem right for the FBI not to have to share any responsibility," he said.

After all, as Redfearn had told the district attorney, an agent "did tell me to go ahead and get what I can, so I felt that I was under orders. . . ."

"I'm pretty disillusioned with everything right now," he concluded.

On the brighter side of things for Redfearn, he is not alone. He's gotten some sympathy from other government bag-men who had to take the fall.

John Ehrlichman, the ex-Nixon aide who is doing time at a federal work camp, wrote to Redfearn. Reportedly, Ehrlichman advised Redfearn not to worry about what people think of him, but to concentrate on his own role in his tragedy and to look for what he can do to further the causes he believes in.

We're suing the FBI. Will you help?

United States District Court
FOR THE
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, et
al.

Plaintiffs,

v.

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED
STATES, et al.,

Defendants.

SUMMONS IN CIVIL ACTION

The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance have sued the FBI and twelve other police spy agencies. We are trying to get a court injunction against government disruption of political activities. And we are seeking \$40 million in damages for the government's thirty-eight-year campaign against the socialists. Our lawsuit has forced the govern-

ment to hand over documents and produce witnesses. We uncovered details from the FBI's Cointelpro disruption program—poison-pen letters, anonymous phone calls, planted news stories, mail tampering, informers, burglaries. In fact, we have collected a whole book on FBI dirty tricks so that you can read some of the evidence.



COINTELPRO
THE FBI'S SECRET WAR ON POLITICAL FREEDOM
BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK
WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY NOAM CHOMSKY
The first in-depth look at the covert and illegal FBI counterintelligence program.

Last November we questioned FBI chief Clarence Kelley under oath about these dirty tricks. Kelley had to admit that he had not done anything to stop FBI crimes. Next we will be getting evidence from the CIA, Military Intelligence, and the New York red squad. Our lawsuit has a lot of work to do before it goes to trial.

We need help. The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing that help, raising money and getting out information on our case. If you would like to help, send a contribution and become a PRDF sponsor. Return the coupon below to PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____
☐ Enclosed is \$2.95 for a copy of *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*.

☐ Add my name as a Political Rights Defense Fund sponsor.

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Set April 9 march against death penalty

By José G. Pérez

A national demonstration for the abolition of capital punishment is being planned in the wake of the January 17 murder of Gary Gilmore, the first legal execution in the United States in a decade.

The march and rally, initiated by the Southern Prison Ministry and the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons, will be held Saturday, April 9, in Atlanta. Also planned is an April 8 teach-in and an April 10 sunrise religious service.

According to Murphy Davis, a member of the staff of the Southern Prison Ministry who is coordinating the protest, groups backing the demonstration include the American Civil Liberties Union Capital Punishment Project, National Coalition Against the Death Penalty, National Student Coalition Against Racism, and National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

Various churches and church-affiliated groups are also helping to organize the event, including United Presbyterian Church, United Methodist Church, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and American Friends Service Committee.

Davis said in a telephone interview

with the *Militant* that although people from all over the country are being encouraged to attend, "We have primarily a Southern orientation."

"The only three states that have been all the way up to the Supreme Court to have their laws upheld are in the South," she explained. "Atlanta is a central location in the South."

Davis said that although the weekend is called an Easter Witness Against the Death Penalty, both the Friday night teach-in and the Saturday march will be secular events.

"They will be a much more inclusive kind of thing," she said. "We'll have speakers from all sorts of persuasions."

"This is just getting off the ground," Davis concluded. She said further plans for mobilizing people to the demonstration would be made at a February 15 meeting in Atlanta. All those interested in helping to organize the demonstration are invited.

Further information on the demonstration and planning meeting can be obtained from: Easter Witness Against the Death Penalty, c/o Clifton Presbyterian Church, 369 Connecticut Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia 30307. Telephone: (404) 373-3253.

World press condemns Gilmore execution

From Intercontinental Press

When Gary Gilmore was executed by a firing squad in Utah January 17, people all over the world recoiled in horror. The editors of the London *Times* were in a distinct minority when they declared the following day that "the civilized world should not be outraged at the resumption of execution as such" in the United States.

The London *Sun* branded the whole proceeding as an "obscene charade" that "fouled America's reputation as a basically civilized society."

A similar view was taken by the London *Evening Standard*, which noted that "the grisly circus . . . has been rendered the more garish and offensive because of the scale on which the American media operate."

Stockholm's *Svenska Dagbladet* said, "To the end there was a circuslike

spectacle around the convicted murderer which was so horrible that it almost made the execution look less disgusting." The paper argued that "not only the laws of humanity but also the dignity of the nation demand that no more lives should be taken through executions."

The commercial aspect of the affair was taken up by the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, one of West Germany's most influential papers. "Once Gilmore's body is mutilated, his ashes strewn over the site of his crimes," it said, "the entertainment industry will begin its robbing of the corpse in books and movies."

In Copenhagen, the newspaper *Aktuelt* said, "The shots yesterday have done damage to the reputation of the United States around the world—and what a salute for the new president."

Update on death row & capital punishment

By José G. Pérez

According to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, there are now 358 persons under sentence of death. Almost half—167—are Blacks or Latinos.

More than half of the condemned are in the states of Florida, Georgia, and Texas. They are the only three states that have had their capital punishment laws upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court. Ten states have had their laws struck down by various courts beginning last July. Legal experts say eight more are likely to have their laws overruled.

In Florida, authorities have set no execution dates.

In Georgia, more than a dozen dates

have been set, but all of these have been called off by courts pending further appeals.

In addition, Georgia Gov. George Busbee has said that he will grant a one-time ninety-day stay of execution in every case, so that pardon can be considered. No prisoner has yet had to test the governor's promise.

In Texas, judges have scheduled twelve executions, and eleven have been stayed. The remaining execution, scheduled for February 2, is expected to be called off by the U.S. Supreme Court, since the man involved has not yet exhausted his appeals.

Of course, any of these situations could change at any moment.

The jobless drop that didn't happen

By Andy Rose

The highly publicized December "drop in unemployment" was a fraud. It didn't happen.

The headlines told you that the number of jobless declined by 211,000—from 7,769,000 in November to 7,558,000 in December.

Even if the report could be taken at face value, the fact that more than seven million people in this country cannot find work is a damning indictment of the "free enterprise" economic system.

But buried in the fine print was another figure: the number of so-called discouraged workers, those who have given up looking for work because they are convinced nothing can be found.

According to Washington's economists, these workers are not "unemployed." They are "not in the labor force." But changing the category doesn't put food on the table.

The latest figures show that the number of discouraged workers jumped by 199,000—from 817,000 to 1,016,000.

In other words, *virtually the entire "drop in unemployment" consisted of people who are still unemployed.* They've just quit looking.

Also pointing to the worsening economic situation were these December figures:

- The average duration of unemployment rose from 15.6 weeks to 15.7 weeks.

- The number of long-term unemployed, out of work twenty-seven weeks or longer, jumped 67,000 to 1,412,000.

That won't stop the Carter administration from citing the "improved economic picture" as justification for its failure to provide jobs.

Like they say—figures don't lie, but liars can figure.

Yoshimura convicted in Calif. frame-up

By Reiko Obata

OAKLAND, Calif.—Wendy Yoshimura was convicted here January 20 on frame-up charges of possession of explosives and a machine gun.

During the seven-week trial, the prosecution sought to link Yoshimura with "terrorists" although there was no evidence she was guilty of any terrorist acts.

Yoshimura's ordeal began in 1972, when Berkeley cops raided a garage she had rented for some friends. The cops found a cache of weapons and explosives.

Yoshimura told the jury she knew nothing about the arms, and the prosecution admitted she had only visited the garage twice, to sign some papers.

After the raid, Yoshimura went underground, fearful of the police. She wasn't arrested until September 1975.

Yoshimura sought to explain her fear of the cops to the jury. Even though she was innocent, she said, she didn't think she'd be treated fairly.

Her lack of confidence in American justice was acquired at an early age. Yoshimura was born in the concentration camp at Manzanar, in California.

Wendy Yoshimura's parents had been herded into the camp along with tens of thousands of other Japanese and Japanese-Americans in a brutal display of racism during World War II.

Judge Martin Pulich ordered the jury to disregard her testimony. Pulich's decision was protested by Rev. Lloyd Wake, a spokesperson for the Fair Trial Committee. The committee was established by the Japanese-American community to mobilize public opinion for a fair trial for Yoshimura.

Wake denounced the judge's ban on all testimony relating to the anti-Japanese hysteria of World War II. He noted that Pulich's own prejudices were revealed when he insisted on calling the concentration camps "relocation centers."

Pulich's ruling against Yoshimura's testimony removed a key defense link.

The prosecution's case also hinged on creating a fear of "terrorist" among the jurors. Much was made of the fact that Yoshimura was arrested with Patty Hearst. She was questioned

extensively about her activities after the 1972 garage raid, none of which had anything to do with the charges.

Berkeley city council member Ying Lee Kelley called the prosecution's case "a witch-hunt . . . which links Wendy to actions for which not one shred of evidence is produced and all of which have occurred after the possession charges placed against her."

Yoshimura refused to answer prosecution questions about people who had helped her while she was a fugitive, asserting she was "morally obligated to bring them no harm." Her steadfast refusal to become a government stool pigeon brought her five contempt-of-court citations.

The jury was out six days. Yoshimura could spend up to twenty-five years in prison and faces a possible \$15,000 fine. She remains free on \$25,000 bail pending sentencing.



WENDY YOSHIMURA

Accused of murder

Indian leader faces trumped-up charges

By Peter Lazare

MINNEAPOLIS—Leonard Peltier, a leader of the American Indian Movement, is facing trial in South Dakota on trumped-up charges of murdering two FBI agents. The case is proceeding although three other AIM activists—Peltier's supposed accomplices in the crime—have already been cleared of the charges.

Speaking before a South Minneapolis Militant Forum January 14, Dino Butler asked, "Why does the government have the right to try Leonard Peltier when they accused us and used the same evidence against us?" Butler is one of the three activists already cleared of the crime.

The charges against Peltier and the others stem from a June 26, 1975, shooting incident on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, site of the occupation of the town of Wounded Knee four years ago. The shooting incident left two FBI agents and one Indian man dead.

At first the FBI put out reports that its agents had been "ambushed" from "sophisticated bunkers" while trying to serve "warrants" and were hit "fifteen to twenty times" with bullets in an "execution."

A band of 30 Indians (later mysteriously changed to 16) was said to have "escaped" after an eight-hour battle with 300 federal agents, state troopers, local cops, and white vigilantes.

As was reported at the time in the *Militant*, these stories were false. The agents had no "warrants." There were no "sophisticated bunkers." There was

no "ambush." There were no "executions." It would have been impossible for 16 or 30 people to hold off an army of 300, much less "escape" after being surrounded.

Butler told the forum audience that the government staged a military occupation of the reservation immediately after the shooting.

Despite illegal searches and seizures, and intensive intimidation and harassment of reservation residents and members of AIM, the government has not been able to convict anyone for the deaths of the two agents. No charges have been brought against the cops who killed the Indian.

Butler explained that he was one of the four originally indicted for murdering the agents. He and Robert Robideau were acquitted in federal court by a Cedar Rapids, Iowa, jury last July.

During the trial, a large part of the defense was that Butler, Robideau, and others returned fire against unknown assailants who opened up on a group of Indians camping on a private ranch.

After Butler and Robideau were acquitted, the government dropped charges against a third defendant, Jimmy Eagle.

The original charges against Eagle were based on two stool pigeons' account of a purported confession given to them by Eagle. The fanciful account contradicted the most basic facts known about the incident—for example, where it happened.

Butler contends that despite its continuing efforts to fabricate evidence, the government knows it cannot convict Peltier.

"Whether the government wins or loses doesn't matter," Butler said. "What's important is that we always have to defend ourselves in court."

And if the government can send some of the activists to prison, so much the better, from its point of view.

Butler appealed for solidarity against this type of government harassment. "What the FBI is doing to our movement is happening to others: Black Panthers, socialists, anyone seeking social change," he said.

More information on Leonard Peltier's fight for freedom can be obtained from: Leonard Peltier Defense Group, Box 190, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55105.



LEONARD PELTIER Guardian/Deni Eagland

Gov't: No one in Minn. would believe our case

By Holly Harkness

MINNEAPOLIS—The government contends that twelve people can't be found in the State of Minnesota (population 3,920,000) who are likely to believe its trumped-up charges against Leonard Peltier, a leader of the American Indian Movement.

In a surprise courtroom move in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, January 14, government lawyers objected to a defense request to move Peltier's upcoming trial to Minneapolis.

Many South Dakota residents are afflicted with virulent anti-Indian racism. As a result, federal judges have moved many trials of AIM members from South Dakota to other states.

"The government believes that there is publicity being generated in the District of Minnesota critical of the conduct of the FBI," legal papers filed with the court contended.

This publicity "could endanger the plaintiff's [U.S. government's] right to a fair trial."

Attached to the government's written arguments was "evidence" of anti-FBI "bias" in this area.

One item was a copy of a leaflet publicizing a Militant Forum in defense of Peltier. Others were clippings and leaflets on the activities of the Minnesota Citizens Review Commission on the FBI.

The government's move reveals it is determined to railroad Peltier to prison by keeping the trial in racist South Dakota. But to the citizens review commission it also had ominous implications.

"Where did the U.S. attorney obtain a complete file of our publications here in Minnesota?" a news release from the commission asked.

"Are we of the commission being infiltrated? Is there a file being kept on us by the Minneapolis field office of the FBI?"

"We demand immediate disclosure of all materials and any FBI files regarding our commission."

Bare red squad files in Chicago spy suits

By Roberta Frick

CHICAGO—Police spy files on twenty-four prominent Chicagoans were made public here January 5. The group included doctors, journalists, professors, business figures, and attorneys.

The files were turned over as the result of two lawsuits brought against the Chicago police department "red squad." One suit was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union, the other by a coalition of thirty-five political and community groups, including the Alliance to End Repression.

Both suits were filed on behalf of all Chicago citizens who may have been victims of police spying.

The ACLU action also covers victims of FBI surveillance and military intelligence.

As part of the "discovery" phase of the two lawsuits, U.S. District Judge Alfred Kirkland ordered the Chicago police to hand over 112,510 index cards from the department's intelligence files.

The cards contain names, addresses, and detailed information—often false or distorted—about legitimate political activities dating back as far as the 1950s.

Chicago police earlier admitted to having destroyed an additional 105,000 files two years ago.

The dossiers show that the police spied on such well-known Chicago residents as Dr. Marvin Rosner, head of the department of obstetrics and gynecology at Grant Hospital and an activist in local politics; Episcopal Bishop James Montgomery; John

Sengstacke, publisher of the daily Black newspaper *Chicago Defender*; Black historian Lerone Bennett; businessman Alan Saks; Alexander Polikoff, director and attorney for the Business and Professional People for the Public Interest; and CBS network correspondent Bernard Shaw.

The file on Bishop Montgomery notes that he was one of five religious leaders who urged passage of fair housing legislation in 1967, and that he helped Black families find homes in predominantly white suburbs.

Other files contain evidence that police watched cars arriving at various political meetings and recorded license plate numbers.

Businessman Alan Saks was falsely identified as a twenty-one-year-old member of a revolutionary organization. Saks is forty-nine.

At a news conference attended by twenty-five victims of police spying, Dr. Rosner explained that they had come not simply as "individual clergymen, housewives, professors, doctors and lawyers."

They represented, he said, a "cross-section of all Americans who have the right to privacy and the fundamental freedoms of speech and association."

"This includes the right to publish articles critical of the government, support political candidates of our choice, oppose government policies, defend unpopular causes and individuals, attend meetings, march in peace rallies, and join organizations free from spying by the Chicago Police Intelligence Division."

How does the Chicago police department

Continued on page 30

SF tenants win round

By John Votava

SAN FRANCISCO—Tenants of the International Hotel here—most of them Asians—won a victory in their fight for low-cost housing January 17 when state courts re-

versed themselves and postponed carrying out an eviction order.

The stay came in the wake of massive protests January 12 and January 16. The first demonstration drew up to 2,500 people; the second, 1,500.

The spirited demonstrators circled the hotel and chanted, "No evictions, we will not be moved."

For years the seventy-five residents of the hotel, mostly Filipino and Chinese, have been trying to prevent the owners, Four Seas Corporation, from razing the building to convert the property into a parking lot.

Because of mass pressure, the city government has budgeted money to buy the building, and the housing authority is using its power of eminent domain to force Four Seas Corporation to sell the hotel to the city.

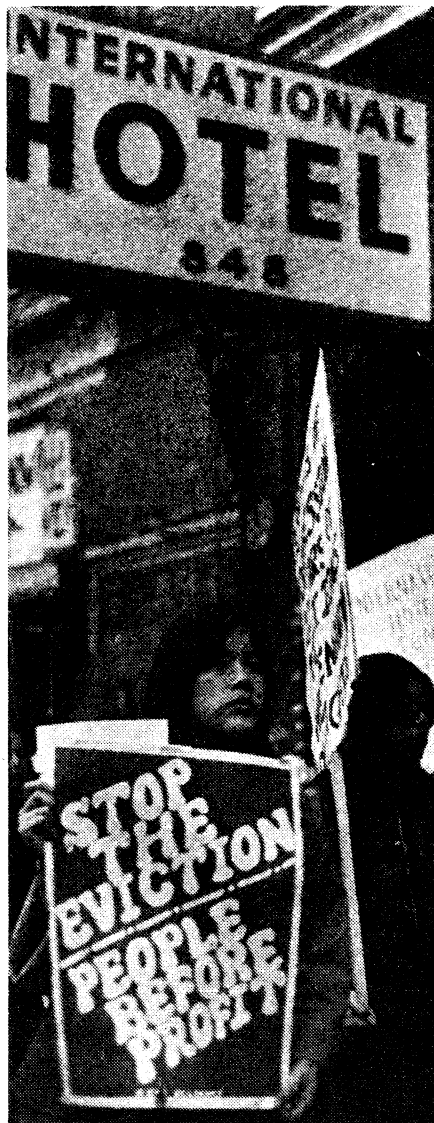
But the owners have continued to get court eviction orders, which local cops have failed to carry out.

The ostensible reason given for the stay of eviction was that the cops had "hard evidence" that the elderly tenants were arming themselves.

The tenants have denounced the charges as outrageous and vicious lies, and they are so incensed they are considering suing the police chief and the judge for slander.

Despite this temporary victory, the struggle to save the hotel will go on. On February 1 a court will be hearing the owners' challenge to the city's right to take over the hotel.

The stay of eviction expires March 4. If the courts rule the city cannot buy the building, there may be renewed attempts to evict the tenants.



Militant/Howard Petrick

...pardon

Continued from page 3

will sponsor an international conference of veterans and war resisters in Toronto on the weekend of January 29.

According to NCUUA spokesperson Sheila Cayton, war resisters from the United States, Sweden, France, and Canada; their families; and veterans groups will attend the open conference to plan a "collective response" to the Carter pardon.

A similar conference in 1974 was an important factor in exposing and discrediting Ford's "earned re-entry pardon program."

...Houston

Continued from page 6

Sadlowski is elected international president.

"In fact," Sarge pointed out, "it was McBride supporters at the plant who circulated a petition against Morris right after he was elected president."

"If we can get resolutions and statements of support from other unions and prominent individuals, it will help our union against the company. It will also help show people in the plant that we are not isolated. The way to beat the company attacks is by fighting back."

...steel

Continued from page 7

labor's political muscle can be exercised through the Democratic party. He says that "labor must constantly prod government in the right direction." And he asserts that "the strongest ray of hope . . . is that we have elected a President whose major promise is to put Americans back to work."

But Carter has already scrapped his pledge to reduce arms spending, along with his pledge to put the unemployed back to work. Even the AFL-CIO hierarchy feels compelled to condemn Carter's "retreat" from his campaign promises.

In reality it will require considerably more than "prodding" to redirect this country's resources from war to jobs, from profits to human needs.

And it will never be accomplished through the Democratic or Republican parties—the parties that began, expanded, and escalated the Vietnam War.

It will take *independent* political action by labor—and any attempt to implement the Steelworkers Fight Back program will have to go in that direction if it is to be successful.

Steelworkers Fight Back begins from the fundamental proposition that the interests of the workers and the bosses

are not the same—they are opposed. And the purpose of the union is to fight for the workers' needs, not to look out for the profits of the employers.

The AFL-CIO leadership from George Meany on down views things from a different perspective. They feel closer to the bosses than to the union ranks. They think the best way to keep everything going smoothly is to help the employers achieve high profits.

Their philosophy of collaboration with the bosses extends to politics and to foreign policy. They support the capitalist system—after all, it's done all right for them—and whatever measures are required to uphold capitalist "law and order" around the globe.

The entrenched union bureaucrats and the employers recognize that Steelworkers Fight Back is threatening to take the labor movement in a new direction—fighting for the interests of the workers.

That is why the bosses have joined hands with the union bureaucrats to oppose Sadlowski and the Fight Back campaign.

That is why those—like Evans and Novak—who speak for the bosses are so prolific in their attacks on Sadlowski.

They are all scared.

They have every reason to be.

...Chi. spy

Continued from page 29

ment respond to their blown cover? Police Supt. James Rochford branded critical newspaper editorials and the public outcry "flavored garbage."

"The [red squad] data," he stated, "is used to keep the peace and protect the public from disorder."

In March 1975 Rochford told reporters from the *Chicago Tribune* that the police intelligence division will continue to infiltrate groups at will. "We'll go in," Rochford said, "come hell or high water."

Chicano Liberation and Socialism

By Miguel Pendás

16 pages 25 cents

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

Calendar

BALTIMORE

SADLOWSKI'S CHALLENGE IN STEEL: WHAT IT MEANS FOR U.S. POLITICS. Speakers: Ed Heisler, SWP national trade-union secretary. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

BOSTON

SADLOWSKI'S CHALLENGE IN STEEL. Speaker: Doug Jenness, SWP National Committee. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. Room 315, George Sherman Union Bldg., Boston Univ., 755 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE

WHY SOCIALISTS OPPOSE CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP National Committee; others. Fri., Feb. 4, 7:30 p.m. 1515 E. 52nd Place. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

NEWARK

THE FIGHT FOR UNION DEMOCRACY IN STEEL. Speaker: Andy Rose, staff writer for the *Militant*. Thurs., Feb. 3, 8 p.m. Robeson Student Center, High St., Rutgers Univ. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

NEW ORLEANS

IN DEFENSE OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Speakers: Marlene Roeder, executive director, New Orleans ACLU; Sara Jeffries, coordinator, ERA Task Force, New Orleans NOW; Karen Newton, executive committee, New Orleans SWP. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE

BLACK FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. Film about the revolt in Soweto. Speakers: Paa Kwesi Adams, vice-president, African Students Club, Baruch College; Mojalefa Ralekhetho, instructor, Fordham University, raised in South Africa; Waverly Howard, president, board of directors, Village East Towers. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. Masaryk Towers, Building 75, Columbia Street (between East Houston and Rivington). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NEW YORK: QUEENS

CHINA AFTER MAO—WEEKEND EDUCATION-

AL CONFERENCE. Speaker: Fred Feldman, national education director, SWP. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. *China under New Leadership*. Sat., Feb. 5, 11 a.m. *Origins of Chinese Revolution*. 2 p.m. *The Development of Maoism*. 90-43 149th St. (just off Jamaica Ave.). Donation: \$1 each day. Ausp: SWP and Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

PHILADELPHIA

DEBATE: CAN THE U.S. SOLVE THE ECONOMIC CRISIS? Speakers: Dick Roberts, staff writer for the *Militant*; Herbert Levine, professor of economics, University of Pennsylvania. Thurs., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. Houston Hall, University of Pennsylvania. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (215) EV7-2451.

PITTSBURGH

THE LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA, a film. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. (near Negley). Sun., Feb. 6, 2:30 p.m. Garfield YMCA, 410 Donna St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

ST. LOUIS: WEST END

HANDS OFF SOUTH AFRICA! Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

SAN DIEGO

CHINA AFTER MAO. Speaker: Theodore Edwards, SWP. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

SAN FRANCISCO: INGLESIDE

AMERICA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM—INTRODUCING THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. Speaker: Derrel Myers. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. 1441 Ocean Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 333-6261.

SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION DISTRICT

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...YSA sues Michigan campus

Continued from back page

socialists would plead guilty to one count each of trespassing, the university would drop all other charges.

How to explain "trespassing" at a public meeting attended by one thousand other people is a question the administration must still be grappling with.

Douglas, Garrison, and Smith said no to the proposed deal.

Meanwhile, the Committee for Free Speech is stepping up its efforts to build a broad defense movement demanding that CMU drop all charges against the three socialists.

Since last fall, the committee has been rallying support from CMU students and professors and from prominent individuals around the country. It has circulated petitions and letters of support.

"We want to go full steam ahead in this campaign," said Margaret Hayes, secretary of the

committee. "Defending the three YSA members should be the cause of everyone concerned with justice and civil liberties."

At a meeting on the eve of the January 20 court hearing, the committee laid plans for a January 27 protest rally featuring well-known advocates of civil liberties from throughout Michigan. A cocktail reception for former Arizona State University Professor Morris Starsky will be held to help raise funds for legal and publicity expenses. Starsky was fired in 1970 from his tenured position in the ASU philosophy department because of his antiwar activities.

Twenty people picketed the Isabella County courthouse before the hearing began.

"This is a *nationwide* defense campaign," Hayes stressed, leafing through copies of protest telegrams sent to CMU President Harold Abel from supporters in San Diego; Houston; Milwaukee; Pittsburgh;

Minneapolis; Albany, New York; and other cities.

Sponsors of the committee include: Joe Madison, president of the Detroit NAACP; Malcolm Wright, executive vice-president of the Michigan Federation of Teachers; Edith Tiger, director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Noam Chomsky, professor at MIT; Murray Kempton, journalist and film critic; and John Henrik Clarke, noted Black scholar.

In an interview published in the January 17 issue of *CM Life*, the campus paper, President Abel explained that he was "frustrated" by the public campaign that had made such an issue of this case and by the growing opinion on campus that CMU is an "oppressive" place.

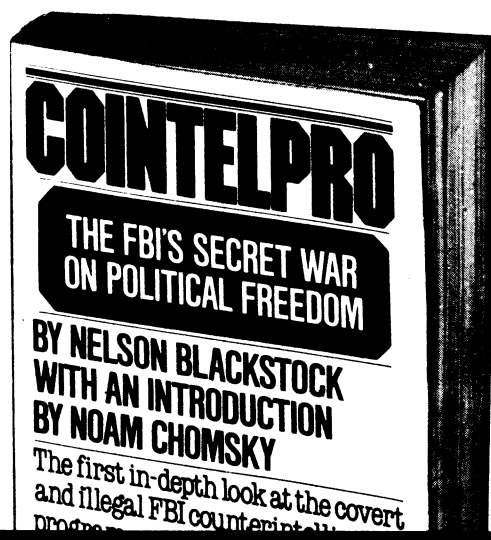
"There will be no let-up for President Abel," Hayes said, "until each and every one of the charges against Douglas, Garrison, and Smith are dropped."

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GARY TYLER APPEAL DENIED

By Arnold Weissberg

The Louisiana Supreme Court rejected Gary Tyler's appeal January 24 and sentenced him to life in prison at hard labor.

The justices ordered that the eighteen-year-old Black youth spend at least twenty years behind bars, with no chance during that time of parole, probation, or suspended sentence.

Tyler was convicted of a trumped-up murder charge in November 1975 and sentenced to death by the electric chair.

His case grew out of a fatal shooting in front of Destrehan High School, twenty-five miles from New Orleans, on October 7, 1974.

School authorities had closed school early because of racial disturbances. White students at Destrehan High had repeatedly instigated anti-Black violence.

Gary Tyler hadn't been at school that day. He was picked up by a deputy sheriff and driven to the school, just in time to be herded onto a bus with seventy-four other Black students.

As three buses of Blacks drove past a screaming, rock-throwing mob of 200 whites, a shot rang out. Thirteen-year-old Timothy Weber, white, was hit. He died a few hours later.

The cops stopped Tyler's bus. They claimed the shot had been fired from there. They searched the bus and the students for two hours, but found no gun.

Then the cops took all the students and the bus to a police station. There they removed a seat from the bus and a few minutes later announced they had "found" a .45-caliber automatic pistol stuffed into a slash in the seat.

By an odd coincidence, the gun happened to be

Court condemns innocent Black youth to life at hard labor

the same one that had disappeared earlier from a police firing range.

Taking advantage of an already tense situation, racists such as Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke inflamed local prejudices into a bloodthirsty hysteria.

Tyler was singled out as their sacrificial victim.

An all-white jury convicted Gary Tyler of first-degree murder and he was sentenced to die.

There was only one prosecution eyewitness who claimed to have seen Tyler fire the gun—Natalie Blanks. Not a single one of the other students on the bus had seen a thing.

Other witnesses, including the bus driver, testified that the shot couldn't have come from the bus.

Blanks had a history of mental instability. She also had drug charges pending against her at the time of the trial. None of this information was allowed to reach the jury.

After the trial Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother, spearheaded a drive to prove her son's innocence and win his freedom. Attorney Jack Peebles was retained to handle the appeal.

Gary Tyler's supporters around the country have

held teach-ins, rallies, picket lines, and demonstrations to demand a halt to the racist frame-up. Juanita Tyler has crisscrossed the nation to speak about the case.

Meanwhile, Natalie Blanks admitted last year that she had lied on the witness stand under heavy pressure from the cops. And more new evidence turned up that vindicated Gary Tyler.

But the appeal had to go to the same racist judge that had sentenced Tyler in the first place.

Not surprisingly the judge chose to believe that Natalie Blanks had actually told the truth at the first trial. He denied the appeal.

Now the state supreme court has refused to take any action. The justices would not consider the question of Blanks's recantation. They piously asserted it was a matter for the district court to decide. The district court had already ruled that she had told the truth at the trial.

The justices also claimed that any errors made by the trial judge will have to stand, because Tyler's first lawyer didn't object during the trial.

Peebles told the *Militant* the case will now be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. If that fails, he said, he will seek a new trial in state court.

Juanita Tyler, in a phone interview, urged her son's supporters to "fight more and build the effort bigger."

"We have to fight much harder," she said. "It's going to take the people to build the effort for Gary Tyler."

The Gary Tyler Defense Fund needs your time, energy, and financial contributions. For more information on what you can do or to send contributions, write:

Gary Tyler Defense Fund, Post Office Box 52223, New Orleans, Louisiana 70152.

Or phone: (504) 568-9890.

Mich. YSA sues for student political rights

By Chuck Petrin

MT. PLEASANT, Mich.—Students at Central Michigan University (CMU) here filed suit in federal court January 21 against campus regulations that restrict the free distribution of literature.

The suit asks the court to declare these rules unconstitutional and for an injunction barring the administration from enforcing them.

Plaintiffs in the action are the CMU chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance; other CMU students; and three YSA members who were arrested at CMU last October—Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith.

The three socialists were charged by the CMU administration with trespassing on university property and disrupting a university function. Actually, the YSA members were simply handing out socialist election campaign materials outside a

campus meeting for former CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr.

The three each face possible jail terms of six months and fines up to \$1,650.

At a news conference here January 20, Ron Reosti, attorney for the plaintiffs, blasted the university's restrictive rules.

"The university officials," he said, "seek to justify their blatant interference with my clients' First Amendment rights on the basis that my clients violated regulations concerning the distribution of literature on campus."

"A review of the regulations discloses the real intent of the university to severely restrict the flow of political ideas at CMU and to inhibit and interfere with the right of students, who are of voting age, to be actively engaged in the political process."

Reosti cited regulations restricting literature displays, posting and distribution of leaflets, fund-raising events, and other means of promoting an organization's views and activities.

"Such regulations are not related to preventing 'disruption' of the educational process, but are in fact designed to short-circuit that process by giving the university the power to censor ideas and regulate who can engage in political activities when and where."

Meanwhile, campus officials are having a tough time proving their case against Douglas, Garrison, and Smith.

At a court hearing here January 20, prosecuting attorneys were unable to substantiate a single charge. Consideration of a trial date was postponed until the university compiles a bill of particulars—a list of the alleged illegal activities.

Just how lame a case the university has was shown by a deal it offered the defendants. If the

Continued on page 30

Defend free speech

The Committee for Free Speech has been formed to build support for the defense of Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith. The committee is based in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, and seeks sponsorship from supporters of civil liberties throughout the country.

What you can do

- Become a sponsor of the Committee for Free Speech. Simply fill out the coupon below.
- Order copies of the informational brochure, "Defend Free Speech," to circulate in your area.
- Send telegrams demanding that the charges be dropped to CMU President Harold Abel, Warriner Hall, Central Michigan University, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan 48859, with copies to the Committee for Free Speech.
- Send funds to pay for legal expenses and publicity for the case.

Make your check payable to: *Committee for Free Speech, Post Office Box 626, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan 48858. Telephone: (517) 774-3897.*

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