

# THE MILITANT

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

## Not one more penny for war in SE Asia!

By David Frankel

With its troops reeling back in disarray, its positions collapsing in one province after another, and Saigon itself facing the possibility of attack, the Thieu dictatorship—and its backers in Washington—have been dealt a staggering defeat.

Not since the Vietnamese liberation fighters drove the French colonialists out of Indochina twenty-one years ago has there been a victory of greater magnitude for the people of Vietnam. And its impact is heightened by the spectacle of Lon Nol, Washington's man in Cambodia, packing his bags while the United States Embassy there burns documents in preparation for its evacuation.

Yet despite the overwhelming opposition of the American people to spending still more billions to back the Thieu dictatorship, the Ford administration is stubbornly insisting that the United States must continue to bankroll the Saigon generals.

Why is it that after pouring \$150 billion and 55,000 American lives into Indochina, Washington has been unable to crush the rebellion there?

Why is it that with three times as many troops, seven times as much fire power, and sole control of the air, Saigon has not been able to hold its own against the liberation fighters?

There is only one answer. The capitalist-landlord regime in Saigon, held together by the glue of corruption and privilege, offers nothing to the great mass of Vietnamese except brutal repression and continued exploitation. The aspirations of the Vietnamese workers and peasants are for the reunification of Vietnam,

*Continued on page 3*



Vietnam, 1975. Killing continues only because of U.S. financing of hated Thieu dictatorship.

**New magazine supplement inside:  
Black freedom movement today**

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**DOCTORS' STRIKE ENDS:** The nation's first strike by doctors ended in New York on March 20, when 3,000 members of the Committee of Internes and Residents (CIR) accepted a compromise proposal by the League of Voluntary Hospitals and returned to work. The CIR had struck twenty-one private and municipal hospitals for four days.

The main demands of the strike were for an 80-hour workweek—doctors now work up to 120 hours a week—and for a limitation on “out-of-title” work, that is, tasks that are part of the jobs of other hospital personnel.

According to the compromise settlement, a committee will be set up in each hospital composed of equal numbers of house staff, elected by the CIR, and medical staff, appointed by the hospital. These committees are to set work schedules and have final determination of grievances involving “out-of-title” work.

While short of the CIR's demands, most strikers saw the settlement as a step forward. The league's admitted aim of breaking the CIR was foiled, and the hospitals were forced to sign a contract with the union.

**ANTIWAR PROTEST:** On March 22, Madison, Wisconsin, saw the largest antiwar demonstration in recent years when 500 students marched from the University of Wisconsin to the state capitol to protest continued United States military aid to Cambodia, South Vietnam, and Ethiopia. More than twenty organizations sponsored the action, including the Young Socialist Alliance, Wisconsin Alliance, Community Action on Latin America, and the

## Court denies Los Tres appeal; two are jailed

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES, March 25—Yesterday morning the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the case of Los Tres del Barrio, three victims of a racist police entrapment. Within hours after the decision, armed federal agents and Los Angeles police seized two of Los Tres at gunpoint.

Then nearly two dozen heavily armed federal and local police smashed their way into the headquarters of the National Committee to Free Los Tres, declaring they were searching for the third.

In November of 1971 Rodolfo Sanchez, Alberto Ortiz, and Juan Fernández were convicted of shooting a federal narcotics agent posing as a heroin dealer.

The three were entrapped into shooting not because they were involved with drugs but because they were active in Casa de Carnalismo, an organization seeking to rid the barrio of drugs.

They were convicted of conspiring to assault a federal officer even though it was an undisputed fact that they did not know he was an officer.

They were held for thirty months before being released on \$50,000 bail each. While on bail they were politically active in the Committee to Free Los Tres and in the antideportation organization CASA.

Shortly after noon yesterday, Rodolfo Sanchez was taken from his car at gunpoint by policemen.

About an hour later, in another area of the city, Alberto Ortiz was arrested by FBI agents and Los Angeles cops as he stopped his car at a crosswalk.

About two thirty in the afternoon, unmarked cars containing FBI agents and members of the notorious Special Weapons and Tactical Squad (SWAT) of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) arrived at Los Tres headquarters.

Telephone wires were ripped out and the offices ransacked. The Los Tres committee said a carton of documents was removed.

At a news conference this afternoon the authorities were vigorously condemned by Antonio Rodríguez, attorney for Los Tres and a leader of the defense committee.

Rodríguez said he will seek a federal order for the reinstatement of bail. He also said a damage suit will be filed for illegal entry in the search of the Los Tres offices by the federal agents.

Rodríguez said he greatly feared for the safety of Juan Fernández, whose whereabouts remains unknown. It was Fernández who actually pulled the trigger on the police agent during the entrapment, and he believes federal agents will seize any pretext to shoot him.

Fernández and Ortiz face terms of ten years and Sanchez twenty-five years. Their sentences originally ranged as high as forty years but were reduced in the course of appeals.

Rodríguez said demonstrations in support of Los Tres will be held Wednesday, April 2, in Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Jose, California, and in Chicago and New York.

Ethiopian Students Union. The national secretary of the Eritreans for Liberation in North America spoke to the crowd about the history of his people's struggle for independence.

**SAN QUENTIN SIX:** The four Black and two Latino prisoners known as the San Quentin Six went to trial March 25 in San Rafael, California. Fleeta Drumgo, David Johnson, Hugo Pinnell, Johnny Spain, Luis Talamantez, and Willie Tate face murder and conspiracy charges stemming from an alleged escape attempt from San Quentin Prison, in August 1971, on the day that George Jackson, outspoken prisoner-author, was killed by prison guards.

Five of the six have been in “the hole” (maximum security) continuously since 1971. Tate was released in January, after serving ten years for a previous offense, and has been out on bail for the 1971 charges.

The other five appeared in court shackled around the waist and ankles and bolted to their chairs, by order of Judge Henry Broderick, who is hearing the case. Broderick denied a motion by defense attorneys to declare a mistrial because of these barbaric conditions.

**THIRD TRIAL FOR LAWTON:** On March 6, the prosecution began its case in the third frame-up trial of Gary Lawton, a Black community organizer accused of the ambush slaying of two Riverside cops in April 1971.

Two previous trials ended in hung juries, with a majority of the jurors favoring acquittal. Lawton's two codefendants in the previous trials have been freed of the charges against them.

Prosecutor Ronald Smith told the jurors that Lawton was “a disgruntled window washer” and “a man caught between two worlds, a white one and a Black one.” Defense attorney Franklin Glenn objected, stating, “The evidence couldn't possibly show that.” The objection was sustained.

Smith's opening statement contained no evidence not presented during the first or second trials.

**MORE PEARLS FROM EARL:** Too many Americans want to avoid the nation's energy problems and get by without hard work. That's the latest word from Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz.

“We go on guzzling gasoline and oil that we cannot afford,” Butz told a rapt audience at the Goshen, Indiana, Chamber of Commerce. “Too many of us refuse to give a dollar's work for a dollar's pay—and yet wonder why our employers can no longer afford to hire us.”

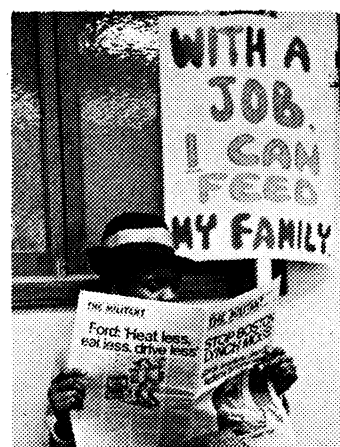
“Let's put in a dollar's work for a dollar's pay and quit waiting for the government to solve everything for us,” he advised.

Butz sets the bullet-biting example for the rest of us slackers by flying around the country making speeches like this for a measly \$60,000 a year and fringes.

—Nelson Blackstock

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# ...Ford demands more aid for Thieu as liberation forces sweep forward

Continued from page 1

free from imperialist domination, the distribution of the land to those who work it, and the economic development of the country for the benefit of all, which can only be achieved through a socialized economy.

In its reportage on the war, the capitalist-owned media has tried to portray the struggle as simply a military conflict between North Vietnamese forces and the Saigon army. However, evidence of mass sympathy for the rebels came through the news reports anyway. For example, *Time* magazine admitted in its March 31 issue that "the sparsely settled Highland provinces are the homeland of an estimated 500,000 Montagnard tribesmen, who, as despised fourth-class citizens in South Viet Nam, were ripe for exploitation by the Communists."

The reluctance of the Saigon authorities to have information on the extent of popular opposition to the Thieu dictatorship leak out of the country was indicated by the murder of Paul Leandri, a French journalist who was shot by Saigon police after being summoned to their headquarters.

*New York Times* correspondent James Markham explained March 16 that Leandri had "sent a dispatch quoting an unidentified South Vietnamese priest from Ban Me Thuot as having said that non-Vietnamese ethnic tribesmen fighting for autonomy had led the attack on the highlands city."

It was later announced that the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) had appointed Montagnards as province chiefs in Kontum and Pleiku.

## Massacre stories

In keeping with the Ford administration's "bloodbath" propaganda, the media have presented the massive refugee movements caused by the fighting as a vote in favor of rule by the Saigon regime. "Residents of Hue in particular have not forgotten the mass executions that took place when the Communists controlled the city during the 1968 Tet offensive," wrote *Time*.

The same massacre story was also carried in the *New York Times*, which told of "mass graves of about 3,000 residents of Hue... victims of a massacre during the one-month occupation by the Communist-led forces."

But speaking in the Senate February 19, Sen. George McGovern described how the story of the Hue massacre had been fabricated by U.S. and Saigon propagandists. "What was not told," he explained, "is that no reporter was ever allowed to verify the number of bodies or the cause of death;... that even U.S. officers in Hue admitted that the women and children found among the bodies were probably killed in the fighting; that there was heavy American bombing;... and that the original estimate of nearly 4,000 civilians in Hue killed in the battle for Hue—primarily from U.S. bombing—was later revised downward to less than 1,000 in order to attribute the remainder to Communist execution."

The Vietnamese learned their lesson well. As one refugee explained:

"My people stayed back at Quang Tri last time, in 1972. There was bombing and shelling all the time, many killed. It's better to go to the Saigon side, because the Communists

have no airplanes."

While the capitalist press has played up the instances in which refugees have been killed as a result of rebel attacks on retreating Saigon forces, it has had almost nothing to say about the air strikes and demolition operations carried out by Thieu's forces against the towns and cities they abandon. The PRG charged March 22 that in one such air attack on Ban Me Thuot more than 200 people had been killed.

## Crumbling morale

In a period of seven days the attacking insurgents have been able to win undisputed control over a broad corridor of territory reaching from the North Vietnamese border to within fifty miles of Saigon, while at the same time driving to the sea and cutting off Da Nang.

"Separated by 400 miles of Communist-held territory from the Saigon garrison," wrote Drew Middleton in the March 25 *New York Times*, the forces in South Vietnam's second-largest city "have no option but to fight delaying actions and, at the end, destroy the supplies at Da Nang."

The speed of the rebel advance has led to increasing fears in Washington and Saigon that Thieu's army might disintegrate as a result of its crumbling morale. The Saigon desertion rate has already reached 24,000 a month, and will no doubt go higher.

While the most spectacular gains for the liberation forces have been in the north, *New York Times* reporter Malcolm Browne reported March 23:

"A seasoned Western observer of rural communities in the Mekong delta south of Saigon said today that despite the relative lack of fighting, the delta situation had deteriorated sharply, with many provincial roads cut and major towns surrounded by Vietcong forces."

## Washington's response

The American people—who are being told every day that there isn't enough money to pay for social services or a massive public works program to put the unemployed back to work—are angrily opposed to more military aid for the generals in Indochina. But the Ford administration is pushing on in its determination to fight to the last Vietnamese.

Ford's latest proposal is a three-year, \$6.4 billion package for South Vietnam. Although this plan is supposedly one that would eventually end U.S. aid to Saigon, Leslie Gelb reported in the March 19 *New York Times*, "Administration officials emphasized that the new plan would phase out all grant aid programs, but would not preclude future aid through military and economic credits."

Even the most liberal of the main capitalist daily newspapers, reflecting the views of the capitalist class as a whole, have united in opposition to an immediate cutoff in aid to Saigon. Their view was expressed by the editors of the *New York Times*, who argued March 16 that "it is not too late in Vietnam to revive the political machinery that all sides accepted in the Paris agreements two years ago."

Similarly, the *Christian Science Monitor* argued March 19, "the rational course in South Vietnam remains one of moving from a military struggle



U.S. troops land on central highlands coast in 1965. Half a million troops and \$150 billion couldn't crush Vietnamese liberation struggle.

to a political one. This is the intent of the 1972 Paris peace accord and U.S. policy should be bent now on getting both sides... to resume their political talks. The aim would be the eventual formation of a coalition government."

## Paris accords

The Paris accords formally recognized two governments inside South Vietnam—the Saigon dictatorship and the PRG—and projected a process of "reconciliation" between these two fundamentally irreconcilable social forces. The advances made by the Vietnamese revolution during the past few weeks have been won only because the liberation forces acted outside of this framework set up by the Paris accords.

In order to complete this advance, the masses of the Vietnamese workers and peasants must be involved in a struggle to finally rid their country of the hated Saigon dictatorship—not in a plan to compromise with it. The Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking are no doubt exerting pressure once again on the Vietnamese to accept precisely such a compromise in the interests of détente. As Drew Middleton explained in the March 10 *New York Times*:

"One unusual element in the estimates of North Vietnamese strategy is the belief that Hanoi is wary of raising the level of fighting to the point at which it would require massive supply from either the Soviet Union or China."

"Hanoi's strategic outlook is influenced, one well-qualified source said, by a belief that neither Communist power wishes the renewal of a major war to result from such an offensive on the part of North Vietnam, and that, if such an operation were launched, the North Vietnamese would find it difficult to replace their more sophisticated

weapons from the two big powers."

The North Vietnamese and PRG leaders have continued to insist that they are in favor of working within the limits set down by the Paris accords. Vo Dong Giang, a PRG representative in Saigon, told reporters March 22 that the object of the new offensive was to "defend and preserve" the Paris treaty.

"We have repeatedly stated that we would negotiate with a new government of national reconciliation but never with the Thieu clique," he said.

If the Vietnamese rebels proceed on this basis, then the door will be open for Washington to arrange a new compromise, based on the continuation of the capitalist-landlord regime in Saigon, albeit perhaps under a different leader.

However, there are important forces pushing in the opposite direction. The powerful rebel offensive is faced with the rotten Thieu regime, a clique lacking any mass support. As a result of the antiwar sentiment of the American people and the U.S. economic crisis, Washington's options are severely limited. And the virtual collapse of all resistance to the rebel offensive proves that it is possible for the masses of workers and peasants to finally put an end to the Saigon regime and do away with the imperialist foothold in Vietnam once and for all.

One thing is certain: only the socialist transformation of Vietnam can finally bring peace to that ravaged country, and there has not been a more favorable opportunity for that since 1954.

In the face of Washington's continuing efforts to halt this process, the American people must let their voices be heard:

Not one more cent for the dictators in Saigon and Phnompenh!  
U.S. out of Southeast Asia now!

## Black groups, media hear Reid

# Black woman battles Daley for mayor seat

By Elizabeth Stone

CHICAGO—"Support the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor—vote for Willie Mae Reid on April 1!" booms the loudspeaker of a sound truck as it moves up and down State Street in the midst of Saturday's shopping rush.

On the sidewalks, Reid's supporters are handing out literature and selling copies of the *Militant*.

Reid is also there, talking with shoppers about her socialist program.

Most people who stop are interested in looking over the campaign literature. Some passersby shout out to the candidate, "I saw you on TV." Several others tell her, "I'm going to vote for you."

As election day draws near, Reid's supporters are making a special effort to get out the word about the campaign to as many people as possible.

Shopping centers and plant gates are leafleted. Posters are going up around the city. Door-to-door canvassing enables campaign workers to talk with hundreds of people and get subscriptions to the *Militant*.

### Crowded schedule

Reid's schedule is crowded with campaign appearances on television and radio and at community and campus meetings. The Urban League, a major civil rights organization, has set up an evening meeting to hear what Reid has to say.

On March 29 Reid will address the Saturday morning meeting of Operation PUSH, which is attended by hundreds of people and heard over the radio by thousands more.

Because Reid is the first independent candidate ever to appear on the ballot against Mayor Richard Daley, her campaign has been treated seriously by the media, especially the Black press.

The *Chicago Weekend*, an influential Black community newspaper, carried a full-page feature on the Reid campaign in its March 7-9 issue entitled "Black woman battles Daley."

The article spells out many of the key ideas in Reid's campaign program and explains the "Bill of Rights for

Working People" advocated by the socialist campaign.

"If Miss Reid had her way," writes reporter Steve Askin, "the rights to free speech, free press, and fair trial, would be joined by the right to a job and living wages, a guarantee of free education and free medical care for all persons at all ages, and the right of blacks, Latins and other minority group members to fully control the policing of their own communities and the education of their children."

Askin goes on to report: "Candidate Reid won't speculate on how many votes she might obtain, but she admits that a five per cent showing—enough votes to win legal recognition as a permanent political party in Chicago—would be pleasing. Such a vote would give the SWP a guaranteed place on future municipal ballots, enabling the group to avoid the high signature requirement imposed on third party candidates seeking a place on the Chicago ballot."

### 'Hot Line'

Reid recently appeared on WVON's "Hot Line," a popular radio call-in show, and got an enthusiastic and favorable response from the callers. Women in particular expressed pride that Reid was running.

Anna Langford, a Black anti-Daley Democrat who was defeated by a machine candidate in her bid for reelection as alderwoman in the Sixteenth Ward, called in and praised Reid for her efforts.

For the first forty-five minutes of the program, "Hot Line" host Wesley South interviewed Reid, asking questions about her platform, in particular about the "Bill of Rights for Working People." Reid stressed the importance of struggles taking place to fight for these rights, such as the demonstration in support of school desegregation called by the NAACP for May 17 in Boston.

She pointed to the need to fight racism in Chicago as well as in Boston, and she urged people to support a demonstration called by Operation PUSH to protest terrorist activities of the Ku Klux Klan in nearby Aurora, Illinois.



Willie Mae Reid (right), SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago, talks to Saturday shoppers about socialist program.

Reid says the questions reporters ask her now are more serious than was the case in her campaign last year for Congress.

"Many reporters realize this society has some big problems and they want to know what solutions I'm advocating," Reid says. She tells how, after one radio interview, the news staff sat around with her after the program discussing socialism.

When Reid went to Loop Junior College and Central YWCA to talk informally with students, Channel 11, the educational TV station, videotaped Reid's discussions with students about socialism for a news feature.

WIS-TV, the local ABC affiliate, also did a feature on the Reid campaign, showing the flurry of activity around Reid's headquarters as campaign supporters prepared for a poster paste-up. The program also showed Reid and campaign workers passing out literature and talking with people on the street.

The closing words of the WIS com-

mentator were, "With the economic situation what it is today, win or lose, the Socialist Workers party will have left a mark on this city."

### Opponents shun debate

Although the Reid campaign has gotten more media coverage than have socialist campaigns here in the past, overall interest in the mayor's race has been limited since the primary. Because of the expected landslide victory for Daley, the press has generally given the impression that the election is over.

Daley has not deigned to take notice of either his Republican or his socialist opponent. He recently called together his Democratic ward committeemen, though, to rally them to turn out the vote April 1. The machine chiefs stressed that "all America is watching" and that a big triumph would reaffirm Daley's reputation as a major power in national politics.

John Hoellen, the reluctant Republican candidate, has begun to campaign a little more energetically. But Hoellen, like Daley, has no interest in debating the issues with Willie Mae Reid.

Recently when Hoellen appeared at the WBMX studio for a radio interview and discovered he was expected to appear along with Reid, he turned to his Black running mate for city clerk, Ronald Samuels, and asked Samuels to go on the program in his place.

When Samuels declined, Hoellen appeared himself and completely lost his composure in the debate. Instead of calmly discussing the issues, he began shouting such things as, "You're just a communist," and "You want to bring Russia over here."

### Windup rally

A windup rally for the Reid campaign is planned for the evening of March 29 at Reid's campaign headquarters, 428 S. Wabash Street.

Featured speakers will be Willie Mae Reid; Morris Starsky, a socialist professor fired from his job because of right-wing and FBI harassment; E. Duke McNeil, a Black Democrat who tried to gather the necessary signatures to qualify as an independent candidate for mayor; Lance Haddix, attorney for the SWP's suit against disclosure; and Brenda Eichelberger, chairperson of the Chicago chapter of the National Black Feminist Organization.

## 'Hoover would turn over in his grave'

CHICAGO—The secret FBI files on disruption of the Socialist Workers party, recently turned over to the party by court order (see story on page 26), include a detailed record of how the Newark, New Jersey, FBI office tried to get a local scoutmaster removed from his position in the Boy Scouts because his wife was a member of the SWP.

The allegedly pink-tinted scoutmaster "would have strong influence in the shaping of the minds of young boys," the supersleuths feared.

Well, J. Edgar Hoover would have turned over in his grave if he could have observed the scene at Sixty-Third and Halstead, in Chicago's South Side Black community, one recent Saturday afternoon.

There was Willie Mae Reid, SWP candidate for mayor, lambasting the evils of capitalism and campaigning for socialism.

And there—could it really be?—was a bunch of Boy Scouts wearing campaign button-boards and handing out Reid literature!

The Scouts, it turned out, were not working on a socialism merit badge

after all. They and other neighborhood young people had stopped to check out what was happening and decided to help out the socialist campaign for a while.

No FBI agents were observed. (Although—to judge from their high spirits and enthusiasm—the Scouts probably wouldn't have been intimi-

dated even by a whole herd of G-men.)

Reid says she will welcome the help of all Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and anyone who wants to join in the final days of campaigning. Come to the SWP campaign headquarters at 428 South Wabash, or call (312) 939-0756.



Boy Scouts for Reid? They liked socialist alternative, decided to pitch in.



# Revelations show Chicago cops organized terrorist assault on SWP offices in 1969

By Elizabeth Stone

CHICAGO, March 24—Chicago police organized an armed assault by right-wingers on the Socialist Workers party headquarters here in 1969, according to new information revealed today by the *Chicago Daily News*.

Federal intelligence agents were also involved and accepted records stolen in the terrorist attack, the *Daily News* reported.

These revelations capped a week of mounting evidence about police infiltration of community organizations in Chicago and vast secret police files on groups and individuals critical of Mayor Richard Daley's administration. (See box on this page.)

Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, is demanding that all the secret police files be opened and that those responsible for the illegal attacks be indicted.

## 'Daily News' report

The front-page banner headline on the *Daily News* announced: "Cop spies backed a burglary." A subhead added: "Socialist office here is looted."

The story began: "A right-wing paramilitary group broke into the office of the Young Socialist Alliance in 1969 at the behest of Chicago police undercover agents, an informant has told The Daily News."

"The informant said police intelligence agents in unmarked cars waited outside to protect the burglars in the event someone discovered the burglary in progress and reported it."

"Documents comprising more than 2,000 pages were taken by the burglars, who were members of a group called the Legion of Justice, according to the informant."

"After the burglary at the Young Socialist Alliance headquarters, Canal and Jackson, on Nov. 1, 1969, the informant said, the documents were



Chicago socialist headquarters after June 1970 burglary and vandalism. Were cops behind this break-in as well?

On November 12, 1969, the late attorney S. Thomas Sutton, a well-known leader of racist opposition to open housing, held a news conference to display material "liberated" from a "communist" headquarters. The material was part of that stolen from the SWP and YSA.

As today's *Daily News* article recalls, "In the wake of publicity over Sutton's flaunting of material that undeniably had been obtained illegally, the lawyer was arrested by police intelligence agents and charged with theft."

Sutton was actually arrested only after considerable foot-dragging by the police, and he was charged only with possession of stolen property.

"At the time," the *Daily News* continued, "it was considered unusual that such an arrest would be made by intelligence officers, rather than robbery investigators."

"More questions were raised when Sutton was acquitted. The Independent Voters of Illinois charged that the acquittal was the result of sloppy prosecution by the office of the then state's attorney, Edward V. Hanrahan."

## Assaults, death threats

The November 1 robbery was only one in a series of violent attacks by the Legion of Justice in 1969 and 1970 against the SWP and YSA and others.

- On December 6, 1969, eight to ten masked men armed with tire irons raided the apartment of several YSA members in DeKalb, Illinois, Macing all the occupants and beating one with a tire iron.

- On January 10, 1970, Sutton gave a speech on "Should Traitors be Publicly or Privately Executed?" in which he advocated killing members of the YSA.

- On March 7, 1970, a defused tear-gas canister was hurled through the window of an apartment where a fundraising party for an SWP election campaign was being held. The next day a Legion death-threat was taped to the door of the apartment.

- During the night of June 26-27, the SWP and YSA headquarters was broken into, robbed, and vandalized. The attackers made a huge pile of flammable material in the center of the hall and soaked it with oil.

The cops persistently refused to press a serious investigation of any of these events. When called in after the DeKalb attack, for example, instead of

investigating the assault, they interrogated the YSA members about their political beliefs and took books and pamphlets from the apartment without a search warrant.

In several cases the police cooperated with Legion thugs to bring trumped-up charges of "assault" against radicals.

## Police raid

Today's revelations also cast a new light on two of the most sinister incidents that occurred during this period of harassment.

Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered by Chicago cops in a predawn armed assault on their apartment on December 4, 1969.

That same day, thirty police with drawn weapons burst into the SWP and YSA offices. They claimed to be acting on a "tip" that there had been a "shoot-out" in the offices.

Meanwhile, members of the SWP

and YSA around the country were receiving phone calls from someone posing as Richard Hill, Chicago SWP organizer, telling them, "The office has been tommy-gunned. . . . People are lying on the floor bleeding and unconscious. . . ." and pleading for help.

Following on the heels of the Panther murders and previous Legion attacks, the raid was obviously set up in the hopes the cops would find some pretext to start shooting, or at the very least to arrest the socialists.

"The Chicago cops are not only spies and burglars," declared Willie Mae Reid today. "They are murderers, and they have aided and abetted the violence of right-wing terrorists."

"Moreover," she said, "this illegal conspiracy extends far beyond the Chicago cops. In 1973 a former army intelligence agent testified that the Legion of Justice regularly supplied the 113th Military Intelligence Group with information on radical groups, including documents stolen in burglaries."

"Earlier this year, *Chicago Daily News* columnist Mike Royko reported evidence of links between the CIA and right-wing terrorists in Chicago, almost certainly the Legion of Justice."

## Disappearing files?

After today's revelations, a meeting was held between Reid, state's attorney's aide Ralph Burkowitz, and Suzanne Haig, representing the Illinois Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

Reid and Haig requested that all police files concerning the Socialist Workers party be subpoenaed and turned over to the Socialist Workers campaign committee. They also discussed how the grand jury could take action to bring to justice those who attacked the SWP and YSA offices.

Burkowitz said the files on the SWP had been subpoenaed "weeks ago," before the police scandals became public. He said the police denied having any files on the SWP!

Burkowitz said police officials would be called before the grand jury and required to testify under oath about the whereabouts of such files.



Symbol of right-wing terrorist group, which made repeated death threats against socialists.

turned over immediately to a federal intelligence agency working with the local police.

"Most of the documents were 'junk' but others were 'pertinent,' he said, and copies of the latter were made for both police files and files of the federal intelligence operation involved."

## More than burglary

What the Chicago cops set up was in fact even more serious than burglary. On the afternoon of November 1, 1969, a dozen masked men entered the offices occupied by the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers party.

The thugs were armed with clubs, tire irons, and cans of Mace. They Maced the four people present in the headquarters and forced them to lie on the floor while files, tapes, and a cash box were carried out.

YSA member Derek Jeffers was clubbed and required stitches in his head to close the wound.

## Spying & secret files

CHICAGO—In the past week it has been revealed that Chicago cops infiltrated such community organizations as the Citizen's Action Program, the Alliance to End Repression, Operation PUSH, and the Metropolitan Area Housing Alliance.

In the case of one large neighborhood group, called the Organization for a Better Austin, undercover cop Marcus Salone actually became president.

According to the group's members, the organization declined under Salone's "leadership."

There is also new evidence of secret political files kept by the police on numerous groups and individuals.

Reportedly included in the files are such figures as Gayle Sayers, former star running back of the Chicago Bears; television news commentator Len O'Connor; U.S. Rep. Ralph Metcalfe; Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH; and State Sen. Richard Newhouse.

The files and information on infiltration were obtained as part of an antidiscrimination suit brought by the Afro-American Patrolmen's League.

State's Attorney Bernard Carey, a

Republican whose name reportedly appeared in police files, has called a grand jury investigation of the police infiltration.

The response of Mayor Richard Daley's top cops to the revelations has only served to heighten public anger.

Deputy Superintendent of Police Mike Spiotto offered the lame excuse that spies were necessary so police would know about upcoming demonstrations that might disrupt city traffic!

Rev. Jesse Jackson charged that "police are being used by the politicians to disrupt, discredit, and neutralize groups such as ours."

At a news conference March 24, Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, stressed that the new evidence of police spying provides further evidence for why the state board of elections should exempt the Socialist Workers campaign committee from turning over the names of its contributors to the government.

Reid said police files on individuals have been kept simply on the basis of their making a financial contribution to a particular organization or party.

# Nazis admit bombing SWP offices in L.A.

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—There has been a major development in the case of the bombing of the Socialist Workers party here. The March 21 *Los Angeles Free Press* features an interview with the leader of a local Nazi gang in which he admits his group conducted the bombing, which occurred February 4. The interview includes threats of further violence against the SWP.

Police told the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California that the Nazi admission was being actively investigated. But as of March 25, four days after the *Free Press* hit the streets, no arrests had been made.

The *Free Press* exclusive said the Nazi asserted, "We know the cops aren't interested if we bomb the Left."

According to the interview, Joe Tommasi, leader of the National Socialist [Nazi] Liberation Front (NSLF), also took credit for the tear-gas disruption of a Santa Monica rally sponsored by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

Shortly after the bombing of the SWP campaign headquarters, a local news agency received a call in which the Nazis took credit for the bombing. Earlier it had been reported that the Santa Monica police said that the same Nazi group had taken credit for



BRADLEY: Despite admissions, still no arrests.

the February 2 attack on the Rosenberg rally.

The *Free Press* article by Jeanne Cordova states:

"In an exclusive interview, Joe Tommasi, head of the NSLF, admitted his group's responsibility for the tear-gassing and bombing. Although Tommasi smiled, stood on the Fifth and refused to answer with a simple 'yes' when asked if his organization planted the SWP bomb, the Nazi leader said, 'I can't deny it either.' . . . Tommasi several times boasted that 'it (the bombing) was a successful mission.'"

The Nazi thug went on to make further threats against the SWP. Cordova reports:

"Explaining that the SWP has 'a potential that far surpasses any other left-wing group,' Tommasi said it was his organization's purpose to 'stop' the Marxist group. 'We wanted them to know the score,' the Nazi confirmed, 'We've had our eye on them and they don't get to get away with what they're doing . . . or they get to end up in the river.'"

Regarding the disruption of the Rosenberg meeting, the *Free Press* interview states, "Referring to the Rosenberg rally as 'just another Red function,' Tommasi admitted to tear-gassing that event, calling it 'significant and successful.'"

(The interview does not refer to the bombing, also on February 4, of the Unidos bookstore, operated by supporters of the October League.)

The *Free Press* reports that Tommasi explained that his outfit includes an underground "Provisional Wing," which assertedly does most of the bombing.

Tommasi said, according to the *Free Press*: "The Provisional Wing are ex-military people. They don't have direct contact with us, they don't come to meetings, but we hold special cell meetings to give them direction."

The aims of the Tommasi gang are the classic psychotic brand of Nazi racism and anti-Semitism.

The *Free Press* reports him offering this mouthing:



Militant/Dave Warren

Nazis in Los Angeles. 'We know the cops aren't interested if we bomb the Left.'

"We can bring down the Jew-controlled, antiwhite, capitalist state. What we need is a massive reaction of whites. . . .

"If we can cause the nonwhites to confront the whites, then the whites will rise up and in the confusion we move in and overthrow the government."

According to the interview, during the first year after its split from the National Socialist White People's party, Tommasi's group focused on getting its organization together, but now plans to move more publicly.

"Questioned again about the bombings," Cordova reports, "Tommasi smiled: 'People are going to hear about us.'"

For those not familiar with Los Angeles politics, it may seem difficult to comprehend how this murderous gang of Nazis can feel free to roam loose. But while the city of Los Angeles has succeeded in building up a certain liberal image, the reality is quite different.

The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) is a longtime bastion of hard-nosed ultrarightists.

The chief of police, Edward Davis, is an authentic ideological spokesman for the LAPD. His public declamations would qualify him for membership in

the John Birch Society.

A while back he recommended public hangings at airports for skyjackers.

Last week he railed against those who criticized the CIA and FBI for spying on American citizens. The real threat to the right of privacy, he asserted, comes from the media, not undercover government gumshoes.

Recently it was disclosed that the LAPD has been maintaining dossiers on tens of thousands of Los Angeles citizens as well as countless organizations.

In the wake of the *Free Press* revelations, the SWP has renewed its demand on Mayor Tom Bradley that he act to put the self-proclaimed bombers behind bars. Copies of the *Free Press* article, plus a fact sheet detailing the extent of the current wave of right-wing terror, have been mailed to individuals and organizations in Los Angeles and across the nation. An urgent request is included that they contact Mayor Bradley and demand that he act.

Messages should be sent to Mayor Bradley, City Hall, 200 North Spring Street, Los Angeles, California. Copies should be sent to the SWP, 710 South Westlake Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90057.

## Coalition calls for nat'l action to defend Edelin

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—Protesting the conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, and calling for a week of national protests to defend abortion rights, 1,000 people jammed into Boston's Faneuil Hall on the evening of March 20.

The rally was called by a coalition of women's organizations and abortion-rights groups to "Defend Dr. Edelin—Defend Abortion Rights." Kenneth Edelin, a Black doctor at Boston City Hospital, was found guilty of manslaughter on February 15 for the "crime" of performing a legal abortion in the fall of 1973. The rally demanded that Edelin's conviction be overturned.

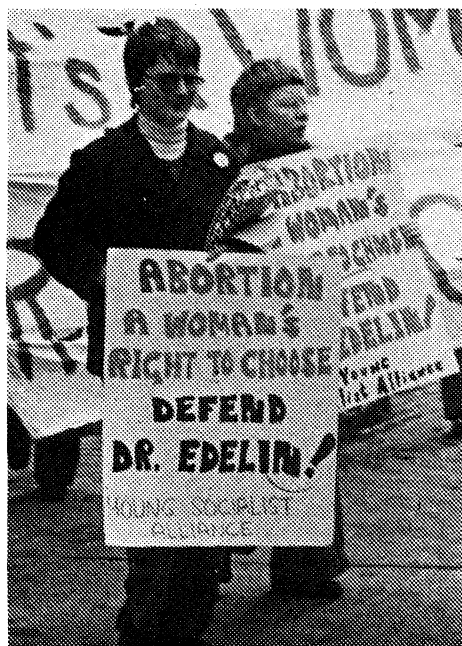
The rally also protested the growing attacks on legal abortion by so-called right-to-life groups who engineered the indictment and conviction of Edelin and who are now using that conviction as a springboard to try to restrict the availability of abortion, especially after the first trimester.

"Not since the days of the Salem witch trials has justice been so disgraced in Massachusetts," said Dr. Barbara Roberts, a research fellow at Harvard Medical School and one of the speakers. "The goal of this trial was to intimidate all doctors who perform abortions, particularly those who perform mid-trimester abortions."

"The ultimate goal of the fetus fetishists is to roll back the Supreme Court decision of two years ago and

make abortion once again illegal. . . .

"The trial of Dr. Kenneth Edelin must be seen in the context of a nationwide campaign being waged against the right of women to abortion. Millions of dollars have been spent lobbying for constitutional amendments to outlaw abortion, clinics have been harassed, and now an attempt has been made to intimidate doctors



Militant/Jon Hillson

'Not since days of Salem witch trials has justice been so disgraced in Massachusetts.'

who perform abortions."

Diana Travis, speaking for the Committee to Defend Abortion Rights, presented an open letter to the rally calling for nationally coordinated activities to defend the right to abortion. The letter was signed by Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine; Barbara Roberts; Marcia Codling, national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR); State Rep. Elaine Noble; Susan Gunderson, National Organization for Women; Vilma DiBiase, Crittendon House; Florence Luscomb, suffragist; Maxine Rubin, women's division of the American Jewish Congress; Janice Raymond, medical ethics professor at Boston College; and Reba Williams, Socialist Workers party candidate for Boston City Council.

It says in part: "This rally tonight is a first step in initiating an ongoing campaign in Boston to defend a woman's right to abortion. However, we need a national response, because a national response will not only help us in our fight here in Boston, but will give notice to the anti-abortion movement everywhere that women will not allow their rights to be stolen from them."

"We therefore call on all supporters of abortion rights, women's organizations, and civil rights groups to unite in a national week of activities to be held all over the country to 'Defend Dr.

Edelin, Defend Abortion Rights!'

"We suggest the week of April 27 to May 3 for initial activity."

"A show of strength this week through teach-ins, debates, panels, rallies, and marches can have an effect on the outcome of this battle."

The open letter was approved overwhelmingly by the rally.

Another theme of the rally was the connection between the so-called right-to-life movement and the racist anti-busing forces who are trying to block desegregation of the Boston schools.

The open letter points out that Edelin's conviction is especially serious since he was "convicted by an all-white jury, in an atmosphere of racist hysteria and violence which has been directed against the Black community."

Marcia Codling of NSCAR pointed out that women and Blacks are facing the same reactionary enemy and urged women to participate in the May 17 national demonstration in support of school desegregation called by the NAACP and NSCAR.

In addition to the women who signed the open letter, all of whom spoke at the rally, other speakers were: Pearl Shelton, executive board member of the NAACP; Liz Casey, Committee to Defend Abortion Rights; Fr. Joseph O'Rourke, Catholics for a Free Choice; Bill Baird, Parents Aid Society; and Karen Lindsay, a poet and journalist.



# Camejo tour launches Milwaukee SWP branch

By Bernie Senter

MILWAUKEE—"In Milwaukee at exactly this time one year ago there was no socialist campaign around to hold rallies like this, no socialist campaign headquarters, not even a branch of the Socialist Workers party." This statement was made by Bill Clayton, Milwaukee Young Socialist Alliance organizer, at a rally celebrating the opening of the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters and the launching of the Socialist Workers party here.

The campaign rally, held March 22, capped a week of campaigning throughout Wisconsin by Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party 1976 presidential candidate. One hundred twenty people from Wisconsin, Illinois, and Minnesota came to hear Camejo and to participate in the celebration opening the campaign's new downtown office, at 207 East Michigan Street.

The success of Camejo's tour bodes well for the future of the new branch of the SWP and the socialist campaign in Wisconsin.

At the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee 400 students attended an open-air rally for the candidate. Fifty attended a meeting after the rally to

learn more about the socialist alternative in 1976.

At the University of Wisconsin in Madison 100 students came to hear Camejo. He and his supporters also campaigned in Milwaukee's Black community, distributing the SWP's "Bill of Rights for Working People" and talking with community residents.

A highlight of Camejo's tour in Wisconsin was his series of discussions with unemployed workers at state office buildings in Milwaukee and Madison.

After introducing himself as the socialist presidential candidate, Camejo explained that he thought the war budget should be abolished and the money used to launch an emergency, massive public works program to create more jobs. The response was very positive. He also asked people whether they would consider voting socialist in 1976, and almost to a person they said they would seriously consider the socialist alternative.

A reporter from the *Milwaukee Journal*—the state's largest paper—accompanied Camejo while he campaigned among the unemployed. In a feature article in the Sunday edition of the *Journal*, he wrote, "Late last week



Peter Camejo speaking at new socialist headquarters in Milwaukee.

he [Camejo] greeted the unemployed outside the state office building downtown deliberately using the word socialist early in his pitch to prove to a reporter that people weren't afraid of it and didn't recoil from it.

"And they didn't. Most of them listened to the 'Socialist' with the same politeness and friendliness they gave hand-shaking politicians like Governor Lucey and his Republican opponent in the 1974 race, William Dyke."

While Camejo was in Madison, his discussions with unemployed workers were aired on TV. This was just a portion of the news coverage the Socialist Workers campaign received in Wisconsin. The *Milwaukee Courier*, the city's largest Black newspaper, carried a front-page article on the campaign.

Camejo was also interviewed on most of the TV news programs and all the major radio stations in Milwaukee, and he received extensive coverage in Milwaukee's other daily newspaper, the *Sentinel*.

The rally that culminated the tour was preceded by a socialist educational conference. Willie Mae Reid, SWP candidate for vice-president, who is currently running for mayor of Chicago, spoke about the fight for school desegregation in Boston. Bob Schwarz, Milwaukee SWP organizer, spoke on the radical history of Milwaukee.

# UFW sues Teamsters, cites antislavery law

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Southern California is using a little-known antislavery civil rights statute to bring suit against the Teamsters union and California growers on behalf of the United Farm Workers (UFW).

Adopted in 1870, the federal statute mandates equality for nonwhites in making and enforcing contracts.

The \$150 million damage suit charges the Teamsters and growers with a conspiracy to prevent the largely nonwhite UFW from making and enforcing union contracts, a violation of the statute.

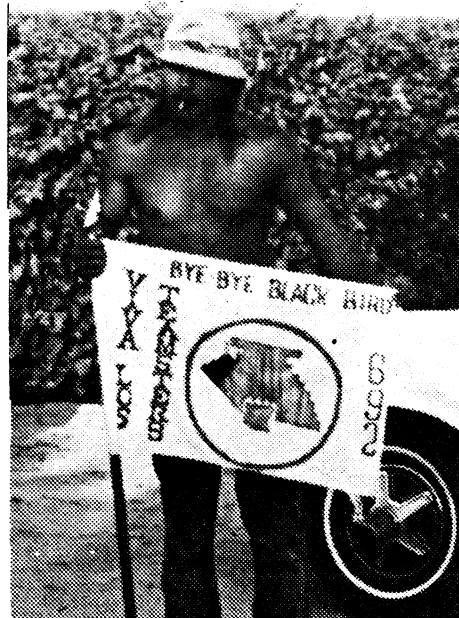
The suit documents widespread use of deception, threats, misrepresentation, and physical violence to foster the conspiracy.

In an interview, ACLU attorney Daniel Lavery explained that although the civil rights statute is relatively obscure, its validity has been upheld in several important cases.

The statute states: "All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every state and territory to make and enforce contracts . . . and to have the full and equal benefit of all laws and

proceedings for the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white citizens."

Lavery said that a study of the *Congressional Record* shows that



Teamster goons like this one tried to deny UFW members right to collective bargaining through unions of their choice.

while the law was intended to help protect the rights of the recently freed Black slaves, the legislators made clear that it was intended to be applicable to all nonwhites.

In California, the great majority of UFW members are Chicano, with Filipinos the second-largest ethnic grouping.

Lavery cited several cases in which action brought under the statute had won in the courts.

In 1968 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the damage claim of a Black denied the right to sign a contract for a home in a segregated neighborhood.

In 1971 it upheld a damage claim against an International Harvester subsidiary and local union brought by Black workers in Wisconsin.

And in the state of Oregon, Chicanos won a class-action suit under the statute against a local bar that prohibited conversation in Spanish.

The ACLU complaint cites forty-one documented instances of violence against UFW members by Teamster goons. These attacks were designed to further the conspiracy to deny rank-and-file farm workers the right to collective bargaining through a union

of their choice.

The suit charges that the conspiracy was intended to replace the UFW with the largely white Teamsters, with the aim of eventually replacing Chicano farm workers with Anglo Teamsters when anticipated advances in agricultural mechanization are instituted. Public racist remarks to this effect by Teamster officials are cited in the complaint.

Lavery said that Teamster attorneys will seek dismissal of the complaint but that his study of the legal precedents makes him confident that the action will survive the challenge.

**VIVA LA HUELGA!**  
**The Struggle**  
**of the**  
**Farm Workers**

By Jose G. Perez 25 cents  
Pathfinder Press, 410 West St.,  
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# Attica prosecution: the evidence just isn't there

By Kurt Hill

BUFFALO—Judge Gilbert King stated March 18 that he is considering reducing the charges against Attica Brother Charles Parnaslice. King made his remarks after Ramsey Clark, Parnaslice's attorney, outlined the overwhelming lack of evidence submitted by the prosecution to back up the trumped-up charges against his client and called for dismissal of the case. Parnaslice and John "Dacajeweah" Hill, both Native Americans, are facing frame-up murder charges in the death of prison guard William Quinn.

"I must say that never in twenty-four years before the bar have I seen any office of prosecution submit in a case of murder such inconsequential,

unsubstantial, and unsupportable evidence," said Clark.

The prosecution, which rested its case March 17, called eighteen witnesses, but only two of them mentioned Parnaslice.

One witness, a former Attica prisoner, claimed that he had heard Parnaslice state "he had made sure a guard was dead." Clark stressed the ambiguity of the alleged remark and pointed out that even the witness had not taken it seriously.

The other witness, also a former prisoner, claimed that Parnaslice struck Quinn "between the shoulders on the back." Clark quoted the testimony of doctors who stated that no injuries were found on Quinn's back

and that the guard had died of head injuries.

To illustrate the coercions, threats, and inducements that state officials have used to obtain statements from witnesses, the defense called as their first witness a prison guard who testified that for nearly two years he had falsely accused a prisoner of having struck Quinn with a shovel because he "wanted to further" himself.

"In my own mind I thought I could further myself and possibly get transferred to a prison nearer my home," the guard testified.

Defense attorney William Kunstler asked the guard if, after he repudiated his story, he was suspended by the Department of Correctional Services.

"No," the guard replied.

"Were you disciplined?" Kunstler asked.

"No," the guard said.

The second witness to testify for the defense, jeopardizing his ten-day-old parole status, testified that he had seen a Black prisoner strike Quinn, not the defendants.

The fourth week of the trial drew to a close March 21 when Judge King denied a defense motion to order the appearance of Vice-president Nelson Rockefeller, New York governor at the time of the 1971 prison uprising.

The defense's motion was grounded on Rockefeller's sworn statement that Quinn died after prisoners threw him through a window. King said Rockefeller's statements were hearsay and thus inadmissible.

## 400 buses from N.Y.

# Unions prepare for national rally for jobs

By Gene Anderson

Preparations are moving ahead for the April 26 "Rally for Jobs Now" in Washington, D.C., called by the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department (IUD).

This call by a major department of the AFL-CIO (the IUD is headed by I.W. Abel, president of the powerful United Steelworkers of America) is especially significant in light of federation President George Meany's frequently stated opposition to protest demonstrations. Even though 7.5 million workers are officially listed as unemployed, Meany recently insisted, it's not time to "man the barricades."

Other labor officials closer to the real world, however, were becoming aware that union members desperately want to see some action against the layoffs.

The International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE); American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); and Communications Workers of America (CWA) have reportedly been among those pressing for a national protest.

The final impetus came when a group of New York area unions, led by District Council 37 of AFSCME, decided to go ahead and call for a march on Washington. Only then did a part of the AFL-CIO officialdom endorse the idea.

With a view toward keeping the demonstration under control, the IUD

leaders decided to make it a rally only, in Robert F. Kennedy Stadium. The New York unions are still discussing the possibility of organizing a march to the rally site.

At a March 25 meeting of the District Council 37 delegate assembly in New York, Associate Director Ed Maher reported that 400 buses and three special trains have been chartered to bring AFSCME members to Washington. All told, Maher said, he expects 30,000 to 40,000 demonstrators to come from New York alone.

Relatively little publicity has gone out about the rally so far. AFSCME Local 1549, the largest local in District Council 37, has put out a "March on Washington—April 26" button, but no leaflets or posters have yet appeared.

The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) supports the April 26 action "100 percent" and will be "mobilizing all of our forces to Washington," Dennis Serette told the *Militant*. Serette is vice-president of CWA Local 1101 and president of the New York State CBTU.

A priority of the CBTU will be to "hit the unemployment lines and recruit unemployed people for this demonstration," Serette said. "And then we will go back and solicit aid from the various unions to provide buses for them. We'll also seek to include more of the people in the community, who may be welfare recip-

ients or members of other organizations."

The executive board of the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) voted March 25 to endorse the rally and encourage CLUW members to work through their unions to build it.

Other New York unions beyond those originally involved are also joining the action. A March 23 meeting of the New York Typographical Local No. 6 passed resolutions of support put forward by several CLUW members and the *Daily News* unit of the "Big 6" local.

In most areas outside New York, local union officials often say they do not know about the protest and have as yet made no plans for participation. When the AFL-CIO call is brought to their attention by local union members, though, support is readily obtained.

In Detroit, for example, on a motion from a local member, Graphic Arts International Union Local 9L voted to endorse the rally and allocate \$640 to send its unemployed members to Washington.

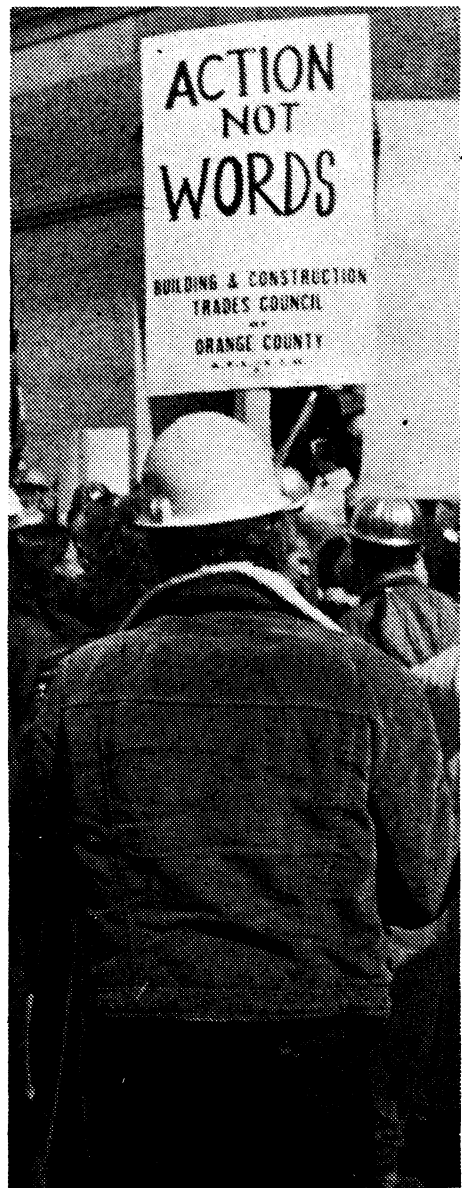
In Washington, D.C., the Washington Teachers Union (WTU) has taken the lead in organizing support activities for the April 26 rally. The WTU has called for a city-wide meeting of unions and other groups on April 9, to discuss how to build participation in the rally from the Washington metropolitan area.

"What we are trying to do," explained WTU President William Simons, "is get a coalition of the community groups—including labor, the churches, and so forth—to focus in on the economic problems here in the metropolitan area and to mobilize people on April 26 to the extent possible."

In Atlanta, AFSCME Local 1644 is gearing into the action, Secretary-Treasurer Bill O'Kain told the *Militant*. "People here are interested and actively preparing for the demonstration," O'Kain said.

The union executive committee has discussed how to mobilize its members and is seeking funds to subsidize transportation costs.

AFSCME in Atlanta has been conducting an organizing drive among city employees and at the same time trying to fight off the city's attacks on wages and jobs. In January the administration of Democratic Mayor Maynard Jackson refused to pay a previ-



Militant/Harry Ring  
California workers demonstrate for jobs, March 8.

ously agreed upon wage increase. Now the city is proposing five-day forced vacations later this year—in other words, a wage cut.

On March 17, 700 workers marched into the city council chambers chanting, "We want money." The protest was to demand an 18 percent raise and no forced vacation.

The city council agreed to hold a special meeting to discuss the union's demands, and on March 21, 400 workers again jammed the council chambers. The April 26 rally was announced to the assembled crowd.

O'Kain said that at the first chapter meeting after the action was announced, more than a busload of people immediately signed up to go.

## AFL-CIO: All out April 26!

The following are excerpts from a message sent to the presidents of all AFL-CIO unions by the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO.

Our Industrial Union Department executive committee meeting in New York last week unanimously voted to call a Rally for Jobs Now. Some of the preliminary details are now firm: Date: Saturday, April 26, 1975. Time: 1 p.m. Place: RFK Stadium, Washington, D.C.

The stadium holds 54,000 people. It is, therefore, our purpose to bring together 50,000 or more trade unionists on April 26 to express our sense of urgency for action to put America back to work.

It is our belief that perhaps most of the people who will be coming to this IUD Rally for Jobs Now will

come by bus. Please alert your local leadership that arrangements for buses should be made quickly so as to be certain of adequate bus transportation.

Since we do not have too much time, we urge you to make every possible effort to spread the word of this rally and its significance to all of your membership.

We have a great chance to dramatically present to the people of America, the White House and Congress, the bitter problems of unemployment and the grave concerns of workers for the security of their jobs and the well-being of their families. We need your wholehearted cooperation to make this project the outstanding achievement it can be.

Let's turn out the forces on April 26!

# N.Y. state workers say 'No!' to Carey cutbacks

By Spencer Livingston

ALBANY, N.Y.—This city has rarely seen mass demonstrations, even at the peak of the antiwar movement. A significant factor behind this was the conservatism and political passivity of the 40,000 New York State government employees in the Albany metropolitan area.

All this abruptly ended March 18 as 40,000 government employees from around the state converged on Albany for a demonstration called by the Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA), the bargaining agent for state workers.

The protest was called by the conservative leadership of CSEA as a pressure tactic in their negotiations with the state. It nevertheless indicated the growing militancy of government workers.

Democratic Governor Hugh Carey and the Democratic-controlled state legislature have tossed aside all the CSEA's wage and other demands. State workers have seen their wage

increases of 12 percent over the past three years fall far behind price increases of nearly 30 percent.

Now Carey is threatening not only to freeze wages, but also to take away various benefits and initiate substantial layoffs. He is calling for cuts in such state services as building inspections, meat inspections, mental health, local government assistance, and labor programs.

"Financial poverty" is the reason given, but this has not stopped the legislature from appropriating \$90 million to bail out the bankrupt Urban Development Corporation (UDC).

The UDC money will do little to build housing or provide the other services for which it was supposedly established. Instead the appropriation will go to Chase Manhattan and other large banks and insurance companies that are demanding millions of dollars in bond payments from the state treasury.

Two popular signs at the demonstra-

tion were "Don't Pay for UDC with my Job" and "Millions for UDC—Zilch for Us."

The open attack on state workers is shaking up the CSEA. For years CSEA collaborated closely with former governor Nelson Rockefeller, who reciprocated by supporting CSEA against periodic attempts by other unions to gain bargaining rights for state workers.

CSEA has traditionally been more an association or company union than a clearly defined working-class organization. It is open to large numbers of supervisors, who dominate the present leadership. But now Carey has slammed the door shut in their faces, and there is little leeway for concessions and collaboration.

For the CSEA to push forward with determined opposition to Carey's attacks will require continued mobilization of state employees. That in turn may begin to pose questions about transforming the whole character of this organization.



State employees in Albany, March 18



## Bank workers took the lead

# Meaning of bank take-overs in Portugal

By Dick Fidler

From Intercontinental Press

"'People's Bank'—the banner, hastily put together, floated in the breeze on the facade of the National Overseas Bank branch facing the Praça de Rossio. A large crowd had gathered around. Under a cold drizzle, the employees were explaining to surprised passersby that 'on this historic day, the people have confiscated from the rich the bulwark of their power.'"

The euphoric atmosphere described by *Le Monde* correspondents Dominique Pouchin and José Rebelo, in the March 16-17 issue of the Paris daily, is understandable. When the military officers' Conselho da Revolução, the Revolutionary Council, decreed the nationalization of "all private banking with headquarters in Portugal and adjacent islands," it took direct control of a substantial part of the holdings of the major commercial and financial "groups" that dominate the Portuguese economy. Like many backward capitalist countries, Portugal is characterized by a "two-tiered" industrial structure, divided between a large number of small, relatively inefficient, low-productivity firms, and a few giant companies with extensive and highly concentrated holdings in both Portugal and Africa.

Slightly more than 150 corporations, fewer than 0.5 percent of the 40,000 privately owned firms in Portugal, account for about 53 percent of total corporate assets. And these corporations are in turn divided among a few large groups, each identified with well-known families and each possessing its own bank or banks. In 1972, the latest year for which statistics are available, 7 banks accounted for 83 percent of deposits and 83 percent of investments of the 17 leading commercial banks operating within Portugal itself.

Under the military council's decree, these institutions passed into the direct control of the government. It was by far the most important economic measure since the military coup of April 25, 1974, that overthrew the Salazarist dictatorship.

The March 14 decree followed the occupation of the banks by the workers, determined to prevent the owners from using their wealth to finance further attempts to restore a repressive government. (In the upsurge following the defeat of the March 11 coup attempt, it was scarcely noticed that the bank workers' occupation was in fact an illegal action that contravened the regime's own strike law, which bans factory occupations and political strikes.)

On March 15, the insurance companies were occupied by employees demanding their nationalization, and before the day was out they too had been taken over by the military council.

While foreign-owned insurance companies would not be affected by the nationalization decree, the council said, government representatives would be delegated on their boards "in order to guarantee effective control by the state."

### Employers apprehensive

The main bosses organization, the Confederation of Portuguese Industry (CIP), has maintained discreet silence on the military council's recent measures. "But the employers seem especially apprehensive about the 'dynamic' of such a policy, which, after banking, could be extended to other vital sectors of industrial and commercial activity," *Le Monde's* correspondents said.

"The employers think that the military nationalized credit because the employees, outflanking the trade-union and party structures, pushed them into it. There is no reason why that could not happen again in some other branch of the economy. It cannot be denied that the decision by the leaders of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) was clearly influenced by the pressure of the bank workers, who began their strike March 11. The left-wing parties were not prepared for such a rapid development, and a Communist party leader was even agreeing, on the eve of the nationalization decree, that this measure could not be taken 'for months, if not for years.'"

The bank workers were quick to celebrate their victory. Almost 15,000 of them marched through the streets of Lisbon on March 14, within hours of the nationalization decree, and that night thousands rallied again at the presidential palace.

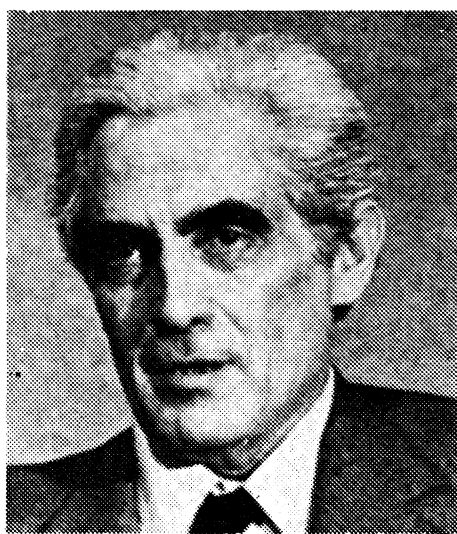
Meanwhile, more than 2,000 workers from Banco Espírito Santo e Comercial de Lisboa, the main commercial bank in Portugal, held a general assembly at the Sports Palace. Five members of the Espírito Santo family, the bank's previous owners, had been arrested by the armed forces on the night of March 11-12 and accused of complicity in the coup attempt.

### Sabotage by capitalists

The president of the union, Anselmo José Dias, told the meeting that the union's research had proved that the bank's former owners were guilty of "acts of sabotage" against the Portuguese national economy. Since April 25, 1974, they had deliberately transferred money into foreign accounts, retained emigrant workers' remittances in foreign banks, and granted large interest-free loans to firms belonging to the same business group, he said.

Since April 25, the union's members had combed through the bank records, photocopying evidence of the owners' links with extreme right-wing parties, including some banned since Spínola's first attempted coup in September. Some of this information, already presented to the government, was revealed to the meeting. For example, on September 2, shortly before the first major rightist mobilization, an account had been opened in the bank's headquarters branch, in the name of, among others, the chairman of the information commission of the Party of Progress. No money was ever deposited in the account, but checks were issued, according to the union, to finance propaganda for the demonstration of the rightist "silent majority" on September 28.

In the presence of the minister of labor and the secretaries of state for labor and employment, who had been invited to the bank workers assembly,



CP's CUNHAL: Claims strikes favor reaction.



Bank workers in Lisbon demonstrating for nationalization

José Dias declared that the nationalization of the banks—which the union had been demanding since January, he said—was consistent with the "antimonopolist perspective" of the MFA's program. "Without nationalizing the banks," the union leader said, "the antimonopolist struggle would be a mere statement of intention."

In fact, the government's economic program, issued February 21, had provided only for "stricter control" of private banks. Nevertheless, the military council's nationalization measure has for the time being at least increased its popular standing and encouraged illusions of an identity of interests between the workers and the regime.

The nationalization of the banks also stimulated demands for stronger measures in other sectors. The March 15 issue of the Lisbon daily *O Século* reported that the union of the Banco de Portugal workers had called for nationalization of insurance and "basic industries" and urged rapid implementation of an agrarian reform program.

### Growth of trade unions

The militancy of the Portuguese workers has been fed by the rapid growth of the trade unions (membership has increased by an estimated two million in recent months, in a total population of about nine million), and the worsening of the economic situation—about 300,000 workers are currently unemployed.

The workers' readiness to support far-reaching measures to prevent the resurgence of reaction has put strong pressure on the reformist leaderships. Already obliged to support measures more radical than they intended, they show every desire to block the process from going further.

Socialist party leader Mário Soares, for example, told a party rally March 14 that nationalization of the banks signaled the "disappearance" of capitalism in Portugal—implying that more radical measures were unnecessary and undesirable. Soares devoted a major part of his speech to deploring

what he termed a decline in the authority of the state among students and workers, and denounced the "café revolutionaries, the word-mongers, and adventurers whose irresponsible political practices could put obstacles in the path of the revolutionary process in our country, especially after March 11."

The Social Democratic leader praised the alliance between the "responsible parties of the working class, the Socialist party and the Communist party."

The CP, with a disciplined apparatus and a more radical image, appears to have been the main immediate beneficiary of the workers' radicalization. But the Stalinist leaders, too, have cause for anxiety in the face of the masses' upsurge in the aftermath of March 11. The CP's mass rally in Lisbon on March 16, attended by more than 20,000 workers, indicated that many of the party's supporters are well to the left of the leadership.

### CP rally

"For more than two hours after the start of the rally," *Le Monde* reported March 18, the crowd repeatedly demanded the ouster from the government of the Popular Democratic party (PPD), a bourgeois formation alleged to have been involved in the March 11 coup attempt. But CP General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal, while charging that the PPD was continuing to conduct a campaign of "reactionary propaganda against the democratic forces," carefully avoided taking a position on its role in the government.

"The composition of the government is a delicate question," he said. "It must be examined very closely. Obviously the opinion of the Communists must be considered, but also the opinion of the other forces involved in the democratic process."

The Stalinist leaders are doing their utmost to uphold their coalition with the bourgeois forces, no matter how insignificant in number these are. That is why they are reluctant to terminate their partnership with the

*Continued on page 30*

## Kissinger's 'peace'

The breakdown of negotiations in the Middle East has inched the world closer to a new war there.

It could be the fiercest of all. In the last one, Washington and Moscow reached the brink of a nuclear confrontation.

On the plane back from Tel Aviv, Henry Kissinger bemoaned the "loss of United States authority" around the globe and argued that this was a threat to world peace. But what was Kissinger really moaning about? The progress of the liberation forces in Cambodia and Vietnam, the deepening mass mobilizations in Portugal, the inability of Washington to impose its will on the Middle East, and the growing opposition inside the United States to further military interventions abroad.

None of these developments are a threat to peace. Just the opposite.

Kissinger did not go to the Middle East to bring peace, as he pretends. His goal was to find ways to guarantee that the colonial-settler state of Israel will continue to occupy the Palestinian homeland.

Zionist Israel exists only because year after year Washington arms it to the teeth and supplies it with billions of dollars in economic aid. When war breaks out, as it did a year and a half ago, weapons are airlifted in by the Pentagon on an hour-by-hour basis.

It is this garrisoned outpost of imperialism and the attempt to crush the Palestinian national liberation struggle that is the real detonator of Middle East wars.

The danger of war is all the more heightened because of Middle East oil. Washington makes no secret whatsoever of its anger at the Arab nations and Iran for taking over their own oil.

While Kissinger talks about peace, the U.S. press openly publishes blueprints for an invasion of the Middle East to seize oil facilities.

The Middle East and Southeast Asia have been bathed in blood for decades because of the attempts of imperialism first to maintain them as direct colonies, and then to rule them through puppet regimes. Washington's slipping control is a step toward peace, Kissinger notwithstanding. The struggle to completely break Washington's grip on the world is necessary for the peaceful socialist future of humanity.

## New supplement

This week readers will find a new addition to the *Militant*: the April issue of our monthly magazine supplement, the *International Socialist Review*. The *ISR* will appear in the first issue of each month.

Although the *International Socialist Review* is new in the *Militant*, it is by no means new in the American radical and labor movement. The *ISR* and its predecessors, *New International* and *Fourth International*, have appeared regularly for forty years in various formats, analyzing world events from a revolutionary socialist viewpoint.

The change in format of the *ISR* has meant a reduction in the size of the magazine, a cutback necessitated by the financial crunch hitting our supporters—and all working people—because of the depression. But it is a step that also has some advantages. It will bring an important new feature to *Militant* readers, and it will triple the circulation of the *ISR*.

The addition of a monthly magazine supplement fits in with the *Militant's* perspective of becoming a big, mass-circulation socialist weekly suited to the task of building a mass revolutionary party in the United States. In line with this goal, the *Militant* has tried to gear its coverage to a wide range of levels and issues. It aims to attract readers newly interested in socialist ideas, as well as to organize and educate those who are convinced revolutionists.

The *International Socialist Review* will add a new dimension to the *Militant* by providing more extensive analysis of major political issues, articles discussing questions of Marxist theory, and a wider range of subjects, including in cultural and historical fields.

The addition of our monthly magazine supplement comes at a time when the warm response to Socialist Workers party candidates and to the *Militant* indicates a heightened interest in socialist answers to the problems plaguing working people.

In the *Militant* sales drives this spring and next fall, the *International Socialist Review* supplement will be an attractive feature that can aid us in taking advantage of the growing opportunities for spreading socialist ideas.

### Social 'Security'

In the economic depression of the early 1930s the militant workers movement forced the capitalists to set up a Social Security system for the aged and infirm worker. In the European countries, Social Security had been in operation 100 years, with even better benefits than would be in the U.S. system, but a Social Security with the minimum of benefits would be better than no system at all.

Twenty-three million aged workers who contributed part of their wages are now on retirement, but there is no peace for them. The vultures and hyenas are out to pick the workers' corpses clean.

The quick-rich millionaire operates the nursing homes on the blood of the aged and infirm workers. They are forced into small rooms and left until the aged body stops breathing. Then the body is dumped into some potter's field.

It will again take the militant workers movement to force a national health insurance and proper care nursing homes. A socialist workers system is the only answer.

Otto Thomas

New York, New York

### Right to strike

The following item appeared in a *Los Angeles Times* story on the debate over a proposal to legalize collective bargaining for public employees:

"There is now no law in California that actually prohibits public employee strikes, but the courts usually have ruled such strikes are illegal because no law specifically authorizes them."

I recall being taught in college that the fundamental difference between the Continental European legal system and the Anglo-American "common law" system is that the former prohibits acts not specifically permitted by law, but the latter permits acts not specifically prohibited by law.

That's what made going to college so much fun in those days. When we weren't looking for fundamental differences between capitalist legal systems, we were counting angels on the heads of pins.

Morris Starsky

Los Angeles, California

### No gripe with that

You write to *complain*, you march to *complain*—but do you offer suggestions for improvement? You're always *against* something.

How about pressing hard for a twenty-hour workweek, which would cure most of what you complain about?

Florence Wyder

Brooklyn, New York

### Shanker's true colors

The *Militant* has done a good job of exposing American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker's racist policies toward the Black and Puerto Rican communities—policies Shanker tries to disguise behind a pose of being "liberal" and "pro-civil rights."

Now Shanker's true reactionary colors are showing through his threadbare liberalism on still another crucial issue: students' rights.

The U.S. Supreme Court recently handed down an important decision that students cannot be suspended for misbehavior without due process—the

right to be informed of the charges and the right to a hearing.

Shanker rushed into print in his weekly union-paid advertisement in the *New York Times* to condemn this decision. He argued that "the ruling will only serve to create further difficulties for teachers and schools already overwhelmed by discipline problems."

"Disruptive" and "disturbed" students are a big problem, Shanker says, and the court ruling will "keep students in school who shouldn't be there." Whether these students have any rights is of no consequence to him.

In contrast, National Education Association President James Harris welcomed the Supreme Court ruling.

"We are elated that minority students who are disproportionately represented in the quarter-of-a-million students expelled or suspended annually in this country will now have a chance to defend themselves against arbitrary and unfair actions," Harris said.

G.A.

New York, New York

### From Rome

We have read in the March 10 edition of the *International Herald Tribune* (the daily American bourgeois newspaper in Europe) an article in which Dick Gregory claims that Howard Hunt was picked up or stopped by the Dallas police shortly after the assassination of John Kennedy.

If you have any information, or even an educated guess, about this matter, I would appreciate seeing an article in the *Militant*, which we read and use regularly.

Information from the *Militant* regularly finds its way into the daily left press here in Italy, where the concern about CIA involvement is great.

Carl Evans Clifford

Rome, Italy

### Mural cover-up

I read with interest the brief note in the February 28 *Militant* about the Rockefeller-condemned mural by Mexican revolutionary master Diego Rivera. It reminded me of the mural titled *América Tropical*, which was painted in 1932 by Mexican muralist David Alfaro Siqueiros in Los Angeles's Olvera Street.

The municipal authorities invited Siqueiros to paint what they hoped would be a quaint, romantic mural about Mexican life, complete with dancing señoritas and mariachis. What they got instead was a brutally dynamic mural that showed Mexicans and other oppressed people being sacrificed on a cross of American dollar bills.

Needless to say, the city bureaucrats were astonished. They whitewashed (literally) the mural and sought to have Siqueiros deported by U.S. officials for being a godless Communist. This whole episode is intriguingly documented in a film by Chicano film maker Jesús Treviño.

Louis Torres

Los Angeles, California

### A friend in need

I would like to donate four dollars for a subscription for a friend of mine in prison. He is one of six who were jailed for refusing to talk to the FBI or



# international socialist review

## Black Freedom Struggle Today

By Tony Thomas



# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

**T**he direction of world political developments last month was summed up from Washington's point of view by Secretary of State Kissinger. In a news conference on March 19 Kissinger displayed gloom. Bernard Gwertzman of the *New York Times* paraphrased Kissinger's complaints: "All around the world, American diplomatic influence is on the decline, the newsmen were told. Portugal, Turkey, Cambodia, Vietnam, the Middle East—all are problems that no longer respond to American pressure and influence, the account went on."

His greatest concern, however, was over the domestic situation in the United States—over what he called "signs of isolationism" and "a lack of dedication in the country to the postwar policies of aiding countries fighting against Communists and a seeming disregard for what happens in countries like Portugal."

Kissinger's gloom was solidly based in view of the revolutionary upsurges last month in Portugal and Indochina.

In Portugal, the revolutionary process was given fresh impetus by a rightist coup attempt March 11. Under pressure from the masses, including worker occupations of key financial institutions, the ruling military junta—in violation of its own program—nationalized all Portuguese-owned banks and insurance companies, with no mention of compensation. Several top businessmen and financiers were arrested.

These nationalizations were unlike those in some capitalist countries that aim to subsidize an unprofitable industry or give a boost to national capitalist development. The take-overs in Portugal occurred under direct pressure from masses of workers, who are beginning to inspect the books of the capitalists as part of their right to control the wealth of the country.

The March 11 coup attempt again showed the need for a revolutionary socialist leadership and the establishment of independent organs of power for the masses.

All power in Portugal is in the hands of a self-appointed military junta, which says it will retain veto power even after the scheduled elections for a constituent assembly on April 25. The Portuguese armed forces are still intact and still commanded by officers schooled in the colonial wars in Africa and by and large dedicated to preservation of the capitalist system. If the mass movement threatens to go beyond the bounds of capitalism, the military apparatus will turn on the workers with terrible ferocity.

However, the largest workers organization in Portugal, the Communist party, opposes this perspective of building independent organs of power of the masses. The Stalinist line is "unity of the people with the Armed Forces Movement" (the organization of offi-

cers who led the overthrow of the Caetano regime last April). By this they mean that the workers and peasants should subordinate their demands to the junta's program of capitalist reform and should rely on the Armed Forces Movement to defend the masses against the rightist plotters. This is the road the Stalinists followed in Chile—and it led to a bloody defeat.

The problem faced by the people of Portugal was most successfully answered by the masses of Russia, who in 1905 and 1917 formed broadly representative, democratic councils of workers, peasants, and soldiers. These councils, the soviets, rose up alongside the reformist government that took power after the overthrow of the tsar in February 1917. The soviets were able to mobilize and arm the masses to defend the revolutionary process against an attempted reactionary coup, and ultimately to sweep aside the capitalists and become the government itself. The example is fully applicable in Portugal.

In Indochina, the military advances of the rebel forces in Cambodia and Vietnam have laid bare the corruption and utter lack of popular support for the U.S.-backed puppet regimes of Thieu and Lon Nol. Even with the Pentagon shipping in military supplies at an average rate of 750 tons a day, the Lon Nol forces continued to crumble and Lon Nol himself finally packed his bags March 22 in preparation for a hurried exit.

Meanwhile, the Thieu regime abruptly conceded huge areas of territory to the Vietnamese liberation forces, retreating to enclaves around Saigon. The country has been cut in two by the rebel forces.

**I**n this situation, the American working class is showing its potential as a powerful, even if unconscious, ally of the Indochinese liberation fighters. The antiwar sentiment of the American people, as displayed in particular in the antiwar demonstrations of the 1960s, has drastically limited the options of the White House in Southeast Asia.

A Gallup poll released March 9 showed that the American people have generalized from the experience of Vietnam and now have a "distinct aversion" to U.S. intervention "in any armed conflicts" abroad. Eight out of ten opposed even military aid to Cambodia and Saigon, and nine out of ten were against intervention in the Mideast in the event of an Arab-Israeli war or another Arab oil boycott.

The hands of the capitalist ruling class are further tied by the deepening depression at home.

Official unemployment figures for February showed a drop of more than half a million in the total employed in this country, pushing that total lower than at any point since the end of World War II.

The economic crisis has brought forth the first stirrings of protest action by the unions. The Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO called a national rally for jobs to be held April 26 in Washington. Construction and auto workers have also held demonstrations.

In addition to unrest over the economy and government war policy, the general dissatisfaction of the American people has continued

to mount. Last month saw a dramatic new series of revelations about the CIA and FBI, including the agencies' involvement in plots to assassinate Fidel Castro and Patrice Lumumba; massive disruption efforts against Martin Luther King, civil rights organizations, the antiwar movement, and the Socialist Workers party; and the opening of mail of U.S. citizens, including members of Congress.

These revelations—against which Nixon's plumber operations in the Watergate scandal pale in comparison—again widened the credibility gap of the Nixon-Ford administration and of capitalist rule as a whole.

**F**aced by the revolutionary upsurges in Portugal and Southeast Asia, and the opposition of their own working class to new military adventures abroad, America's billionaires still have one place to turn for help: the Stalinists in Moscow and Peking.

At the 1972 Moscow summit meeting, the Kremlin bureaucrats showed their willingness to betray revolutionary struggles over which they have influence in return for trade concessions. The reception they gave Nixon while his planes bombed Hanoi and Hai-phong dramatized their readiness to put pressure on the Vietnamese to concede at the negotiating table what the Pentagon had been unable to win on the battlefield: preservation of the Thieu regime.

In its current troubles, Washington again looks to the Kremlin. A March 15 editorial of the *New York Times*, for example, was essentially a message from Wall Street to Brezhnev. After citing Moscow's considerable influence over the Portuguese CP, the editorial said: "Together with renewed Communist action in Cambodia and Vietnam, and stepped-up Soviet arms shipments and other pressures in the Middle East, a Communist take-over in Portugal could not fail to bring into serious question what remains of a shaky détente." The message is that if Moscow wants its trade concessions, it had better use its influence to block or divert the mounting revolutionary pressures.

The developments last month in Portugal, the Mideast, and Indochina demonstrate anew the crisis of leadership of the working class internationally. The masses are demonstrating their readiness to take decisive and heroic action against their oppressors. The chief hard cop of world capitalism, U.S. imperialism—although still a mighty counterrevolutionary force—would appreciate more assistance from the chief international soft cop. The Stalinist parties, looked to by workers in many countries, are ready to deceive the masses into granting the imperialists the respite they need.

What is needed is a revolutionary socialist leadership that has the courage to take the leadership of these mass struggles, to take full advantage of such favorable conjunctures of the world situation, and to carry them through to the end, breaking through the confines of the capitalist system. The new revolutionary upsurges bode well for the prospects of building such a revolutionary leadership, which is embodied in the Fourth International and its supporters throughout the world.

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Editor: Caroline Lund

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# BLACK FREEDOM STRUGGLE

## The New Stage

By Tony Thomas

To understand the current stage of the struggle for Black liberation, it is first necessary to look at what causes racism in this country. Why is it that Afro-Americans suffer such sharp forms of oppression? Why is it that in the Black communities the schools are inferior, the housing is inferior? Why is it that police brutality is particularly vented against Black people?

We can see a clue to the answer by looking at who benefits, in the most fundamental sense, from racist oppression. For the capitalist class—that is, the big bankers and corporation owners who control this country—the poverty and discrimination faced by Black people is not a problem and not a bad thing. Rather it is the source of billions of dollars in profit. And it is one of the central means they have used to maintain the social stability that has allowed American imperialism to emerge as the leading capitalist power in the world.

Since the days of slavery, racism has been a major prop of American capitalism, rooted in the profit drive at the center of this economic system. One of the chief functions of racism has been to keep Black people segregated into the position of being a pool of cheap labor.

Modern industrial capitalism permanently needs large numbers of people who can be made to work for

*Tony Thomas is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party and has been a participant in the civil rights and Black liberation struggle since 1966. This article is based on a talk given at the New York regional Socialist Educational Conference March 14.*

low wages and suffer under bad working conditions. Capitalism needs a permanent army of unemployed—workers who can be shifted in and out of jobs according to the chaotic rhythms of this crisis-ridden system.

Racism provides the pretext for separating out a section of the work force to endure this status, supposedly because of their "inferiority." Through racial segregation and discrimination, Afro-Americans are relegated to rotten housing, massive unemployment, inferior schools, and low-paying jobs. Through racism, the heaviest effects of the economic crises of the capitalist system are shoved onto the backs of Black people and other oppressed minorities.

Keeping Afro-Americans in this position is worth billions of dollars to the capitalist class. For example, in 1971 the Federal Reserve System found that the income of all Black people in that year totaled \$46 billion. This was 6.6 percent of the total income for this country, which was \$695.2 billion.

However, Black people in 1971 were not 6.6 percent of the population; they were 11.3 percent, according to the government figures. The difference between 11.3 percent of the total income and the 6.6 percent that Black people got is a cool \$32.6 billion. This flows largely into the coffers of the capitalists, and it is one indication of what they received directly from the oppression of Afro-Americans.

This condition of racist oppression means that Black people are twice as likely as white people to have no jobs at all. Black people are five to six times as likely to be on welfare. We are twice as likely to have unskilled jobs, low-paying jobs, jobs that, in the words of Andrew Brimmer of the Federal Reserve System, have "unpleasant" working conditions and "require much physical strength or long endurance." This is the source of that \$32.6 billion for the capitalists.

Actually this is only a small part of the gross material benefits that the capitalist class receives from

the oppression of Black people. Besides the billions the capitalists receive because of wage differentials, they receive billions more because expenditures for social services—like housing, adequate health facilities, and adequate educational facilities—are not provided in the Black community. Further billions are reaped by the capitalists through the rents that are kept artificially high in the ghettos.

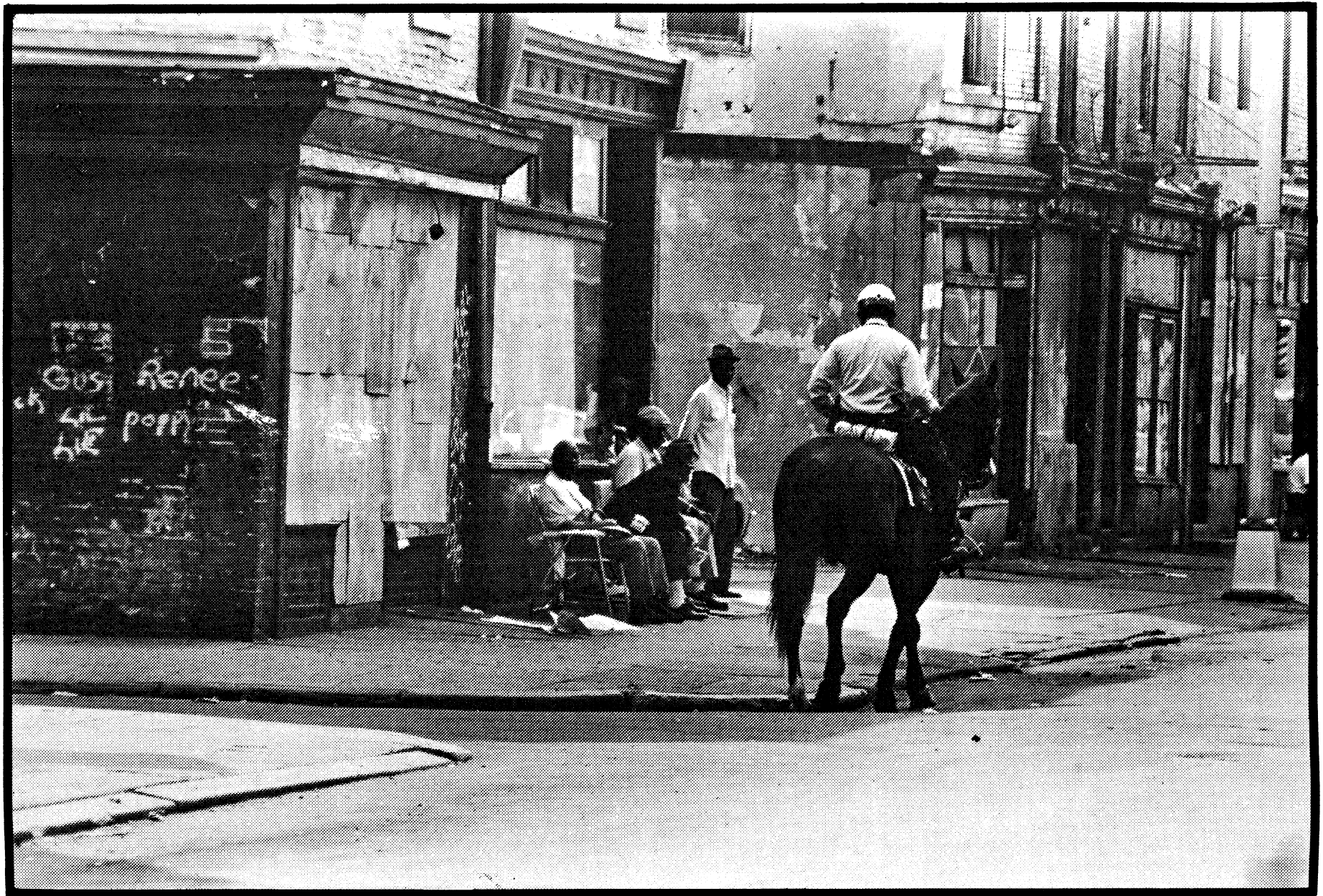
Even this is only part of the picture. In addition, racist oppression has the effect of depressing the wages of all workers, meaning more billions going to profits.

The most important benefit to the capitalist class, however, is not this economic side, but the way racism bolsters capitalist rule as a whole and weakens the defenses of the whole working class. Racism is a powerful tool used to promote reactionary ideology. Throughout its history American capitalism has utilized racism to divide and deceive the working class on the social, economic, and political fronts.

The concentration of the worst aspects of capitalist oppression on Black people and other oppressed nationalities, and the spread of racist ideology to justify this, makes white workers think that the problems they see in the Black community are special to Blacks and that American capitalism will always manage to spare them such problems in their own daily lives.

In times of social crisis as we see today, when the jobs and incomes of white workers are threatened, racism is used to make whites believe that the solution is maintaining their privileges against Blacks, as opposed to fighting against the capitalist class.

All of these things—from the billions of dollars the capitalists reap from the lower wages of Blacks, to the bad social conditions Afro-Americans are forced to live under, to the weakening of the struggles of the working class as a whole—all of this is an essential pillar of



American capitalist rule. It is essential to the U.S. capitalists' maintaining their place as the top imperialist power of the world.

At the same time, it is important to understand that while the oppression of Blacks is rooted in the capitalist system, this oppression is not simply an economic problem that can be resolved by winning economic demands alone.

There is today no special form of economic exploitation that is applied to Blacks—unlike, for example, before the Civil War. At that time there was a special form of exploitation that only Black people suffered under: Blacks were slaves.

Today 90 or 95 percent of Black people are workers. There is no special economic relationship for the exploitation of Blacks; they sell their labor power to the capitalists just as white workers do.

What is responsible for the special oppression and exploitation Black people face as workers is racist discrimination, the national oppression of all Blacks as a people. This is the mechanism that allows for greater economic oppression and exploitation of Blacks as workers.

All manifestations of racism against Black people are related to this social and economic function, not only the economic aspects such as discrimination in housing and jobs. Thus the fight for the democratic right to equality and self-determination has revolutionary implications. Such struggles represent the drive of the Black community to break out of the segregated position that is the basis for the intensified exploitation they face.

Thus the oppression of Black people in this country is basically a combination of two things: the oppression of all Black people as a nationality, as a people, combined with economic exploitation of Blacks, principally as workers. Therefore the Black liberation struggle is a combination of the class struggle, potentially involving all workers, and the national struggle of all Black people, workers and nonworkers.

In this sense, the Black struggle is a classical example of a national liberation struggle, with its own peculiarities. Essentially all national liberation struggles—struggles for national freedom, unity, and power—are a combination of two struggles: a class struggle, and a national struggle for independence and freedom.

For example, the Vietnamese revolution is also a combined revolution. The Vietnamese peasants and workers face class oppression not only by Vietnamese capitalists and landlords, but also by the imperialist corporations that dominate their economy and oppress all classes of Vietnamese. Thus the class struggle of the workers and peasants is colored and shaped by their resistance to national oppression, just as the national liberation struggle is fired by the class aspirations of the workers and peasants, those most oppressed by imperialism.

The Black liberation struggle today is similar in form. Racism and national oppression make up a key factor in keeping down all workers as well as in keeping Black people locked into the position of a source of cheap labor. Thus the liberation struggle of Black people, which takes the form of demanding national equality and self-determination, is most fundamentally a struggle for the social and economic changes needed to liberate the working class, and Black working people in particular, who face intensified exploitation.

In this sense the Black struggle represents the vanguard of the push by the working class of this country to place their hands on the economic resources of society, resources that have been appropriated by the capitalist class for its own uses. This class struggle, this "tug of war," is heightened by the national oppression of Afro-Americans.

Thus the Black struggle is itself a combination of a class struggle and a national struggle. For the same reasons, the socialist revolution in this country will also be a combination of the national struggle of Black people and the struggle of the working class as a whole for power.

As the socialist revolution approaches—that is, as the economic and political difficulties of American capitalism reach the point where the masses of working people begin to move and fight for power—the role of the struggle of Black people against all forms of racism will heighten. In fact, we can say that there will not be an American socialist revolution without this struggle being a key part of the process.

Why is this true? First of all, because Afro-Americans are a sizable, strategically placed section of the working class and the most oppressed part of that class. It is they who feel most sharply the brunt of any social and economic crisis. As part of the sharpening of social crisis, the attacks by the ruling class on Black people are going to increase.

This also means that as the social crisis deepens, racism will be increasingly utilized by the ruling class. The idea is promoted that white people can defend their social position by pushing back the position of Blacks.

We see this today in the school desegregation struggle in Boston. We also see it in the racist approach taken by a section of the trade-union bureaucracy to the problem of unemployment. For example, the construction workers here in New York held a demonstration for jobs recently at which the union officials tried to push the idea that the way to fight unemployment in the industry is by keeping out Black people as well as Black and Hispanic immigrant workers.

The revolutionary socialist road, the working-class road, to Black liberation means making no concessions whatsoever to racist consciousness among whites, even if they happen to be workers or leaders of organizations of the working class.

The effect of racism is to block the social independence of the working class, to prevent working people from seeing that their interests run contrary to the interests of the bosses and that the only way to improve their lives is by refusing to subordinate their interests to those of their enemies, the exploiters.

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### **'New tasks and issues are posed. The Black movement today can make qualitative advances only through measures that challenge the prerogatives and control of resources by the capitalist class.'**

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The essence of racism is to say that the solution to social problems like bad schools and unemployment lies in the direction of maintaining the existing patterns of exploitation and racism set by the capitalist class, rather than in the direction of fighting against the capitalist class for the interest of the workers.

This is why the working class in this country can only triumph to the extent that it fights for the complete liberation of Afro-Americans and other oppressed minorities. That's why the socialist revolution in this country will be a combination, a complete intermixture, of the struggle of Black people and people of other oppressed nationalities, together with the struggle of the working class as a whole.

And history has shown that as the social crisis deepens and the masses of workers begin to see the need for independent action, racist prejudices can be overcome in action.

What does all this mean for the current stage of the Black liberation struggle?

To assess the new situation facing Afro-Americans today, we should begin by stepping back and looking at the stages the Black struggle has gone through in the recent past. A good starting point is the civil rights movement, which culminated in the voting rights and desegregation laws that were passed in 1964 and 1965.

The civil rights movement really began in 1940 and 1941, with the March on Washington Movement that demanded an end to discrimination in employment, especially in the war industries.

This demand for civil rights was an expression, or an outgrowth, of a big change in the situation of the Afro-American people. Through a massive migration, Black people had shifted from being concentrated in rural areas of the so-called Black Belt in the South, to becoming proletarianized as the lowest layer of the working class in the urban centers of the South and the North.

This gave Black people greater social and political power. Hundreds of thousands of Black workers were involved in the upsurge of the CIO and gained confidence in their power to win improvements in their lives.

The March on Washington Movement was led by A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It was an all-Black movement that received important support from unionists and community figures. When President Roosevelt granted some minor concessions toward equal hiring, Randolph called off the march. Nevertheless this movement registered the growing demand of Black people for equal rights.

The ferment aroused by the March on Washington Movement was carried over into opposition to segregation and discrimination in the armed forces and war industries during World War II. In 1943, war-time discrimination and an incident of police brutality against a Black GI set off a rebellion in Harlem in which Black people drove all police out of that community. This wartime struggle also led to concessions toward equality in hiring practices.

However, these were anticipatory developments that were soon overshadowed by the movement that began in the 1950s based on the increased urbanization of Black people and militant ideas flowing from the colonial revolution.

The civil rights movement really got underway with

the 1954 Supreme Court ruling against school segregation. This important ruling reflected the pressure of Black people as well as the pressure of the colonial revolution in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean, where nonwhite peoples were rising up against their colonial oppressors.

The colonial revolution put pressure on the U.S. rulers to try to improve their image in terms of their own imperialist oppression of Black people, most blatantly expressed in school segregation and Jim Crow laws.

The 1954 decision laid the basis for a series of struggles—the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott, the school desegregation struggle in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957, and the struggles demanding voting rights and desegregation of public facilities in the 1960s.

The central aim of these struggles was to end formal, legal segregation, as well as to end the conditions in the South that prevented the mass of Afro-Americans from exercising the right to vote.

Many of the leaders and activists in this movement believed to one degree or another that the civil rights movement, as a kind of movement of moral witness, could change the hearts of the leaders of American imperialism. Many of them also believed that if legal equality could be won, this would open up the door to real social and economic equality for Black people.

The demands of this movement were basically won because of the mass struggle that was waged and in the context of social and economic changes—primarily the urbanization of the South, which made the capitalists more amenable to switching over from Jim Crow to the methods of de facto discrimination, long used in the North.

But Black people found that with the end of Jim Crow laws, the social and economic problems remained unsolved. They found that segregation was no longer on the law books, but it was still there in the real life of the Black community, as it had always been in the North, where segregation by law never existed.

Many people who had been active in the civil rights movement tried to come to grips with this problem by developing the ideology that was first called Black power and later Black nationalism, Pan-Africanism, or just plain Black consciousness. Loosely defined, Black power meant the aspiration that Black people should control their political organizations and fight for community control or self-determination in regard to the cultural, economic, political, and educational life of Black people.

This was an advance in that the new concept did not define Black liberation as simply gaining equal rights to enter and become part of the existing capitalist society. Black power at least posed in an abstract way the idea that Black people should take control of the social and economic resources available to the Black community. However, the supporters of this sentiment were not able to map out a concrete program of action taking into account the totality of social and economic conditions in this country. Black power supporters went many different ways. Some thought a revolution had to happen right away—a sort of instant, short-order revolution. Others thought Black power could be achieved through Black people joining and striving for power in the two capitalist parties.

Despite the lack of a real program, this stage of the Black struggle also won significant victories, both in terms of political consciousness in the Black community and in terms of increased job opportunities, increased admissions of Afro-Americans into universities, and so forth.

However, the weaknesses of the Black movement in these two stages of the struggle were especially revealed as the ruling class began making a series of moves to counter the growing struggle of Black people as it became a threat to the stability of American capitalism.

On the one hand, the ruling class granted many concessions, due to the power of the struggle and the ruling class's fear that refusal to grant concessions would have the effect of pushing Blacks further on the road to political independence.

Secondly, the ruling class moved to co-opt and incorporate in a token way many of the sentiments that Black people were expressing, to try to make it appear that the capitalist system could actually advance some of these aspirations. So we saw the appearance of Black mayors and members of Congress, a Black Supreme Court justice, Black police chiefs and army generals, Black TV personalities, and Blacks in commercials.

Within the Black community, the so-called war on poverty brought large numbers of activists and organizations concerned with community problems under the control of federal, state, and city paymasters.

And those the government couldn't co-opt, they aimed to repress. The more militant groups, like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther party, were systematically framed up or terrorized and massacred through police raids. The government was able to get away with this because the



Panthers had isolated themselves from the Black community through their ultraleft perspective of "picking up the gun."

One of the main results of this ruling-class offensive to push back the Black struggle was the rise of the Black Democrats. Out of this whole process what has occurred is that Black Democrats, who were incorporated more and more into the Democratic party, have become the most important political leadership in the Black community.

They have become the main force attempting to demobilize the struggle. They have become the instrument of the ruling class in telling Black people that mass struggle independent of the capitalist parties is not the task. They say that what we have to do is take the more "sophisticated" approach of doing what "works," that is, relying on the Democratic and Republican politicians.

On the level of action, the Black Democrats can't offer anything to the Black community because they are tied to a capitalist party, primarily the Democratic party, that bases itself on the oppression of Black people. Their role in demobilizing the Black struggle is not something that necessarily flows from personal opportunism, or lack of intelligence, or lack of concern about the condition of Black people. It flows from the fact that the Democratic party is controlled by the capitalist class and its program is to defend capitalism.

To see the limitations this puts on what a Black Democrat can do, just look at the question of unemployment. This is a serious problem in the Black community. Since the Korean War, the level of unemployment among Blacks has been twice as high as for whites, and in times of economic crisis like today, it can become even higher. Among Black people under twenty-five or thirty today, the jobless rate in some cities reaches up to 30, 40, sometimes 50 percent.

A demand that has been raised by the Socialist Workers party, some unions, and some groups in the Black community such as Operation PUSH, is that everyone should be able to have a job who wants a job.

It is clear that this society has the economic capacity to provide such a right. This is especially evident when there is a war on and the capitalists need higher rates of employment for their own purposes.

Technically, it would be easy to provide jobs for all in this country. We could start, for example, by cutting working hours from the current forty hours down to thirty hours, with no cut in pay.

The Black Democratic politicians, you would think, could really profit from raising these demands. They would get an instantaneous response from the thousands of Black unemployed, from other sections of the Black community, from the millions of white unemployed, from the unions, from Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and many others.

Black-led city governments in Detroit, Atlanta, and Los Angeles could implement a cut in the workweek on a local level to spread the work.

But the Black Democrats aren't doing this because they are committed to a party dedicated to the interests of the big corporations and banks that are responsible for, and need, unemployment. The implementation of jobs for all would cut deeply into the capitalists' profits as well as impinging on their right to hire and fire whom they please.

So the Black Democrats limit themselves to minimal programs, like the Urban League's demand for one million more jobs when there are already ten million unemployed.

Since the roots of Black oppression lie in the capitalist system itself, the Black Democrats are incapable of fighting for any types of demands that strike at the heart of the oppression of Black people, that is, at the appropriation of resources by the ruling class away from Afro-Americans and other workers.

In the context of this demobilization of the Black struggle, through the Black community's being saddled with the leadership of the Black Democrats, the ruling class has pushed further in attacking the gains registered during the civil rights and Black power movements.

This campaign is an intensification of the campaign that was raised almost from the beginning of the civil rights movement: the call for "law and order" and against "crime in the streets," or what I like to call the "welfare-Cadillac" syndrome. The basic idea of this reactionary campaign is that the paltry concessions to Afro-Americans and other poor people, such as welfare, are responsible for the high taxes, inflation, and other social problems that working people face.

This campaign is reflected in George Wallace's becoming a national political figure. It is reflected in the strongest way in the racist attacks against busing that began with the bombings of school buses in Pontiac, Michigan, in 1971, and continues today with the racist terror in Boston. This campaign has spawned a new wave of racist attacks by fascist and ultraright groups like the Nazi party and the Ku Klux Klan. The rollback campaign is participated in by liberal and conservative capitalist politicians alike. All



Martha Harris

agree on the racist code words "crime in the streets" or "neighborhood schools."

The attempted rollback comes at this time because of the new stage that the Black struggle has reached, as well as because of the economic crisis we face today. The Black struggle has won formal, legal equality, but this only means that the need for real social equality is posed all the more sharply. There was a saying we used to use in the civil rights movement that expressed this problem. "Now that we've got the right to eat at the lunch counter," we said, "where are we going to get the thirty-five cents to buy a hamburger?"

To take another example, in Boston, Black people have the legal right to go to any school. But Black people have found de facto segregation in Boston to be just as bad as the old Southern "separate but equal" school system. And they are demanding not just a legal right, but actual admittance to those very schools that are used by whites. They are demanding that equality be made real by being able to send their children to the better schools that already exist but were built for whites.

The busing struggles are only the tip of the iceberg. There are also the struggles for Black and Puerto Rican control of their own communities, such as the struggle here in District One. There are the struggles to get Black people into construction and other jobs being waged here in New York by Black Economic Survival and Fightback. There are fights to open up decent housing to Black people such as the one being waged in the West Englewood section of Chicago.

These struggles are demanding social and economic resources, demanding that these resources be taken out of the areas where the capitalists have put them and be used to better the actual conditions that Afro-Americans live under. These struggles go in the direction of demanding the \$32.6 billion taken from Black people through racist discrimination, and the other billions lost through bad schools, bad housing, bad health facilities, and so forth.

The logic of the Black struggle today is one that the ruling class cannot tolerate. It is a challenge to the social and economic underpinnings of American capitalism. The rulers feel the necessity of pushing back harder against the gains made by Black people.

So we face today a new phase of the Afro-American struggle.

Legal, civil rights have been won, at least in form, if not in content. Black consciousness has been established in the minds of large sections of the Black community. The right of Black people to control their own organizations, to study their own history, and so forth, is much more accepted.

In addition, we are now in a period when the world capitalist system, and American capitalism in particular, is racked by inflation, massive unemployment, and major cutbacks of social expenditures. This is unlike the period of economic boom that lasted from the 1940s until the late 1960s. This means that the question of fighting for social and economic resources for the Black community is higher on the agenda than during the civil rights or Black power phases.

We face a struggle in which new tasks and issues are posed. The Black movement today can only make qualitative advances through measures that challenge the prerogatives and control of resources by the capitalist class.

Such advances will require political independence from the capitalist rulers. Decent jobs, housing, and schools for Black people will not be won without bursting through the obstacle that the Democratic party represents for the Black struggle.

One step in this direction would be the formation of an independent Black political party. Another possible step on this road might be the establishment of a labor

party based on the trade unions. The ultimate aim must be the building of a mass multinational revolutionary socialist workers party with the allegiance of the masses of Black people and of other workers.

Such a party could take the political power and wealth out of the hands of the capitalist class. It could take back that \$32.6 billion stolen from Blacks through racist oppression, as well as the thousands of billions more stolen from all workers through the wage system, and put this wealth at the service of the needs of the majority.

All of these things—a mass break by Black people and working people from the Democratic and Republican parties, jobs for all, socialist revolution—may seem like big tasks from where we are today. They are. How can we get from where we are today to these goals?

A good starting point is the struggle to defend the Black community in Boston against the racist antibusing campaign. This antibusing campaign is today the sharpest attack in the overall assault by the ruling class to push back the Black community, to demoralize Black people, to make Black people think that they cannot even defend their existing rights, much less push forward.

This attack has prompted one of the most important attempts by the Black community, students, trade unionists, and others to fight back. A mass mobilization has been called for May 17 in Boston by the NAACP and is supported by many other individuals and organizations. This type of mass-action campaign to fight back against the racists in Boston is exactly the type of independent political action that is needed for the working masses and the Black community in this country to move forward, to defend their living standards, and to win real equality.

It is the opposite of the perspective of relying on Black Democrats to maneuver for concessions within the framework of the capitalist system. Such mass action summons Blacks and other working people to rely on their own power, to take matters into their own hands, to raise their own demands, to take action every time the capitalist class attacks us, to fight to defend our rights.

But as those of us who have been active in the Black liberation movement or other struggles know, it is not simply action that leads the struggle forward. Also necessary is political leadership. Key to moving forward is building a leadership that understands the interrelationship between capitalism and Black oppression, between Black liberation and socialism. A leadership that can connect the day-to-day struggles for specific demands with the need for political independence from the capitalist class and the need for mass action, up to the final action by the masses of working people to take control of their own destinies through socialist revolution.

This is what the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance are all about. That is why the SWP and YSA are in the forefront of the struggle to defend the Black community in Boston. That is why in Chicago the SWP is a supporter of the fight against the Nazis and other racists who are attempting to prevent Black families from moving into the West Englewood section of the city. That's why the SWP candidates for president and vice-president in 1976, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, have been campaigning throughout the country to build the May 17 march on Boston and other actions against racism and exploitation.

We are involved in such actions because we see that it is through such day-to-day struggles that the fight for Black liberation and for socialism is being waged today.

# The Fight for Academic Freedom

By Morris Starsky

The Bill of Rights puts forward the right of free speech and assembly for all. Yet for one category of citizens—teachers, professors, and other government employees—the right of free speech has been consistently infringed upon in this country.

There are no federal or state laws that protect the right to academic freedom, even though the educational arena is obviously a place where the free interchange of ideas is of the greatest importance.

To the contrary, the laws of this country have traditionally rejected the right of academic freedom, based on the assumption that loyalty to the ideas and values of the ruling capitalist class is a condition of employment in the educational system.

However, in the wake of the civil rights movement and antiwar movement of the 1960s, and the radicalization in society as a whole, major victories for academic freedom have been won. The courts have felt compelled to recognize a degree of academic freedom as an extension of the constitutional rights of teachers.

This article will concentrate on the emerging gains for academic freedom of college and university teachers, although important developments have also occurred in regard to the rights of primary and secondary school teachers as well as students.

When the concept of academic freedom was brought to the United States by Americans studying in Germany in the late nineteenth century, it had no legal status. Teachers at all levels of education had been fired since before the first American revolution for taking stands on controversial theological or political issues in or out of the classroom.

The nineteenth-century German concept of academic freedom included *Lehrfreiheit* (freedom to teach) and *Lehrnfreiheit* (freedom to learn). These recognized the right of professors to absolute freedom of speech in the classroom, and the right of students to move freely between universities and follow their own course of study.

The argument used to rationalize the restrictions on academic freedom in the United States up until 1967 was that all government employment was a "privilege," subject to whatever conditions the government wanted to impose.

This "privilege" doctrine was clearly formulated by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, then a member of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, in 1892: "The petitioner may have a constitutional right to talk politics, but he has no constitutional right to be a policeman." As applied to teachers, the doctrine was used by the courts to strip them of their First Amendment right to free speech as a condition of employment.

Defense of academic freedom became a focus of political activity around the

turn of the century. Under the impact of the radicalization that took place at that time, several prominent professors were fired for expressing radical and socialist ideas.

One of the responses to the political firings of professors around the turn of the century was the formation of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP). It was originally an elitist organization whose founding members included the aristocracy of the teaching profession. At the outset, it rejected the concept of absolute free speech for professors in the classroom. It did, however, assert and defend the right of professors to make public statements on political issues without reprisal.

Loyalty to ruling-class ideas and government policies became an explicit condition of employment after World War I when the Palmer raids and witch-hunt began. The use of affirmative "loyalty" oaths, oaths disclaiming "subversive" ideas or membership in "illegal" organizations, and affidavits listing political affiliations to screen potential dissidents from academic employment reached its peak during the McCarthy period in the 1950s.

In the twenty-year period from the beginning of the cold war after World War II until the first legal victories for academic freedom in the 1960s, countless teachers were fired, disqualified from their jobs, or hounded out of teaching because they refused to sign a "loyalty" oath, because they were affiliated with an organization defined as "subversive," or because they refused to submit to the probing of their political ideas or associations.

Administrators and governing boards not only had the power to remove teachers whose ideas they didn't like; they could do it without even a hearing, unless the teacher had statutory tenure requiring one. In addition, they had the power to impose "loyalty" oaths and to subject teachers to political inquisitions.

The concept of government employment as a "privilege" was reaffirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court as recently as 1952 in the case *Adler v. Board of Education*. In that decision the Court upheld New York State's notorious anticommunist Feinberg Law, under which membership in an organization on a list drawn up by the board of regents constituted prima facie evidence of being unfit to teach.

With twisted logic, the court claimed that this law did not limit the rights of free speech and association but only put a limitation on the freedom of choice between membership in the proscribed organizations and employment in the school system! This was justified on the basis of the state's "police power to protect the schools from pollution and thereby to defend its own existence."

This decision employed the witch-hunt tactic of criminalizing political opposition and thus turning the victims of political repression into criminals.

With the radicalization of the 1960s, however, it became increasingly diffi-





cult to use the old, crude ways of weeding out teachers who opposed capitalist ideas or policies. By 1967 the political climate in this country had so changed that the Supreme Court felt forced to do an about-face.

In that year, a group of professors, under the impact of the campus radicalization and the weakening of anticommunist ideology, took on New York's Feinberg Law. The outcome of this case, *Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, was a defeat for the Feinberg Law and a major legal victory for the rights of teachers—and of their students. The Supreme Court repudiated the principle that "public employment, including academic employment, may be conditioned upon the surrender of constitutional rights which could not be abridged by direct government action."

The decision also stripped the Feinberg Law of its provisions for firing teachers who utter "treasonable" or "seditious" words.

One year later, the Supreme Court tried to find a formula for appearing to continue extending the democratic rights of teachers while preserving the prerogatives of capitalist control over educational institutions.

In *Pickering v. Board of Education*, the court adopted a "balancing test" to determine whether a fired teacher's right of free speech "outweighs" the government's interest in the efficient operation of its school system.

While the teacher involved in this case was reinstated, the *Pickering* decision was only a qualified victory because it provided administrators and governing boards with a rationale for firing teachers that would be acceptable to the courts. The "balancing" test is a dangerous restriction on academic freedom, one that places the interests served by the educational system above the democratic rights of teachers and students.

Two important cases involving academic freedom came before the Supreme Court in 1972, *Perry v. Sinderman* and *Board of Regents v. Roth*. In these cases the court reaffirmed the principle it had recognized in 1967, that a teacher may not be dismissed for exercising constitutionally protected rights. This principle was applied to all teachers employed by the state, including those with probationary status.

These rulings mean that any teacher who believes he or she has been fired for exercising their constitutional rights can sue the school officials or governing board and force them to produce reasons for the dismissal. The court, in such cases, has the power to go beyond the reason given by the authorities to determine the "real" reasons for the dismissal.

The turning point for the demise of "loyalty" oaths and membership disclaimers came in 1960, with the case *Shelton v. Tucker*. The case involved an Arkansas law requiring all teachers to file a yearly affidavit listing every organization the teacher belonged to or contributed to in the past five years. The law was aimed at the NAACP, which was then involved in the desegregation struggle in Little Rock.

The impact of the civil rights movement was clear when the Supreme Court held that the Arkansas law infringed on the First Amendment right to freedom of association.

In 1961 and 1964 the court struck down loyalty oaths in Florida and Washington State. In Washington, teachers had been forced to swear that "they will by precept and example promote respect for the flag and the institutions of the United States of America and the State of Washington, reverence for law and order and undivided allegiance to the government of the United States."

The case that pretty much finished the disclaimer form of "loyalty" oath was *Elfbrandt v. Russell* in 1966. The Elfbrandts, a Quaker couple, refused to sign an Arizona oath carrying with it the threat of a perjury conviction for advocating the violent overthrow of the government, or knowingly joining or remaining in the Communist party or any other organization having for its purpose the violent overthrow of the government.

The Supreme Court found the Arizona law unconstitutional on the grounds that it presumed "guilt" on the basis of mere membership in an organization. The Court again employed its devious logic to say that a distinction had to be made between "innocent" membership and membership with the *specific intent* of furthering the "illegal" aims of an organization.

The *Elfbrandt* decision shows that the Supreme Court is losing ground in its reactionary attempts to maintain the concept of an "illegal" political organization. The addition of the "specific intent" requirement for "guilty" membership in such an organization significantly undermines the effect of the membership disclaimer oaths, since it is obviously hard to prove "specific intent" to do anything.

By a quirk in the Arizona laws, the Elfbrandts were permitted to continue teaching while their case was pending in the courts, but they were legally prevented from receiving a salary until their rights were recognized. An effective defense committee was organized to pay their legal expenses, to sustain them personally for many years, and to

publicize and gain support for the case.

A standard form of "loyalty" screening during the McCarthy period was political interrogation by school authorities or by a legislative witch-hunt committee. Dismissal for refusing to answer a witch-hunt committee's questions was decisively invalidated by the Supreme Court in the case *Gardner v. Broderick* in 1968.

Refusal to answer a school official's political questions remains a potential, but now largely unused, basis for dismissal.

Just last year Glenn Dumke, chancellor of the California State Universities and Colleges, declared that "... it is very hard to get rid of a professor once he has tenure. ..." He "saw nothing wrong with a public institution asking a prospective faculty member if he thought *the social order which created the institution and which the institution represents was workable and worth saving.*" (Emphasis added.)

Some universities, such as the University of California, had specific regulations excluding members of the Communist party from academic employment. In 1969 Angela Davis was fired from UCLA on the grounds that she was an admitted member of the Communist party.

The Superior Court in Los Angeles found the regulations under which she was fired unconstitutional and ordered the regents to reinstate her. The case was appealed up to the California Supreme Court, which in a strongly worded decision upheld the original court order reinstating Davis to the UCLA faculty (*Regents of the University of California v. Superior Court of Los Angeles County*, 1970).

As we have seen, there have been significant legal victories for academic freedom in the wake of the current radicalization. But legal victories alone will not bring about genuine academic freedom.

Genuine academic freedom presupposes social institutions that serve the interests of the majority. The present educational system can serve those interests only in a limited way. The system is set up to serve the interests of a small minority. From kindergarten to graduate school, the educational system is run in such a way as to promote the ideas, values, and interests of the capitalist class.

It conceals the real history of the working class, of women, and of the oppressed nationalities. It perverts science into service of the war machine. It distorts and suppresses the truth in order to uphold and maintain the capitalist system.

It discriminates against women and

oppressed nationalities both as students and teachers. It perpetuates the sexist myths used to justify the oppression of women.

Attacks on academic freedom occur when teachers begin to question the policies of the educational institution or the social order that created it and that it serves. The purpose of such attacks on academic freedom is to prevent socialist and other dissident points of view from gaining adherents.

The right to academic freedom, although broader now than ever, is still quite limited. Teachers do not have the legal right to introduce "controversial" material that is not related to the course into the classroom.

Although "loyalty" oaths and screening requirements have become legally ineffective, there is still the threat of being fired for belonging to an "illegal" political organization. Some states have their own versions of the federal Hatch Act, which restrict the rights of teachers and other government employees to engage in political activity.

Teachers in many states do not have the legal right to strike, let alone to enter into a collective bargaining contract with the governing board. Cops, FBI agents, informers, and their ilk still infest the campuses. Teachers are not protected from attempts by FBI "counterintelligence programs" to get them fired.

There is a great deal that can be done today to defend and extend academic freedom. With the Watergate scandal and the continuing exposures of the illegal activities of the CIA and FBI, it has become difficult for the educational institutions to preserve the appearance of legitimacy in attempting to deprive teachers of their rights.

The "subversive" labels and the conjured-up atmosphere of witch-hunt hysteria do not work anymore. In fact, they have the opposite effect.

The government has failed in successive frame-up trials to convince most people that antiwar activists, Black liberation fighters, and other radicals are "criminals." It is difficult for the educational authorities to attack the freedoms of "subversives" when the government stands more and more exposed as the real subversive, the real threat to the democratic rights of everyone.

As Noam Chomsky has pointed out in his article "The Responsibility of Intellectuals," the moral obligation of teachers includes telling the truth and providing students with the intellectual means of defending themselves from government lies. It also includes fighting for the right to do so.

## About The Author

The author of the accompanying article has personally been in the thick of a fight for academic freedom for the past five years.

It all began in 1970, when Dr. Morris Starsky was denied renewal of his contract as a tenured professor at Arizona State University (ASU). The regents made their decision over the objections of the ASU president and Faculty Senate. Three thousand students signed a petition in protest.

The charges were unprofessional conduct and violations of discipline, but all the allegations against Starsky revolved around his role as a political activist. Starsky was a leader of the antiwar movement at ASU, and he had helped found a campus local of the American Federation of Teachers. He

was faculty adviser for the Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, and other groups even if he disagreed with their views. In 1968 Starsky served as an Arizona elector for the Socialist Workers party presidential ticket and later he joined the SWP.

Starsky filed suit to get his job back and has been fighting ever since for his right to teach. As his ASU case proceeded through the courts, Starsky faced new political harassment in subsequent appointments to teaching positions at San Diego State College and California State College in Dominguez Hills. After a separate court fight, the California Court of Appeals in 1973 awarded him damages and reinstatement as chairman of the philosophy department at Dominguez Hills.

Last month Starsky won another victory when a federal appeals court in San Francisco reaffirmed a 1973 lower court ruling that his termination from ASU was unconstitutional. There still remain secondary legal questions to be determined, however, in regard to his right to reinstatement and damages.

In January of this year the Starsky case took on a new dimension. The socialist professor obtained documents under the Freedom of Information Act showing that an FBI "counterintelligence program" (Cointelpro) was at least partly responsible for the witch-hunt campaign that had resulted in his losing three teaching posts.

Among the documents was a copy of a slanderous, anonymous letter sent by the FBI to members of the faculty committee at ASU in an effort to get Starsky fired.

Starsky's case is related to a broader suit that he is involved in as a member of the Socialist Workers party. The SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance have brought a \$27 million suit against the government demanding an end to all surveillance and harassment of dissidents.

This suit has already won one victory that holds implications for academic freedom. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall prohibited the FBI from turning over to government employers the names of teachers and other govern-

ment employees who attended the December convention of the YSA.

The FBI's campaign against Starsky is obviously not an exception but reflective of the kind of secret-police tactics that are being used against teachers of many different political viewpoints.

This was immediately recognized by William Van Alstyne, president of the American Association of University Professors, who issued a statement demanding the firing of all FBI employees connected with the persecution of Starsky.

Van Alstyne also wrote to Attorney General William Saxbe, saying that "in behalf of the 85,000 members of the AAUP I cannot escape my own responsibility as President of that Association—to ask you directly to advise us of appropriate and enforceable assurances that have been (or will be) taken that the F.B.I. will be controlled in a manner precluding the possibility of such abuses in the future."

# Socialism in America

## A Dialogue Between an American Engineer and a Soviet Engineer

### Written by Leon Trotsky in 1934

"Don't you think our NRA<sup>1</sup> is laying the groundwork for your kind of soviets?"<sup>2</sup>

Coming from Cooper, the question struck Troshin as strange. The ship was rolling hard, and Troshin was not at all in his best spirits. The almost imperceptible irony in Cooper's voice annoyed him a little, and he replied with some irritation, "When you decide to go in for soviets, I advise you to work out your own standards for them; ours won't suit you."

They were both engineers, and there was a bond between them, if not of friendship then of amicable relations that went back to the time during the war when Troshin, a true-born Muscovite, worked in factories in Chicago as an emigrant.

Cooper, of pure Yankee stock, was already in his fourth year of Soviet service.<sup>3</sup> Now both were en route to America as members of a trade commission.

Each respected the other's knowledge, experience, and talent, but each also saw the other's faults. To Cooper, Troshin appeared to be a technological dreamer and a bit of a dilettante; to Troshin, Cooper seemed a hidebound empiricist.

They argued often but never ventured into the sphere of politics, partly out of tact, partly out of caution. During the first three days of their ocean voyage their conversations flowed along the customary channels. When they were not trading shipboard impressions, they discussed the orders they would soon be placing in America. Cooper for the hundred-and-first time accused Troshin of a barbaric passion for "gigantism," while Troshin retorted in the same vein that the wings of the American technological mind had been neatly clipped by the crisis.

Only on the fourth day, after he finished reading a book on the NRA that he had taken along for the trip, did Cooper ask the unexpected question about soviets in America. Perhaps the nearness of his native shores loosened his tongue.

"American soviets," Troshin continued a little more amiably, "will differ from the Russian soviets as much as the United States of Roosevelt differs from the Russia of Nicholas II. Of course, that's if you will grant me the assumption that soviets will someday

1. The National Recovery Administration (NRA) was set up in 1933 as a New Deal agency for preparing and enforcing codes of practice for business and industry. While it established a minimum wage and maximum hours and supported the right of workers to join a union, it was primarily an aid to business in that it allowed member firms to set standards of quality and price floors. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled the NRA unconstitutional in May, 1935. The NRA's symbol was a blue eagle, which is referred to later in this article.

2. Soviet is the Russian word for council. The soviets that arose in the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917 were democratic bodies representing the workers, soldiers, and peasants.

3. Soviet service refers to a period of work under contract in the Soviet Union. In its great need for technological skills, the Soviet government in its early years hired many technicians from Europe and the United States. These skilled workers were not necessarily sympathizers with the Russian Revolution; many simply could not find as good a job in their own country because of the economic crisis, while others took Soviet jobs out of a sense of adventure or curiosity.



Mural by Diego Rivera depicting conditions during the Great Depression in the United States

spring up in America."

"Suppose we make such a fantastic assumption. How do you envisage the rise of soviets among us? What would they look like? And how are we Yankees—me, for example—going to be comfortable on this Procrustean bed?"

"Soviet America can only come into being the way America became independent and democratic—through revolution. Quite a lot of crockery will get broken in the process; that's the American temperament. I think, Cooper, that you yourself would participate in the fight very energetically, although I'm not quite sure on which side."

"Is that unbelievably presumptuous remark supposed to mean that you think I have no principles?"

"Oh, why put it so harshly—you naturally consider yourself a staunch individualist. But the enormous energy you put into your work in Soviet industry—I won't say anything about your talent—was that of a sportsman, not a specialist. (I won't rub it in by calling you an enthusiast.) Who can tell what tricks your temperament and your empiricism will play when great events break. One thing is certain: you'll be smashing dishes along with the rest."

"But the overhead costs of your revolution will be totally insignificant compared with ours, at least in percentages if not in absolute terms. You look surprised? After all, my friend, civil wars aren't fought by the top 5 or 10

percent who control 90 percent of the national wealth; there aren't enough of them, and besides, they love their comfort too much."

"The counterrevolution can only raise its army from the lower middle class. But your farmers and your small shopkeepers in the cities would support the revolution too if it could show them the way out of their problems."

"The present crisis has brought terrible devastation to all the intermediate layers. It has dealt a crushing blow to farming, which was already in trouble for a decade before. You can hardly expect serious political resistance to the revolution on the part of these classes who, unfortunately, have nothing to lose. Of course that's assuming that the new regime would adopt a sensible and farsighted economic policy toward them."

"Once the soviet government was firmly in possession of the commanding heights of the economy—the banks, the basic branches of industry, transport—it would give the farmers and the small manufacturers and traders plenty of time to think things over and come to a decision. The rest would depend on the successes of the nationalized industry."

"And here, Cooper, I expect real miracles from you. 'Technocracy'<sup>4</sup> can become a reality only under a soviet regime, when the barriers of private property are removed. The most daring proposals of the Hoover commission<sup>5</sup> for standardization and rationalization will seem childish compared with the

new possibilities. National industry would be organized on the model of the assembly-line system; that is, planning would be extended from the individual factory level to the economy as a whole."

"You could cut production costs in half or even to a fifth of what they are now. There would be a big and rapid increase in the purchasing power of the farmer's dollar. That would be enough for a start."

"But the soviets would also create their own model agricultural enterprises on a gigantic scale, as schools of voluntary collectivization. Your farmers are excellent calculators, if not statisticians. In time they would see how the accounts balance out: whether to remain as an isolated link or to join the public chain."

"At the same time, the soviets would make plenty of room in their industrial plan for all the viable medium-sized and small businesses. The government, the local soviets, and the cooperatives would make sure they got a guaranteed quota of orders, the credit they needed,

4. "Technocracy" was a program and movement that arose in the early years of the depression in the United States, particularly in the middle class. It proposed to overcome the depression and bring about full employment by rationalizing the economy under the control of engineers and technical experts—all without class struggle or revolution.

5. Herbert Hoover, Roosevelt's Republican predecessor as president of the United States.



and raw materials. Gradually, and without any compulsion, they would be drawn into the orbit of the socialized economy.

"In the United States it will be possible to fully apply those educational methods for influencing the middle classes that proved to be beyond the reach of the soviets of our backward country with its semipauperized and illiterate peasant majority. I don't have to explain the benefits that would flow from that: your development will be smoother, the overhead costs of social conflict would be reduced, and the tempo of cultural growth increased."

"Aren't you forgetting how religious we Anglo-Saxons are? That's the most important bulwark of social conservatism."

"Look, Cooper, you can't talk about doing anything on the basis of mutually contradictory assumptions. If we are going to talk about what American soviets would be like, you have to start from the assumption that the pressure of the social crisis will prove to be more powerful than all the psychological brakes. This has been demonstrated more than once in history. Some of the brakes will be burned out quickly; others will be reshaped to fit new circumstances. Don't forget that the Gospels themselves contain some pretty explosive maxims."

"And what would you do, I'd like to know, with the big shots of our capitalist world?"

"I would trust to your inventiveness, Cooper. It may well be that you would give those who refuse to make their peace with the new system a picturesque island somewhere, with lifelong pension payments, and let them live there as they wished."

"You're awfully generous, Troshin!"

"It's my weakness, Cooper."

"But you don't seem to take into account the possibility of military intervention. That could certainly lead to a big increase in the 'overhead costs' of a soviet revolution."

"Or do you imagine, maybe, my optimistic friend, that Japan, Great Britain, and the other capitalist countries would sit quietly by and accept a soviet overturn in America?"

"What else could they do, Cooper? The United States is the most powerful fortress of capitalism. Once you grant, at least in theory, such a deepening of the social crisis as would be needed for the establishment of soviets in the United States, then you have to grant that similar processes would be taking place in other countries as well."

"In all probability semifeudal Japan would drop out of the ranks of world capitalism even before the establishment of soviets in America. The same prognosis has to be extended to Great Britain—but in any case the idea of sending His British Majesty's fleet against a soviet America would be crazy."

"As for the idea of landing an expeditionary force on the southern half of the continent? It would be a hopeless undertaking and would never become more than a second-rate military escapade."

"Within a few months, or maybe even weeks, after you established a soviet regime—think about this, Cooper—the governments of Central and South America would be pulled into your federation like iron filings to a magnet. The same with Canada. The movements of the masses in these countries would be so irresistible they would accomplish this great unifying process in short order and with insignificant sacrifices."

"I'm ready to bet that the first anniversary of the inception of the first American soviet would find your hemisphere transformed into the Soviet United States of North, Central, and South America. Then you'd see the realization of the Monroe Doctrine, although not the way it was foreseen by

its author. You'd have to move your capital to Panama."

"Is that so? But you haven't answered my question about Roosevelt. Is he laying the groundwork for soviets, or not?"

"You're more perceptive than to ask a question like that, Cooper. The NRA is aimed at overcoming difficulties. It's supposed to strengthen the foundations of the capitalist system, not destroy them. Your Blue Eagle isn't going to give birth to soviets. On the contrary, it will be the difficulties the bird is too weak to overcome which will do that."

"Even the most 'leftist' of the professors in your Brain Trust<sup>6</sup> aren't revolutionists; they're only frightened conservatives. Your president abhors 'systems' and 'generalities.' But a soviet government is the greatest of all possible systems, a gigantic generality in action."

"Pretty good. So far you've managed to happily transform the whole character of the New World from Alaska to Cape Horn; you've guaranteed our international security, and changed the location of our capital."

"Before I thank you for this labor of Hercules, I would like to know what will happen to me, engineer Cooper."

"I just happen to be accustomed to roast beef, a cigar, and my own car. When you get done with all this am I going to end up on famine rations, having to wear mismatched shoes that don't fit, read monotonous stereotyped propaganda in the one newspaper that will be left, elect hand-picked candidates in soviets chosen at the top, rubber-stamp decisions made without my participation, keep my real thoughts to myself, and sing praises every day to the Leader fate has sent me, from fear of being arrested and shipped off somewhere?"

"If that's what you have in mind, I'm telling you now you can have my ticket to paradise. I'll take my chances on one of those islands in the Pacific you've been so kind as to set aside for the dying race of individualists."

"Don't be in such a rush to take refuge on an island, Cooper. You'd die of boredom there. How could you end up on famine rations when you eat the way you do today despite the fact that your system has been compelled to artificially restrict the area under cultivation and the scope of production?"

"For almost two decades now, we in Russia have had to build the basic branches of industry almost from scratch. In your America the problem is just the opposite. The powerful technological resources already exist, but they stand paralyzed by the crisis and clamor to be put to use."

"Our continuing successes in laying the foundations of a planned economy have been made at the expense of the day-to-day consumption of the masses. Your problem, on the contrary, is to plan the revival of an already existing economy, and this must take the rapid growth of consumption by the people as the point of departure from the very beginning."

"Nowhere else has the study of the internal market been carried so far as in the United States. This has been done by your banks, trusts, individual businessmen, merchants, traveling salesmen, and farmers."

"A soviet government would begin by doing away with trade secrets; it would combine and generalize the capitalist methods of calculation, transforming them into methods of overall economic accounting and planning."

"On the other hand, your sophisticated and critical consumers wouldn't tolerate any sign of indifference toward their needs. A flexible system for serving the needs of the population would be guaranteed by a combination of democratically controlled coopera-

*Continued on next page*

6. The "Brain Trust" was the popular name for Roosevelt's advisers in the White House.

# About This Article

By George Breitman

Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) was coleader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution that established the first workers state in 1917. He was founder in 1923 of the Left Opposition, which fought against the rise of the Stalinist dictatorship, and a founder of the Fourth International in 1938.

Trotsky was a revolutionist of many talents: theoretician, military commander, organizer, orator, diplomat, historian, social and cultural critic, and one of the best writers of the century.

Except for the twelve years between the 1917 revolution and his forcible deportation from the Soviet Union by Stalin in 1929, Trotsky earned his living as a writer. In fact, his income from this source after 1929 even enabled him to make financial contributions to the *Militant* in the United States and other struggling newspapers of the International Left Opposition in its earliest years.

Besides such books as *My Life*, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, and *The Revolution Betrayed*, which were issued by big capitalist publishing firms in this and other countries outside of the Soviet Union, he also wrote scores of articles for mass-circulation magazines and newspapers.

The following article is one that Trotsky wrote August 17, 1934, for a popular American magazine of the time, *Liberty*, but it has never before appeared in print in the form that Trotsky wrote it. The editors of *Liberty* had asked Trotsky to write, in the form of a dialogue between an American and a Soviet citizen, about the possibility of a social revolution in the United States and the kind of society it would produce. Trotsky, then living incognito in a French Alpine village, liked the idea because it gave him elbow room to expound many of his ideas about both American capitalism and the Soviet Union.

But after the article had been translated by John G. Wright and submitted by Trotsky's literary agent to *Liberty*, its editors changed their minds about the dialogue form of the article and revised it considerably.

Trotsky's American associates approved the revision because it did not distort Trotsky's political points, and it was ultimately printed in the March 23, 1935, issue of *Liberty* under the title "If America Should Go Communist."

Accompanying the article was an injunction from the editors: "Don't believe a word of this! Read the reply of former Secretary of Labor Davis next week." In this form the article was printed in *Writings of Leon Trotsky* (1934-35), Pathfinder Press, 1971.

Last summer John G. Wright's translation of the original article was found in the papers of James P. Cannon shortly after the latter's death in Los Angeles. George Saunders has checked that 1934 translation against the Russian original at Harvard College Library and has made a few stylistic changes. The original bears the title "Soviets in America?" It is printed here by permission of Pathfinder Press, which will include it in a forthcoming volume of its *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series.

*George Breitman is a coeditor of the Writings of Leon Trotsky [1929-1940], a series of volumes being published by Pathfinder Press.*

The questions the conservative *Liberty* editors asked Trotsky to write about do not seem so surprising if the background of the time is recalled. Nineteen thirty-four was the fifth year of the Great Depression throughout the capitalist world; an estimated thirteen million workers were unemployed, millions of farmers had been driven from their land, millions of small businessmen ruined.

It was the second year of the New Deal administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic savior of American capitalism, whose moderate reform measures were being hysterically reviled by his right-wing critics as steps in a conspiracy to "sovietize" America.

A partial revival of the economy was beginning, thanks in part to Roosevelt's "pump priming." One consequence was that the American workers, who had been atomized and disoriented by the depression while the economy was getting worse, now began to stir again. It was the year of the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite strike, the Minneapolis Teamsters strike, and the San Francisco Longshore strike, which paved the way for the later emergence of the CIO.

Mass radicalization was taking place, in some ways more deeply rooted than the earlier transformation of mass consciousness that had occurred in the time of Eugene V. Debs, and questions about revolution and fundamental social change were in the air even though they weren't usually well formulated.

A further stimulus to discussion of such questions was growing curiosity about the Soviet Union. The American people knew that a revolution had taken place in Russia in 1917, but they did not have much reliable information about what had happened subsequently; the American press had fed them virtually nothing but horror stories and anti-Soviet propaganda until November, 1933, when the Roosevelt administration finally—after sixteen years—"recognized" the Soviet regime.

Trotsky sought to satisfy this curiosity of his American popular audience in such a way as to develop sympathy for the "Soviet experiment" but without covering up the poverty and shortcomings of the new regime or the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

While emphasizing the positive features of postcapitalist Russia, he understood then what is still true today—that Americans are not going to be won to the cause of revolutionary socialism by those who apologize for and deny the retrogressive aspects of postcapitalist systems distorted or deformed by Stalinism.

The article is also relevant today because economic crisis and unemployment are again accentuating the contradictions of the capitalist system in ways that are reminiscent of the thirties. Polls show that proposals for nationalization—of the energy industries, the railroads, health care—are receiving serious mass consideration, and debate is resuming over the merits of socialism and the possibility of achieving it on a nonbureaucratic basis. Trotsky's forty-year-old article remains a useful contribution to this discussion.

tives, a network of state stores, and private trade outlets. Don't worry about your roast beef, Cooper. You'll get it whenever you want."

"After I get three different bureaucrats to approve my requisition?"

"No, you'll use hard cash. The dollar, you see, will be the basic regulator of this soviet economy. It's a big mistake to see the use of money as incompatible with a planned economy."

"Managed money"—if your radical professors will forgive me—is an academic fiction. Arbitrary changes of currency value inevitably lead to the disruption of internal coordination in all branches of the economy. This kind of dislocation, being molecular in character, deforms the most profound, the innermost processes in production and distribution."

"But in the Soviet Union—!"

"Unfortunately with us a bitter necessity has been converted into an official virtue. The lack of a stable gold ruble is an important cause of the many troubles and weaknesses of our economy. Without a stable currency, how can you even think of really regulating wages, the prices of basic necessities, and quality control?"

"An unstable ruble in a planned economy is like having different-sized molds for the same part in assembly-line production."

"Of course, after the socialist regime becomes experienced enough to keep the economy in balance through administrative technique alone, money will lose its meaning as an economic regulator. Then money will become simply coupons, like bus or theater tickets."

"As social wealth grows the need for these coupons will also disappear. You won't have to control individual consumption when there is more than enough of everything for everybody. America will certainly reach that level before any other country does."

"But you can't get to the stage of a moneyless economy without first assuring the dynamic equilibrium and harmonious growth of all social functions. That's a big job and it can't be done solely through administrative pressure and radio pep talks."

"In its initial stages—that is, for a certain number of years—the planned economy needs a stable currency even more than liberal capitalism did. Trying to regulate the economy by meddling with the currency is like trying to lift both feet off the ground at the same time—"

"Troshin, are you making insinuations about our monetary policy?"

"I'm not making any insinuations. I'm only saying that soviet America will have a big enough gold reserve to ensure a stable dollar. What a priceless asset, Cooper."

"You know that our economy has been growing at 20 to 30 percent a year. But you also know about the weak side of this unprecedented growth rate: The real economic growth does not correspond to the figures given for gains in production and technology. One reason for that disproportion is the subjective administrative manipulation of our monetary system. You'll be spared that evil."

"The American soviet dollar will be running on all eight cylinders. Your growth rate will greatly surpass ours, not only in technical output but in real economic advances. What the result would be is obvious: living standards of your population, and therefore their cultural level too, would leap ahead at a very rapid rate."

"Troshin, if you're trying to entice me by the joyful prospect of owning three or four pairs of standardized pants, all either too big or too small, and a compulsory set of the complete works of William Z. Foster—"

7. William Z. Foster was a leader of the U.S. Communist party. He was the CP's presidential candidate in 1924, 1928, and 1932, and later the party's chairman.

"Cooper, you can't take your eyes off the unhappy plight of our mass consumer. Do you expect me to deny it? I've already told you the reasons for the scarcity and poor quality of our consumer goods: the inheritance of poverty from the old regime, the low cultural level of the peasantry, the need to create the means of production at the expense of current consumption, chronic monetary inflation, and last but not least, bureaucratism."

"Monstrous bureaucratism, you mean, Troshin."

"Yes, monstrous bureaucratism, Cooper. But you are not obliged to repeat it. Among us, the scarcity of basic necessities produces a struggle of each against all for an extra pound of bread or yard of cloth. The bureaucracy steps forward in the guise of peacemaker and all-powerful arbiter."

**"The needs, tastes, and habits of the American people would never permit a bureaucracy to gain uncontrolled power. . . . The task of organizing a socialized economy for the best satisfaction of human needs would stir your entire population to its depths, and give rise within it to the formation of new tendencies and parties. . . ."**

"But you are immeasurably wealthier and could assure the country all the necessities without much difficulty. The needs, tastes, and habits of your people would never permit a bureaucracy to gain uncontrolled power of decision over the national income. The task of organizing a socialized economy for the best satisfaction of human needs would stir your entire population to its depths, and give rise within it to the formation of new tendencies and parties, intensely struggling with one another—"

"You're a poor Bolshevik, Troshin. You talk about struggles between parties under the soviet regime. The nearness of capitalist shores is having a harmful effect on you. You're degenerating before my very eyes. Which are you for—democracy or dictatorship?"

"I'm for soviet democracy, Cooper. Soviets are a very flexible form of government. That is one of their advantages."

"But precisely because of that, soviets can't achieve miracles; they only reflect the pressure of the social milieu they exist in. The bureaucratization of our soviets, as a result of the political monopoly of a single party, which was moreover reduced to a bureaucratic apparatus, was itself the result of the exceptional difficulties of socialist pioneering in a poor and backward country."

"The bureaucratization of the regime further reacts disastrously on our economy, our literature, our art, our entire culture. As I see the American soviets, they will be full-blooded and vigorous."

"Dictatorship? Of course, defenders of the capitalist regime will find no place for themselves inside the soviets. I confess that I can't imagine Henry Ford as the president of the Detroit soviet. But a wide-ranging struggle between various interests, programs, and groupings is not only possible but inevitable on the basis of a soviet regime."

"One-year, five-year, ten-year economic plans; national education systems; the construction of great transport lines; the transformation of the farms; the problem of sharing the highest technological and cultural achievements with South America; the problem of probing outer space; eugenics—all of these tasks will give rise to competing doctrines and schools of thought, electoral struggles in the soviets, and passionate debate in the newspapers and at public meetings."

"This smacks of freedom of the press, Troshin. Watch out!"

"Cooper, do you really think that the monopolization of the press in the USSR by the top ranks of the bureaucracy is the norm for a workers state? No. Regardless of what historical conditions may have produced it, it is only a temporary deformity."

"But even in the United States, if you put all the printing plants, all the paper mills, and all the means of distribution in the hands of the state, that would automatically place the whole press in the hands of the government. Do you suppose the government wouldn't use it to promote the dogma of its own infallibility?"

"The nationalization of the mass media would be a purely negative measure. The only reason for it is to prevent private capital from deciding

what can be printed: progressive or reactionary, 'wet' or 'dry,'<sup>8</sup> puritanical or pornographic."

"Your soviets will have to find a new solution for the question of how to apportion the socialized printing facilities and what to use them for. One starting point could be proportional representation on the basis of votes received in soviet elections. The right of each group of citizens to use the printing equipment would depend on their numerical strength."

"You could use the same principle for allocating the use of meeting halls, radio time, and so on. This way the management and editorial policy of publications would be decided by groups of people with similar ideas, not by individual bank accounts."

"You may object that under such a system every new ideological tendency or new philosophical or aesthetic school that doesn't yet have a large following will be denied access to the press."

"There is some point to this argument. But it only implies that under any regime a new idea has to prove its right to existence. In any case, under a soviet regime this would be easier than it is now. A rich soviet America would be able to set aside vast funds for research, inventions, discoveries, and experiments in all spheres of human creativeness, both material and spiritual. You won't neglect your bold architects and sculptors, your unconventional poets and audacious philosophers."

"In fact, I'll admit, Cooper, that I think the Yankees of the coming epoch are going to have something new to say in those very areas where until recently they have been the pupils of Europe."

"The four years I spent in your country, mainly in the factories, weren't wasted, if only because they helped me understand what a change your technology has produced in the fate of the human race."

"I have nothing but scorn for that phony superior tone used in certain circles in Europe when they talk about 'Americanism,' especially since the present crisis began. I'll even go so far as to say that in a certain sense it was Americanism that marked the final dividing line between medievalism and the modern history of humanity."

"But your conquest of nature has

8. From 1920 to 1933 the United States was formally "dry," that is, the sale of alcoholic liquor was prohibited by constitutional amendment. In 1933 this amendment was repealed, making the country "wet" again.

been pursued so violently and passionately that you haven't taken the time either to modernize your theoretical methods or to create your own art forms."

"You grew and became rich according to the laws of the simple syllogism. Your old puritanism has fermented in a giant vat of material successes, to produce a religion of practical rationalism. Because of this you have remained hostile to Hegel, Marx, and even Darwin."

"Are you surprised, Cooper? Yet, the burning of Darwin's works by the Baptist preachers of Tennessee<sup>9</sup> is only a crude reflection of the aversion of the majority of Americans for the doctrine of evolution. I don't mean only religious prejudices, but also your general mental makeup. Yankee atheists are imbued with rationalism no less than Quakers. Your rationalism doesn't even have in it the merciless consistency of the Cartesians or Jacobins. It is restricted and weakened by your empiricism and moralism."

"But this means that your philosophic method is just that much more antiquated and out of keeping with your technology and historical possibilities."

"Today you are really coming face to face for the first time with the kind of social contradictions that develop unobserved, behind people's backs. You conquered nature by means of instruments your genius has created; but your own instruments have driven you to your knees. Contrary to all expectation, your unheard-of wealth has given birth to intolerable misfortunes."

"This is teaching you the truth that Aristotle's syllogism doesn't apply to the laws of social development. You have finally entered the school of the dialectic, and you can't go back to the methodology of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

"Don't be sorry about it, Cooper. There should be some fine fruit out of the grafting of the dialectic onto the sturdy trunk of practical American thought. I'm looking forward to seeing it. In the next decades you are bound to make great contributions in the sphere of generalized thought, poetry, and the arts. They will be on the level of your technology—which still has a long way to go to realize the potential it already contains."

"While the romantic numskulls of Nazi Germany are dreaming of restoring the race of the Teutoburg forest in all its pristine purity, or, rather, its filth, you Americans, after taking possession of your economy and your culture, will extend the application of genuine scientific methods to the sphere of the reproduction of human beings as well. Within a century, out of your melting pot of races there will come a new human being, the first really worthy of the name."

"Are you seriously betting on that, Troshin?"

"I'm betting on even more than that: I'll bet you that in the third year of soviet rule you will no longer chew gum. Verily I say unto you, even Andrew Jackson can enter the kingdom of heaven, if his heart but desire it. And he can't help desiring it."

"You're very generous with our future, Troshin. But I hope you're not arrogant enough to think you've convinced me. The poet in you has been ruined by the good engineer. You got rid of the danger of soviet bureaucratism much too easily—with words. But there's the dinner bell. Tomorrow I'll tear you apart. Your famous dialectic will be plucked like a chicken."

9. "The burning of Darwin's works" refers to state laws that prohibited the teaching of theories of evolution in the public schools. The Scopes trial of 1925 in Tennessee was the most dramatic of the legal contests over these repressive laws.



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but we paid for the weapons with the income from the sale of the cattle raised on ranches that were already in our hands. As we can see, Marx was correct when he said that the next-to-the-last capitalist will be hung with the rope sold to us by the last capitalist.

Craftsmen engaged in the production of gunpowder for fireworks began to supply powder to us.

A road was being constructed near the area where our union was. We knew the foreman of that project sympathized with the movement. Taking this into account, we sent a compañero to buy some dynamite, which was being used in the construction project. This foreman told the engineer heading up the whole project what was going on, and the engineer ordered the foreman to give to the peasant a box of sticks of dynamite with their respective fuses and blasting caps. In addition, the engineer told the foreman to go to where we were and teach us the correct use of the materials. Since this dynamite was for social use, the engineer did not want to charge us anything.

Afterwards, in a nearby zone, there was another case where a person in charge of a depository of dynamite gave the peasants a certain quantity as a gift.

There were landowners who were disarmed by us, and others who voluntarily handed over their weapons before we had asked for them. They did this out of fear of the power of the peasant movement.

There are other cases where I have seen the masses obtain arms. One was on June 16, 1955, in Buenos Aires, when the workers assaulted armories [in an upsurge to block a right-wing coup against then-president Perón]. Another was Chile, where not only were there craftsmen who manufactured arms, but also workers who made them partially in factories they had seized.

It is undoubtedly true that in countries where arms are manufactured the workers of those factories, as well as those in charge of their transportation and storage, would be good suppliers.

In the case of La Convención what was lacking was the essential party organization. In Argentina and Chile the leadership of the masses oriented them away from preparations for arming.

With respect to the capitalist armed forces, history keeps showing us again and again that the upturn or downturn of consciousness among the soldiers is directly related to the consciousness of the exploited sectors to which the soldiers belong, although as a general rule the soldiers' consciousness lags behind somewhat.

The varying degrees of confrontation between the civilian masses and the capitalist apparatus is generally reflected in varying degrees of confrontation between the soldiers and the institutions of the armed forces, represented by the officer corps. Of course, capitalist sources of information try to conceal this.

I will relate some experiences I have had on this matter:

On two occasions in Cuzco, before the peasant movement had reached the highest point of its power, I happened to be the prison companion of soldiers who had led a rebellion against their officers in which the officers had been taken as prisoners. Afterwards, one of the sergeants I met there went to live in Chaupimayo, where he served us as a military instructor.

After I was imprisoned in 1963, the majority of the guards who watched over me, who belonged to various units, fraternized with me. Many times the guards became informants for me, even serving as links to the outside.

Many times the prison chiefs changed the guards as punishment, and in some cases they transferred the guards very far away from their families. I collaborated with some of these guards on publishing a clandestine leaflet protesting the abuses by their



Blanco and other members of peasant union militia in Peru

superiors. Two of the guards were imprisoned and expelled from the service.

During the trial [of Blanco and other peasant leaders] in Tacna it was evident that displays of solidarity from the guards were a reflection of the solidarity of the population.

When I was transferred to the island of El Frontón, some guards would seek me out to ask for advice about peasant struggles in the communities to which they belonged.

In the center of Peru (Jauja) an ensign (Vallejos) liberated a peasant leader and headed up a guerrillaist attempt.

In the Peruvian jungle a guard stayed the hand of an officer who was hurrying to assassinate the guerrilla Alán Elías.

All of these guards are professionals in repression, therefore not as close to the workers as a recently recruited soldier.

When I was imprisoned in the Cuzco barracks, the soldiers would reach me with voices of encouragement, telling me they were also peasants.

In Chile, where the workers lacked a revolutionary leadership that would educate and organize them for the inevitable confrontation with the capitalist apparatus, the soldiers also lacked such a leadership. Great revolutionary determination led sectors of the workers and others to disorganized armed resistance. That same kind of resistance was carried out by sectors of the troops. In both cases *what was missing was the revolutionary party, not willingness to fight or arms.*

Here are some of the things I learned:

- The night before the coup many soldiers and officers who were against the coup were executed by firing squads.
- Only "selected units" participated in the preparation for the coup. The others received orders to stay in their barracks.
- Some of the "selected units" refused to go into action.
- On the eleventh [of September, 1973], the school of lower officers of the Carabineros [national police] deliberated and decided to rise up against the coup. Together with civilians, the school carried out a heroic resistance, refusing to surrender until it was massacred.
- Also rebelling were military units in Santiago, San Bernardo, Viña del Mar, and San Felipe. There are vague reports from Concepción and Valdivia.
- Many of what the junta called "attacks by extremists" were in fact rebellions by Carabineros and soldiers, and distributions of arms to civilians.

In the United States, when there was a mass movement against the war, it also began to be reflected among the soldiers. The Trotskyist party of that country (the Socialist Workers party) played an important role in those mobilizations.

The refusal of the Portuguese soldiers to continue fighting in Africa has been an important factor for the independence of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and in the changes in the Portuguese government. The so-called Armed Forces Movement is undoubtedly of a bourgeois character. Nevertheless it reflects, although in a distorted way, a revolutionary upsurge among the troops. In many barracks the soldiers have carried out assemblies to discuss problems such as colonialism and the privileges of the officers.

Lastly, in other European countries one can see clearly that the revolutionary questioning by sectors of the youth is reflected within the army, including in organized forms, with soldiers' publications and at least one international meeting. In these barracks, also, the question of Chile is discussed.

In all these countries, when the working class and other exploited sectors understand the need to take political power in direct revolutionary fashion, the soldiers will also understand this.

When the revolutionary party is able to organize and lead the workers, replacing the bourgeoisie and the reformists in the leadership of the masses, it will also become the organizer and leader of the soldiers.

## LETTERS

**NOTE TO OUR READERS:** This is the first issue of the *International Socialist Review* in its format as supplement to the *Militant* and we expect readers will have many opinions about this new venture. Please send us your reactions and ideas.

**Editors:** I was surprised and generally pleased to see your plans for a monthly *ISR* supplement to the *Militant*. While I am quite excited about this being a great new way to reach tens of thousands of

people with *ISR* articles and a fantastic improvement for the *Militant*, I do hope that this will be expanded over time. Maybe eventually the *ISR* supplement can appear twice a month or simply be expanded.

One thing is for sure, this new format will certainly boost the circulation of both the *ISR* and the *Militant*. And perhaps another spin-off will be that readers throughout the country can give more attention to selling *Intercontinental Press*.

Steve Millen  
Bloomington, Indiana

**Editors:** Having just received my March 1975 copy of the *ISR* and learning of its consolidation next month with the *Mili-*

*tant*, I must say I was rather leery since the future necessary added price of the *Militant* could make the whole project out of reach for a large percentage of your subscribers and other readers. Frankly to me it would appear more like a retreat. Maybe I'm wrong, but we will just have to see.

W.G.  
Neches, Texas

**Reply:** The *Militant's* price will remain the same.

**Editors:** My new subscription to the *ISR* began just in time for me to catch the Couturier article on the Vietnamese Communist party [February issue]. With the keen insight of a veteran militant who has known Stalinism from the inside, Couturier has brought the Trotskyist

movement's important debate on Vietnam to a higher level. I, for one, would be pleased to see more initiatives of this type in the *ISR*, dealing with struggles in other parts of the world.

Anthony Gramson  
Berlin, Connecticut

**Reply:** While the *ISR* will continue to carry articles on international topics, there is another publication that specializes in news and analysis of international developments from the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism, the weekly news-magazine *Intercontinental Press*. The cost until April 15 is \$7.50 for six months, 50 cents for a sample issue; after April 15 the cost will rise to \$12 for six months and 75 cents for a single copy.

# On Armed Struggle

## The Lessons of Chile and Peru

By Hugo Blanco



Bolivian tin miners militia

*The following article was written as an introduction to the recently published Swedish edition of Hugo Blanco's book *Land or Death*. Originally published in the United States by Pathfinder Press, the book describes the struggle for land by tens of thousands of Peruvian peasants that occurred in the early 1960s.*

*Blanco was a leader of this struggle in the area where it reached its height, the Department of Cuzco and the valley of La Convención. For his role in the peasant movement he was sentenced to a twenty-five-year prison term, spending three years in solitary confinement. He was only freed in 1970, because of an international campaign in his defense, but was deported nine months later by the Peruvian regime. He was living in exile in Chile at the time of the rightist coup and bloodbath in September 1973. Through aid from the Swedish Embassy he was able to escape Chile and is now living in Sweden.*

*Blanco is a leader of the Fourth International, the international revolutionary socialist party founded by Leon Trotsky.*

*Land or Death can be ordered from Pathfinder Press at 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 (178 pages, paper \$2.45). The Swedish edition is put out by Forum publishing house in Stockholm. Translation of the introduction from the original Spanish is by José Pérez.*

In developed capitalist countries such as Sweden, it is difficult to see the inevitability of violence by the workers to end their exploitation. Because of the relatively high standard of living in those countries, there is generally not even consciousness of this exploitation.

Events like those in Chile help the people of these countries to understand what capitalism really is. Although many see such events as being limited to the "third world," the underdeveloped countries, others begin to see that the class contradictions manifested so sharply in Chile are the same contradictions that

appear in subtler ways in developed countries. Some even discover that the corporations involved in both cases are the same.

In times of crisis the capitalist class will attempt to unload the whole burden of that crisis on the workers, including in the developed countries. The rulers will take from the workers even the rights they now enjoy, and will drive down their standard of living.

Since the workers will resist this, there will be capitalist sectors that will actively promote the most violent methods.

If the workers have an appropriate political leadership, they will see more clearly the incapacity of the bosses to organize production and distribution in a coherent way. The workers will tend to take these functions into their own hands.

Against the armed violence of the capitalists to stop rational economic planning, the workers will be forced to defend themselves by the same methods, until they are able to crush the minority violence of capital. The workers will ultimately have to destroy not only the armed institutions, but also the whole state apparatus, which in those moments is unmasked as the repressive instrument that defends the exploiters against the majority of the people.

Many compañeros who have already understood the inevitability of armed struggle, especially in colonial and semicolonial countries, go so far as to focus all their attention on it. They lose sight of the fact that once the objective conditions exist for the transformation of society, the important thing is that the exploited majority be conscious of the existence of exploitation; that the majority know it can liberate itself from this exploitation; and that the majority know how this liberation can be achieved.

These compañeros have been educated in capitalist society, where they see that the actions of the exploiting minorities determine the fate of the majorities. They suffer from the methodological influence of the ruling class, and, with a good dose of simplemindedness, they imagine that a minority that has realized

the necessity to end oppression can do so by its direct action against the oppressors.

To a greater or lesser degree these compañeros lose sight of the fact that the main obligation of those who have understood the necessity of confronting the exploiters is to organize to develop this consciousness among the rest of the people.

To speak in Marxist terms: The obligation of these compañeros is to build a revolutionary party that will lead the masses, not substitute itself for them.

Many times these ultraleft compañeros raise as an argument the power of the capitalist repressive apparatus. But this is precisely one of the reasons why—as long as the majority of the exploited, including the soldiers, are not convinced of the necessity and possibility of revolution—the task is one of education, political education.

It is infantile to think that a few revolutionaries can compete technically with the capitalist military apparatus. However, when a majority of the exploited are convinced, this will solve the technical problems.

The answer to the question "when and how to arm"—a question that overwhelms many revolutionaries—loses its grandeur when the political upsurge of the masses occurs.

Leaving aside the example of the Russian Revolution and other great historical cases like that of Bolivia in 1952, when the masses destroyed the bourgeois army, let us see how this question is answered on a smaller scale.

When the peasant movement of La Convención was in full upsurge, the Peruvian ultrarightists carried out an intense campaign against "the guerrillas" of that zone, even before "the guerrillas" existed. This led to a prohibition on the sale of weapons in the whole south of the country.

Nevertheless, many businessmen understood, thanks to the reactionary press, that they could do quite a good bit of business selling us arms, and brought them to where we were. Of course, the prices were very high,

*Continued on page 11/ISR*



# Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



answer questions by the federal grand jury here in Lexington.

I asked him if he needed a subscription to any magazine or newspaper. He said that he would very much like to get a copy of the *Militant* regularly so he could keep up with movement news.

Among the literature he took in with him were *Essential Works of Lenin*, *The Transitional Program*, and a copy of the *Militant* with the "In Brief" item about the FBI frame-up here in Lexington [March 7 issue]. He would really be glad to receive the *Militant* weekly to keep him in touch with the outside.

Bronson Rozier  
Lexington, Kentucky

## Like we know it

I find the *Militant* very informative as to what is really going on behind all the cover-up stories the conventional newspapers lay on the unwary public.

I am one of fifty native Indians here. Your news coverage of the past, recent, and ongoing Indian happenings reported in the *Militant* tells it like we know it, and want the public to know it.

A prisoner  
Kansas

## Too much sentiment?

In response to the editorial "Rights in danger" dated March 7, I would like to say that I think your viewpoint is much too narrow and shortsighted.

To vindicate the notion that immigrant workers without papers should be allowed freely into the United States is absolutely unrealistic.

Sure, it would be nice to allow all immigrants who desired employment in the United States the right to pursue it. But what you fail to realize is the fact that we're not the great melting pot that we once were.

With the economy in its present recessionary state, it is all we can do to help our own people (though obviously thus far, we haven't been too successful) without having to worry about immigrants raping the working public of additional jobs.

A little too much sentiment and the idea of rectifying all social injustices has led you to overlooking simple economics and the cold, harsh realities of our present world.

Sheri Marshall  
Amherst, Massachusetts

## Canadian Trotskyism

I am compiling material for a history of Canadian Trotskyism. I would like to hear from anyone who has had direct or indirect contact with the Canadian Trotskyist movement, particularly in the 1928-1945 period.

Leaflets, letters, documents, and similar material would be very much appreciated. It will be copied and returned promptly.

Ian Angus  
334 Queen Street West  
Toronto, Ontario

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.

# CIA & the press: all the news?

WASHINGTON—CIA chief Colby and President Ford were breathing easier last week, as headlines on the CIA switched from assassinations to submarine salvaging. On Capitol Hill, congressional leaders suddenly expressed more enthusiasm about investigating the agency.

Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.), head of the Military Applications Subcommittee of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, had been rather quiet when the news came out that the CIA hired the Mafia to murder Fidel Castro. But when the story broke on how the agency spent more than \$350 million trying to salvage a sunken Soviet submarine, Symington wanted to investigate right away.

"I want to know what they did and how much it cost and who they told about it," he huffed and puffed.

Not to be outdone, Rep. Lucien Nedzi (D-Mich.), who heads the newly created House committee on intelligence, promised his own investigation. "This is obviously a big project," he observed. "For us to ignore it would not be proper under the circumstances."

Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), head of the Senate intelligence committee, concurred.

We may never get the full truth about how the submarine story broke at such a convenient time, but this incident does have some interesting lessons about the role of the capitalist-owned press.

It turns out that all the major newspapers and TV networks knew about the salvage operations for months but decided to cover up the story. According to the March 20 *New York Times*, Colby personally went around to the editors, imploring them not to print the story until the CIA made one last stab at raising the sub.

With the exception of one *Los Angeles Times* article back in February, which was quickly buried on page

18 in the second edition, Colby succeeded in getting the story "locked up."

The *New York Times* "believed that in this case the advantage of immediate public disclosure did not outweigh the considerations of disclosing an important ongoing military operation," explained managing editor A.M. Rosenthal. The *Times*, you will recall, is the paper that publishes "all the news that's fit to print."

This isn't the first occasion that the *Times* has used "national security" as an excuse to keep a story hushed up. In 1961, the paper had advance knowledge of the CIA's imminent Bay of Pigs invasion but kept it secret so as not to embarrass Washington.

The *Washington Post*, still basking in its reputation as the paper that "broke the Watergate scandal," also complied with Colby's directive. "This happens more often than the public might think" admitted Benjamin Bradlee, *Post* executive editor. Unfortunately, he didn't disclose what other stories the *Post* killed on CIA orders.

Columnist Jack Anderson, who reported the submarine story first, conceded that he did so because the American Civil Liberties Union was going to reveal the story if he didn't.

"I have withheld other stories at the behest of the CIA," Anderson added. The docile attitude of the press, he observed, is in part penance for some of the articles printed during Watergate.

According to Anderson, editors and reporters are "trying to prove too hard how patriotic and responsible we are, prove that we're not against the establishment, the government, that we're not all gadflies."

It's reassuring to know that we live in a country where freedom of the press is guaranteed.

# Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



## Profits and the pill

Research and development of safer, more efficient, less expensive contraceptives in the United States has virtually stopped.

Is it because contraception has gone out of style? No. More people are using some form of contraception today than ever before in history. Is it because everybody's happy with the techniques already developed? No. Even the best contraceptive methods are not totally effective, are expensive, and many have dangerous side effects. Is it because our scientists and research institutes are busy working on something much more important than the health and safety of millions of people? Obviously not.

The drastic decline in contraceptive research is due to one thing, and one thing only—profits.

The big drug industries, upset by public demands that extensive testing and research be done before a contraceptive is released on the market, claim that the cost of the testing and research makes the product "unprofitable."

"Thus, in the last year or two," writes Jane Brody in the *New York Times*, "several major companies that had been heavily involved in contraceptive research and development in the nineteen-sixties have left the field entirely, deciding that it would be more profitable to spend their research dollars in other areas."

A survey conducted for the Ford Foundation found that the drug industry as a whole plans to spend about \$15 million a year on contraceptive research. Most of this money, however, will not go toward new and improved contraceptive methods. "Instead," writes Brody, "the great bulk of research money is being devoted to modifications of already existing birth control methods—changes that might make these methods more convenient . . . but that will not remove the more serious limitations and health concerns associated with them."

The profiteers blame the growing concern, especially

among women, about safety in contraceptives. "A mood for absolute safety is sweeping the country as part of the whole consumerism movement. . .," complains Dr. Allan Barnes of the Rockefeller Foundation. "This is very damaging to women [!] and to research. . ."

What's damaging for women is not our concern about safety but the lack of safety in contraceptives. Many women must choose between two evils—an unwanted pregnancy or a hazardous drug. Millions of women, for instance, take the pill, in spite of the directions on the back of the package that read: "Warning—this drug can cause side effects in some users and should not be used at all by others. The most serious known side effect is abnormal blood clotting which may be fatal."

I wonder how Barnes would feel if he popped something like that into his mouth every night. The drug companies—who brought us thalidomide and other disasters—have a lot of gall whining that we're "too concerned" about safety.

The Rockefeller Foundation, however, is prepared to cram their drugs down the throats of others if American women get too "uppity." "It is entirely possible," says Barnes, "that if the ideal contraceptive were developed today, it would never be introduced in the United States. It would be taken to someplace like India, where there's a large and eager market." (By "ideal," Barnes doesn't mean safe and effective. He simply means "profitable.")

Decent medical care should be a right guaranteed to everybody, and health and safety should be a priority for scientific research. But it's clear that in order for that to happen the drug companies, research institutes, and the entire medical apparatus must be taken out of the hands of the private profiteers who put profit above everything else—including our health.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Fundamentalist approach**—A member of the Texas legislature introduced a bill banning pay toilets in the state. Motivating the measure, he offered the soundest religious argument we've heard yet. If God intended for people to pay to go to the toilet, the solon declared, he would have created them with a dime or a quarter in their hand.

**Bum racket**—Lady Bird Johnson says she would now hesitate before urging young people to consider a political career. "You're under closer scrutiny," she explained.

**The Golden Years**—"I asked several supermarket managers how they handled the problem of older people and pilfering. Generally, they answered along these lines: 'If it's only a can of cat tuna, I

turn away, praying to God that I won't have to do that when I reach their age.'"—Irma Hunt in *Modern Maturity* magazine.

**Uphill fight**—Americans consumed 602.2 billion coffin nails last year, a 3 percent increase over 1973. The Federal Trade Commission said maybe the warning notice on cigarette packs should be made stronger. How about, "Warning. Tobacco profits are dangerous to your health."

**The better to bite the bullet off of**—The government has ordered a set of dishes for sixty to grace the table at the official residence of the vice-president. Cost? \$10,445. However, Rocky may have to use paper tablecloths for a while. Federal shoppers were "aghast" to learn a suitable damask

cloth would cost \$2,000. The troubles in Ireland have boosted the price of Belfast linen.

**Marketing mix-up**—"Even some of the more optimistic economists question how rapidly domestic auto sales will recover. They believe the industry's efforts to make small cars more luxurious and thus get the prices and profits up closer to bigger car standards may have backfired. 'I don't think they've quite got the product mix the public wants,' says one."—The *Los Angeles Times*.

**Thought for the week**—"A great society is a society in which its men of business think greatly of their function."—Inscription on a building at the University of Southern California Business & Science Department.

## National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



### Modern-day robber barons

The railroad industry is a mirror of capitalist anarchy and plunder. Its entire history is a sordid story of looting by such notorious operators as Jay Gould and other old-time robber barons. But they were pikers compared to the modern shakedown artists.

Since the First World War the railroad profiteers have played the old "bankruptcy game" to the tune of untold billions.

The Penn Central and several other companies declared bankruptcy a few years ago and are raking in millions from the public treasury to keep trains running occasionally. The handout this year is a \$347 million emergency grant to keep Penn Central and the others from shutting down completely.

The confidence men at Penn Central have done so well that the managers of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad want a piece of the action. Unable to get an "emergency" loan of \$100 million from the government, the Rock Island line filed for bankruptcy and announced that it will cease operations after March 31. This puts pressure on the government to kick in some money to maintain rail service in the central states.

While passing out huge sums to these bankrupt railroads, Congress has been debating how to solve the railroad crisis. A variety of schemes are recom-

mended, all of them careful to maintain and perpetuate the principle of "private ownership" with little regard for service.

To keep some passenger trains running, the government has financed Amtrak, a quasi-public corporation, which tries to run its trains on the rails of the private companies. The service is deteriorating.

Another government corporation, the U.S. Railway Association (USRA), has recommended a partnership between government and the privately owned railroads, to be called Consolidated Rail Corporation (Conrail). Through Conrail the government will continue to pour in money, and the railroad companies will siphon it off as they have always done.

Part of the plan is to have the government take over right-of-way and lay new rails by a publicly owned Consolidated Facilities Corporation (Confac), which will then charge minimal rates for use of the rebuilt roadbeds. The estimated cost in the Northeast sector alone is \$5 billion, plus another \$2 billion for separate passenger tracks in the Washington-New York-Boston corridor, and \$2.3 billion for locomotives and freight cars.

The plan also calls for reducing the system by abandoning 6,200 miles of track as a starter. The

whole project, if approved by Congress, will be one of the biggest shell games of the twentieth century.

Of course the whole thing is set up by bankers and big business interests. The man in charge of the USRA is Arthur Lewis, former president of Eastern Airlines. He carefully explains that government take-over and financing of rail roadbeds is "the only way to avoid nationalization of the rail industry."

What is wrong with nationalization? Who wants to avoid it? Certainly not railroad workers. Not long-suffering passengers who depend on rail service for their daily transportation, either.

The rail unions and the passengers should be demanding that the government nationalize this industry under workers' control. This would insure the expansion of the industry and create thousands of jobs. It would also win the support of communities that badly need rail service and are threatened by the present policy of abandonment.

The first step is to seize the claimed assets and books of the private operators. The seizure of this stolen property is long overdue. Those responsible for mismanaging and bankrupting the rail system ought to be prosecuted. They belong on the docket along with all other Watergaters and big-time swindlers.

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



### Klan rides at Napanoch (II)

The following is a guest column submitted by some readers at Napanoch prison in New York. In January we ran a column on some of the Klan harassment against Nancy Loorie, who is mentioned below.

White Ku Klux Klan robes, gray pants, and blue Department of Correctional Services blazers are in style at Napanoch prison. Racism is open and undisguised in this predominantly Black and Latino "experimental prison."

Eastern Correctional Facility, with 718 prisoners (90 percent Third World), has been the site of: the fire bombing of several inmate cells; the discriminatory "keeplock" of prison organizers—political prisoners and NAACP leaders; refusal to admit visitors; including attorneys; harassment of college professors who teach at the prison; threats, attempted burglaries, and attempts to destroy the car of a civilian female employee.

Inmates from Clinton, Comstock, Attica, etc., were lured here with the bait of "brand-new programs." We found no programs here and realized we were trapped in the first phase of the infamous "Rx" program, "open prescription," which included covertly drugged meals and highly advanced behavior-modification techniques.

A September 1973 *Village Voice* article entitled "Fortune & Wardens' Pockets" exposed the embezzlement of over eight million dollars by J.W. Patterson [prison superintendent] that was to be spent on programs and renovation of the prison.

In an attempt to cover up for this robbery, the administration and guards (at least thirty-five registered Klan members) have repressed all attempts at inmate resistance.

Inmates throughout the state prisons have been aware of Ku Klux Klan activities for decades. The threats and harassment of Nancy Loorie, coordinator of Volunteer Services, is only the tip of an iceberg. An attempt to organize a chapter of the NAACP was blocked by harassment, sabotage, keeplocks, and threats to inmates. As the chapter began to take shape, four inmate cells were fire-bombed in a last-ditch effort to destroy the chapter.

The fires were blamed on Jimmy Contin, a card-carrying KKK inmate, who was transferred. The administration covered up the fact that on each occasion he was given access to the cells by his fellow Klansmen, correction officers.

The Inspector General and the BCI [Bureau of Criminal Investigation] started an investigation, and the administration locked up several white

inmates to create the illusion that there was racial conflict among the inmates.

When the *Middletown & Times-Herald Record* mentioned a list of fifteen to twenty-five suspected Klansmen, this was denied by Albany, Patterson, and Charles Krom, president of Local 1041 (officers union) and suspected "Night Hawk" (next in command under grand dragon) of the Ku Klux Klan.

In late December, Earl Schoonmaker, a teacher at the prison, admitted to being the state grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. Schoonmaker was suspended and Patterson and Krom denied all knowledge of his Klan membership.

The NAACP president sent a letter to the press after he was refused a visit from a reporter. He and several NAACP members were sent to the box and keeplocked for possessing "revolutionary material" and "contraband" in their cells.

Legal action is ignored and the Klansmen boast that they will see to it Schoonmaker is reinstated to this job. They have increased target practice (machine guns can be heard firing on the rifle range daily), and it is believed that the Klan intends to provoke a riot and initiate a massacre.

The Ku Klux Klan has us surrounded, but the oppressed people of the world surround them.



# The Cointelpro Papers (Part 2)

## FBI's attempt to destroy Black mov't

By Nelson Blackstock

If you had picked up a copy of the *Militant* in late July 1961, you would have noticed that two of the six pages in the paper were devoted to the Socialist Workers party candidates in the upcoming New York City elections. The official trade-union movement was deep in the morass of Democratic party politics, where it remains today, and the SWP was offering the voters of New York an alternative. Four working-class candidates were running for the top positions.

The candidate for Manhattan borough president was a Black man named Clarence Franklin. "I live in a one-and-a-half-room apartment in a crowded tenement in Manhattan and I have to pay 40 percent of my total monthly wage for rent," Franklin wrote in the *Militant*. He offered a socialist solution to New York's housing problem.

At the New York FBI office there were people who pored over that issue of the *Militant* with unusual care. J. Edgar Hoover had recently sent out special instructions for FBI agents to be alert for possible Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") operations, and someone in the New York office spotted the opportunity for a vicious attack against both the Black movement and the SWP.

The vast FBI arrest files told them that Clarence Franklin had some years earlier acquired a criminal record. That fact is not very unusual; many Black workers in this society find themselves in trouble with the law. But the agents in charge of the Cointelpro thought they could use his record to embarrass him and the SWP and to drive a Black activist out of politics.

The plot the FBI developed is outlined in the first group of documents reproduced on the following pages.

### Hatred for Black movement

One of the things that comes through clearest in the Cointelpro papers is that the FBI reserved a special hatred for the Black civil rights movement, and Black members of the SWP were singled out for special attention.

The Cointelpro files that have been made public thus far document a pattern of systematic sabotage directed at the Black movement that makes the Watergate break-in and Donald Segretti's dirty tricks against the Democrats

look like college pranks. Segretti and other Watergaters have been sent to jail, but the conspirators responsible for the Cointelpro have yet to be charged with breaking any law.

Clarence Franklin was born into a family of Mississippi sharecroppers in 1932. When he was ten years old he moved to New York, where his mother went to work as a housecleaner. When he was fourteen he got a job setting pins in a bowling alley. Through the years Franklin found work as a dishwasher, porter and construction laborer. Along the way he picked up an arrest record.

One might assume that a law enforcement agency such as the FBI would have noted with satisfaction that Franklin had not been charged with violating any law in several years and was currently engaged in perfectly legal activity—running for public office.

### 'Disruptive action'

However, the FBI had different concerns. "Careful consideration has been given to the fact that the SWP in New York City is now getting some propaganda attention through the press, television and radio because it has succeeded in placing on the ballot four candidates for office in the New York City fall elections," the FBI wrote.

In a subsequent memorandum not printed here, the FBI elaborated. "The SWP has met with little or no opposition in carrying forth its aims and purposes and in securing positions on the ballot for its candidates. It is felt that some disruptive action should be taken. . . ."

The FBI evidently used one of its numerous agents in the news media—this one at the *Daily News*—to break the "story." The *News* published a story on Franklin's arrest record on election day. It is worth noting that the rules of fair play between Democratic and Republican politicians brand as "unfair campaign practices" eleventh-hour charges that are impossible to answer before the voters go to the polling place. This, of course, did not stop the FBI.

The FBI's evaluation of this operation shows that they were elated because Franklin became demoralized by the publicity about his past. When Franklin eventually withdrew from political activity, the FBI congratulated itself on a job well done.

### Sabotage civil rights defense

The next set of documents printed on the following pages concerns a 1964 FBI plot. The aim was to sabotage the defense of a group of civil rights workers facing prison in Monroe, North Carolina. (Last week we printed other documents relating to the Monroe defense efforts.)

These FBI papers accord SWP leader George Weissman the dubious distinction of being the first publicly known subject of an FBI poem. The poet tried to frame Weissman on charges of stealing money from the Monroe home of Dr. A.E. Perry, head of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD) and vice-president of the Monroe NAACP.

The poem, along with a clipping from a North Carolina newspaper showing that Weissman had been in Perry's house at the time of a robbery, was sent to a carefully selected FBI mailing list.

In 1964 George Weissman was managing editor of the *Militant*. I talked to him about what happened at that time in Monroe.

He had first visited Monroe in 1958 to report on the notorious "kissing case." Robert F. Williams, president of the Monroe NAACP, had received attention in the press by organizing armed defense guards, which put a stop to a series of Ku Klux Klan assaults on the Black community. The Klan focused particular attention on Dr. Perry, who had been instrumental in the struggle to integrate some of Monroe's public facilities.

In retaliation against the Black community, the local racist authorities charged two Black youths, eight and ten years old, with "assault upon a white female" for the crime of being kissed by a white playmate.

The two were tried and committed to a reformatory "possibly until they are twenty-one."

"I was sent down for the *Militant* and wrote several stories about that case," Weissman said. Socialists aided in the formation of the Committee to Combat Racial Injustice, and Robert F. Williams became its chairman.

"The committee mounted a campaign to publicize the case of these little boys and to bring pressure on the North Carolina authorities to get them released," Weissman recalled. In a matter of months, the resulting national and international protest led to their freedom.

"In this period I became personal friends with both Williams and Perry," Weissman said, "and they often visited me when they were in New York."

### Freedom rides

When a new attack on the Black community in Monroe made the news in August 1961, members of the SWP were among the first to come to the victims' defense. This was the time of the "freedom rides." Buses filled with dedicated opponents of segregation traveled through the deep South, where they challenged laws requiring separation of the races in public accommodations.

Monroe had acquired a reputation as a Klan stronghold, and Williams invited some of the freedom riders to visit the city.

"A number of freedom riders on their return from Mississippi stopped off in Monroe to meet Williams and do what they could," Weissman remembered. "They decided to institute a week-long picket at the courthouse, the scene of many miscarriages of justice."

This enraged local racists, and after several days of picketing, things came to a head. On August 27 a mob attacked the picketers, and police responded by arresting the freedom riders.

"When word of this reached the Black community, the people became enraged and began preparing to defend themselves against a racist attack," Weissman said. "About this time a car carrying a middle-aged white couple from another city wandered into the Black community. Residents stopped the car and took its occupants to Williams's home. Williams offered to allow them to stay there until things cooled down."

### Kidnapping charges

The couple later left unharmed. But local authorities brought phony charges of kidnapping against Williams; Harold Reade and Richard Crowder, young Black Monroe residents; Mae Mallory, a Black woman from New York who had been working with Williams; and Robert Lowry, a



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

George Weissman, former managing editor of the *Militant*, became target of FBI plot.

white freedom rider from New York.

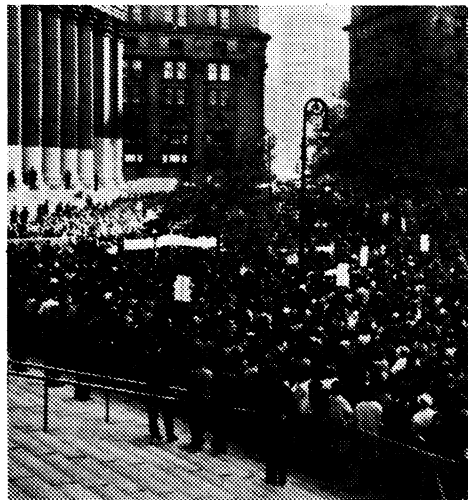
Williams and Mallory escaped from North Carolina, while Crowder, Reade, and Lowry were jailed in Monroe. Supporters quickly set up the CAMD to fight the anticipated extradition orders for Mallory, who was in Ohio, and Williams, whose whereabouts remained unknown, and to raise bail money for the three defendants in Monroe.

Williams soon arrived in Cuba, where he obtained asylum. The state of Ohio eventually extradited Mallory to North Carolina.

"When the case came to trial in 1964, I went down there to cover it both for the *Militant*, which gave more attention to events in Monroe than any newspaper in the country, and *The Nation* magazine," Weissman said. "I had written an article for *The Nation* at the time of the kissing case, and the editor commissioned me to do another story this time. That's how I happened to be in Monroe at the time of the robbery at Dr. Perry's home."

"On this particular day, since I had to meet a *Militant* deadline, I remained

Continued on page 30



Civil rights demonstration in New York in early 1960s. FBI tried to destroy socialist influence in movement.

## Coming next week...

Next week's *Militant* will print selections from the Cointelpro papers illustrating the FBI's efforts to wreck Socialist Workers party election campaigns.

In coming weeks the *Militant* will serialize other selections from the secret FBI files concerning the "Counterintelligence Program." These files were recently turned over by the FBI under court order as the result of a suit filed by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance. The Political Rights Defense Fund is financing and publicizing the suit.

In future issues, the *Militant* will publish Cointelpro files on the disruption of the antiwar movement, manipulation of the media,

victimization of radical groups, and other attacks on the Black movement.

Don't miss a single installment of the Cointelpro papers. Take advantage of our special introductory subscription offer. Send in the coupon below today.

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The *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

# The Cointelpro Papers

Documents 1-7: First operation under FBI Cointelpro program was 1961 plot to wreck campaign of socialist candidates on the ballot in New York. Documents 1-4 are racist proposal from New York office to FBI headquarters to use Black worker's arrest record against campaign. In document 5 Washington replied: "This suggestion is an excellent example of the type desired by the Bureau under the Disruption Program. The Bureau is pleased to note that the suggestion was well thought out and it is felt that if future suggestions are submitted with the same amount of preparation and planning, this program will be exceedingly successful."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-361141) DATE: 10/20/61

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-100000)

SUBJECT: 0 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP) -  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet to NY and other offices, dated 10/12/61.

Relet instructed NY and other offices having major SWP activity to evaluate a program aimed at disruption of the SWP and to submit views to the Bureau regarding this matter.

The NYO has given careful thought to this matter and it is felt that on a carefully selective basis, issues could be exploited which may well serve to disrupt the SWP and render it more impotent as a functioning organization.

Careful consideration has been given to the fact that the SWP in New York City is now getting some propaganda attention through the press, television and radio because it has succeeded in placing on the ballot four candidates for office in the New York City fall elections. With this background in mind, a review has been made of the candidates chosen by the SWP to represent it on the ballot and it has been found that one of them, JOHN CLARENCE FRANKLIN, appears to be particularly vulnerable in causing embarrassment to the SWP.

FRANKLIN has a criminal record which includes such offenses as larceny, burglary, drunkenness and a murder charge which was later reduced to manslaughter.

1

2. Among the SWP's opponents in the radical field, there has always been an undercurrent of vindictive feeling and it is quite likely that the Communist Party (CP) or a rival Trotskyist group would seize upon an issue such as the FRANKLIN case to attack the principles of the SWP.

3. From the point of view from the public at large, it would seem that anyone reading an item regarding the FRANKLIN candidacy could hardly help but have a lower opinion of the SWP.

There is submitted for consideration by the Bureau a sample of the type of story which might be submitted to a friendly newspaper in this regard:

"One of the minor entries in the New York City municipal elections is the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for Manhattan Borough President, Clarence Franklin. He was introduced in the Party's newspaper 'The Militant' in the issue of July 24 and 31, 1961, as being 'On the side of the honest productive people of the City'. Franklin accused the Democrats and Republicans of dipping their hands in graft and he offered himself as an alternative.

"In giving his background and qualifications, Franklin omitted some facts in regard to honesty and productivity which are a matter of record to the Albany Police Department. Under his full name of John Clarence Franklin, he accumulated an arrest record beginning with petit larceny in 1949, burglary and grand larceny in 1951, drunkenness in 1954 and murder in 1956.

- 3 -

3

SAC, New York (100-100000) October 30, 1961

Director, FBI (100-361141)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet 10/20/61 captioned as above and submitting for Bureau consideration a Disruption Program operation aimed at causing embarrassment to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), its leaders and its membership.

This suggestion is an excellent example of the type desired by the Bureau under the Disruption Program. The Bureau is pleased to note that the suggestion was well thought out and it is felt that if future suggestions are submitted with the same amount of preparation and planning, this program will be exceedingly successful.

The necessary action has been taken at the Bureau to carry out your suggestion. No steps should be taken by you concerning this operation. Should any tangible results come to your attention as a result of Bureau-initiated action in this matter, the Bureau should be advised promptly.

NOTE ON YOUR FILE

See cover memo 100-100000, same caption, 10/27/61, TTR:cds.

5



FBI tried to use Clarence Franklin's past criminal record to discredit his election campaign.

These offenses took place during the years 1949-1956 in Albany, NY, prior to the time FRANKLIN moved to NY and became connected with the SWP. As a result, his prior criminal record is not known to the rank and file of the SWP and quite possibly is also unknown to the Party leadership.

When the SWP newspaper, "The Militant", introduced FRANKLIN as a candidate, he was described as accusing the Democrats and Republicans of dipping their hands into graft and of offering himself as an alternative to this. "The Militant" further set forth that the SWP candidates were on the side of the honest and productive people of the City and against those who insisted on enjoying privileges at other people's expense.

The SWP has consistently printed that it consistently maintained a high principled position over the years and was, contrary to other radical groups, a Party of consistent integrity.

It is felt that it is quite possible a considerable disruptive effect would result if it should become public knowledge that FRANKLIN, the candidate chosen by the SWP to represent it on the ballot, was a convicted thief and murderer. It is not believed that it would be necessary to give any large display to information of this sort, there is no doubt that a short item in the back pages of a metropolitan NY newspaper would quickly become well known within the SWP and related groups. It is believed that the effect of such a public revelation could possibly result in the following:

1. Among the SWP membership, there could well be a feeling of disillusionment with the leadership of the Party for running such an individual as a candidate as well as distrust of FRANKLIN himself because of his past record.

2

"In especially considering its small size, it would appear the SWP takes all honors in fielding the candidate least well qualified for the office to which he aspires."

There are enclosed for the Bureau a copy of the FD 9 setting forth FRANKLIN's FBI fingerprint record and pertinent articles printed in "The Militant" of 7/24 and 31/61, regarding FRANKLIN.

It is recommended that the Bureau furnish the above information to one of its contacts in the newspaper field. However, if this course of action is not considered favorably in this instance, it is suggested that the Bureau consider allowing NY to furnish the information to a friendly newspaper in the NY area. Should this procedure be agreeable to the Bureau, a copy of the photograph of FRANKLIN taken by the Albany, NY Police Department, 7/23/52, would be furnished the newspaper contact with the suggestion that FRANKLIN be interviewed by a reporter of the newspaper in order that he may make his own determination that the individual running for public office on the SWP ticket is identical with the individual on whom the extensive criminal record exists.

For the information of the Bureau, a new file has been opened by the NYO on captioned case and this office will continue to give well thought out attention to develop all possibilities in the future which might serve to have a disruptive effect on the SWP.

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4

AIRTEL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-361141)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-100000)

SUBJECT: 0 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet, 10/30/61.

There is enclosed copy of the column "On The Town" by CHARLES MC HARRY, which appeared on page 40 of the "New York Daily News," 11/7/61. It is noted this includes the information re JOHN CLARENCE FRANKLIN suggested by the NYO as a disruptive tactic against the SWP. Copies of the clipping are also attached in NY subject file and (100-100000).

The attention of [redacted] was directed to this item on 11/7/61, without, of course, revealing the Bureau as being the source. [redacted] characterized this type of information as being in his opinion "dynamite," and said he believed everyone in the SWP was as ignorant as he was of FRANKLIN's background.

A membership meeting of the New York Local, SWP was held the evening of [redacted], which was attended by [redacted]. He stated on [redacted], that he had heard no mention of the newspaper story, but had noticed that JOHN CLARENCE FRANKLIN and his brothers, ROBERT and WILLIAM, also SWP members, were conspicuous by their absence. [redacted] said he could not recall a meeting when one or more of the FRANKLINS were not in attendance.

Approved: [redacted] Special Agent in Charge Sent [redacted] M Per [redacted]

6




**Documents 8-12:** In 1964 the FBI tried to sabotage defense of civil rights workers in North Carolina by spreading the charge that SWP leader George Weissman stole defense committee funds.

# On the Town

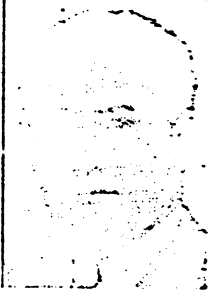
By CHARLES McHARRY

## His Record Speaks . . .

Civic improvement expert Victor Dallaire writes: "Charlie, how are you going to vote today?" Vic, being an independent thinker. I think I'm going to jump all over the voting machine. Bob or Looie—



**Anna Maria Alberghetti**



**Harold Minsky**

I'm not sure which one at this point—will get my vote for mayor. I would love to vote for *La Guardia* again, but he isn't running. The one guy I have made up my mind on is John Clarence Franklin, candidate for borough president of Manhattan on the ticket of the Socialist Workers Party. John has accused his rivals of shameless dishonesty and general crookedness and has pictured himself as a public servant of utter probity. Here, if he cares to stand on it, is his record: Arrested for petty larceny in Albany in 1949; barged for burglary and grand larceny in 1951; pulled in twice for drunkenness in 1952, and hit with a first degree murder rap, although the charge was reduced to manslaughter, in 1956. Seems he robbed a man and pushed him into the Hudson River, where his victim drowned. John was paroled from Clinton Prison in January, 1959. Although it would be interesting to see what Mr. Franklin would do as Manhattan's borough president, I think I'll vote for Mrs. Lawrence.

★ ★ ★

Harold Minsky, currently operating in Las Vegas, will bring burlesque back to Broadway this winter. . . . George Abbott, frowning on the Twist, told Roseland's Lou Ercker, who has banned

In document 10, New York FBI office proposed that Washington headquarters "have the Laboratory prepare the poen [sic], as expeditiously as possible." Washington approved the operation. "First anonymous letter" referred to in document 10 was earlier FBI attempt to generate red-baiting against socialists in civil rights movement.

Copies of the anonymous letter were mailed on 4/8/64, in commercially purchased envelopes addressed by a clerical employee of the New York Office. The letter was sent to the individuals listed below:

- (1) DANIEL WATTS  
Editor, "Liberator"  
244 East 45th Street  
New York, New York
- (2) HAROLD CRUSE  
2303 West 14th Street  
New York, New York
- (3) Editor, "The Worker"  
23 West 26th Street  
New York, New York
- (4) Editor, "National Guardian"  
197 East Fourth Street  
New York, New York
- (5) JAMES BALDWIN  
470 West End Avenue  
New York, New York
- (6) PETER KIHSS  
c/o New York Times  
229 West 43rd Street  
New York, New York
- (7) JAMES ROBERTSON  
c/o "Spartacist"  
Box 1377, G.P.O.  
New York, New York
- (8) TIM WOLFEORTH  
160 West 95th Street  
New York, New York

- 2 -

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SUB  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 4/10/64

ReBulet 4/3/64.

Relet enclosed copies of a mimeographed anonymous letter prepared by the Laboratory for use by the New York Office in a disruption tactic against the SWP. The New York Office had suggested this letter to bring discredit upon the Party in the Negro civil rights field, specifically through the activities of the SWP-controlled Committee To Aid The Monroe Defendants (CAID). The letter implied that GEORGE WEISSMAN and BERTHA GREEN of the SWP used the CAID to their own advantage until they were finally repudiated by the defendants. It was written in a manner designed to direct suspicion as to its source upon the Workers World Party, a rival in the Monroe defense movement.

(9) LEROI JONES  
27 Cooper Square  
New York, New York

If any information re this mailing appears in New York files designated to receive a copy of instant letter, it should be directed to subject file, so the Bureau can be advised.

It is believed that a follow-up to this anonymous / mailing may increase the effectiveness of the disruption operation. No other advantages of the fact that GERGE WEISSMAN reported to the Monroe police, that while he was alone in the home of a Monroe Negro civil rights leader, two bandits came in and rifled a wall safe. A Xerox copy of a clipping from the Charlotte Observer of 2/27/64, outlining the story, is enclosed for information of the Bureau.

Since recipients of the first anonymous letter are familiar with the connection of the SUP's WEISSMAN with the Monroe defense, it will not be necessary to go into a detailed exposition if they are furnished copies of the clipping. Bureau authority is requested to send a Xerox copy of the Charlotte Observer article to the same individuals named above in instant letter. Bureau is also requested to authorize enclosing with the clipping, as a device to generate further suspicions, the following bit of verse:

Georgie-Porgie, down in Monroe,  
Found himself alone with the dough,  
Called the cops, and what did he say?  
"Bad guys came and took it away".

If approved, Bureau is requested to have the Laboratory prepare the poem, as expeditiously as possible, ~~and to have the Laboratory~~ The poem should

- 3 -

be on a mimeographed half-sheet, presumably an economy by the putative sender.

In addition to the addressees of the first anonymous letter, another will be added for the second letter, if approved by the Bureau. This is the editor of Progressive Labor, Box 808, G.P.O., Brooklyn 1, New York. This organization was also active in Monroe and as a rival of the SWP may be interested in the material to use in attacking the Party.

The Bureau is requested to advise the New York Office as soon as possible since interest in the Monroe case becomes less as time goes by.



Robert F. Williams was victim of racist frame-up. FBI wanted committee to "cease their efforts on behalf of the defendants."

- 4 -

# Doctor's Wall Safe Cracked

## N.Y. Trial Reporter Only Person Home

By DON GRAY  
Observer Staff Writer

MONROE — Two bandits forced their way into the home of a Monroe Negro physician Wednesday, tied to a wall where he was the only person in the house at the time, and riddled a wall safe.

The visitor was a free lance New York City Journalist, George Weissman, who was in Monroe to cover the racial violence trial now going on. He said the bandits, at least one of whom had a gun, ordered him to keep quiet while they robbed the safe.

The house was owned by Dr. A. E. Perry, a former president of the Monroe NAACP chapter, who said "I'm on my way home," just minutes before the safe, he said he did not know how much was taken.

"I'll have to do some figuring and I'll have to talk with my wife first," he said.

Weissman said he was at the Perry house shortly before noon when he heard someone at the door. He said a Negro man was there, asking to see Perry.

Suddenly, the man pointed a pistol at him and becked him into the house. Weissman was taken to the basement, tied up, and gagged with a piece of drapery.

A second man came into the basement then, Weissman said, but he was ordered not to turn around and look.

The two men left Weissman in the basement and went to work on the safe upstairs.

Police Lt. Ted Browne said the wall safe, hidden behind clothes in a closet, was forced open with a garden pick.

Weissman said two defense lawyers and one defendant in the kidnap trial had been living at Perry's home.

He said the lawyers and some of Perry's friends came to the house for lunch a few minutes after the robbers left.

By that time, Weissman said, he had managed to untie himself.

"There sure is a lot going on here," Weissman said. "New York City is just congested to Monroe."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

10 CHARLOTTE OBSERVER  
Charlotte, N. C.

Date: 2-27-64

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

10 CHARLOTTE OBSERVER  
Charlotte, N. C.

Date: 2-27-62  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor:  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification

**THE MILITANT/APRIL 4, 1975**

## Court ruling on schools

# Setback for desegregation in Los Angeles

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Plans for a demonstration against school segregation here May 17 have assumed a special urgency with the overturning of a court-ordered desegregation plan.

Five years ago, civil rights forces won a significant victory when a superior court judge ruled that the Los Angeles city school district had deliberately structured the system to maintain segregated schools and ordered implementation of a plan for desegregation.

On March 11, the California Appeals Court overturned the desegregation order, ruling in favor of an appeal by the Los Angeles school board. The Los Angeles school district is now free of any legal requirement to desegregate.

The appeals court decision is a model of racist sophistry. In striking down the lower court ruling, the appeals court did not contest the hard fact of Los Angeles school segregation. Instead it simply asserted that it was necessary to establish that the school

board had "intentionally discriminated against minority students by practicing a deliberate policy of racial segregation."

Segregation, the learned judges asserted, was the "result" of actions taken or not taken, but it had not been proven that it was the "purpose" of such action or inaction. Segregation, they opined, "was ignored rather than intentionally fostered."

In ruling that segregation must be "deliberate" to be unconstitutional the appeals court cited a 1973 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in a Denver desegregation case in which the same conclusion was reached.

The appeals court returned the case to the superior court for "fact finding" as to whether or not there had been a "deliberate" attempt to segregate.

The suit was originally filed by the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California in 1963. Despite the order for further consideration, the ACLU said it would appeal the present ruling to the California Supreme Court, and to the U.S. Supreme Court if need be.

Los Angeles School Superintendent William Johnston was "gratified" by the appeals court decision and said it confirmed that the school board had not "taken any action to segregate its students."

The original court ruling had presented extensive factual material showing that the selection of school sites and the drawing up of school zone boundaries had been done in such a way as to preserve segregation.

The result of what the Los Angeles school board has done is clear. There are probably few Southern towns with a more totally segregated school system.

As of 1970—the last year for which detailed figures are available—some 300,000 pupils, almost a majority of the school population, attended segregated schools.

Defining a segregated school as one in which more than half of the students are nonwhite, researchers found that two-thirds of the Chicano and Asian students in Los Angeles were in such schools. (The figure would be far higher for Chicanos except that East Los Angeles, the principal Chicano area, is not part of the Los Angeles city school district.)

Among Blacks, segregation is nearly total. From Black students as a whole, from elementary schools through community colleges, 94.2 percent were segregated. Among elementary school pupils the figure was 97 percent.

Needless to say, within the context of a generally overcrowded, understaffed school system, the situation is worse in the nonwhite schools than in the white schools. This is a fact even from the elementary standard of physical safety. Most of the schools failing to meet earthquake safety standards are the nonwhite ones.

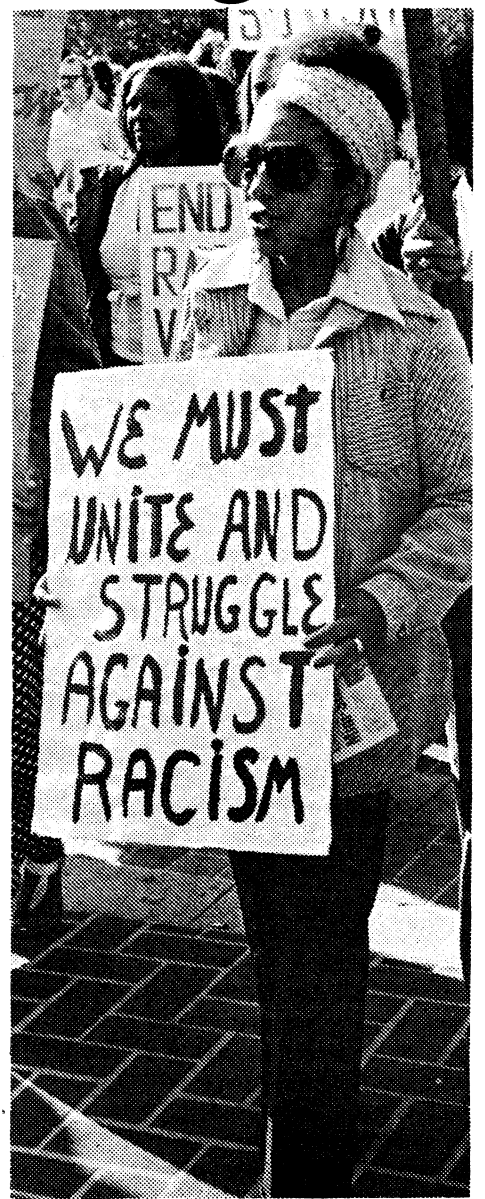
The reactionary court ruling comes on the heels of a setback for the desegregation forces in neighboring Pasadena. There, a recall election to oust school board members who sabotaged school busing was lost. The present decision will add to the difficulties of the ongoing fight in that community.

The determination of the ACLU to continue the court fight is certainly to be welcomed. But the reversal of the desegregation decision underlines the fact that opponents of school segregation cannot rely on legal action alone.

It is now twelve long years since the racist Los Angeles school board was taken into court. Los Angeles school segregation remains as firmly entrenched as the day the first brief was filed.

To give meaning to the legal fight it is essential that the victims of school racism and their allies be mobilized and that a visible protest movement be built involving masses of people.

The May 17 demonstration being



Militant/Harry Ring

Dec. 14 march for school desegregation in Pasadena. Further actions are needed to fight court ruling denying equal education to Blacks and Chicanos.

planned in Los Angeles by the Committee Against Segregated Education offers the means for spurring the development of such a movement.

## The issues in Boston

**The Racist Offensive Against Busing: The Lessons of Boston; How to Fight Back** by Willie Mae Reid, Peter Camejo, and others. 50 cents

**Who Killed Jim Crow? The story of the civil rights movement and its lessons for today** by Peter Camejo. 60 cents.

**From Mississippi to Boston: The demand for troops to enforce civil rights.** An Education for Socialists bulletin. 75 cents.

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

# Cleveland meeting maps plans for May 17

By Herman Kirsch

CLEVELAND—One hundred ten people, including representatives from high schools and colleges throughout the city, the Cleveland Council of Union Women, and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, attended a planning meeting of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), held at Cleveland State University (CSU) on March 15.

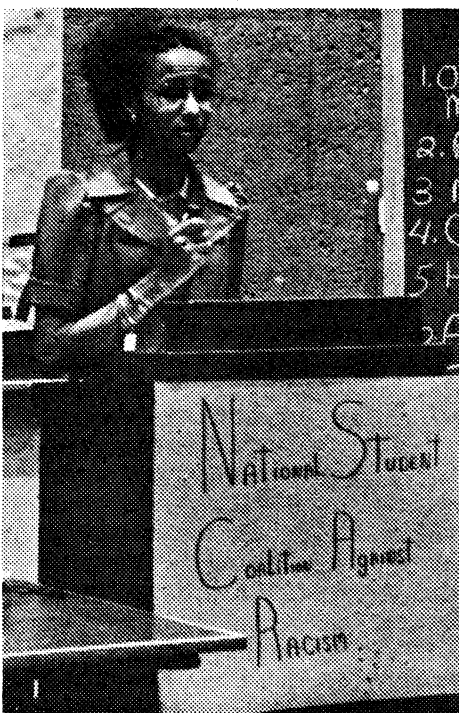
The meeting voted to endorse the May 17 national march on Boston in support of school desegregation. In addition, the coalition plans to organize an informational picket line on April 4, a teach-in on April 25, and a rally on April 26.

Janet Thompson, president of the CSU Society for Afro-American Unity, gave a report on campus organizing. In motivating the need to press forward in the struggle for Black rights, she drew on the history of the civil rights movement.

"I don't need to tell anyone here today that fighting for equal rights, whether it be in education, for jobs, or the right to be served at a lunch counter, is simple and easy," she said. "Many thousands were jailed, hundreds were injured by the police or racists. Some were killed. Nevertheless,

the struggle was worth it. . . . Segregation and discrimination are illegal."

"We're telling people that Jim Crow is dead," she added. "Nobody or no



Militant/Herman Kirsch

Janet Thompson, president of Cleveland State University Society for Afro-American Unity, gives report on campus organizing for May 17.

organization, whether it be the KKK, the White Citizens' Council, the John Birch Society, the Nazis, or the racists in Boston and Collinwood, will be allowed to revive this hated institution."

Terry Dimchek, a member of the legal staff of the NAACP, reported that 90 percent of the Black students in Cleveland are now attending segregated schools. He appealed for support to a suit pending against the Cleveland Board of Education to prevent the board from continuing its policy of segregating Black students.

Don Salette, a high school student, described the inequities between the white and Black schools in Cleveland. "White schools over the past decade have received as much as \$500 more per student than Black schools," he said.

Salette described a struggle around East Technical High School, a predominantly Black school that was in such bad shape that it was condemned. When a new campus was built, the racist school board tried to redistrict the new school away from the Black community. "Only mass protests prevented the school board from carrying out its plans," he said.

A group of twelve people, including members of the Revolutionary Union,

Congress of African People, and Youth Against War and Fascism, argued against supporting the May 17 march on Boston.

After a thorough discussion and vote it was clear that the overwhelming majority of the meeting wanted to actively build the Boston march in addition to the local activities.

The gathering also heard reports on NSCAR activities throughout the state. In Cincinnati the coalition participated with the NAACP in a picket line against a local firm to protest racist hiring practices.

In Columbus, NSCAR protested the firing of Charles Williams, director of the Office of Minority Affairs at Ohio State University. At Akron University the coalition joined forces with the student government and Black United Students to protest the appearance of a Ku Klux Klan speaker on campus.

It was also reported that the Louisville, Kentucky, chapter of NSCAR is supporting a desegregation suit filed by the NAACP and is planning a teach-in against racism in April.

The Cleveland chapter of NSCAR will be holding regular meetings. For further information contact Room 307, Student Center, Cleveland State University, Cleveland, Ohio. Telephone: (216) 621-4012.



# 'The best workers paper in the country'

By Pat Galligan

"Latest issue of the *Militant*. Best workers' paper in the country!"

Many of the people who pass Gordon Corcoran as he hawks the *Militant* every Saturday at the Brentwood Village shopping area in Washington, D.C., must agree.

Sales go at a brisk pace and people often stop to talk when they pick up their weekly copy. Corcoran has lost a few of his regular customers, though; they bought subscriptions to make sure they wouldn't miss a single issue.

Another Washington D.C., supporter, Anne Springer, sells thirty or more *Militants* each week at different spots around the city. She finds that wherever she sells—at shopping centers in the Black community or in student neighborhoods—there is usually a *Militant* article of interest to the people she approaches.

The case of Joanne Little has sparked considerable interest in Washington, where community groups are organizing defense for the Black woman framed up on murder charges. "Everyone here knows who Joanne Little is," Springer said. "Many of the Black women I talked to bought the *Militant* as soon as they heard there was an article about her in the paper."

Springer adds that Black women are also especially interested in the coverage of Dr. Kenneth Edelin in Boston and the Chicago mayoral campaign of Willie Mae Reid.

Teams of D.C. socialists have also been going door-to-door in public housing projects, apartment buildings, and houses in the city and neighboring suburbs. On one Saturday, these teams sold fifty-seven subscriptions and 297 single copies of the *Militant* in predominantly Black neighborhoods.

Local areas report sales of 7,544 copies of the March 21 *Militant* (headline: Nat'l NAACP backs May 17). Nineteen of the thirty-four areas reporting made their sales goals. An additional 1,691 *Militants* were sold by the Young Socialist traveling teams.

To date, 4,773 subscriptions have been sent in. This is 53 percent of our goal of obtaining 9,000 new readers—just three percentage points behind where we should be. Eleven areas are on or ahead of schedule.

The YS teams have sold 1,159 subscriptions so far in the drive. The New England, Mid-Atlantic, and Missouri/Kansas teams are averaging about thirty subscriptions per week.

During an effort like the current circulation drive, our supporters talk to tens of thousands of people about the *Militant*. Reasons for buying a single copy or a subscription are as varied as the places where the *Militant* is sold.

Ike Nahem is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance in Upper West Side New York. He sells upwards of thirty papers each week in Harlem and on the Columbia University campus.

Nahem has built up a regular clientele in Harlem during the past year. "I find that people who buy the paper in Harlem not only like the *Militant's* political perspective but they're impressed with the straightforward presentation of the facts," he said. "They find news in the *Militant*, coverage of the antiracist struggle in Boston, for example, that they can't find anywhere else. They look to the *Militant* for the truth."

"The *Militant's* World Outlook section is especially popular among international students at Columbia," Nahem added. "I sold the March 21 *Militant* to an Ethiopian student on the basis of the feature on Eritrea. He came back and purchased two more copies for friends."

Glen Swanson reports from Logan, Utah, that a recent issue of the *Militant* sold well there because of Linda Jenness's column on the Mormon church's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment.

A good reason to buy the *Militant* is also a good reason to sell the *Militant*, many readers decide. We receive orders for new bundles every week.

A subscriber at Ellsworth Air Force Base in South Dakota recently ordered a bundle of ten *Militants*. During his first week of sales, he sold so enthusiastically that he sold out not only the entire bundle but his own subscription copy as well!

Two former prisoners who received the *Militant* while in prison are now selling the paper, one in a community literature center and the other at the junior college he attends.

Last week, we received a bundle order from a student at the University of Wisconsin in Oshkosh. "All profits from the sales would go toward organizing a solidarity rally here for the May 17 antiracism march in Boston."

The week of April 12-19 is being planned as a special week of expanded *Militant* sales across the country. Join us in this effort. Order a weekly bundle of the *Militant* today.



Militant/Martha Harris

Fulton Street, Brooklyn. Why buy the 'Militant'? As many reasons as readers. . . .

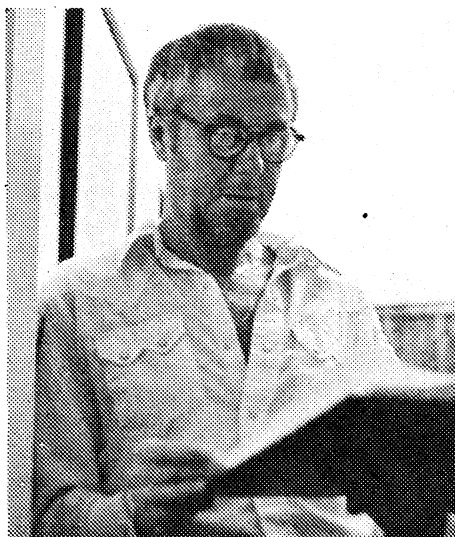
## Sales scoreboard

Area	Quota	Sold last week	%	Milwaukee	200	145	73
Sacramento, Calif.	18	23	127	Pittsburgh	100	73	73
Baltimore	75	90	120	Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	400	283	71
San Francisco	450	481	107	Lawrence, Kans.	25	17	68
St. Louis	400	419	105	Oakland/Berkeley	600	372	62
Houston	500	519	104	Portland, Ore.	325	202	62
Washington, D.C.	400	414	104	Brooklyn, N.Y.	400	210	53
Cleveland	350	364	104	Upper West Side, N.Y.	425	167	39
Denver	350	358	103	Boston	400	145	36
Atlanta	475	485	102	Total	9,100	7,544	83
San Diego	275	278	101	Young socialist teams			
Detroit	600	602	100	Missouri/Kansas	100	173	173
Louisville, Ky.	35	35	100	Northwest	100	159	159
San Antonio, Tex.	35	35	100	Mid-Atlantic	100	133	133
Albany, N.Y.	30	30	100	Michigan/Indiana	100	128	128
Nashville, Tenn.	30	30	100	Southeast	100	127	127
Logan, Utah	25	25	100	Northern Calif.	100	122	122
Madison, Wis.	25	25	100	Pennsylvania	100	115	115
Amarillo, Tex.	10	10	100	New England	100	112	112
Champaign, Ill.	5	5	100	Texas	100	105	105
Chicago	600	565	94	Illinois/Wisconsin	100	105	105
Philadelphia	125	115	92	N.Y./N.J./Conn.	100	104	104
L.A. (Central-East)	375	308	82	Upper Midwest	100	100	100
Twin Cities	300	240	80	Rocky Mountain	100	100	100
L.A. (West Side)	375	274	73	Southern Calif.	100	68	68
Seattle	275	200	73	Ohio/Kentucky	100	40	40
				Total	1,500	1691	113

## Rally demands freedom for Bukovsky, Moroz

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—More than 175 people attended a spirited rally here March 18 to demand that the Kremlin release courageous Soviet dissidents Vladimir Bukovsky and Valentyn Moroz. Bu-



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

ERIC BENTLEY: Defense of Soviet prisoners is task of American dissidents, not right-wing hypocrites.

kovsky and Moroz are serving long sentences in Vladimir Prison as punishment for their activities and writings in defense of democratic rights in the Soviet Union. Both are seriously ill and are being denied adequate medical care by prison authorities.

Pavel Litvinov, who was to have been the featured speaker, was unable to attend the meeting, but another Soviet dissident in forced exile, Boris Shragin, took his place. Shragin emphasized the value of public actions in defending Soviet political prisoners. "Meetings like today's," he stated, "have an enormous significance in this whole matter."

Shragin pointed out that the democratic movement in the USSR is made up of individuals holding a broad range of viewpoints who are fighting not so much for the triumph of their own opinion as for the right to have an opinion.

Playwright Eric Bentley and civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn both stated that they were joining in solidarity with the rally—and not with the hypocritical appeals of the U.S. gov-

ernment and the right-wingers—because the participants were themselves genuine American dissidents, and not anticommunists.

Margrit Wreschner of Amnesty International and Adrian Karatnycky of the Committee for the Defense of



Militant/Brian Shannon

GEORGE NOVACK: Let the dissidents know they are not isolated and alone.

Soviet Political Prisoners recounted the facts of the Bukovsky and Moroz cases. Writer and literary critic Alfred Kazin spoke of the "tyranny of mediocrity" in the USSR that fears, and therefore persecutes, talented people such as Moroz and Bukovsky.

George Novack spoke as a representative of the Socialist Workers party. He stressed that although the speakers represented a variety of viewpoints, "we can unite in opposition to the injustices inflicted by [the Stalinists] and let the dissidents know that they're not isolated and alone in this struggle."

Antonin Liehm, a leading literary figure in Czechoslovakia who supported the movement for "socialism with a human face" in 1968 and was subsequently forced into exile, paid tribute to Pavel Litvinov and the other Soviet dissidents who demonstrated on Red Square against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Liehm also called on the meeting to demand freedom for Sergei Paradzhanov, an Armenian film director who has been framed up and imprisoned.

# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**WOMEN: FROM LEADERS TO FOLLOWERS—THE ORIGINS OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION.** Speaker: Evelyn Reed, author of *Woman's Evolution*. Fri., April 4, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

## CHICAGO

**FBI & POLICE ATTACKS ON SOCIALIST & BLACK MOVEMENTS.** Speakers: Andrew Pulley, 1972 Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate; Prof. Morris Starsky, victim of government harassment. Fri., April 4, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

## CLEVELAND

**THE RACIST AND SEXIST CLEVELAND SCHOOL SYSTEM.** Speaker: Christine Gavreau, Socialist Workers party candidate for school board. Fri., April 4, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

## HOUSTON

**MARXISM VS. STALINISM.** Part of weekly socialist class series. Sat., April 5, 4 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Admission free. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

**WHY CAN'T EVERYBODY HAVE A JOB?** Speaker: Ed Heisler, cochairperson, Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. Fri., April 4, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

## NASHVILLE, TENN.

**DÉTENTE VS. REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALISM.** Class and discussion. Tues., April 1, 8 p.m. Room 203 Sarratt Student Center, Vanderbilt University. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (615) 383-2583.

## NEW YORK CITY

**A TRIBUTE TO MARTIN LUTHER KING.** Speakers: Percy Sutton, Manhattan borough president; Lillian Roberts, associate director, District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Fred Samuel, city councilmember from Harlem; Piri Thomas, author of *Down These Mean Streets*; Carl Lawrence, president, New York Branch, NAACP; Sam Manuel, coordinator, New York Student Coalition Against Racism; Rev. Timothy Mitchell, National Conference of Black Churchmen; Joette Chauncy, president, Black Student Union, Lexington High School, Boston. Fri., April 4, 7:30 p.m. Martin Luther King, Jr. Auditorium, Harlem Hospital, Lenox Ave. & 136 St. Ausp: New York Branch, NAACP; New York Student Coalition Against Racism; National Conference of Black Churchmen. For more information call (212) 866-8832.

## OAKLAND/BERKELEY

**SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM: ARE THEY COMPATIBLE?** Speaker: Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau Editor of the *Militant*. Fri., April 4, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

## TWIN CITIES

**THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN ERITREA.** Speakers: Goitam Semere, president, Eritreans for Liberation; Hanna Cahsal, member, Eritreans for Liberation. Fri., April 4, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

# ...Portugal

*Continued from page 9*

PPD, even though they acknowledge that it can hardly be qualified as a defender of bourgeois "democracy."

Like his Socialist party counterpart, Cunhal has been calling for social peace and unity behind the government. In an interview with *Diario de Noticias*, published March 15, he said: "We are confident that the working classes and the popular masses in general will understand that, in the present situation, an artificial aggravation of conflicts and a wave of strikes would contribute to a deterioration of the economic, social, and political situation that would favor reaction and not the Portuguese people."

Cunhal denounced forces to the left of the CP as "pseudorevolutionary groups," charging that "their provocations and disturbances are in effect playing the game of reaction."

Such slanders helped prepare the "suspension" by the military council on March 18 of two "far-left" parties, the Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party (MRPP) and the Workers and Peasants Alliance (AOC). Along with the right-wing Christian Democratic party, they will not be permitted to contest the elections to the Constituent Assembly, now scheduled for April 25.

The masses' mobilization in response to the attempted rightist coup, and their demonstrated capacity to outflank the reformist leaders, have aroused considerable apprehension among Portugal's NATO allies.

The *New York Times* and other leading American dailies have been campaigning against what the *Times's* editors call "a threatened Communist takeover" in Portugal. There are mounting calls in the news media for CIA covert action, or other forms of intervention by Washington—veiled, of course, in expressions of regret that this is "no longer possible."

An incident two days after the

aborted coup indicated the determination of the Portuguese workers to resist any attempt to restore a repressive regime. When rumors spread through an edgy Lisbon that U.S. Navy units were moving toward Portugal, *Le Monde* reported March 15, the people in some Lisbon neighborhoods began to erect barricades.

# ...FBI

*Continued from page 25*

in the house while the others went to court," Weissman recalled.

"While I was alone in the house, there was a phone call for Dr. Perry. When I said he was not there, the caller asked me who was there besides myself. I said there was no one.

"An hour or so later the doorbell rang, and I looked out through the glass and I saw a young Black man with an envelope. I opened the door, and he said that the envelope was for Dr. Perry. When I reached to take it, he produced a pistol."

The robber directed Weissman to the basement. A second man, whom Weissman did not see, entered the house. They tied Weissman to a chair and went upstairs.

"After they left, I freed myself," Weissman said. "About the same time Dr. Perry and the others returned from the trial. It turned out that a wall safe hidden in the closet had been broken into and robbed."

Since it was not unusual for doctors to keep money in their offices, this was assumed at the time to be a simple robbery. Weissman now has second thoughts about that.

"Looking back on it now, especially in view of the revelations about the methods of the FBI and the CIA, I wonder if they had a hand in it."

"The investigation of the robbery seemed mostly aimed at me," Weissman remembers. "The state police proposed that I take a lie detector test."

The documents on the next pages outline this operation. In another document not reproduced here, the FBI openly stated that its goal was to "cause the SWP and CAMD to cease their efforts on behalf of the defendants."

The Monroe defendants' conviction was overturned, and the prosecution was not able to try the case again. However, Williams is now back in the

United States and is still fighting extradition to North Carolina. He needs financial help for his continuing legal battle. The address for contributions or to get more information on his case is P.O. Box 611, Baldwin, Michigan 49304.

# ...Oliver

*Continued from back page*

15 to launch the campaign. Linda Jenness, cochairperson of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, spoke, along with candidates Oliver, Bivins, Clifford, and Williams.

Marcia Codling, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and Liz Casey, from the Committee to Defend Abortion Rights, presented greetings to the rally.

Greetings were also sent by several people who could not attend the banquet. Among them were Rexford Weng, vice-president at-large of the Massachusetts State Labor Council. "It is right and fitting, and very timely," Weng said, "that the Socialist Workers party run candidates for president, vice-president, and mayor of Boston because the candidates will show the working men and women of this country and the working men and women of this racist city of Boston that there is a real alternative to the disaster of the two-party system."

Florence Luscomb, a leader of the women's suffrage movement, also sent greetings. She cited the struggle for school desegregation and the defense of Edelin as the two most important issues in this election campaign. She concluded, "What other political party takes the uncompromising stand for equality and justice on these two issues that the SWP does? The SWP is the outstanding defender of American principles."

Professor Noam Chomsky wrote, "It is gratifying to know that there will be a voice in the Mayoralty Campaign calling for the radical social change that is so desperately needed in the United States, and vigorously opposing racism and oppression."

Greetings were also read from Elaine Noble, Massachusetts state representative, and John Boone, director of the National Campaign Against Prisons.

More than \$2,500 was donated or pledged toward the campaign at the rally.

# Socialist Directory

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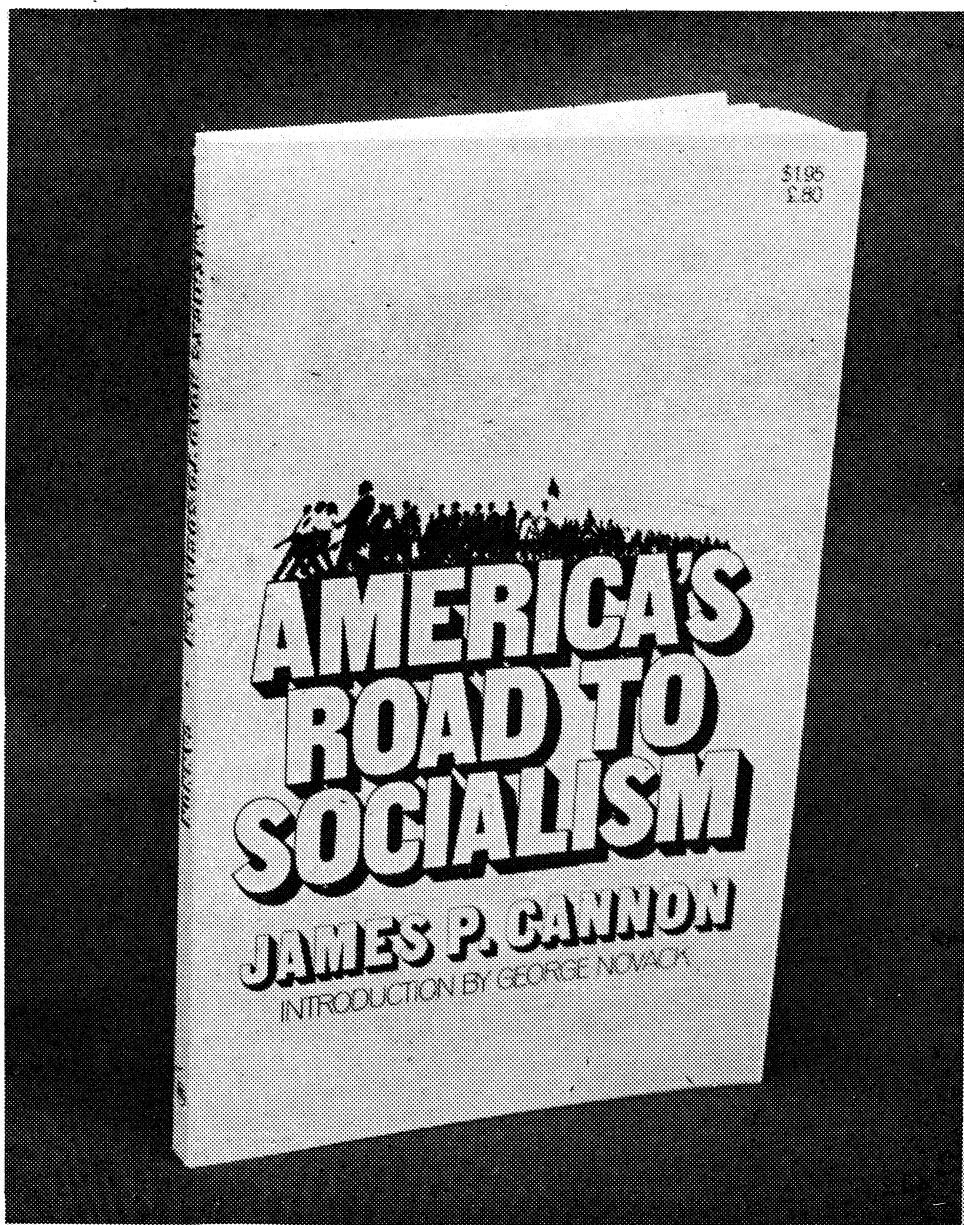
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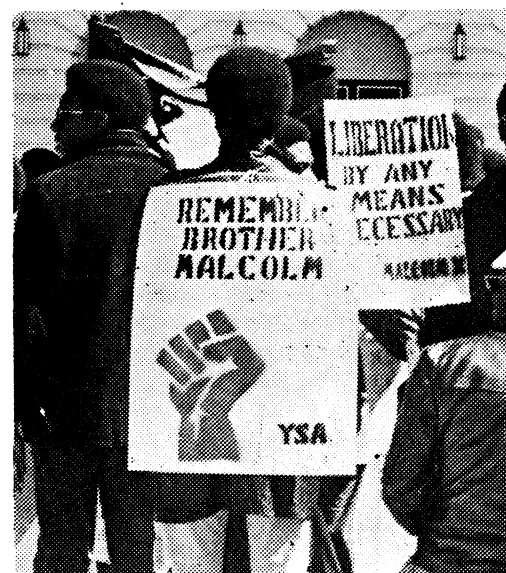


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## April 4 meetings to carry on King's fight

By Peter Seidman

BOSTON—April 4, the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, will be marked by meetings around the country to commemorate his role in the struggle for Black rights and carry forward that struggle by building support for the May 17 NAACP-called national march on Boston for school desegregation.

In Harlem, a meeting will take place at 7:30 p.m. at the Martin Luther King Auditorium of Harlem Hospital. Jointly sponsored by the New York Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), the New York branch of the NAACP, and the National Conference of Black Churchmen, the event will be chaired by Carl Lawrence, head of the New York NAACP.

Speakers will include Percy Sutton, Manhattan borough president; Fred Samuel, city council member from Harlem; Piri Thomas, author of *Down These Mean Streets*; Rev. Timothy Mitchell, head of the Commission for the Elimination of Racism of the Council of Churches, City of New York; and Sam Manuel, coordinator of New York SCAR.

In Northern California, SCAR and the El Cerrito NAACP are cosponsoring a San Francisco Bay Area teach-in against racism in education on April 5. Speakers will include Michael Zinzun, a leader of the desegregation struggle in Pasadena, California; Percy Steele, national executive director of the Urban League; Robert Allen, of the *Black Scholar*; and Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR). The teach-in will be held at 7:30 p.m. at the First Unitarian Church, at Franklin and Geary streets, San Francisco.

In Pittsburgh the NAACP is holding a memorial meeting for Martin Luther



Martin Luther King at 1963 civil rights demonstration. Meetings around country will honor him and build support for May 17 antiracist march on Boston.

King on April 4. The featured speaker will be Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP. The Boston NAACP initiated the call for the May 17 march. Other speakers include Msgr. Charles Rice of the Holy Rosary Church and Fr. Augustus Taylor.

Chairing the meeting will be Byrd Brown, former chairperson of the Pittsburgh NAACP. The meeting will take place at the Saint Bridgid-Saint Benedictine the Moor Church at 91 Crawford Street. For further information call the NAACP at (412) 471-1024, or Pittsburgh SCAR at (412) 624-5920.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) has called for an April 4 march in Washington, North

Carolina, to defend Joanne Little. Little, a Black woman, faces murder charges for defending herself from attempted rape by her white jailer.

Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the SCLC explained that the anniversary of the King assassination has been chosen for the demonstration because, "If he could be with us today, I know that he would be in North Carolina fighting to save the life of this young Black woman."

In Cincinnati, SCAR is helping to organize an April 4 demonstration for jobs called by Operation PUSH.

SCAR chapters in Boston plan a series of campus events to commemorate the King assassination and spread

the word about the May 17 march for desegregation.

At Boston College a meeting will take place on April 3 cosponsored by SCAR and the student government. On April 4 *Montgomery to Memphis*, a film depicting the life of Dr. King, will be shown at the University of Massachusetts, Boston campus. On the same day the University of Massachusetts, Amherst campus, will be the scene of a tribunal on school desegregation.

Many other activities are taking place throughout April leading up to the May 17 action.

The SCAR chapter of Tufts University is organizing a campus referendum on the desegregation of the Boston schools April 14-18. A series of meetings and debates will precede the referendum.

Boston SCAR is planning a city-wide concert and rally at Northeastern University on April 19 to raise funds for organizing efforts for the May 17 demonstration.

April picket lines, conferences, or rallies are also planned in St. Louis, Philadelphia, Seattle, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Denver, San Diego, and Portland, Oregon.

The national office of NSCAR has announced that a national steering committee meeting will be held in Boston on April 12. Local chapters are urged to send representatives to this meeting, which will hear a report on plans for the May 17 demonstration and discuss what NSCAR can do to maximize student participation in the march and rally.

NSCAR is also preparing a May 17 button designed by Doonesbury creator Gary Trudeau. These buttons will cost thirty-five dollars per hundred. For more information contact NSCAR: 720 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02115. Telephone: (617) 266-9665.

## Boston SWP announces Oliver for mayor

By Anne Teesdale

BOSTON—"The first thing I would do as mayor is enforce desegregation of all the Boston schools," said Norman Oliver at a March 14 news conference here announcing the Socialist Workers party candidates in the municipal elections.

"I would call upon the federal government to bring in troops to defend the Black students who are daily victims of racist assaults. Black students must be protected by any means necessary," he said.

Oliver, who has been active in the struggle for school desegregation, also pledged that he would eject ROAR, the antibusing organization, from the city council chambers, where they now hold their weekly meetings. Instead, Oliver said, he would "invite the Black community in" to organize the fight to enforce desegregation.

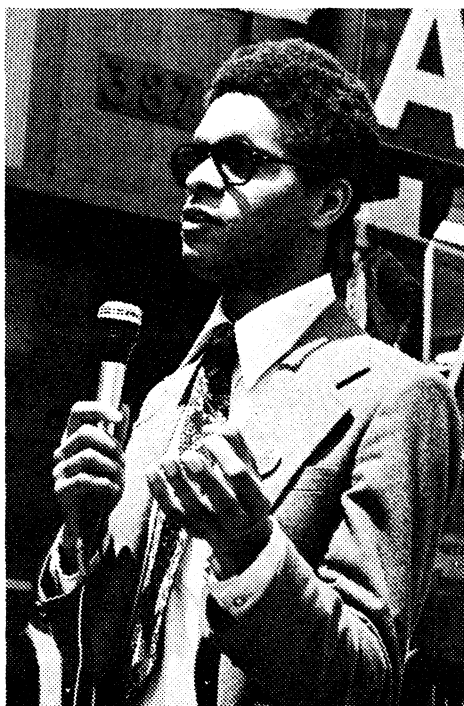
"I am the only candidate who stands on the side of the Black schoolchildren, of women, of every working man and woman who is struggling to meet day-

to-day needs on an inadequate paycheck—or worse, no paycheck at all," the candidate added.

Oliver pointed out that his opponents in the mayor's race have been competing with each other for the racist vote and have been climbing on every reactionary bandwagon that appears. "They've whipped up a movement to curb a woman's right to abortion—victimizing a Black doctor, Kenneth Edelin, whose only crime was to stand up for the rights of women—and especially Black and poor women—to abortion."

"Mayor White has jumped to commit city funds to an appeal of the court's desegregation order. He has suggested that the city could support 'private' schools set up by whites to escape desegregation. But has he lifted one finger to find city funds to defend Dr. Edelin?"

Oliver urged everyone who supports the right of Black students to an equal education to participate in the May 17 national march against racism,



OLIVER: "The first thing I would do as mayor is enforce school desegregation."

called by the NAACP, to be held in Boston.

Running with Oliver on the SWP slate are Ollie Bivins and Deborah Clifford, candidates for school committee; and Jon Hillson and Reba Williams, nominees for city council.

In a statement to the news media, Bivins expressed support for a suit filed recently by the NAACP challenging the system of at-large elections for the school committee. Under the present procedure a Black candidate can win the overwhelming majority of votes in the Black community and still be defeated in the city-wide race. "This effectively disenfranchises the Black community and ensures that there will be no Black representation on the school committee," Bivins said.

The announcement of the SWP campaign received front-page coverage in the city's major newspaper, the *Boston Globe*, and was covered widely on television and radio.

A spirited rally was held here March 14.

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