

THE MILITANT

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

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Mideast accord: road to new war

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In Brief

JURY DENIES DAMAGES FOR KENT STATE VICTIMS: A federal jury decided August 27 to exonerate Ohio Gov. James Rhodes, former Kent State University president Robert White, and twenty-seven Ohio national guardsmen from any responsibility for the Kent State shootings of May 1970. After three months of testimony and five days of deliberation, the jury of six men and six women voted nine to three against the plaintiffs, the parents of the four students killed at Kent State and the nine students wounded.

The civil damage suit hinged on the constitutional right of freedom of assembly and the right to pursue life and liberty without excessive government force. The students were shot after guardsmen dispersed a peaceful antiwar rally on campus. The plaintiffs had asked for \$46 million in damages.

"The jury gave a license to the government to shoot anyone who disagrees with them," Elaine Holstein, mother of one of the slain students said after the verdict was announced. The plaintiffs' chief counsel, Joseph Kelner, immediately asked Judge Donald Young to set aside the verdict, which would mean calling a new trial. If this is denied, plaintiffs will appeal to a higher court on the grounds that Young made errors during the trial. Young refused to allow the introduction of some of the plaintiffs' arguments while permitting the defense to raise irrelevant material.

For example, the defense was allowed to question the plaintiffs about their political beliefs, but Young refused to let Kelner pursue evidence that guardsmen devised a cover-up story about the shootings. One guardsman did admit during the trial that he had lied about finding a gun on the body of one of the dead students.

Gary Garrison wins acquittal in Colorado

By Rich Feigenberg

DENVER—Gary Garrison, an activist in the Crusade for Justice, a militant Chicano organization, was acquitted September 2 of all charges brought against him. Garrison had been framed up on charges of arson, criminal mischief, and conspiracy in connection with the bombing of a paint store in January 1974.

Originally scheduled to be held in Denver a year ago, the trial was moved to Fort Morgan, an overwhelmingly white town, after prosecuting attorneys released to the press in a prejudicial manner "evidence" they claimed to have on Garrison.

The trial in Fort Morgan lasted fifteen days. Judge Waino Johnson dismissed the conspiracy charge after the first week. At the end, the jury, composed of eleven whites and one Chicana, took only two-and-a-half hours to find Garrison innocent of the remaining counts.

L.A. RED CROSS NURSES WIN PACT: Los Angeles Red Cross staff nurses won several gains in a contract approved August 21. Represented since last December by the American Federation of Nurses, a unit of Local 535 of the Service Employees International Union, the nurses received a 22.5 percent wage boost over twenty-nine months. They also won other benefits, including a thirty-seven-and-a-half-hour workweek.

Contract talks had reached an impasse and the nurses had enlisted the support of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, in preparing a boycott of the Red Cross blood bank program. Scores of unions in the Los Angeles area responded to the call and informed the Red Cross of their intentions to discontinue support in the event the nurses did not win their demands.

PICKETS DEMAND PARDON FOR MORGENTALER: Protesting the continued persecution of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, twenty-five people joined a picket line at the Canadian consulate in New York City August 27. Morgentaler has twice been acquitted by Canadian juries of charges of illegally performing abortions, but both verdicts were reversed by higher courts. The picket line was sponsored by the National Organization for Women.

A delegation from NOW delivered a letter to the Canadian consul general asking that an immediate pardon be granted Morgentaler. "To verbally and financially support International Women's Year while refusing Canadian women their most basic right—the right to control their own bodies—is the utmost hypocrisy, and is recognized as such by women around the world," the letter said.

MCCARTHY BARS AUDITORS: Auditors from the Federal Election Commission decided not to show up at presidential candidate Eugene McCarthy's headquarters

September 2 after his campaign manager made it clear they would not be admitted. In August the FEC announced plans to audit the books of presidential candidates in the running for tax money under the federal campaign law's matching fund provisions. Since he is running as an "independent" and not as a Democrat or Republican, McCarthy is not eligible for the federal handout, which goes only to candidates of those two parties.

McCarthy and others have legally challenged this provision of the law and a number of others, charging discrimination against smaller parties and independent candidates. The case will go before the U.S. Supreme Court this fall.

Because the FEC could give only "confusing and contradictory statements" as to why they want to audit McCarthy's books, "we are forced to draw the conclusion that there is no specific purpose or legal basis for the audit," says McCarthy's campaign chief, Ronald Cocome. The FEC will meet to decide what to do next.

POLL FINDS BIG BUSINESS NOT LOVED: The People's Bicentennial Commission hired pollster Peter Hart to find out what people think after 200 years of capitalist rule. His findings include the following: 61 percent of Americans believe there's a big-business conspiracy to keep prices high . . . 41 percent want sweeping changes in our economy, while only 17 percent favor letting it alone . . . 57 percent agree that both Democratic and Republican parties favor big business over the average worker while only 35 percent disagree . . . 58 percent think the big corporations dominate government, while only 25 percent think it is the other way around . . . and 66 percent would like to work for a company owned and controlled by those who work there.

SLANDER SUIT BROUGHT BY COPS DISMISSED: A slander and libel suit brought by the Los Angeles Policemen's Protective Association against a citizen who filed a complaint against four cops was thrown out of court recently. George Frey had filed an administrative complaint with the police department's Internal Affairs Division after he was beaten and choked by four cops while watching an arrest last August.

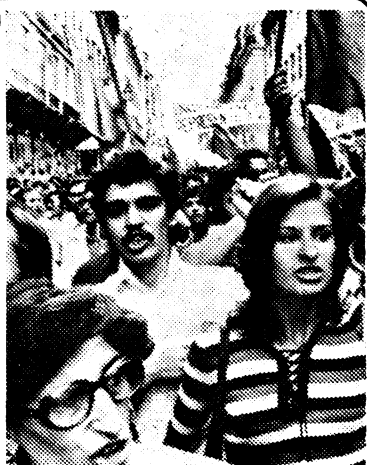
Frey was defended by the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU argued that the cops' suit was intended to make citizens fearful to file complaints against the police because of the threat of being involved in a long and costly lawsuit. The court agreed. The ACLU has also filed a countersuit on Frey's behalf, charging false imprisonment and assault and battery.

ACLU staff attorney Mark Rosenbaum stated, "The police officers' lawsuit, only one of some thirty-six similar suits, sought nothing less than to prevent citizens from exercising their constitutional right to complain about their public officials. One can only hope that the police will respect the decision by Judge [Thomas] Murphy and halt this noxious and blatantly unconstitutional practice once and for all."

—Nancy Cole

YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

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Boston socialist candidate demands: 'Use all force needed to stop racists'

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—At the entrance to the Warren Street mall in Roxbury in Boston's Black community, Socialist Workers party candidate Norman Oliver hands out campaign literature and talks to shoppers as they pass by.

"I'm running for mayor of Boston," he tells them, "and I think we have to work to make sure that Black students being bused are safe. I'm for sending federal troops to the racist strongholds, like South Boston, to see that Black children are protected."

A middle-aged man who has stopped to take a flyer smiles and says, "You bet. We ought to get the Eighty-second Airborne in there, too." He shakes Oliver's hand and walks into the store.

Oliver is the only Black candidate and the only probusing candidate in the mayoral race. And his campaign is sharply counterposed to those of the two Democratic contenders for mayor—incumbent Kevin White and State Sen. Joseph Timilty. Both are loud foes of desegregation, and each has appeared once in the Black community, amid much fanfare, in an effort to win Black votes.

This particular day of campaigning for Oliver and his supporters is a gray, rainy August 30, nine days before the second year of school desegregation—known as Phase Two—is set to start. Oliver talks to scores of Blacks about the same general theme: "We have to show our support for the Black students, we have to force the government to stop the racists, we have to get the troops to South Boston and Charlestown." The response is almost always favorable.

The racist terror reigning in Boston this summer has reinforced the urgency of his theme. City and state officials have consistently refused to use their power to halt the racist attacks on the Black community. Unless this situation is turned around, Black students will ride into South Boston under Phase Two this fall without adequate protection from the racist mobs intent on blocking desegregation by the use of violence.

Federal troops and all necessary

Volunteers needed

Between now and the election on September 23, supporters of Norman Oliver's mayoral campaign plan to reach as many Bostonians as possible with word of the only mayoral contender who supports the desegregation fight.

If you can help—by doing office work, joining street campaigners, or taking a bundle of campaign literature to pass out—contact the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters at 655 Atlantic Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02111. Telephone: (617)482-8050.

force must be used, says the Socialist Workers mayoral candidate, to implement the law of the land and protect Black youth exercising their right to equal education.

'Have to prepare'

Oliver greets a young Black woman and begins to talk about the fall. "We have to get prepared, get organized, get ready to march and demonstrate," he says. "ROAR [Restore Our Alienated Rights, the leading racist, antibusing organization] is all set to stop Phase Two."

Another woman leafs through the campaign brochure, pushing her baby carriage with one hand, shaking Oliv-



er's hand with the other. "It's good to hear you," she says, "It's good to see a brother running."

Meanwhile, supporters of the socialist campaign hand out hundreds of brochures and sell the *Militant*. A group of "gypsy" cab drivers at the entranceway look through the paper as they discuss South Boston. Twenty-five *Militants* are sold in an hour.

Oliver stops to talk with Sandra Chandler, the only Black on the Roxbury-South Boston Parents' Bilingual Council set up by Federal District Judge Arthur Garrity, who first ordered desegregation in Boston. She and Oliver discuss the opening of school.

"We should get people in the community together," Oliver says. "We have to work on this together; we should be united when the schools open."

"Good idea," Chandler says, "I know a lot of parents, maybe we can meet at my house." She wishes him good luck.

"White and Timilty have both courted ROAR in general," Oliver tells the *Militant* later. "Timilty is now on a public-relations campaign to sell the Black community his 'political metamorphosis' from a reactionary to a liberal. But Timilty attended ROAR's first national march on Washington last March to demand a constitutional amendment against busing to achieve desegregation. He has publicly boasted of his '100 percent record' against busing as a state legislator."

White's deals

Oliver went on: "White's 'liberal' image has been peeled away as well. The exposés revealing his secret meetings with ROAR, where he pledged substantial favors for the racists in return for their cooperation, has shown his real face."

The official sanction of the racist terror, Oliver says, "makes the need for decisive, massive action by the Black community and its allies even more urgent."

He points to the December 14 demonstration last year and the May 17 demonstration of 15,000 initiated by the NAACP as examples of such actions.

"I and the other candidates of the

SWP and our supporters helped to organize these demonstrations and marched in them. Where were White and Timilty?" asks Oliver.

Oliver was also involved in the monitoring effort at the Carson Beach picnic August 10, when nearly 1,500 Blacks gathered at the South Boston beach. His campaign supporters have been attending the organizing meetings of the "Crisis Intervention Teams" coordinated by Ruth Batson, a longtime leader in the desegregation fight. The teams under the sponsorship of Freedom House, a Black community center in Boston, are attempting to provide the information, student-parent counseling, and bus monitoring that will support the city's Black students during Phase Two.

Racist violence reached a new peak at Carson Beach. "The fact that several thousand racists showed up to keep Blacks off a public city facility shows the real face of the so-called antibusing movement," Oliver says.

"One sign made it crystal clear. It said, 'Keep niggers out.'"

"My campaign starts with the truth about these racists—it says what they are. The Democratic party is part and parcel of the racist movement. That is why White and Timilty work with it and defend it. And that is why it is suicidal for Blacks, for any defenders of equal rights, to support the Democratic party."

Running mates

Oliver's running mates have also stood out as supporters of Black equal rights. City council candidates Reba Williams and Jon Hillson are the only two candidates out of thirty-two in the field to speak out for Black rights. School committee candidates Ollie Bivins and Deborah Clifford have likewise demanded that federal troops be sent into the racist areas and have urged demonstrations to demand such action.

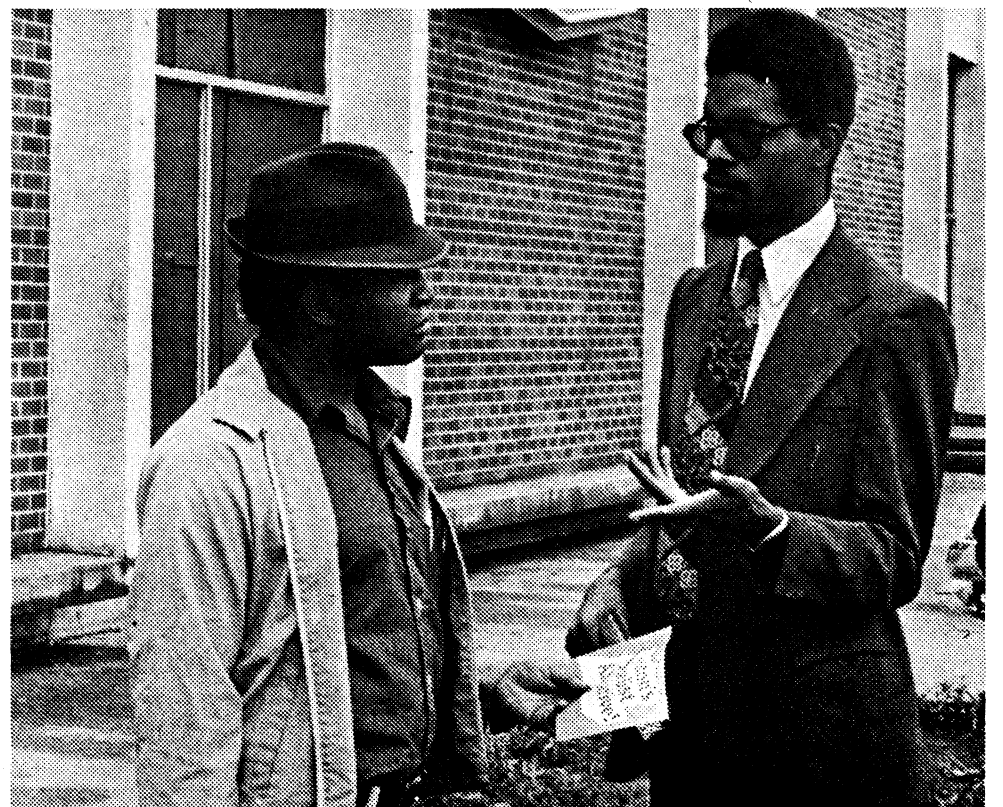
In the August 8 and August 29 *Boston Ledger*, a city-wide weekly newspaper, these four socialists appeared in marked contrast to the thirteen other candidates interviewed. The headlines read: "Bivins: Enforce desegregation order;" "Williams: Make city safe for Blacks;" "Deborah Clifford says busing necessary;" and "SWP candidate Hillson concerned with race issue."

The SWP, noted one of the interviewers, is "perhaps the only adamantly pro-busing group in town . . . [it has] developed a number of practical steps to accomplish the goals of peaceful desegregation and better education in Boston."

During the opening week of Boston colleges and universities, student supporters of Oliver and the socialist ticket will be organizing meetings and distributing thousands of pieces of campaign literature. They have begun to set up teams of poster hangers who plan to make sure that every Bostonian knows there is an alternative to the White-Timilty charade.

"What happens this fall in Boston is critical in the fight for Black rights from New York to California," says Oliver. "When President Ford looks at Boston and says 'I'm against busing,' that makes it clear what the stakes are."

"That is why every bit of the energy and resources of my campaign is committed to the fight of the Black community here to win the battle of Boston."



Norman Oliver (right), only Black and only probusing candidate in mayoral race, campaigns in Boston's Black community.

Interview with NSCAR leaders

Antiracist coalition maps fall activities

By Don Gurewitz

BOSTON—"There's no question that the racists are going to escalate their attacks on school desegregation when the schools reopen. We've got to be prepared to defend our Black youth."

That's the way Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, assessed the situation a week before the opening of Boston's public schools. He and two other NSCAR coordinators, Marcia Codling and Ray Sherbill, were interviewed by the *Militant* August 31.

"From September 8 through September 13 NSCAR has called for activities around the country in support of busing and the Black students in Boston," Dixon said. "Some sixty NSCAR chapters in dozens of cities will be initiating activities with other organizations—picket lines, rallies, teach-ins, news conferences—in support of the Boston school desegregation struggle."

"And we are urging all these chapters, as well as other organizations and individuals, to send telegrams to Mayor Kevin White, to Gov. Michael Dukakis, and to President Gerald Ford demanding peaceful implementation of school desegregation and enforcement of the law with all necessary force."

"In Boston," Dixon continued, "on Saturday, September 13, from 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon there will be a picket line at city hall in support of school desegregation and to demand that the city authorities meet their responsibility to protect the Black children and enforce the law."

"People will be attending that picket line from all over the country because on the afternoon at one o'clock there's going to be a national steering committee meeting of NSCAR. The meeting will be at the University of Massachusetts downtown annex at 100 Arlington Street."

"The meeting will discuss our fall activities and, especially, plan a big effort to build the second National Student Conference Against Racism, scheduled at Northeastern University in Boston on October 10, 11, and 12."

The conference was stressed by the NSCAR coordinators as a focus for antiracist forces around the country this fall. What will it be like?

"It will begin Friday night, October



NSCAR coordinators plan to continue actions like May 17 desegregation march in Boston shown above.

10, with a rally in Northeastern University's Cabot Gym," explained Codling. "Dick Gregory and Joanne Little have already both agreed to speak, and we hope to have a number of other important speakers."

"The conference will be open to anyone, Black, white, Puerto Rican, or whatever," said Sherbill. "Anyone who wants to help develop a national action campaign against discrimination in Boston and around the country is welcome. We know people will be coming from dozens of states and even foreign countries. We especially hope to have a large turnout from the high and middle schools in Boston. There'll be workshops and open sessions where everyone can speak, everyone can submit proposals, and everyone can vote."

Dixon, Codling, and Sherbill are all founding leaders of NSCAR. Dixon came to Boston a year ago after having been one of the leaders of the Detroit Black community's struggle to abolish a police terror unit there known as STRESS. Codling is a

student at Northeastern University and chairperson of the university's Minority Affairs Committee. Sherbill is a past president of the Boston University Student Union.

The organization they help to lead, NSCAR, is an important component of the fight to desegregate the Boston schools. It was founded last February by some 2,000 students, one-fourth of them Black or Puerto Rican, meeting at Boston University for a national conference on the Boston school crisis.

The main accomplishment of the coalition so far has been the massive mobilization of students and youth throughout the country for the May 17, 1975, national desegregation march in Boston called by the NAACP.

NSCAR was credited by the NAACP with organizing the more than 1,000 marshals who were largely responsible for the lack of any incidents during the demonstration.

Since May 17, NSCAR has continued its activities in the fight against racism. It was a major organizer of Joanne Little defense activities around

the country. It has collaborated with Black and student groups in the struggle for school desegregation and against police brutality in cities around the country.

After explaining that the school desegregation fight is spreading from coast to coast and that the racist anti-busing group ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) is rearing its head in a number of cities, the NSCAR coordinators went on to explain their strategy to roll back the racist offensive.

"The most important thing about NSCAR," said Dixon, "is that it is an organization that understands that the struggle must be Black-led, but at the same time it is open to anyone willing to become involved in concrete actions to secure Black rights."

Codling continued, "NSCAR has a policy of nonexclusion. We are aware that to go ahead and call any kind of demonstration or any kind of mass action, Blacks need support. Ever since the 1960s, when we have had mass actions—you know, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X—going out in the streets, marching and so forth, a large number of our supporters have been white."

"Maybe Blacks in Boston, who are a small minority, might not seem to be able to say what we want very effectively, but we have lots of support and we can win a lot more. Our supporters can help us in this fight. This was shown, I think, by the huge turnout for the NAACP march May 17."

Dixon jumped in. "I want to go back to one thing Marcia said about Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. King believed in organizing masses of Black people in the streets, as well as other supporters of Black people, to fight for our equal rights. In my opinion, that's the correct approach to winning desegregation because, one, it shows the support we have; and two, it begins to change public opinion. That's the key thing about mass action."

As we were winding up the interview, the NSCAR coordinators stressed the importance of students around the country, especially Black students, taking the lead in reviving the mass struggle for Black equality.

"People should set up NSCAR

Continued on page 26

'Educational & action campaign'

NSA pledges support to Black students

By Jon Hillson

WASHINGTON—Terming the Boston busing crisis "a national test of strength between supporters and foes of the right to equality in education," the annual congress of the National Student Association pledged its support "for the right of Black students in Boston to attend any school in that city."

The association decided to carry out "an educational and action campaign in support of such rights." As a part of this campaign, the NSA voted to "endorse and urge attendance of students to the October 10-12 second National Student Conference Against Racism, in Boston, as a positive step towards bringing together Black, white and Latino college and high school students and others to broaden and deepen student participation in the fight against racism."



NSCAR's JOETTE CHANCY: 'Go back to your campuses and get out the truth about Boston.'

The congress, which concluded on August 23, was attended by more than 400 students from 175 colleges and universities. The NSA represents more than 400 colleges and universities in the United States.

The resolution on Boston was submitted by outgoing NSA president Kathy Kelly. It was presented by Mike McGraw, a member of the NSA national supervisory board and student government president from the University of Northern Colorado. McGraw introduced himself as a member of the steering committee of the Colorado Student Coalition Against Racism.

The NSA and the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), which will sponsor the October conference, worked together to build support for the May 17 probusing march in Boston called by the NAACP.

Joette Chancy, national coordinator of NSCAR, attended the NSA congress

and presented a workshop on the Boston crisis. Chancy told the delegates about the upsurge of racist violence in Boston over the summer. "You have to go back to your campuses and get out the truth about Boston," she said.

Chancy, who urged the delegates to come to the October conference, also met informally with student leaders. She and Clyde Bellecourt, a national leader of the American Indian Movement who spoke at the gathering, pledged support to each other's efforts in the fight against racism.

Newly elected NSA president Clarissa Gilbert, a student government leader from the City University of New York, pledged her personal support to the NSCAR effort as well.

The NSA congress included among its chief priorities the goal of stopping cutbacks, opposing tuition hikes, and waging a struggle for open admissions.

Puerto Ricans in Mass. rebel against racist police murders

By Jon Hillson

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—“Wake up, Puerto Rican,” someone had sprayed on a wall in the North End barrio of this city. It symbolized the rage of the Puerto Rican community, which had exploded in three successive nights of rebellion August 27-29 in protest against the police slaying of a Puerto Rican youth August 26.

Twenty-one-year-old José Reyes and a companion were allegedly attempting to break into a store that evening. Reyes, according to the cops, appeared to brandish “a shiny metal object.” The cops shot him in the head. According to some residents, he was hit between the eyes.

Police disclosed that a search had turned up no weapons.

As word of the incident spread through the North End, police cars became targets of rocks tossed by angry residents. Fires broke out across the area and windows of stores were shattered.

The cops moved on the barrio in brutal force on the night of August 28, arresting sixteen in street dragnets. Twelve people, including five cops, were injured. Numerous incidents of cops storming into apartment buildings and clubbing residents in their homes were reported.

A photographer from the Memorial Square Neighborhood Council, a local community center, had taken pictures of “Springfield’s finest” at their most vicious moments. He had his camera seized after being clubbed by police.

The barrio explosion had been brewing for months, at least since the police slaying of Rafael Lecodet on March 29. A nineteen-year-old Puerto Rican, Lecodet was allegedly fleeing the scene of a petty theft when a gang of police caught up with him. He was brutally beaten, stabbed in the eye with a screwdriver, and shot on the spot. As police pummeled him he screamed for



Militant/Jon Hillson

Puerto Rican flag flies from tree in wake of barrio explosion in Springfield.

help, yelling, “I am a Puerto Rican and they are killing me.”

Seven eyewitnesses to the murder were denied the right to testify at the inquiry into the slaying because they did not speak English.

Street protests and minor skirmishes followed the Lecodet killing. His police assailants were found innocent of any wrongdoing.

After the latest murder, a statement by the Citizens Coalition for Justice linked it with the murder of Lecodet five months ago. The coalition includes a number of community agencies and is leading the effort to bring Reyes’s killers to justice. They said:

“What the city administration saw last night in the North End was a result of their turning their backs on the Rafael Lecodet incident. What did

they expect this time? The police officers involved never had to face consequences for their actions; now they’ve killed another Puerto Rican.”

On August 29, 200 mourners attending the funeral of Reyes spontaneously marched to the office of Springfield Mayor William Sullivan. They demanded the withdrawal of the police from the North End and the immediate suspension of Sgt. Thomas Rondeau, the white cop who shot Reyes. Sullivan rejected both demands.

Rondeau instead has been rewarded with a desk job at police headquarters while an “impartial” police investigation is being prepared.

In the wake of the barrio explosion, Puerto Rican flags drawn on poster board are tacked to trees here. At one of the key sites of battle between Puerto Ricans and police, a big homemade Puerto Rican flag flies from a tree.

The residents of the North End are angry. Tito and Raymond, two young Puerto Ricans, reflected the rage that had been simmering for months. Tito had been beaten by police. His wrists were raw and scabbed from the handcuffs.

“We’re at the bottom of the barrel, us Puerto Ricans,” Tito said. “But now we’re going to get some respect.”

Raymond had watched the cops run into a big rooming house and beat up his friends. “We’ve got to be like the Blacks,” he said. “They used to be down, at the bottom of the barrel, and they started to fight. That’s what we’ve got to do.”

Looming in the background is the opening of Springfield schools. Those schools are under a state court order to desegregate, and are involved in the second year of busing. While white resistance to desegregation was strong and organized last year, Springfield’s schools were relatively untouched by the violence that accompanied the inauguration of desegregation in Boston.

P.R. cops assault student leader

By Natascha López

RIO PIEDRAS, Puerto Rico—Tony Merle, a leader of the Liga de Juventud Comunista (LJC—Communist Youth League) was brutally assaulted and beaten by five university guards August 12 at the Río Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico.

The incident occurred around noon, when a university guard stopped Merle and accused him of having taken textbooks from the university bookstore without paying for them.

Four more guards rapidly joined the one who had detained Merle, and then proceeded to club him. A gash on his forehead took eleven stitches to close.

Merle was able to escape from the guards and ran to the bookstore, where a number of students were congregated. He had begun to explain what had just happened to him when the guards caught up with him, jumped him, handcuffed him, and started to drag him off to their headquarters.

Merle was bleeding profusely at this point and students demanded that instead of being taken to the guards’ offices he should first get medical attention. He was then taken to the university clinic, treated, and released.

Although the guards claim this is simply a case of arresting a student suspected of theft, the manner of the arrest and Merle’s background indicate the charge of theft was simply a cover for a political reprisal.

Merle was very active in a month-long October 1973 student strike. After that strike, he joined the Puerto Rican Socialist party. He was a leader of a group of PSP members and sympathizers who were doing political work in a rural area near the town of Yauco in the southwestern part of the island.

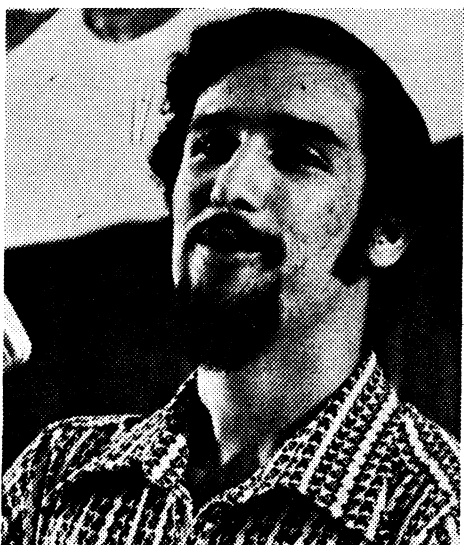
In 1974, he left the PSP after developing differences with the political positions of that party. He then joined a small Trotskyist study circle, which constituted itself as the LJC in the fall of 1974.

In September 1974 he ran for president of the student council of the Natural Sciences Faculty as part of a leftist slate, and came within six votes of winning the office.

More recently, he was one of the main speakers at a rally on campus in solidarity with the Vietnamese and Cambodian freedom fighters.

Clearly, the guards who attacked Merle knew who he was, and beat him for this reason. Moreover, a full week after the assault there had been no formal charges brought against Merle on the theft accusation.

In response to the attack on Merle, the LJC has called for the formation of a broad committee in his defense.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Tony Merle, leader of Puerto Rican Communist Youth League, was beaten by University of Puerto Rico guards.

For the crime of being Black...

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—Since they moved into their new home almost a year ago, Ormistan and Glenda Spencer and their three sons have been subjected to threats of physical attacks for the crime of being Black homeowners in the overwhelmingly white neighborhood of Rosedale, Queens.

In July 1974, three months before they moved in, a fire bomb was thrown at their newly-purchased \$40,000 red brick house. On December 31, a pipe bomb exploded in front of the Black family’s home.

A hand-printed note attached to the timer on the second bomb said: “Nigger be warned. We have time, we will



Ormistan and Glenda Spencer

get you. Your first born first.” It was signed, “Vive Boston KKK.”

Immediately after the bombing there were other physical attacks and threats against the handful of Blacks in the area. There was even a cross-burning in front of one home.

Now Ormistan Spencer also faces several criminal charges, arising from an August 27 incident in front of his house. That evening a station wagon drove by the Spencer’s home and its occupants threw garbage and bottles at the house. They shouted racist epithets as they went by.

Ormistan Spencer went outside to see what had happened, carrying a pistol for self-protection. When he tossed the garbage on his property to the curb, he was confronted with a crowd of forty whites.

A cop on the scene, instead of dispersing the threatening mob, demanded that Spencer turn over the gun, even though Spencer had not pointed it at anyone or threatened anyone with it. When the cop grabbed for the gun, it went off, wounding both Ormistan and Glenda Spencer.

Naturally, Ormistan Spencer was arrested.

The following morning he was arraigned on charges of assault, reckless endangerment, and possession of a dangerous weapon. He was also charged with “menacing,” on the complaint of Jerry Scalla, one of the people in the mob outside his home.

Scalla is cochairman of the Rosedale chapter of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), which boasts a roster of 700 families. Police told reporters that others in the mob were also ROAR members.

Rosedale ROAR takes its name, as well as its political inspiration, from the Boston group that has spearheaded the racist offensive against busing in that city, a reactionary drive that has led to numerous violent attacks on Blacks there in the past year.

Recently ROAR and other groups in Brooklyn and Queens have been threatening a boycott of public schools when a desegregation plan ordered by a federal court comes into effect this fall.

Michael Biggio, also a member of Rosedale ROAR’s executive committee, was charged for the New Year’s Eve bombing of the Spencer home.

Despite overwhelming evidence, an all-white jury failed to return a guilty verdict against Biggio and another person charged with him, in what Black community leaders called an example of “Dixie justice.”

After the December 31 bombing, things got so bad that the police department felt compelled to provide the Spencers with round-the-clock protection.

Last spring, ROAR organized a protest in front of the Spencer home against that protection. Later the

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Portuguese imperialists try to restore direct rule in Angola, ask Ford to help

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

The imperialist regime in Lisbon has scrapped its pledge to grant Angola formal independence by November 11. Fighting between the three Angolan nationalist groups—which has escalated into a virtual civil war—was used as a justification.

The open attempt by the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) to reimpose its direct administrative rule over Portugal's wealthiest colony began on August 14 when the acting high commissioner, Gen. Ernesto Ferreira do Macedo, announced the dissolution of the coalition regime and his take-over of all executive powers.

A government bulletin released in Luanda, Angola's capital, announced August 29 that the agreement signed in January in Alvor, Portugal, between the MFA government and the Angolan nationalists had been suspended. The agreement had provided for a coalition government of the three rival independence forces and the Portuguese colonialists, called for elections, and scheduled November 11 as the date for ending direct colonial rule. Although the Lisbon authorities have not formally announced a postponement of the independence date, the junking of the Alvor accords gives the Portuguese imperialists a freer hand in the colony and may be a prelude to such a step.

More troops on way

Washington Post correspondent Miguel Acoca reported in an August 14 dispatch from Lisbon that Portuguese President Francisco da Costa Gomes had approved sending more troops to Angola. Mário Ruivo, the Portuguese foreign minister, told United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim August 22 that Lisbon had taken emergency measures in Angola, including assumption of power to declare a state of siege and to suspend constitutional rights.

The Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), which was reported to be the only one of the three warring nationalist groups with any forces left in Luanda, declared August 15 that it would not give up its posts in the government.

The *New York Times*, one of the most authoritative bourgeois papers in the United States, expressed its satisfaction with the MFA's move. "Though often indecisive in confronting the political cross currents of his homeland," the *Times* said in an August 17 editorial, "Portugal's President Costa Gomes has taken a necessary firm stand in Angola."

Acoca also reported in his August 14 dispatch that "Costa Gomes, according to military sources, has declared Luanda an 'open city.' This means the



Angolan woman mourns. African masses are real victims in Angolan civil conflict.



Talk of 'rescue mission' to evacuate white settlers from Angola recalls similar maneuver in Congo in 1964. Belgian paratroopers on supposed 'errand of mercy' helped mercenaries, shown here, to capture rebel stronghold of Stanleyville.

Portuguese troops in the besieged capital will be ordered to disarm troops of all three liberation movements." Such an attack on the nationalist forces would be almost certain to lead to renewed fighting against the Portuguese imperialists.

There is some doubt, however, that the MFA is prepared to carry out its threat. An attempt to engage in large-scale military operations in Angola could throw the colonial army—which is saturated with antiwar sentiment—into a deep crisis, further eroding the MFA's political support within Portugal itself.

The MFA has, in fact, admitted that it cannot control the conflict in Angola. Foreign Minister Ruivo said in a letter to the UN Security Council that "it is impossible to eliminate the risk of a further deterioration of the situation." The Portuguese troops in Angola have reportedly abandoned some of their garrisons in the interior of the country and have withdrawn to the coastal towns.

U.S. help asked

President Ford received a letter from Costa Gomes August 27 requesting American assistance in the evacuation of an estimated 300,000 Portuguese settlers from Angola. Washington had previously agreed "in principle" to an unofficial request for U.S. aid in the airlift, and the State Department announced that it would "urgently and expeditiously" reply to Costa Gomes's letter. The British, French, and Swiss governments have already agreed to participate in the operation.

In the context of the Angolan conflict, the sending of U.S. planes and pilots to airlift refugees out of the country would certainly involve the dispatching of some U.S. troops to "protect" them. This would pose a grave danger to the Angolan independence struggle. Since the early 1960s, American imperialism has increased its economic penetration of Angola, and the presence of U.S. troops could give Washington an opportunity to strengthen its foothold. Other imperialist powers involved in the airlift would also try to advance their interests. The need to "defend" or "rescue" refugees could be used as a pretext for military action against the nationalist forces.

Such a justification is already being prepared. An August 23 dispatch from

Lisbon by *New York Times* reporter Marvine Howe claimed that, according to Portuguese refugees arriving in Lisbon, "300 people, most of them white, are being held prisoner in Luanda, the Angolan capital, in a bullring that has been turned into a kind of concentration camp. The refugees said they had seen people leave the bullring with marks of torture on their bodies."

Howe also cited Vasco Vieira de Almeida, the Portuguese minister of economy in the dissolved Angolan coalition regime: "The nationalist movements have barred the departure of Portuguese, particularly in isolated zones, he said. Without using the word hostages, he said he knew of cases in which pressure had been exerted to prevent Portuguese from leaving."

A similar pretext has been used in the past for direct imperialist intervention. In November 1964 Washington flew Belgian paratroopers into Stanleyville, in the former Belgian Congo, under the guise of rescuing white prisoners held by the rebel followers of Christophe Gbenya. This operation helped the imperialist-backed regime of Moïse Tshombe recapture the city and crush the rebellion.

The MFA's tightening of its formal control in Angola followed growing opposition by the nationalist groups to the Portuguese presence in the colony.

On July 27 a unit of Portuguese army commandos opened fire on the MPLA headquarters in Luanda, killing twenty MPLA members and bystanders. The Portuguese claimed they were attempting to arrest MPLA troops who had shot several Portuguese soldiers earlier. This was the bloodiest clash between Portuguese troops and Angolan nationalists since the signing of cease-fire agreements in the fall of 1974.

'Distorted news'

Two days later Portuguese Minister of Information Jorge Correia Jesuino imposed military censorship on all news coming from Angola because, he said, reports of Portuguese troops firing on Angolans were "dangerous." He declared, "There's a state of prewar in Angola and distorted news could have a negative effect on Portuguese troops there and even here at home."

After the attack, MPLA leader Agostinho Neto called for the immediate

withdrawal of all Portuguese troops from Angola, although he said that he still considered the Portuguese regime an ally of the liberation movements. By calling for the withdrawal of the Portuguese troops, the MPLA has corrected its previous position of urging the Portuguese forces to intervene in the fighting on the MPLA's side.

Although the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) has not formally demanded the withdrawal of the Portuguese army since the establishment of the coalition regime in January, it has threatened to fight the colonial troops if they try to prevent the front from reentering Luanda, from which it was ousted in mid-July by the MPLA. FNLA President Holden Roberto warned the Portuguese that if they intervened, Angola would be "plunged into a bloodbath."

Thousands killed

The fratricidal struggle for power between the three nationalist groups has already reached tragic proportions. According to officials involved in the evacuation of refugees, more than 12,000 Angolans have been killed in the past three months. Another source put the figure at more than 20,000 killed since January.

In the first months of the fighting, most of the clashes were between forces of the MPLA and FNLA. But on August 4, Jonas Savimbi, the president of the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), ordered the mobilization of the UNITA's forces.

Militarily the weakest of the three groups, the UNITA had tried to keep out of the nascent civil war, but was drawn into clashes with the MPLA. Although some reporters considered the UNITA's entry into the war an indicator that it had allied itself with the FNLA, Savimbi declared August 14 that the UNITA "is on the side of neither the FNLA nor the MPLA."

Using heavy machine guns, mortars, bazookas, armored cars, and artillery, the nationalists have fought each other throughout the country. Both the FNLA and the UNITA had completely withdrawn from Luanda by early August. The MPLA and FNLA have fought battles in the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda; along the Dande River just north of Luanda; and in most of the

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'We won't go!'

Two hundred Portuguese military policemen marched in front of the Presidential Palace in Lisbon September 1 to protest against being shipped to Angola.

"I'm not going to Angola; I don't care what happens," one of the demonstrators told *New York Times* reporter Marvine Howe. The soldiers chanted: "Not one more embarkation. Return of our soldiers. Freedom for the imprisoned anticolonialist soldiers."

The demonstration was called following the arrest of seven military policemen who had gone to the Santa Margarida base in central Portugal to persuade soldiers there not to serve in Angola. A recent resolution approved by 500 military policemen called for collective refusal to go to Angola.

The soldiers on the anticolonial demonstration were joined by several thousand workers and students, according to the *Times*.

CP faces growing isolation

Portugal: generals jockey for power

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

After more than a month in which suspicion and resentment of apparent Communist party influence in the government, the armed forces, and the press spread with accelerating speed through broad sections of the Portuguese population, President Costa Gomes on August 29 finally removed CP-backed Gen. Vasco Gonçalves from his post as premier.

The new head of government, Adm. Pinheiro de Azevedo, apparently has little personal influence in the military and little political following. Thus, his appointment seems to establish Gomes as the dominant figure in the junta, while relieving him of direct responsibility for the government.

In removing Gonçalves from the premiership, however, Gomes, who was chief of staff of the Portuguese armed forces under the Salazarist government and a close associate of General Spínola, voluntarily resigned his position as commander in chief of the armed forces and transferred this position to the CP's tarnished hero as a kind of consolation prize.

Opposition in military

This appointment seemed immediately to shift the focus of the resentment and suspicion against the Communist party from the governmental level to the armed forces themselves. "A large part of Portugal's armed forces were close to open rebellion today against the appointment of Gen. Vasco Gonçalves as their Chief of Staff," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger reported August 30 from Lisbon. He said that shifting Gonçalves to the post in the military had "in fact exacerbated the tensions in the country. A military alert, called last night, added to the uneasiness."

The nine top leaders of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA—Movimento das Forças Armadas) who came out openly against Gonçalves on August 7 and took the leadership of opposition to CP influence in the government reportedly refused to accept the former premier as head of the military. This group includes two regional commanders, Brig. Gen. Carlos Charais, the chief of the central military region headquartered in Coimbra, roughly midway between Lisbon and Oporto; and Brig. Gen. Pedro Pizarat Correia, commander of the southern region, whose headquarters is in Evora, the main town in Alentejo, the dry-farming area where the small rural proletariat is concentrated.

The commander of the northern region based in Oporto, Brig. Gen. Eurico Corvacho, who is identified with the former premier, was reconfirmed in his command August 27 despite heavy pressure for his removal. However, Giniger reported in his August 30 dispatch: "An apparent majority of the military units in the northern region, commanded by . . . Brig. Gen. Eurico Corvacho, have reportedly deserted him and put themselves under the orders of General Charais."

Regardless of the immediate outcome of this struggle, it is not very likely that the discredited former premier can establish effective control of the armed forces. He is more a hostage than a commander, although his formal position maintains the useful scarecrow of control of the centers of decision making by a Communist minority.

Furthermore, Gonçalves's course cannot be predicted with any certainty. He does apparently represent the team in the military most identified with the formula of controlling the labor movement through the Communist party.

The CP is now rapidly becoming an exhausted instrument, and the bourgeoisie and its military executors are moving rapidly to discard it, so this team is in disgrace.

However, throughout the crisis, the various teams in the Armed Forces Movement, maneuvering to come up with a political solution, have continued to subordinate themselves to the needs of the military group as a whole. Those political forces on the left that sought to win their objectives by allying with one or another of these competing teams have been both co-opted and confused. This process was particularly clear in the case of the ultraleft supporters of the "Portuguese Che Guevara," Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho.

When Costa Gomes removed Gonçalves, Carvalho reportedly put his troops directly under the command of the president, in an apparent act of submission. Although he played an essential role in upholding the position of the military regime, Carvalho seemed to have burned himself out at least temporarily in the August maneuvering.

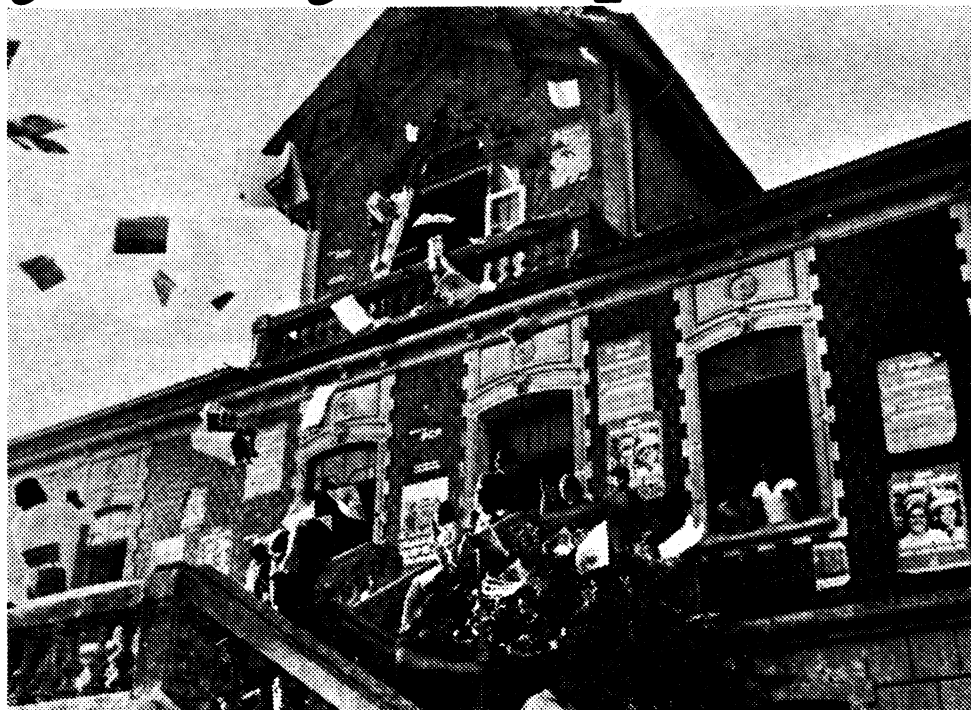
His ultraleft admirers were surprised to see him maneuver with the bloc of the Nine, which was supported by the Socialist party. Carvalho had been one of the strongest supporters of the CP's campaign against respect for the elections and the Constituent Assembly. He was a backer of the "People's Power" project and made a demonstrative trip to Cuba after it was approved. On his return, he denounced the SP leaders as rightists and suggested he might have to lock a few hundred of them up in the Campo Pequeno bullring. How, then, could he align himself with what the ultraleftists saw as a reactionary campaign led by the Socialist party against burgeoning "People's Power"? Actually, he served the cause of the military government in both cases, although the ultraleftists could not see the logic.

Copcon plan

On August 13, a document drawn up by a group of officers in the Copcon under Carvalho's command was published. It reiterated the proposal of a "soviet" system to replace bourgeois democracy and denounced "Social Democracy" as unpatriotic. The demagogic general did not explicitly identify himself with the document, which was apparently drawn up by his admirers in the ultraleftist Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado-Brigadas Revolucionárias (PRP-BR—Revolutionary party of the Proletariat-Revolutionary Brigades). However, he allowed it to be



GEN. SARAIVA DE CARVALHO: His ultraleft supporters were unable to recognize an opportunist when they saw one.



Rightist mob sacks Communist party headquarters in Fátima. Rightist attacks cannot be met by relying on one or another wing of officer corps.

believed that he supported this position.

At the very moment the Copcon plan was published, Carvalho made overtures to the group of the Nine. He called a meeting of regional and operational unit commanders in Lisbon, including two members of the Melo Antunes group.

In the August 15 *New York Times*, Henry Giniger commented:

"Despite their ideological differences, there seemed to be a convergence between radicals and nonradicals in their common opposition to Premier Gonçalves and the Communists."

In the August 23 *Le Monde* Dominique Pouchin reported from Lisbon that it was rumored generals Carvalho, Charais, and Fabião were meeting in Coimbra to prepare a coup against Gonçalves.

"In fact," Pouchin said, "the three generals reportedly were only meeting to discuss a synthesis between the document of the 'moderates' [that is, the group of the Nine] and the one drawn up by Copcon. A compromise between the two orientations was thus taken for granted."

The deal between Carvalho and the Nine, Pouchin speculated, laid out the perspective of a new governmental lineup to which the CP would have to adjust.

Stalinist maneuver

The Communist party gave its support to a march organized by workers and tenants committees in Lisbon on August 20 in support of the Copcon plan. Although it reportedly did not make a major effort to mobilize its perhaps 100,000 members and supporters in the Lisbon area, by giving the action a cautious endorsement the CP apparently helped to make it considerably broader than the first demonstration of this type on July 16. The highest estimate of the number of participants was given by Pouchin, who estimated that there were more than 50,000. Nonetheless, the CP took a back seat and let the ultraleft set the tone.

In the August 24-25 issue of *Le Monde*, Pouchin reported that the attempt to work out a synthesis between the document of the Nine and the Copcon statement had failed and that the "moderates" were now proposing a government headed by Gen. Carlos Fabião, the commander of the army.

To judge from a report by Pouchin in

the August 26 *Le Monde*, the left-wing officers in Copcon had been deluded once again by Carvalho, the "organizer of April 25," who is generally regarded by the left groups in Portugal as a naïve and frank type, although perhaps a little balmy.

"Everything depends on the relationship of forces on the political and military plane, which is still subject to change. Gen. Otelo de Carvalho, who had gone very far in committing himself to the moderates—even going so far as to advise the premier in a letter that he should take a 'well-deserved rest'—seems to have changed his mind and today stands with the most radicalized of his officers. . . .

"Certain they have regained their patron saint, the revolutionary officers are taking an intransigent stand toward the Melo Antunes group, which in their eyes represents an 'unacceptable, rightist solution.' 'The class struggle draws a line between us and them,' a young captain said. 'If necessary we will oppose them with military force.' The radical wing of the army is trying to regain time so as to recoup 'among the ranks the territory ceded to the Nine.' It hopes to get the ranks to oppose the maneuvers of the professional officer corps, a majority of which has gone over to the moderate faction."

"For this purpose, the supporters of Copcon's 'revolutionary alternative' think they are obliged to make a tactical alliance with the premier and give 'critical support' to his government. A meeting Sunday night and Monday morning [August 24-25] clearly reflected these intentions. In a feverish atmosphere, the representatives of the 'left wing' of the MFA met with leaders of the CP and the MDP [Movimento Democrático Português—Portuguese Democratic Movement, the CP's petty-bourgeois front] and a certain number of far-left groups (the Movement of the Socialist Left, the Socialist People's Front, the Revolutionary party of the Proletariat, and the Internationalist Communist League).

"An accord was reached that provides for supporting Gen. Vasco Gonçalves until the conditions can be assembled for installing a government of 'revolutionary unity.' An appeal may also be launched for the creation of a broad front including the CP and its allies, the far left, and the MFA. This front is to take the initiative in organizing mass demonstrations throughout the country 'against the

Continued on next page

...Portuguese generals maneuver

Continued from preceding page
moves of the right' and to organize 'self-defense by the workers movement.'

The first demonstration of the new front was held in Lisbon on August 27, after an attempt at a united demonstration in Oporto on August 25 failed. It passed virtually unreported in the big U.S. press. But the American CP paper the *Daily World* played it up:

"More than 100,000 persons in Lisbon on Wednesday rallied in support of Premier Vasco dos Santos Goncalves and the Portuguese revolution. It was one of the largest demonstrations Lisbon has yet seen since the April 25, 1974, overthrow of fascism. . . .

"Premier Goncalves, addressing the rally, warned that 'an acute struggle for power, an acute class struggle, is taking place' in Portugal.

"Leadership of the revolutionary process,' he said, 'must be assumed by a vanguard consisting of a union between the Armed Forces Movement and the working masses.'"

Giniger, however, reported that the new front ran rather quickly into difficulties:

"Meanwhile, a political maneuver, in which the Communists were united with several far-left rivals in a common front behind Premier Goncalves, was apparently going awry, further weakening the Premier's position.

"Several of the far-left groups objected to the take-over by the Communists last night of the demonstration at the Presidential Palace."

If the Portuguese Stalinists were able to form a bloc with forces that they previously denounced as "agents of reaction," such as Trotskyists and Maoists, they did not seem, however, to be able to change the political course that led them further and further into



Stalinists and ultraleftists demonstrate in support of General de Carvalho. Left-wing parties in Portugal have failed to mobilize working class independently of capitalist government and its factions.

defending a computer belonging to Intersindical, the CP-controlled federation.

"An anti-Communist crowd carrying sticks and stones converged on the building in central Lisbon and had to be held back by troops, which later evacuated 53 persons from the offices amid jeers and insults from their opponents," Giniger reported in the September 1 *New York Times*.

This seems to be one of the first major attacks on CP activists in Lisbon. However, a *Jornal Novo* reporter noticed that CP militants leaving the August 14 rally in the Palácio de Deportes took care to remove their party badges, although only a week before CPers still wore party emblems without fear everywhere in Lisbon. An unsuccessful attempt to stage a general strike in Lisbon August 19 to back Goncalves also led to attacks on CP activists.

Nonetheless, despite its more and more hopeless position, the CP went from adventure to adventure, the last being its apparent attempt to hold the office workers union headquarters by force. It was obviously trapped by its politics and unable to find a way out.

SP & CP back military

Since the April 1974 overturn, both reformist workers parties, the CP and the SP, have sought to play the role of mass organizers for the military. In this, however, they differed in methods. The CP was more suited by its discipline and dogmatism to playing the role of a transmission belt for a demagogic military regime. The looser, more heterogeneous, electorally oriented SP needed at least some forms of parliamentary democracy to play its role. It was unable to take the consistent hard line against labor struggles followed by the CP. Furthermore, the CP started with the advantage of already having an apparatus in the workers movement.

This contradiction exploded when the CP, which used totalitarian methods to defend the government's policy in the labor movement, began to become unpopular among growing sections of workers. As the loyal lackey of the regime, it turned to the military for defense. The first result of this was the Trade-Union Unity Law in January, which recognized the CP-controlled Intersindical as the only legal national labor federation. The struggle over this measure opened a split in the working class for the first time, although the MFA was still popular enough to win decisive support for its measure.

The SP hoped to recoup its losses by

a victory in the April 25, 1975, elections. It did roll up an impressive vote, but this only prompted a more violent counterattack from the government and the CP in the form of an attack on "bourgeois democracy."

So as to be able to offer an alternative to the elections they lost, the MFA and the CP put their weight behind a "direct democracy" scheme proposed by ultraleftists. A convergence occurred among the Stalinists, the demagogic military chiefs, and the ultraleftists on the need for rule by a "politicalized" minority, although this was disguised as rule of the "people's grass-roots organizations." The result of this tactic was a catastrophic deepening of the split in the working class and an increasing demobilization and demoralization of broad masses.

SP response

In response to the counteroffensive of the government and the CP, the SP was forced to leave the cabinet and mobilize mass protests that tended to move in the direction of demanding working-class political and organizational independence from the military. However, since the opportunist SP was not able, any more than the CP, to break definitively with the bourgeois military, it did not follow through with this campaign. As soon as a section of the military began to openly oppose CP influence and promise "pluralism," that is, a place for the SP in the government, the Social Democrats shifted their power struggle against the CP back into the framework of the MFA.

This was a repeat of the course followed earlier by the SP when it mobilized its supporters first in defense of freedom of the press in the *República* case and then switched to calling for a mobilization in support of the Revolutionary Council and Costa Gomes, in gratitude for their reaffirmation of the need for "pluralism." This demonstration was notably smaller and more anti-Communist in character than the previous ones. It seems also that the recent SP demonstrations in support of the Melo Antunes group have been far weaker than those at the end of July, where the axis was opposition to military control of the workers movement.

The effect of this turn by the SP has been to shift the focus of political life into a conflict of military cliques and teams, with the inevitable results of demobilizing the workers and exhausting the population by rumors of obscure political combinations in the barracks and rumors of coups and possible civil war.

In their struggle for the position of

the military's mass organizer, the CP and the SP are being forced to outbid each other as defenders of "national independence" and the "battle for production." The events of August have shown very clearly, however, that neither party can win in this competition. The only winner can be the bourgeois military, and the best placed is the most reliable representative of the bourgeoisie, Gen. Costa Gomes, who throughout the crisis has manipulated the CP and the SP, as well as the various military cliques, with consummate skill.

It has also become clear that the CP has virtually exhausted its usefulness to the bourgeoisie. Driven deeper and deeper into isolation, its attempts to defend its positions through "tough" demagoguery and arbitrary methods have taken on an almost lunatic character.

Now the Stalinists' attempts to defend their allies and their positions in the government and labor movement to the last against the will of the majority are only fanning higher and higher the flames of popular resentment, and anti-Communism will soon consume them. Gomes now has the power to break the influence of the Stalinists or bring them to heel whenever he chooses, but he is not going to let them off the hook until they and all the left forces associated with them are thoroughly discredited. Timing is very important in this, and time is working in his favor. This seems to be the meaning of his request in late August for forty-five days more before trying to put together a new government.

Waiting game

This also seems to explain General Fabião's last-minute refusal to take the premiership, on the grounds that "the conditions have not yet been assembled for a viable government." The general, who published a plan for restoring discipline in the military in April, knows that he will be in a better position to crack down if he gives the left forces more time to wear themselves out and lets the resentments against the CP's antidemocratic line and methods come to a still more furious boil.

Fabião's program is "unity of the MFA." He can hope that in a few weeks the nerves of the masses will be so worn by the constant tensions and obscure power struggles that they will accept a "firm hand" to restore "unity" and "order."

The satisfaction of the U.S. capitalists at the development in Portugal was discreetly hinted at in a *New York Times* editorial August 20:

"The political configuration of con-

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Former premier Vasco Goncalves (right), with his replacement, Adm. Pinheiro de Azevedo.

isolation and enabled rightists to fan fears of a "Communist dictatorship" among broad sections of the population in northern Portugal and to whip up mobs to attack CP headquarters.

Throughout the month of August the CP continued to rely on bluff and demagoguery to defend its positions and its headquarters from attack, with increasingly disastrous results. It became so isolated in the North that it had to call off a public meeting scheduled for August 19 in Oporto. At the same time, it explained that one of the reasons for cancelling the meeting was to avoid compromising the pro-Goncalves northern region commander.

CP isolation reached a new level on August 30 when it was overwhelmingly defeated in elections in the bank and office workers unions in Lisbon. Following this, a group of CP activists occupied the office workers union headquarters under the pretext of

U.S. ready to send 'technicians'

Mideast deal sets stage for new Vietnam

By David Frankel

Two years and eleven Kissinger shuttle trips after the October 1973 Middle East war, Egypt and Israel have signed a second Sinai disengagement pact.

Signed September 1 and scheduled to run for at least three years, the agreement was hailed as a triumph of U.S. diplomacy. President Gerald Ford, described by one reporter as "euphoric," congratulated Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on "a great achievement, one of the most historic certainly of this decade and perhaps of this century."

The *New York Times*, in a September 3 editorial, claimed the pact "could be a historic step toward lasting peace in this strategic and volatile region." "Egypt, Israel open door to new peace era," enthused the *Christian Science Monitor* in its headline on the deal.

Unfortunately, neither the new agreement nor the torrent of praise from the capitalist newspapers will have any effect in preventing new wars in the Middle East. Worse yet, included in the new "peace pact" are provisions that all but guarantee direct U.S. involvement in the wars that are sure to come.

Real meaning of pact

The real meaning of the pact was summed up by Joseph C. Harsch in the August 29 *Christian Science Monitor*. He wrote:

"The United States is to get deeper into the Middle East. Its presence will be continuous. Dr. Kissinger is no longer acting only as a mediator between Egypt and Israel. He is proposing that the U.S. remain as the guardian and custodian of the arrangements he is now completing. The United States is in the process of accepting long-term commitments, responsibilities, and influence, in the Middle East.

"If all of the Kissinger plans work out as contemplated the United States will become as influential in the Middle East as ever Britain was in the heyday of empire."

The proposal to station as many as

200 Americans in the Sinai has already been likened to the first handful of U.S. "advisers" in Vietnam, and with good reason. As *Time* magazine explained in its September 8 issue, "Through a detailed series of public and thus far secret agreements . . . the U.S. has offered Israel what amounts to an unofficial security pact, one that all but mandates American intervention in case fighting should break out again.

"Says one high Israeli official: 'This is a defense agreement between the U.S. and Israel—even if the text doesn't say that outright.'"

Thus, under the pretext of a plan to ensure peace, Washington is engineering a further formalization of its military alliance with Israel.

The idea that the new Sinai pact is a big step toward peace is absurd on the face of it once the terms of the agreement are compared to the real problems in the Middle East.

Who gets what

The agreement has been presented in the media as a trade-off of major Israeli concessions for minor Egyptian ones. In fact, the opposite is the case. As a result of this deal Israel will be left in occupation of more than 85 percent of the Sinai. Cairo gets to move its troops a grand total of three miles eastward—from a line five to eight miles east of the Suez Canal to a line eight to eleven miles east of it.

Much has been made of the Israeli withdrawal from the strategic Giddi and Mitla passes, which will be included in a widened United Nations buffer zone between the two armies. But Israeli agreement to withdraw from the passes was made contingent on a staggering U.S. aid package, variously estimated at \$2.4 to \$3.3 billion for the first year alone.

Writing in the August 23 *Washington Post*, former U.S. ambassador to the UN Charles Yost notes, "U.S. military experts maintain, and Arab leaders agree, that Israel is stronger militarily, both absolutely and relative to her Arab adversaries, than she was before the October war. This is her



Israeli troops on Golan Heights. So-called peace pact leaves Israel in control of almost all occupied Arab territory.

situation even without receiving the additional U.S. arms for which requests are pending."

The same issue of the *Post* described the extent of U.S. arms commitments to Israel. "Sources say the decision to make a long-term commitment on several hundred F-16 fighters is the most dramatic part of the new understanding because it should assure Israel of the ability to maintain air superiority over its neighbors through the 1980s."

Thus, the Israeli military concessions were predicated on an overall situation that make them meaningless. On top of all this, since the passes are right on the edge of the Israeli-occupied zone, the Israelis would have no trouble in retaking them when military conflict breaks out.

Egyptian concessions

The new agreement also grants Cairo administrative control over the Abu Rudeis oil fields. Israel will be compensated for the loss of this oil by U.S. taxpayers. But the real compensation for the Zionist state comes in the political concessions made by the Sadat regime.

From a purely military point of view the Arab countries are unable to stand up to Israel, and this relationship of forces shows no sign of changing in the immediate future. But the vast population, oil resources, and strategic geographical position of the Arab world make the imperialist powers unable to ignore its economic and political importance.

The mobilization of the Arab masses against Israel since the June 1967 war has repeatedly threatened both the basic imperialist interests in the region and the more conservative Arab

regimes. As part of the new agreement, Sadat is promising to restrain and help demobilize the Arab masses, and to undercut the worldwide support that has been generated for the Palestinian struggle.

In this regard, Cairo has agreed to allow Israeli cargoes through the Suez Canal and to soften its anti-Israel propaganda and its economic boycott of firms doing business with Israel, and has pledged to help block efforts by other Arab states to oust Israel from the United Nations.

Finally, the agreement on the Sinai has effectively isolated Syria and Jordan, not to mention the Palestinians. As Henry Tanner pointed out in the September 2 *New York Times*, "The price [of the pact] also includes the absence of a commitment or even a promise by the Israelis to enter into negotiations on a withdrawal from Syrian territory on the Golan Heights or the West Bank."

Sadat knows very well what he is doing; he would like to make a separate peace with Israel. However, the corollary to such a settlement is the acceptance of U.S. economic and political domination, and Israeli military hegemony. Sadat may be willing to accommodate himself to this, but will the Egyptian masses?

If past history is any guide, they won't—at least not for long. The reason is simply that the economic and social problems of the Arab world cannot be solved under conditions of imperialist domination, and any mass anti-imperialist struggle is sure to bring Israeli opposition. Even if Sadat gets his separate peace—which still remains to be seen—it will be a temporary one.



Kissinger with Sadat (left), and with Rabin



Twenty Egyptian Trotskyists arrested

From Intercontinental Press

According to a report in the August 3 issue of the Cairo daily *Al-Akhbar*, twenty members of a "communist organization in contact with communist organizations in Lebanon and France" were arrested in Egypt July 3.

The newspaper report, based on information released by the state security police, identified the organization as the "Internationalist Communist League" and said its aim was to "overthrow the country's political and economic system so as to impose a 'Trotskyist' extremist-communist regime."

According to the *Al-Akhbar* account, "The accused have acknowledged being in contact with the Revolutionary Communist Group party in Lebanon, which is believed to be a section of a French communist party (the 'Fourth International'). They formed a communist organization along the lines of these two organizations and began their activities with the creation of what they called the 'Mustafa Khamis Communist Group.' The organization later became the Internationalist Communist League and adopted the Marxist-Trotskyist line."

Among the charges against those arrested are (1) accepting funds from

the Lebanese group in order to purchase a typewriter, and (2) receiving copies of the Lebanese Trotskyist publication *el-Mounadil*.

Al-Akhbar identified the following as among those arrested:

Randa Abdel Ghaffar Al-Baassi, a student in the agronomy department at Ein Shams University.

Najwa Abdel Ghaffar Al-Baassi, a student in the engineering department at Ein Shams University.

Ibrahim Azzam, a student at Cairo University.

Mozahem Takriti and Abdel Kader Chaker, alleged members of the Revo-

lutionary Communist Group of Lebanon, visiting Egypt.

A report on the case in the August 16 issue of the newspaper *Beirut* gave the following additional names:

Oussama Khalil, an employee in the Cairo University administration.

Mohamed Béchir Al-Sibaï, an employee in the foreign relations department of the Egyptian News Agency.

Dr. Mohamed Bayoumi, a veterinarian.

Mohamed Tayel, Ibrahim Ramadan, Mohamed Said Al-Jerjawi, and Atef Salem and his two sisters—all students at Cairo University.

U.S. stay out!

Another Vietnam is being prepared before our eyes. Under the cover of a "peace" pact, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has already proposed the dispatch of the first contingents of Americans to the Middle East battlefields. If we add in the proposals for formal U.S. guarantees on behalf of the Israeli state, and an unprecedented program of military aid, only one conclusion is possible: Washington is prepared to go to war in defense of Israel.

There have already been four wars in the Mideast in the past twenty-seven years. It is only a matter of time until the next one.

The bitter resentment of the Arab masses against Israel—which they rightly see as an outpost of imperialism—is continually deepened by new instances of oppression against the Palestinians and the continued occupation of Arab territory. The enormous amount of military aid demanded by the Zionist state will not taper off in the years to come. It is an accurate reflection of the growing cost of maintaining the Israeli beachhead for imperialism.

An artificial creation, resting entirely on U.S. support, the Israeli state is maintained at the expense of the American people as well as of the Arab masses. And the expense will grow.

The capitalist government of South Vietnam, another of Washington's clients, was able to field an army of one million, two-and-one-half times as large as Israel's, but that did not prevent it from needing U.S. troops in order to survive. And, as in Vietnam, Kissinger is now making secret agreements that will affect the lives of all of us. These deals are being negotiated without the knowledge, must less the support, of the American people.

The American people have no interest in going to war in the Middle East. The giant oil companies, the Wall Street investment bankers, and their representatives in Washington would be the only ones to gain—provided they managed to avoid a nuclear war.

The interests of the mass of working people in the United States and the rest of the world would best be served by an end to the secret negotiations, an end to the U.S. arms pipeline to Israel, and an end to the plan to send Americans to the Sinai.

NSCAR conference

Across the country schools are opening for the new year. For most students, it's a time for beginning a new grade, meeting old friends, discovering who their new teachers will be. But for many Blacks this year the opening of school has another meaning.

More than twenty-one years ago the Supreme Court banned segregation in the public schools. Yet most Black students this fall will enter run-down, inferior, segregated schools.

In some cities, however, Black students will travel by bus to another part of town, where they will attend better schools. These schools, in most cases, were formerly all-white.

This opportunity for a better education is one of the gains won by the massive civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

Now, the racists are mobilizing to put Blacks "back in their place." The focus of their effort last year was Boston. But the racist cancer is spreading to other cities, and more assaults on Black people are being prepared.

Against this background, the October 10, 11, and 12 National Student Coalition Against Racism conference in Boston assumes crucial importance. NSCAR provided major support for the NAACP-called march in Boston last May 17, and has been involved in the continuing efforts since then to organize a countermobilization to stop the racist offensive in Boston and other cities.

NSCAR's October conference will be an opportunity for students and youth from all over the country to map out a united, effective course of action to defend the right of Black people to attend the schools of their choice.

Wasted space?

I think, by and large, your letters-to-the-editor space is wasted. It seldom informs or presents new argumentation concerning the issues of the SWP.

A need which the paper should fulfill, but at present does not, is to answer questions concerning the policy of the SWP on a variety of issues. If your letters column incorporated the task of acting as a forum for argumentation and information-gathering, it would not only serve to improve the quality of the *Militant* but would be a valuable step towards educating and stimulating your readers.

The best article I have seen in the *Militant* was one on China and its new constitution [February 28 *Militant*]. That was a piece of quality journalism—the kind needed by the people much worse than the too-often hysterical rhetoric found in the *Militant*.

While I'm making suggestions, let me say that a change in the title would help a great deal. I'm sure there are many workers in this country who would like to know more about socialism and the SWP but who do not consider themselves militant.

Ross Anderson
Arlington, Virginia

Joanne Little support

It is a pleasure to all the men at the Maryland State Penitentiary to say, may God bless the supporters of Joanne Little. It is a wonderful thing to see this young Black sister walk free, while so many innocent young Black men are here in the Maryland penitentiary with life sentences.

The state doesn't have any evidence. The only evidence they have is made-up evidence. We want to say that we thank the people for fighting with this young Black girl.

The boys and I would like to say that the Ku Klux Klan boys weren't lucky enough this time to burn this young Black woman. We pray that God will bless the jury of the Joanne Little case. Many thanks from the men of the Maryland penitentiary. We were crying, but now we can smile and there is joy in our smiling.

Richard Burton Woodard
Baltimore, Maryland

Unions & bureaucrats

I like Sue Em Davenport's article on the fight by her and other women steelworkers against discriminatory firings [September 5 *Militant*], but I must take issue with the headline: "Women steelworkers confront union on discriminatory layoffs."

Davenport and the others did not confront the union, however much it may appear so, they confronted the union *bureaucrats*. Their quarrel is not with the union as such but with the racist, sexist practices of its present misleadership, which in fact subverts the real interests of the union ranks. This may seem to some like nit-picking, but I believe it is important to always keep in mind that the bureaucracy is not the same as the union: it is a conservative parasite that has fastened itself onto the union.

The union hierarchy tries to foster precisely this false identification. Anytime their gangster methods or class-collaborationist policies are challenged, they yelp about an "attack on the union."

Unfortunately, some groups on the left have been taken in by this posturing, *especially on the question of affirmative action versus discriminatory layoffs*. They condemn women and Blacks who file suits against discriminatory layoffs as "using bourgeois courts against the unions." This argument uses pseudoradical rhetoric to cover up for a reactionary position.

The *Militant* knows better, of course, and its headlines should reflect its political understanding.

G.A.
New York, New York

Vicious circle

Who can afford to be a pauper nowadays?

As they have no purchasing power, paupers must pay more for the things they need—at least part of their necessities.

So, having spent their meager income on high-priced items, they must borrow in order to be able to buy the rest of their needs.

So they pay interest. To whom? To those who are rich enough to afford lending money.

The poor cannot deduct the interests they must pay from their annual taxes; their income was too low for any deduction to be placed against it.

So the rich claim the deductions, because *they* can justify them.

It's too costly to be poor!

Next time I'm born, I'll simply be rich.

Patrik Jecla
Los Angeles, California

Renewal

I received notice that my subscription is due to expire. By all means, renew it for another year.

I read quite a few "side"-papers (my own choice of words for newspapers which do not readily accept the conventional, but do probe into the "whys" and "hows"). And by all means, the *Militant's* exposés (Cointelpro papers, Joanne Little, strikes, racism around the world, etc.) are the finest available.

Instead of sending you the \$7.50 which represents the continuation for one year of present subscription, do accept this \$10.00 cash and place the extra in the *Militant's* Prisoner Fund.

Michele Mooney
Los Angeles, California

Detroit injustice

On May 9 several hundred white police officers rioted in front of the federal building in downtown Detroit. The melee that ensued involved traffic being stopped, cars pounded upon, beer cans and other debris being thrown, and people being beaten up by the cops. The riot stemmed from a federal judge's ruling that Black officers with less seniority than white officers would be kept on the force during upcoming layoffs.

Twelve cops were indicted on August 5 by the Wayne County prosecutor.

Cop George Allen is charged with throwing a beer can at off-duty Black policeman William Green, who was forced into the white mob and beaten badly enough to have a broken nose. Cops Hendrickson, Phillips, Trewyn, Smith, Riley, Gizicki, and Jones are charged with malicious destruction of



The last trial of Jimmy Hoffa

property for their attack on the car of a Black court reporter, Sylvia Wright. After damaging the car, they tried to turn it over with her in it! All of those charged are white active-duty Detroit cops, and all of those assaulted (except one) are Black Detroit citizens.

A couple of weeks ago Obie Wynn, a young Black man, was shot in the back of the head by a white bar owner named Andrew Chinarian. Chinarian was charged with second-degree murder and released on \$500 bond!

Meantime over 100 Black citizens were arrested when the police moved in force into the community. Four young Black men were charged with murdering a white man and are being held without bail on charges of first-degree murder. Thus one white killer and twelve cop-thugs are free on the streets, and Black people remain in jail.

Mayor Coleman Young has lately been constantly praising the cops while only once mentioning some "unfortunate behavior" that occurred among the cops on May 9. The cops, courts, politicians, and news media have once again made it crystal clear that justice does not exist for Black citizens in this city and that Black people should consider themselves fair game for any white (cop or otherwise) with a gun.

B.B.
Detroit, Michigan

Like it really is

I might as well tell you that I really enjoy reading the *Militant* for several reasons. The main reason is its truth. *Time* (to which I also subscribe) doesn't lie but never, or very seldom, tells the whole story.

I've also read a few copies of *Challenge*, and thought it has a lot of good things it seems, to me anyway, to tell it like they want it to be, unlike the *Militant*, which tells it like it really is.

Keep up the excellent work of trying to reach the masses.

Larry Lukehart
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Thanks for the subscription

This is just a note to express my sincere thanks to all of you for providing me with a subscription to your most informative publication.

Enclosed you will find some papers dealing with many of the everyday issues of prison life-style. But don't be fooled by the enclosed menu, as it looks a hell of a lot better on paper than it does when served.

A prisoner
California

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

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.

Whoever was responsible for the disappearance of former Teamsters president James Hoffa must have known that the federal government's investigation of the union's financial structure and its \$1.5 billion Central States pension fund would be speeded up as a result. They must also have feared what they think the rank and file of the Teamsters union is likely to do.

Hoffa's disappearance solves nothing. The future presents an unwelcome prospect for both factions in the struggle for control of the 2.2-million-member union and its treasury. The two sides are at war over money, and everything they do is designed to seize the jackpot and keep the dollars rolling in. If they talk about building the union and organizing in new areas it is only to fatten the goose that lays the golden eggs.

Neither the gang around Frank Fitzsimmons, whom Hoffa picked to head the organization while Hoffa was in prison, nor those who hoped Hoffa would regain control after his release in December 1971, stand to gain from an exposure of how the pension funds are looted, or from the conviction of those implicated.

But wars are dangerous, even small ones. A war inside the Teamsters union was bound to produce casualties. Some who got involved evidently became convinced that the risk of public exposure was less dangerous than the unrestrained power struggle that they hope will now subside temporarily with the elimination of Hoffa.

The men and women who pay union dues and contribute to the pension funds are removed from all this, the objects of the struggle rather than participants. They can have little interest in which side wins, and few of them have any hope that their future will be protected by government intervention in the affairs of their union.

Leading figures on both sides have been beneficiaries of government protection at times. The Nixon administration collaborated with Fitzsimmons in his manipulation of Teamster funds, profiting from undisclosed amounts in political campaign contributions. Part of the deal was the early release of Hoffa from prison with the stipulation that barred him from union office.

Hoffa, for his part, agreed to retire and took a lump-sum pension of \$1.7 million. He changed his mind about retiring and was trying for a comeback in the union at the time of his disappearance.

These maneuvers among the bureaucrats and the protection tribute that was extracted by high government officials are in stark contrast to the meager payments collected by members of the union from their pension funds. Weekly benefits usually range from \$2 to \$22 with a maximum monthly allowance of \$550 if a driver can prove eligibility, which is not easy.

The *Wall Street Journal* in a recent series of articles cited numerous instances of members being cheated. "Teamsters who expect to start collecting," says the *Journal*, "are often surprised that it takes four to six months for the big Central States fund to respond to an application. And then a common response is a form letter stating that the fund doesn't keep records of its members' work histories. This leaves it up to the individual teamster to prove he has 20 years of industry credits for a retirement pension or 15 for disability pension."

This treatment at the hands of those who are supposed to represent them is causing bitter resentment among the members of the union. But the conditions for revolt within Teamster ranks are created by the depression and the rising cost of living.

Hoffa understood this and was seeking to take advantage of it. In an interview with the weekly *National Star*, shortly before his disappearance, Hoffa said, "I can't find a single soul in Congress, whether he's a liberal or conservative, who will face up to what's happening, what's going to happen, about unemployment. . . ."

"Joe Six-Pack is listening. He won't take it sitting down much longer," Hoffa warned. ". . . They're going to fight about it, to fight the government, city, state and federal." His answer: "A shorter work week and more money, that's what's needed."

"Whether employers are going to mumble and grumble or wait until there are riots in the streets of the major cities, it's going to come about," Hoffa predicted.

This prediction accurately reflects rank-and-file sentiment in the Teamsters union today. But the actions Hoffa foresaw, and feared as much as others in the union bureaucracy, can only be organized by new leaders who will develop from the ranks in struggles against the employers and the government agencies that protect them.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



N.Y. gears up for ERA battle

Activities on August 26 in New York were a small indication of the fight shaping up here over the state Equal Rights Amendment.

At city hall, where Mayor Abraham Beame proclaimed August 26 as Equal Rights Amendment Day, a small group of women gathered to urge passage of the amendment. In White Plains, New York, about 100 women rallied on the steps of the Westchester County Office Building to support the ERA.

But anti-ERA forces were also out. Lawyer Dorothy Frooks told a crowd on Wall Street, "What the supporters of ERA want to do is delete the word 'sex' from our Constitution, and without sex you can't have rape, and then what will happen to the rape laws?"

Both sides are gearing up for November 4, when a referendum on the New York ERA will be on the ballot.

New York was one of the first states to ratify the national ERA, which lacks only four state ratifications to become the twenty-seventh amendment to the federal Constitution.

ERA proponents, however, are fighting for adoption of a state ERA in order to bolster the national effort and also to speed up implementation in their own state.

Voters here on November 4 will determine whether a New York State ERA is adopted.

New York's Operation Wakeup, the coalition opposing the state ERA and campaigning for a "no" vote on the referendum, is allied with the Conservative party, the American Legion, the Catholic Daughters of

America, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Federated Women's Clubs of New York City.

The New York Coalition for Equal Rights, the statewide organization supporting the ERA and encouraging a "yes" vote on the referendum, expresses the view of the state AFL-CIO, the Democratic and Republican state committees, the National Organization for Women, the New York Civil Liberties Union, and the League of Women Voters.

Passage of the state ERA would reaffirm New Yorkers' support for the national ERA and would give women here another handle in fighting discrimination. If, on the other hand, the referendum fails, it will put wind in the sails of the right-wing opponents of female equality.

The campaign for a "yes" vote on the November 4 ERA referendum must be taken up everywhere.

Union members can encourage their locals to educate on the issues involved, sponsor activities, and turn out working people to vote "yes." Already the New York chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women has decided to make building support for the ERA its top priority between now and November 4.

When campuses open in the fall, student governments, women's centers, and women's studies departments can take responsibility for turning out the student body to vote "yes" on the referendum.

Community, Black, Puerto Rican, feminist, and radical organizations must all join in the effort. A victory for the ERA will be a victory for all women and all working people.



What makes Stanley swim—Rescued after three hours in Galveston Bay, Jimmy Stanley attributed his survival to “a lot of praying, a lot of swimming, and a lot of thinking.” He added: “I thought, ‘Here I am, twenty-one, with a hell of a good future in real estate, finding homes people really want. . . . In view of this, there’s no way I’m not going to make it.’”

Sounds reasonable—America trusts its refuse collectors more than any other public servants, reports pollster Louis Harris. He finds “record peaks of demoralization” and plummeting confidence in public and private institutions. In the past decade public confidence in doctors was down from 72 percent to 45 percent; higher

education, 61 percent to 33 percent; military, 62 percent to 29 percent; press, 21 percent to 16 percent; business, 55 percent to 18 percent; and Congress, 42 percent to 13 percent.

Afterthought—On the basis of the above, if someone asks you, “Under socialism, who will carry out the garbage?” you can say, those in whom the public has lost confidence. This will give them the opportunity to refurbish their image.

That’s a comfort—Ozone in levels commonly occurring in Los Angeles during summer months does damage lung tissues, according to University of California researchers. However, if the victim is in good health and if the ozone does not persist at exceptionally high levels, the damage is only tempor-

ary. The experiment was done with monkeys.

Fairly sound suggestions—The California Air Resources Board offered a list of things to avoid in heavy smog, including: strenuous outdoor activity and any other exertion or excitement; going outdoors at all, unless unavoidable; smoking, or being around people who smoke; contact with aerosols, dust, fumes, or other irritants; contact with persons suffering from respiratory ailments; areas of traffic congestion.

Practical approach—Ignoring recommendations from health and pollution officials, the Los Angeles school administration decided not to curtail the physical activity of students during a first-stage smog alert. A school

official explained, “We would not have had any activity on 80 to 100 days of the school year, and it’s only 175 days long.”

How charitable can you get?—Billy Graham favors “reformed” homosexuals being permitted to become ministers if they turn away from their sins and receive Christ. He added that he was “not prepared to take a stand one way or the other” on admitting women. Even if they reformed?

Thought for the week—“There is evidence all over the place showing that America is a sick society. It is enough to make Marxists’ mouths water over the coming self-destruction of capitalism.”—Columnist Todd Simon in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

The end of the war on Culebra

José Pérez



On September 30, almost forty years of intensive, continuous naval and aerial bombing, shelling, and strafing of the island of Culebra and adjacent cays will stop. The 800 inhabitants of the small island off the east coast of Puerto Rico will be able to go through their business day after day, week after week, without worrying about whether a stray bomb might land on them at any moment.

The final decision to end the periodic attacks on the twenty-eight-square-mile island came in an order from President Ford issued through the National Security Council just before Ford took off for his European junket in July.

Since 1936, the U.S. Navy has been conducting “war games” against this Puerto Rican municipality in order to test their guns, gunners, and ammunition under simulated “combat conditions.”

It has been a very realistic simulation. Although the navy boasts of its safety record in the practice shooting, ten people have been killed as a result of its shelling. Shells have been dropped next to Culebra City Hall, in the midst of swimming areas being used by Culebran children, and even next to a boat carrying the governor of Puerto Rico. There are even reports of Navy planes strafing fishing boats.

The officer in charge of Culebra training during World War II observed, “It is a miracle more Culebrans haven’t been killed.”

In 1969, Culebran residents organized the Comité Pro Rescate de Culebra (Committee for the Rescue of Culebra), and it won the backing of a wide spectrum of political groups in Puerto Rico. Among its most active supporters were the proindependence groups.

In July 1970, the Puerto Rican Independence party (PIP) organized 3,000 people to go to Culebra for a demonstration. Demands to free Culebra were a prominent part of the massive proindependence demonstrations held in the early 1970s.

The way the Culebran question had been handled by the United States was one of the items of evidence submitted to the United Nations by the Pro-Independence Movement (now called the Puerto Rican Socialist party) and the PIP in their petition to have Puerto Rico recognized as a colony.

The sentiment among the Puerto Rican people was so great that finally, in 1971, the Navy made a commitment to stop its shelling and bombing by mid-1975.

But in December 1972, Melvin Laird, then secretary of defense, announced that the war against Culebra would continue and the amount of bombing would probably increase.

This set off a storm of angry protests in Puerto Rico, Culebra, and the United States.

Even Jaime Benítez, who had just been elected as non-voting delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives from Puerto Rico, felt compelled to devote most of his first speech before Congress to pleading for a halt to the attacks.

In mid-1973, the U.S. government again reversed its stance, saying the navy would move its operations to two uninhabited islands off Puerto Rico’s west coast.

Although Benítez hailed the decision as proving “the basic integrity of the American system” and the United States’ dedication to “human values,” the reality is a little different.

As a *Washington Post* editorial at the time explained, the decision was made because of “the risk that continued bombing and shooting would further exacerbate Puerto Rico-U.S. relations, undercut Puerto Rico moderates, and thereby jeopardize Navy access to any Puerto Rico firing range.”

The *Post* editors also added that “the larger American interest in solidifying ties with San Juan made it necessary to stop pounding the island.”

President Ford’s definitive reaffirmation of that decision shows that Washington is still quite worried about the growing dissatisfaction with U.S. rule among masses of Puerto Ricans.

The American Way of Life

Crime pays—for those on top

It’s illegal for U.S. corporations to contribute to political campaigns. And, by golly, the Watergate special prosecutor’s office did a bang-up job in bringing twenty-one big corporate culprits to justice for some pretty fantastic company slush funds and laundered money that ended up in 1972 campaign coffers.

For example, Thomas Jones, chief executive of the Northrop Corporation, has admitted to masterminding that company’s illegal \$100,000 contribution to former president Richard Nixon. In doing this, and in later covering it up, he managed to do the following: lie to the U.S. General Accounting Office; sign an untruthful answer to questionnaires from the Watergate committee; lie to the FBI; and give perjured testimony to a federal grand jury.

Jones, who earns \$286,000 a year, was fined a whopping \$5,000.

Not everyone was dealt with that harshly. Of the twenty-one, thirteen were fined \$2,500 or less, one got a suspended fine of \$1,000, and two got one-month probations.

Other executives will certainly think twice before

illegally buying favors from capitalist politicians in the future!

Well, if not long jail terms and debilitating fines, perhaps the ignominy of being branded a criminal—the tarnishing of brilliant corporate careers—will serve as a deterrent. Hardly. Most of the corporate culprits feel they were singled out unfairly for what others have done freely for years. And judging from the postconviction status of most of them, that outlook is universally shared in the business world.

Jones continues to run Northrop “vigorously,” says a company spokesman. Others retain their executive posts at salaries as high as \$335,000 a year. A couple decided to retire, such as William Keeler from Phillips Petroleum, who slid into the easy life on a yearly pension of more than \$200,000.

Of course, many of these executives were just innocent victims of the system who had no idea such things were illegal. “We didn’t even know we were in violation until the doggone thing had occurred,” says Harry Ratrie of Ratrie, Robbins & Schweitzer.

“It seems unfortunate that people in business can’t support the people they want without involving their personal finances. Unions can funnel millions into these campaigns, but business is handcuffed.” (Ratrie was handcuffed to the tune of one-month probation for his company’s “support.”)

It is illegal, by the way, for union dues to be contributed to political campaigns. In 1971 W.A. “Tony” Boyle, then president of the United Mine Workers, was convicted for arranging \$49,250 in union political gifts. The government demanded a maximum sentence to deter “others in a position of trust,” and Boyle went to prison for three years.

The law that brought these corporate giants to “justice” is the same law—with its 1974 amendments—that a U.S. court of appeals enthusiastically upheld a few weeks ago. The justices dismissed any “incidental” violations of constitutional rights that the law’s contributor disclosure requirements and spending and contribution limitations might impose because the law is the government’s effort to “cleanse its democratic processes.”

Try again, Messrs. Clean.

—Nancy Cole

'To Communists of Europe & the USA'

An open letter from Soviet political prisoners



Scene in Budapest during Hungarian revolution of 1956. Stalinist bureaucrats try to portray opposition as right-wing in character. Actually, most antibureaucratic dissidents view themselves as Marxists.

[The following appeal by Marxist political prisoners inside the Soviet Union reflects a side of the antibureaucratic dissident movement that is largely ignored by the capitalist news media. Both the capitalists and the Soviet bureaucrats have an interest in portraying the movement for democratic rights in the USSR and Eastern Europe as an antisocialist phenomenon. The capitalists claim that socialism and democracy are incompatible, while the Stalinists insist that only agents of capitalism could call their rule into question.]

[The fact is that most Soviet oppositionists have based their activities on the Leninist concept of socialist democracy, and have turned to the writings of Lenin on the nature of the transitional regime for inspiration.]

[The authors of the following document have chosen to direct their appeal to the Communist parties of the West. In Europe, where some of these parties have a mass following, they have felt it necessary to protest some of the cruder forms of bureaucratic repression inside the Soviet bloc in order to retain their credibility.]

[This is not the case with the U.S. Communist party, which has given its full support to the police frame-ups and lying slanders used against the opponents of bureaucratic rule in the USSR. The authors, however, appeal in particular to Communist party leader Angela Davis, who pledged to devote herself to the fight to free political prisoners all over the world, and who should know what it means to be the victim of unjust repression.]

[Although this document is several years old, it only recently became available. It has been

translated from the Russian by Inprecor, a fortnightly magazine published by the Fourth International.]

To Communists of Europe and the USA, to the editorial boards of central organs of the Communist parties of Europe and the USA. To the editorial board of the central organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Denmark, *Land og Folk*. Copy to the International Committee of Amnesty [Amnesty International].

On March 18, 1971, the newspaper *Izvestia* published an article entitled "The Falsifiers." It mentioned the fact that the International Committee of Amnesty had published a "protest" in the Scandinavian countries against

'In all their activities these [communist political prisoners] were working for a more successful construction of a socialist and communist society.'

prosecutions in the USSR. This "protest" bore the signatures of well-known public figures from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Further on in the article it mentioned the fact that your newspaper, *Land og Folk*, had decided to verify the authenticity of the signatures, and it was allegedly revealed that the signatures to the Amnesty committee's declaration were "without any foundation."

It may well be that the initiators of the declaration were not wholly accurate and that they had not thoroughly coordinated their activities with the people whose signatures were attached to the declaration. Of course, this is an annoying misunderstanding. But it is something else that surprises us.

It is incomprehensible to us why the central organ of the Danish Commu-

nists should have decided to verify the signatures to the above-mentioned protest. Could this possibly have been prompted by any particular partiality for accuracy? Or could it possibly be that Danish Communists find the very idea of possible prosecutions against dissenters in the USSR monstrous and unbelievable?

You may possibly not even suspect that in the USSR people are being held in the labor camps of Mordovia and in Vladimir prison not merely for dissenting, but even for holding Marxist communist beliefs. We feel that most Communists in Denmark and in *Land og Folk* can know nothing of this, otherwise we are quite convinced that the newspaper of the Danish Communists would not merely have confined itself to verifying the authenticity of the signatures on the protest published by the Amnesty committee, but would itself have protested, in the name of Danish Communists, against prosecutions in the USSR.

In connection with this, we Soviet communist political prisoners consider it necessary to bring the following facts to the attention of our comrades, the Danish Communists, to the central organ of the Communist party of Denmark, and also to the public figures in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway whose signatures were attached to the protest.

KGB repression

In 1964 in Moldavia KGB agents arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment a group of Marxist Komsomol [All-Union Communist Youth League, the Communist party youth organization] members called All Power to the Soviets, which was organized by N. Dragosh, director of a secondary school and deputy to the regional soviet, and by two teachers, P. Tarnavsky and Cherdyntsev.

In 1965 KGB agents arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprison-

ment a Leningrad group of Marxist Komsomol members called Union of Communards, which had been producing by photocopy a journal-cum-newspaper called *Kolokol* [The Bell].

The Union of Communards was organized by S. Khakhaev, former secretary of the Komsomol organization at the Technological Institute, and by V. Ronkin, a party activist. S. Khakhaev and V. Ronkin were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment followed by three years' exile.

In 1967 in Alma Ata KGB agents arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment some communists and Komsomol members called the Young Worker group, organized by B. Bykov, a Komsomol member working for the Alma Ata MVD [the Ministry of Internal Affairs; as opposed to the KGB, the MVD carries out the normal functions of a police force, and supervises certain "sensitive" industries, e.g., nuclear industry], and by G. Deonisadi, a secretary of the committee of the Komsomol at one of the major enterprises in Alma Ata and a candidate for membership to the CPSU [Communist party of the Soviet Union].

In 1968 Leningrad agents of the KGB arrested the Marxist group of L. Kvachevsky and Yu. Gendler. The members of this group, which advocated the extension of democratic liberties in the USSR, were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

In 1969 in Tallin the Marxist "Union of Struggle for Political Freedom" group was arrested. The organizer of this group, G. Gavrilov, a VMS [navy] officer, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

In 1969, in Ryazan, Saratov, and Petrozavodsk, KGB agents arrested a young Marxist group called Communard. The organizers of this group—O. Senin, a state attorney; Yu. Budka; S. Grilyus; O. Frolov; and A. Uchitel—were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

In 1970 in Sverdlovsk KGB agents arrested the Marxist "Urals Worker" group. Five people from this group were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

In 1970 in the town of Voroshilovgrad agents of the KGB arrested the Marxist group Leninist Ideas in Practice. Its organizer, A. Chekhovsky, who edited a section of the newspaper *Kerch Worker*, was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment.

In 1970 in the town of Bendery agents of the KGB arrested the Marxist group of Meshirer and Ya. Suslinsky. I. Meshirer was sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

Long list

Unfortunately, we could continue this list at great length. But we are not aiming to list all the communists who are languishing in prisons and labor camps. For is the important point really to establish how many of them there are?

The most important point is that in all their activities these men were working for a more successful construction of a socialist and communist society, the construction of this society by the best path and without tragic mistakes.

The most important point is that if these people were at fault in any way, the faults were made by friends of communism.

"I was, I am, and I shall always be a communist. It is only my passionate love for my country, for soviet authority, and for socialism that has led me to the dock," said Fedorov in 1969 at his trial, where he was sentenced to six years' hard regime for attempting to organize the Union of Communists group.

"And even if I am sentenced ten more times, I shall continue, as long as I have the strength, to defend the ideals of communism which are so dear to me from attempts to disgrace them before the whole world, turn

Continued on next page

...you are not Soviet citizens--you

Continued from preceding page

them into a scarecrow and a laughing stock, whoever may carry out these attempts and whatever these people may call themselves."

"Communism is the destiny of all humanity. In all my activities I have been guided by this thought alone and have done everything in my power to attempt to promote this destiny," said O. Frolov from Ryazan, a member of the Communard group.

"I can conceive no purpose in my life other than fighting for the victory of communism," said the Komsomol member V. Uzlov, one of the Urals Worker group.

In their own countries the Communists of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden enjoy political liberty. They can form parties and publish party newspapers, journals, and books; they have their own presses, shops, premises, and all the equipment they need; they are offered the chance of playing some active part in the political life of their country.

Now just imagine for a second that you are forbidden to form your own party, to have a press, to publish party newspapers, to have premises and all the equipment you need to carry out your activities properly. Your part in the political life of your country will be confined simply to reading government newspapers and eulogizing official circulars put out by government functionaries.

Obviously in such a situation the defenders of communism will gather somewhere on the street, in private flats, in the universities, in factories, in small groups, and discuss the situation in the country, and criticize the regime that deprived them of their elementary democratic and personal liberties, whatever this regime may call itself.

Unofficial meetings

In a situation like this the boldest members of your newspaper's editorial board would be forced to meet unofficially somewhere in a private flat to inform each other about the manuscripts of their articles, and then their wives will retype these manuscripts wearing rubber gloves so as not to leave any fingerprints on the paper.

Then the members of the *Land og Folk* editorial board might decide to duplicate the manuscripts of their articles by photocopying them, and

'Imagine for a second that you are forbidden to form your own party, to publish party newspapers, to have all the equipment you need to carry out your activities properly.'

might even start mailing these photocopies to Danish citizens.

After that, the boldest editors of this secret newspaper might even decide to appropriate certain . . . [word missing] from some government press so as to make a printing press—which, even if it was only a small one, would nevertheless be their own—to print their own manuscripts on.

And for all these activities they will be arrested and sent to labor camps. Arrested for meeting in groups, for discussing and criticizing, for producing articles, for reading these articles to each other, for duplicating their manuscripts by typing or photocopying them, and for trying to set up a homemade press in the cellar of some *dacha* in order to duplicate their own manuscripts. Remember the occupation!

"But as regards the Soviet Union this is rather a comical situation," you will say. And you may possibly even smile, comrades on the editorial board



Prison near Moscow. Dissidents in USSR are treated much more harshly than other prisoners, and more harshly than prisoners in many capitalist countries.

of *Land og Folk*. You will smile as you sit in your cozy flats, by your own firesides, or in your armchairs at party offices.

But at this very moment we communists in the USSR are being arrested, tried, and confined in labor camps for five to seven years, under strict or special regime, separated from our mothers and fathers, our wives and children, our friends and acquaintances.

We are sure, comrades, that you will not feel like smiling when you read that in the birthplace of V.I. Lenin, Chekhovsky, a Komsomol member who fully admitted his guilt in struggling to accomplish the ideas of Lenin, was sentenced to six years' strict regime, and Dragosh, who had advocated extending the power of the soviets, to seven years' strict regime.

At a meeting in Yugoslavia Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, said:

"We are opposed to obstructing different countries in the task of building socialism, and all the more opposed to any one country thrusting its own concrete methods of development on another.

"The main concern for us Communists and Marxist-Leninists is that our countries should belong to one social and economic structure. And that, comrades, in the final analysis, is the most important point."

It may be that in its international relations the Communist party of the Soviet Union abides by these principles, but in its own country it has monopolized the right to the truth.

"And woe betide those whose ideas do not conform to the official circulars."

While they are calling the Yugoslavs their "comrades," they are detaining numbers of us in labor camps just because we have spread propaganda about their path of development!

Harsh sentences

In no other country do they deal so harshly with dissenters as in ours. We can ascertain this even from the information in the Soviet press.

The Soviet newspapers in August and September 1971 contained the following information: on August 8, 1971, *Izvestia* announced in an article entitled "The Verdict on the Patriots" that an Athens court had acquitted groups of nineteen and twenty-five prisoners, while the rest "were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, three years, ten months, five months, etc.," for publishing and distributing underground newspapers and leaflets.

In September 1971 *Pravda* announced: "Two Spanish students, Filip Martines and Roman Sines, were sentenced by a Madrid court to one year and three months' imprisonment respectively for distributing Marxist literature at underground stations in Madrid."

In August 1971 *Pravda* announced in a paragraph under the headline "Verdict of the Izmir Tribunal" that the supreme Tribunal of Izmir had sentenced six men to terms of imprisonment ranging from six months to three years for "conducting communist propaganda."

For these kinds of activities we are sentenced as a rule to five to seven years' imprisonment under strict regime, sometimes with up to five years' exile specified as an additional measure—three years in the case of Ronkin and Khakhaev, organizers of the Union of Communards group, seven years' imprisonment plus three years' exile in the case of Senin, the organizer of the Saratov Communard group.

Fellow Communists of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway! Imagine, for example, a situation like this: An assistant in the philosophy department of one of the universities made a speech at a departmental conference criticizing the Communist party of the Soviet Union and the government and also subjected the present situation in the country to his criticism. For this he was immediately dismissed from his job.

For a while he made a living doing occasional jobs. Once he received a letter from his comrade and he wrote

several letters in reply, in which he gave some news about himself as well as expressing some criticisms of the political leadership of the CPSU and the present government.

On November 7, 1970, he joined some demonstrators holding a banner saying "Shame on the present leadership of the CPSU," for which he was arrested and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

We find it hard to suppose that anything like this could happen anywhere in your countries. But what if this happened in Spain or in Greece? All progressive public opinion, including you Scandinavian Communists, would be incensed about this and would come out in protest against such an act of violence against an individual.

But this dramatic situation, involving an assistant in the philosophy department, did happen, not in Greece and not in Spain; it happened in our country, in the USSR.

Nikolai Vasilevich Bondar, an assistant in the philosophy department at Uzhgorod University and a consistent and convinced Marxist, who announced at his trial, "It was only my love of communism and my faith in it that forced me to do what I did," was sentenced by the Kiev district court to seven years' imprisonment for criticizing the politics of the CPSU at a conference of the philosophy department, for permitting himself, in a number of private letters to a comrade, to make a series of critical remarks directed at the CPSU, and for holding a banner saying "Shame on the leadership of the CPSU" in a demon-



Protesters, including Daniel Ellsberg (left), demand freedom for Soviet dissidents. Pyotr Grigorenko, one of foremost anti-Stalinist communists in USSR, was imprisoned in insane asylum by bureaucrats.

voice means something to them'

stration on November 7, 1970. And just for this a man was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

But that is monstrous, that is scandalous! This is what we feel, and this, we are sure, is what you feel too.

So complain! Don't keep quiet about it. Address the CPSU—after all, you are not Soviet citizens and your voice means something to them—demanding that they take steps for the immediate release of V. Bondar. We await your help, comrades.

Fellow Communists of Scandinavia! You know from articles in the Soviet press that the American Communist party condemns the cruel medieval system operating in American prisons (see *Pravda*, August 30, 1970).

Obviously, criticism and condemnation of medieval procedures in the prisons of any country deserve all possible attention and support, and if such conditions still exist anywhere we join our voices with those of our American comrades. But for us, who are deprived of almost all information, it is hard to assess the present situation in American prisons.

Once there was an article in the Soviet press saying that in one American prison the inmates had gone on hunger strike in protest against being given broken chocolate for breakfast. And at the very same time at Vladimir prison an official directive was issued forbidding prisoners to receive, even in packets, any foodstuffs except rusks, biscuits, sugar, and sweets—excluding chocolates!

And so prisoners in America get chocolate for breakfast, while in prison in the USSR they are not entitled to it even in packets from their relatives, of which they are only permitted two a year, weighing not more than one kilogram each.

Until November 1969, political prisoners at Vladimir prison were entitled to one parcel a year weighing up to five kilograms. After November 1969, they were deprived even of this pitiful means of sustaining their health.

Hunger strike

For a month the prisoners went on hunger strike; the administration created a situation of totally arbitrary rule and deliberately made it difficult to get hold of reading matter; the censors abused their official position; no sheets were issued; a razor became a machine for shaving people's heads; most of the cells were unheated, and there was no water for washing.

As a rule, the lives of political prisoners in labor camps and in Vladimir prison are governed by secret and illegal directives that allow the administration to abuse their official position and create a situation of illegal and arbitrary rule.

For example, there is a secret directive containing a list of subjects that are not to be mentioned in letters. Any letter to or from a political prisoner may be confiscated if the censor so desires. We, for instance, are forbidden to describe the conditions of our confinement, the health of our comrades in prison, etc. In practice this means only one topic is permitted, the weather, and even then a letter may be confiscated, under suspicion of "conventionality."

Even a list of foodstuffs allowed (or forbidden) to be sold at the camp or prison food stall (two to three rubles' worth a month!) is checked by the minister of the interior. For example, the political prisoners in our labor camp, Zh. Kh. 385/17, struggled for several years to get the food stall to sell onions, but each time this was refused. The administration insisted that the food stall was only allowed to sell onions in the case of a massive outbreak of influenza.

Why is this so? Maybe the USSR has not enough onions? No, the USSR has a lot of onions. Is it not rather that

onions are a highly vitaminized foodstuff?

Does it not seem to you, comrades, that everything we have just related to you reeks strongly of the middle ages?

Because of embezzlement and theft at all levels in the distribution of foodstuffs, and because of the disgusting way the food is cooked, in the labor camps even the officially appointed government norms for feeding are disregarded, and on top of that the government regulations for prisoners on strict regime have reduced to the minimum their right to receive food parcels from relatives and friends.

We are allowed only one parcel weighing five kilograms (after serving half our sentence), and two packets weighing one kilogram each. But in fact the administration can deprive us of even this minimal means of sustaining our health for any reason it chooses.

Privileges and other kinds of material advantages are granted chiefly to people who perform various services

'The Soviet newspapers say a mouse was found in Angela Davis's bed. Here in our barracks, mice are a commonplace sight, and in the hospital there are rats running around the wards.'

for the labor camp administration in reporting rumors and informing on people.

It may be incomprehensible to you, comrades, why we devote so much of our attention to parcels and packets. The fact is that in your countries a prisoner is adequately fed, he does not know hunger, and so a parcel from home comes as a pleasant surprise or, say, as a Christmas present from his friends.

We political prisoners in Mordovian labor camps and in Vladimir prison often experience hunger. From one year to the next our organism is subjected to a latent—and sometimes, in the first month in prison for example, a direct—starvation process from a deficiency of albumin, vitamins, and minerals. And so for us a food packet or parcel is a way of sustaining our health and keeping up our strength.

Another reason why we go hungry is because the food we are given is not always edible. It is disgustingly cooked, and often in cooking it they use food that is not only of low quality but actually maggoty. The fish they give us is usually rotten.

Comrades! It is widely known that

the regime system for the labor camps was most thoroughly elaborated by the professional jailers of fascism. You are also probably very well aware that the fascist concentration camps were directly calculated to emaciate and destroy the prisoners.

Later these principles were unfortunately adopted as the basis of the concentration camps in the Stalinist era. So it was that these principles were transferred from fascist Germany to our legal consciousness, and in 1960, on the basis of these same principles, the system of maintenance in Soviet prisons was organized.

Examples of this system of maintenance are sometimes monstrously absurd. For instance, we are allowed to send only two letters a month, and in prison, one, or even one every two months! And one could cite many such examples.

Fellow American Communists! You protest against the medieval regulations in American prisons and you demand the release of Angela Davis. While expressing our sympathy with this American Communist and joining with you in demanding her release, we nevertheless cannot compare her situation with the conditions under which we are held.

We hear that while under interrogation Angela Davis was allowed to meet journalists and even her ally, Comrade H. Winston, national president of the Communist party of the United States. But we are restricted even in our meetings with our closest relatives. And in contravention of all the rules, we are almost always forbidden to meet our relatives and friends, even our distant relatives.

We would like to be able to meet in person some Communist journalists, for example, from the USA or Scandinavia, so as to tell them directly about the actual conditions under which we are held.

The Soviet newspapers tell us that Angela Davis receives many letters from the public in America and throughout the world. Here various pretexts are frequently used to hold and confiscate letters from our closest relatives and friends. We are not entitled to receive even one of your newspapers.

The Soviet newspapers say that Angela Davis gave a letter to a visitor for the Committee of Soviet Women. We are not even allowed to pass over a simple everyday letter during visits.

We ask our comrades from *Land og Folk* to forgive us for our eight-month delay in writing. But there is no chance of sending you even this "open letter" directly, through official channels. In sending it to you, our comrades, we are "violating the regime"



Although millions stated their solidarity with Angela Davis against attempt to frame her up, she has yet to support prisoners jailed unjustly in USSR.

and await harsh punishments.

The Soviet newspapers say that a mouse was found in Angela Davis's bed. Here in our barracks, mice are a commonplace sight, and in the therapy wing of the central hospital there are rats running around the wards!

The patients are robbed. In the therapy building, for example, they have not been giving out the appointed rations of meat and sugar for many years, and they invent every conceivable excuse for stealing the meat and sugar. Visiting commissions do not notice these blatant thefts. The most elementary laws of dietetics are not observed.

All the Soviet newspapers reported angrily that George Jackson was killed while escaping from prison. In any situation this would be a tragic event, and we Soviet communist political prisoners join with you in protesting against such actions by jailers. But in Mordovian labor camps prisoners have more than once been killed from watchtowers, and not only in cases of attempted escape.

Prisoners murdered

In 1964, for instance, in one of the Mordovian labor camps they killed a political prisoner called Romashov who was deeply distressed because of some family trouble and had thrown himself in despair one morning against the wire fence. In 1967 they killed a Lithuanian named B. Utkevichius who was seriously unbalanced at the time.

In May 1970 they shot with machine guns a deranged prisoner called Mar-

Continued on next page

Letter from an old oppositionist

[The following is reprinted from the From Our Readers section of Intercontinental Press.]

Through a circuitous route, a letter from S.F. in Tel Aviv, written in Russian, reached us. We thought it might be of interest to some of our readers, so here's a translation:

"By chance I saw in Tel Aviv the four-volume edition of the *Bulletin of the Opposition* published in New York.

"As a former supporter of the Opposition referred to above in the Soviet Union since 1927, I was imprisoned in the USSR in prisons, exile, and in concentration camps for approximately 18 years, until 1946 when I was set free on account of a pact between General Sikorsky

(of the newly established Polish government) and Stalin, and was repatriated to Poland.

"Since 1970 I have lived in Israel. I receive no pension either from Poland or from the Soviet Union. I have turned 76, am ill, and live exclusively from a modest sustainer.

"I am very interested in acquiring the four-volume *Bulletin of the Opposition* mentioned above and also the Platform of the Opposition 83 [Declaration of the 83], which I also signed at that time.

"I very much regret that because of the material conditions I cannot acquire these publications at their full price.

"I ask you to charge me a low price or send me the books as a gift, which I thank you for in advance,

and I hope that you will not refuse my request."

The *Bulletin of the Opposition* was published under Trotsky's editorship and contains many articles by him and other leading members of the Opposition. For S.F. it must have been a moving experience to learn about it after the terrible years of prison and exile in which he had no way of knowing the fate of his comrades in the Opposition or what had happened to the movement he joined in 1927 against Stalin's usurpation of power.

We have begun to take up a collection in New York to make it possible for S.F. to get that gift. For those who would like to contribute, please make out your check to Reba Hansen, care of Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

...U.S. CP also bears responsibility

Continued from preceding page

anov who was a patient in the psychiatric wing of the hospital in labor camp Zh. Kh. 385/3. They actually riddled with their machine-gun bullets from two watchtowers a man of diminished mental responsibility.

The political prisoners of this labor camp tried to protest against such a totally arbitrary act, but they were punished for breaking discipline, and the political prisoners V. Aidov, N. Tarnavsky, L. Kvachevsky, S. Zatiky-an, and Yurkevich were transferred to Vladimir prison.

Vestige of middle ages

We believe you, fellow Communists and Americans, when you say that some conditions in American prisons exist as vestiges of the middle ages, and once again we protest along with you, and demand of the American government their immediate abolition. But does it not disturb you, fellow Communists and Americans; that in the USSR political prisoners are being held under the terrible conditions of the special and strict regime?

We are sure that this will stir you to address the leaders of the CPSU demanding the abolition of the strict and special regimes for political prisoners in the USSR, as well as radical improvements in the conditions of their confinement in general. We are sure that you will act decisively and in good faith on this issue.

Fellow Communists and Americans! You, and in particular Comrade Hall, often talk about the benevolence of the Soviet system and compare the USSR to the capitalist countries. You cannot fail to understand that the situation of political prisoners in the Soviet Union does no credit to the CPSU and to the policies adopted by the Soviet leadership in our country. It does no credit either to the international Communist movement.

It is not only we Soviet Communists who bear the moral responsibility for this or that aspect of the political leadership of the CPSU but you too, Communists from other countries.

Moreover the general secretary of the Communist party of the United States said in his article "The Chinese Divi-

dend on American Imperialism," which was published in the Soviet Union in the weekly journal *Abroad*: "The argument that the international workers movement can be based on each country 'attending to its own business' is a false one."

By putting up Comrade Hall as a presidential candidate for the Communist party of the United States in the forthcoming presidential elections in the USA (and we Soviet communist political prisoners warmly congratulate him) we must suppose that you are presenting him to the American people as a man of principle who, if he criticizes the medieval regimes in American prisons, will not remain indifferent to the situation of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, and may even tell voters and journalists during the electoral campaign what he himself has done as a Communist and as a presidential candidate to improve the conditions of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, where there are people in power who call themselves Communists.

Fellow Communists! There is considerable evidence that the legal position and the actual conditions of confinement of political prisoners in various countries are in blatant contradiction to the principles laid down as the basis of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man.

And so we call on Communists of different countries to appeal to the competent international organization with a request to create an international committee: 1) to examine the legal position and the actual conditions of confinement of political prisoners in various countries, including the Soviet Union; 2) to draw up unified international principles and standards for the legal position and conditions of confinement of political prisoners in various countries, including the Soviet Union.

Clash of tendencies

There is no doubt that the process of reinforcing morality and social justice in the world involves contradictions and clashes of the most diverse social and political tendencies, each of which aspires to bring its own conception of

morality and social justice to the lives of the people.

This is why circumstances sometimes arise in the world such that when the representatives of one or another tendency sit in the offices of power, representatives of another tendency, or even representatives of the same tendency who are proposing somewhat different methods, are held in prison cells. But when circumstances change, the people in the offices of power change places with the people in prison.

'Fellow Communists! We Soviet communist political prisoners ask you to publish this letter in your newspapers.'

Obviously, the state powers of various countries recognize the dramatic effect of this process, and periodically carry out an amnesty, which means that in the course of history amnesty has been established as an institution. In 1971 there were amnesties for political prisoners in Bolivia, Peru, Pakistan, and Uruguay. Early in October 1971, Soviet radio reported that amnesty had been declared for political prisoners in Spain.

In the Soviet Union there has been no amnesty for political prisoners, as an act of law, since 1927, and we would like to know what this means and what Communists of Europe and the USA think about this. We Soviet communist political prisoners find it hard to believe, despite our experiences, that the leaders of the Soviet Union who call themselves Communists are less humane than the rulers of Spain!

In 1971 President of the Council of Ministers A. Kosygin proposes to pay an official visit to Denmark and Norway. We hope, fellow Danish and Norwegian Communists, that you will ask him this question, and perhaps the other questions too that we have raised in essence in this "open letter."

Fellow Communists of Europe and the United States! We Soviet communist political prisoners ask you to

publish this letter in your newspapers. We also make this appeal in person to our comrades on the editorial board of *Land og Folk*, to whom we apologize once again for the delay in replying.

We Soviet communist political prisoners are sure that now that you Communists of Europe and the United States know the true situation in the Soviet Union you will do everything in your power to change it.

We Soviet communist political prisoners are sure that you will come out in defense of the rights of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, and particularly those of communist political prisoners.

With communist greetings,

Political prisoners:

Yuri Ivanovich Fedorov, before being arrested, a member of the CPSU, a lawyer, and an official in the Ministry of the Interior;

Nikolai Vasilevich Bondar, teacher in the philosophy department of Uzhgorod University;

Gennadii Vladimirovich Gavrilov, before arrest a member of the CPSU, official of the Ministry of the Interior, engineer;

Aleksandr Konstantinovich Chekhovskiy, before arrest a member of the All-Union Communist Youth League (Komsomol), secretary of a department in the trust company "Voroshilovgradzhilistroi."

We noncommunist political prisoners in the USSR, who are not adherents of Marxist doctrine and so in disagreement with a series of assumptions in the "Open Letter," sign this letter, with the agreement of our comrades in prison who are communists, as an authentic document, protesting against the violation of democratic standards in our country, and against the difficult conditions of political prisoners in the USSR.

Political prisoners:

Nikolai Bitkovich Ivanov, before arrest a teacher at Leningrad State University;

Yuri Timofeevich Galanskov, editor of the anthology *Phoenix*;

Vladimir Konstantinovich Pavlenkov, historian.

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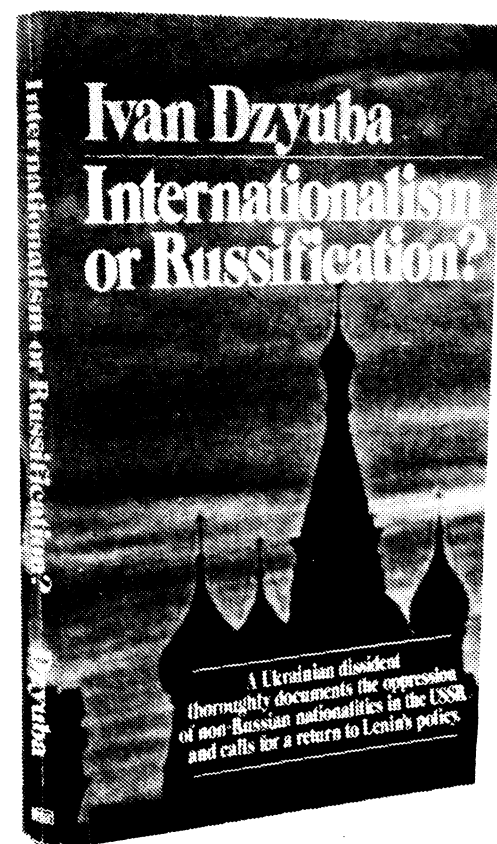
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UFW organizers gain right to enter fields

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—A new ruling by the recently established California Farm Labor Board provides the United Farm Workers (UFW) with limited access to grower property for the purpose of talking with the workers.

With elections for union representation in the offing, the ruling is especially important. The Teamsters union holds many "sweetheart" contracts signed with growers behind the backs of the workers. While Teamster officials have been given virtually unlimited access to the fields, UFW organizers have often been arrested for "trespassing" when they have attempted to speak to the field hands.

Under the board's ruling, organizers will be permitted to enter the ranches for one hour before and after work and up to one hour during the workday to talk to workers during breaks and lunch periods. Two organizers will be allowed for every thirty workers.

Another gain for the UFW was a board ruling that the contesting unions could use symbols on the election ballots. The board agreed to this after state education officials testified that an estimated 10 to 15 percent of migrant farm workers cannot read.

The UFW will use its widely recognized Aztec eagle symbol.

Catholic support

Earlier, in Washington, D.C., the Catholic Bishops Committee on the Spanish-Speaking renewed their backing of the UFW-called boycott of table grapes and head lettuce. This action is particularly significant because the secretary of that body is also the secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Recently, the *Los Angeles Times* quoted Bishop Roger Mahony, chairperson of the Farm Labor Board, as predicting the national conference would vote to end its support of the boycott because the new law provided for elections in the fields. The absence of such elections was the main factor motivating the organization to back the boycott, Mahony said.

The latest development suggests



New California Farm Labor Board ruling grants UFW limited access to ranches to talk to workers such as these during workday. Growers have allowed Teamsters free rein in fields.

there is substantial support among leading Catholic clergy for the UFW's battle to regain its contracts this fall.

At the same time that it reaffirmed its support of the boycott, the bishops committee on the Spanish-speaking called upon the California Farm Labor Board to investigate charges that UFW organizers were being denied access to farm workers in the fields while Teamster organizers were allowed free rein.

These charges were given added weight by a guest column in the August 28 *Los Angeles Times*. Christopher Biffle, a philosophy instructor at Los Angeles Valley College, reported his experiences while working in the fields during the summer.

Biffle accompanied two UFW organizers to a ranch to talk to the workers. One worker told him the Teamsters had been around giving out free beer. Others were clearly afraid to talk at all.

Suddenly, Biffle was spotted by a ranch supervisor, who told him he was

trespassing. Two police cars arrived a few minutes later. Cops arrested Biffle and the two UFW organizers and hauled them off.

As they were being driven away, they saw a leading Teamster official talking to the ranch owner. A local newspaper later wrote, "Eyewitnesses reported that the Teamster Union organizers had been in the vineyard for much of the morning and appeared on the scene again within minutes of the trio's arrest."

Incidents such as this make the collusion between the growers and the Teamster bureaucracy quite clear.

'Illegal aliens'

Another incident demonstrating the growers' fear of the UFW and the willingness of the Teamster bureaucrats to help them out occurred on August 26.

Monterey County sheriffs arrested thirty-two farm workers at several Salinas Valley ranches on suspicion of

being "illegal aliens." The cops claimed to have been engaged in "routine searches for stolen property" in the labor camps. These searches, the cops admitted, were carried out with the cooperation of the ranchers.

The UFW said that nearly all the arrested workers were from ranches with Teamster contracts and many of them were UFW supporters. The union charged that the local police, the growers, and the Border Patrol were conspiring to intimidate the farm workers on the eve of the new farm labor law.

Three UFW organizers were also arrested. They were charged with interfering with the Border Patrol after they had taken custody of the arrested farm workers from the local police.

Until recently, UFW officials had called for the deportation of undocumented workers. That policy had been changing, and actions at the recent UFW convention indicated that the union leadership has abandoned that dead-end approach.

It now appears that official UFW policy will be to defend the right of undocumented workers to hold a job in the United States and to be treated like any other workers—and that includes having the right to join a union.

UFW stages mass rallies

On August 24 United Farm Workers supporters staged a highly successful fair and rally in MacArthur Park in Los Angeles. More than 3,000 people attended, most of them from the Chicano community. Local support committees operated fund-raising booths. The rally heard UFW leaders Dolores Huerta, Philip Vera Cruz, and Eliseo Medina, along with representatives of the AFL-CIO and members of the state assembly.

That same day in Delano the UFW held a rally attended by 5,000. The featured speaker was UFW Director César Chávez.

San Quentin Six face frame-up murder charges

By Michael Schreiber

SAN RAFAEL, Calif.—Spectators at the San Quentin Six trial must strain to see the defendants through a murky bullet-proof partition. But there is no mistaking the rattle of chains when Fleeta Drumgo, David Johnson, Hugo Pinnell, Johnny Spain, and Luis Talamantez are lashed to their chairs. Only Willie Tate, who is free on bail, escapes wearing shackles.

The six Black and Latino defendants are charged with the murder of three San Quentin guards and two white prisoners on August 21, 1971. The prosecution maintains that the six planned the incident with prison activist George Jackson in order to escape from San Quentin's maximum-security cellblock.

George Jackson was killed on that day as he allegedly tried to break out of prison by running across a courtyard toward a sheer twenty-five-foot wall.

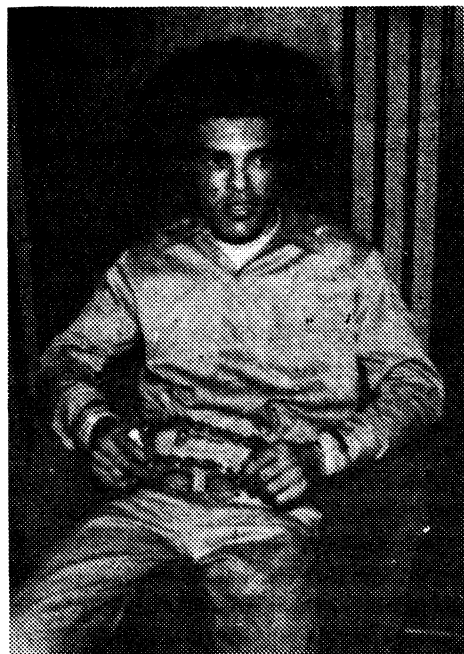
In the weeks following the alleged escape try, prison officials devised several patchwork explanations of the shoot-out. The allegation that Jackson concealed a pistol in his "exceptionally long Afro-style hair," was revised to "beneath a cap," and finally to "under a wig."

In order to plausibly fit under a wig, the .38 automatic was first scaled down to a 9mm Astra, then to a yet smaller model, and back again to a 9mm Astra. The coroner's report of an

"exit" wound in Jackson's back was changed a month later to an "entrance" wound.

The prosecution's case has continued to deteriorate since testimony began a month ago.

For example, one witness, prison guard Kenneth McCray, contradicted his statements to the grand jury, which had been the only evidence linking Luis Talamantez to the event. McCray had testified to the grand jury



Defendant Johnny Spain is chained and lashed to chair.

that he overheard Talamantez tell Hugo Pinnell in *Spanish* to pull a cord tighter around the neck of a prison guard.

Under cross-examination last week, McCray admitted that he doesn't know what was said or who said it. McCray has not identified any one of the other defendants as being present during the outbreak.

Defense attorneys believe that the shoot-out was set in motion by a conspiracy among state officials to murder George Jackson.

Charles Garry, who represents Johnny Spain, told the jury in his opening statements that George Jackson had information in 1970 that the California Department of Corrections "in all its strength and power" was out to kill him. Garry said that Allan Mancino, a prisoner who is scheduled to testify for the prosecution, swore in an affidavit the following year that officials at Soledad Prison had offered him a "deal" if he would kill Jackson.

Garry's contentions of a plot against Jackson were bolstered by the testimony of prison guards McCray and Daniel Scarborough. Both witnesses stated that eight months before the "escape attempt," San Quentin visiting-room personnel were shown a letter from the FBI that predicted George Jackson would try to escape. According to Scarborough, "We had word that someone would try to smuggle a gun in to Jackson, and the

[prison] administration didn't seem to want to do anything about it."

Judge Henry Broderick has presided over the San Quentin Six case for three years. He had denied defense motions to transfer the trial out of Marin County—the second-wealthiest county in the nation.

In 1974 another judge struck down the indictment on grounds that the Marin County Grand Jury was not composed of persons from the defendants' racial and economic background. After this ruling was overturned by the appellate courts, the San Quentin Six found themselves once again in Judge Broderick's courtroom.

The courtroom (now bisected by a bullet-proof shield) is the same one that George Jackson's brother Jonathan and three other prisoners took over in the police barrage that followed Jonathan Jackson's action.

Apparently fearing a repeat of 1970, Broderick ordered the San Quentin Six bound with chains, and refused to hear defense arguments that the chains might bias jurors against the defendants.

The San Quentin Six Defense Committee has set a goal of 50,000 signatures in its petition campaign demanding that Judge Broderick remove the chains and ensure the defendants' right to a fair trial. The address of the defense committee is 3169 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California 94103.

Interview with Jesse Fowler

Black prisoner challenges death penalty

By Cindy Jaquith

RALEIGH, N.C.—North Carolina's Central Prison, housing a quarter of the nation's death-row prisoners, is a sprawling Victorian structure on the outskirts of Raleigh.

Incarcerated at Central Prison and at the Correctional Center For Women across town are the more than eighty men and women who have been sentenced to death in this state. Two-thirds are Black.

What has stayed the hand of the executioner thus far is the 1972 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that capital punishment as it has been practiced is unconstitutional.

But the Supreme Court decision has not stopped North Carolina, or thirty other states, from reinstituting the death penalty through local legislation. More than three hundred people nationwide are now sitting on death row as a result, awaiting the outcome of legal battles over the Supreme Court's ruling.

One of those condemned, twenty-six-year-old Jesse Fowler, has filed his own suit, charging that the death penalty violates the Eighth Amendment prohibition on cruel and unusual punishment. Fowler's suit is the first of its kind that the Supreme Court has agreed to hear.

Oral arguments in the suit were heard last spring. But last June, without explanation, the court announced it was postponing a decision on Fowler's appeal, and scheduled a rehearing for this fall.

Recently, I visited Fowler at Central Prison, accompanied by his attorney, Charles Becton. Fowler is being defended by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, through its Capital Punishment Project.

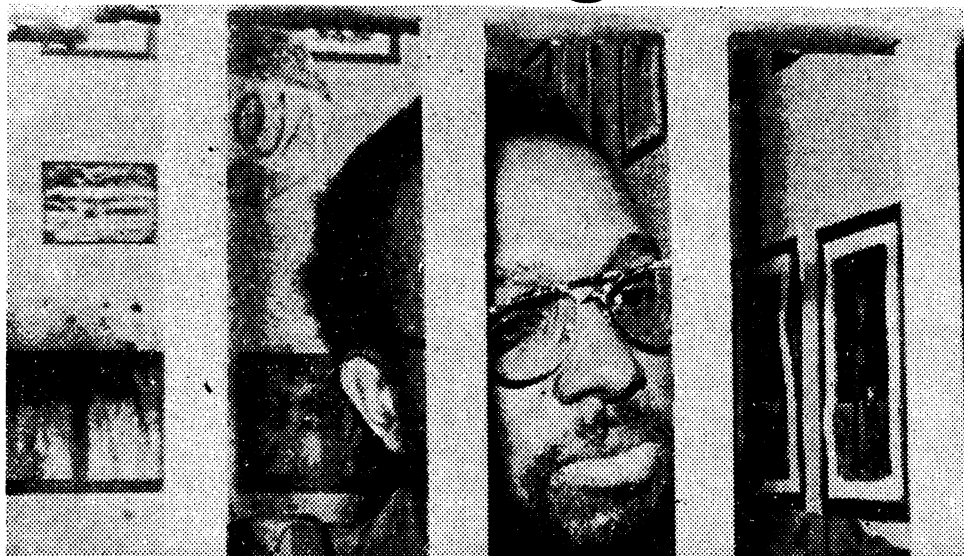
To reach the visiting section to meet Fowler, we had to pass through a seemingly endless maze of barred doors, always under the sullen gaze of cigar-chomping guards, all but one of them white.

We were locked in a narrow room with one bench. On the opposite side of a thick pane of glass was another narrow room where Fowler sat and talked with us.

Wrong side of law

As he described the events leading up to his conviction for murder, Fowler's story was like that of thousands of Blacks and other poor people who are born on the wrong side of the law as far as capitalist justice is concerned.

Fowler grew up just outside Raleigh, on a farm rented from a white man. There were ten children in the family.



Jesse Fowler, one of more than eighty prisoners on North Carolina's death row, is challenging death penalty on grounds that it is cruel and unusual punishment.

When he was seven, the family moved into Raleigh proper, where his father worked as a cab driver and his mother as a domestic worker. "She only earned about twenty-five dollars a week," he recalled, "so it was pretty hard on us."

When his parents split up, Fowler decided to drop out of school and get a job to bring more money into the house. Under the illusion that the government would help him further his education, he joined the Job Corps.

He was sent to a Job Corps camp in Breckinridge, Kentucky, supposedly to be trained in engine repair. But conditions at the camp were so bad that he and the other trainees organized a protest that turned into an open rebellion. Fowler was sent home along with the other youths.

From 1967 to 1973, he worked as a janitor, a truck driver, and at other odd jobs. He also spent some time in prison on an assault charge.

Civil rights struggles

When he was young, Fowler sympathized with the civil rights and Black liberation struggles. "Any time I saw some kind of protest, I was ready to move right in there," he recalled. "Especially when Martin Luther King was assassinated, and we had a lot of protests here in Raleigh." Raleigh was one of the many cities swept by Black uprisings in the wake of the 1968 murder of King.

At that time, however, Fowler did not become deeply involved in the civil rights struggle. "I knew I wanted to be part of it, but I just couldn't put myself right into it," he explained.

Today, sporting a green Army cap with a Black nationalist flag drawn on

the front, he says he has "matured" in his political thinking.

In 1973 he was sentenced to death in the shooting of a friend and former roommate, John Griffin. The killing grew out of a gambling dispute and a series of threats made by Griffin. Fowler contends that he shot Griffin in self-defense.

Double standard

But what might easily have been ruled self-defense in the case of a white defendant was considered first-degree murder in Fowler's case. An appeal to the state supreme court was rejected.

The U.S. Supreme Court's delay in ruling on Fowler's suit means a special kind of torture for him and the three hundred who may be affected by the outcome. Fowler described what the waiting is like.

"It's hell being here," he said. "Just having to lay around in a six-by-nine-foot cell for approximately twenty-three hours a day. It can really get to a man's mind."

He has to share his tiny cubicle with another prisoner—the steady growth in the population of death row here has meant doubling up of inmates.

Doubt about the future is the most severe form of torture. "Looking around at all the inmates on death row, knowing it's in their minds that society one day is going to execute us—it really makes you wonder, what's going to happen to this society?" he explained.

"Sending kids in here who are only seventeen and eighteen years old—who ever thought of putting a seventeen-year-old kid to death?"

Earlier, in an interview with the *New York Times*, he bitterly labeled

the death penalty for what it is:

"To me," he said, "murder itself is cruel, and premeditated murder is even more so cruel, and this is exactly what capital punishment is—premeditated cold-blooded murder."

"Can you see anything humane about that, about premeditated cold-blooded murder, by a so-called society that's supposed to be upholding justice and the law?"

Legal terror

In fact, the death penalty and other instruments of repression are precisely the means by which "law and order" is maintained in this society—by terrorizing working people—above all, Blacks—into submission.

Its purpose is clear from the disproportionate way in which capital punishment is meted out to oppressed nationalities. According to Peggy Davis of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, sixty percent of the death-row prisoners nationally are Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, or other minorities.

Fowler pointed this out by drawing a comparison between Joanne Little, who had not yet been acquitted at the time of the interview, and Richard Nixon. "Look at the way they are trying to railroad Joanne Little," he said, "and the way Richard Nixon was pardoned for his crimes. He hurt thousands and thousands and thousands of people, you know."

"And then you look back at Joanne Little, and because she's Black and a white jailer was killed, they want to put her to death. She was only protecting herself, as a woman."

"Everybody here feels that if it had been a white woman who killed a Black man, she would have gotten a medal of honor. . . ."

Racism manifests itself in other aspects of society, he added. "When I was growing up," he said, "schools were still segregated. I never went to an integrated school."

"Look at all the riots they're having in Boston now," he continued. "They're still having this racial thing about entering Blacks in white schools. . . . When are they going to sit down and realize that all people are created equal?"

Harassment

The Supreme Court is not expected to rule on Fowler's suit before 1976. What makes the months of waiting even more difficult is the constant harassment he receives from prison authorities. One official "said he'd make it his personal business to see that I never

Continued on page 26

Indians contest federal trial of leader

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—The American Indian Movement (AIM), responding to the July 17 arrest of its national chairperson, John Trudell, has initiated a legal challenge against the right of the federal government to arrest Native Americans on reservations and try them in federal courts.

The tribal council at Duck Valley Reservation in Owyhee, Nevada, has joined AIM in this stand.

Trudell was arrested on July 17 by FBI agents on the Duck Valley Paiute and Shoshone Reservation in Nevada after an argument with a white trading-post operator. Trudell had protested the exorbitant prices and credit terms the trader charged Indians. In the course of the argument, Trudell admitted, he fired a gun into the ceiling to emphasize his point.

He was arrested the next day and charged with assault with a deadly weapon.

On July 22 the tribal council voted to call on the government to turn Trudell over to a tribal court. The council states that only a tribal court could guarantee a fair trial for Trudell.

The council resolution said Trudell should be tried on the reservation because a tribal court would better understand reservation conditions, because the Native Americans do not believe justice will be done by "people living in a totally different environment," and that since the incident occurred as a result of economic conditions on the reservation, the trial should be held on the reservation.

In addition to the tribal council resolution and letters of protest, Native American activists have circulated a petition on the Duck Valley Reservation calling for the trial to be held there. The petition has been very widely supported, according to AIM.



Militant/Harry Ring

AIM national chairperson John Trudell. Indians are challenging right of federal government to arrest and prosecute him for actions carried out on reservation.

Seniority versus Black job gains: real issues bared in Nashville plants



Unemployment line. 'If things don't get better,' says Black worker, 'there'll be hell to pay.'

By Linda Jenness

The nationwide debate over discriminatory layoffs is heating up.

The issue of protecting the affirmative-action gains of women and Blacks in the face of massive layoffs may sometimes appear abstract. But the stark conflict between entrenched white privilege and Black demands for equality is shown in real-life terms in two Nashville, Tennessee, plants.

The issues are clear and the lines are sharply drawn at Ford Motor Company's glass plant and at AVCO Corporation, an aerospace subcontractor. Large layoffs have hit both plants.

Ford Glass was almost lily-white before 1964. So was United Auto Workers Local 737, the union there. But in 1964 Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, which outlawed job discrimination on the basis of race and sex. And in the years following, Black workers fought to break down the color line.

By the end of 1970, Black workers had gotten about fifteen percent of the jobs at Ford Glass—about the same proportion as in the overall Nashville work force.

Then came the layoffs. Laying off on a strict seniority basis—last in, first out—Ford Glass cut its work force by 25 percent. That included, however, 60 percent of the Black workers—200 out of the 350 Blacks. Another round of layoffs, expected by almost everyone at the plant, would eliminate most of the remaining Black workers.

An article in the August 3 *Washington Post* by John Egerton, entitled "Black vs. White on Who Gets Ax," tells of the differing views about what should be done.

"I hope the Blacks don't get a wild hair and try this 'instant seniority' stuff," said one white worker with twenty years' seniority at the Ford plant. "If they do, all hell's gonna break loose."

A Black worker with nine years' seniority who has been laid off since January sees things a little differently. "If things don't get better, I see a disaster for Black people, for America," he said. "Something's gonna have to be done, or there'll be hell to pay."

Whites protest affirmative action

Most of the white workers at Ford Glass view any move to alter the seniority provisions with open hostility. Some of the Black workers, on the other hand, think alterations have to be made. "Seniority is okay," said one, "but still it's wrong to turn every Black man out in the street."

The clash is even more sharply expressed at the AVCO Corporation plant in Nashville.

One of the first racial discrimination suits filed after passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was brought against AVCO by a Black worker. And Blacks have had to continually fight both the company and the union to be hired and upgraded since then. Workers at AVCO are organized by Local 735 of the International Association of Machinists.

A few historical facts about the International Association of Machinists help put the conflict in perspective. For sixty of its 80-plus years of

existence, IAM barred "non-Caucasians" from membership.

During World War II the Machinists locals, along with the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, were particularly notorious for their racist practices. They actively opposed the employment and upgrading of Blacks whenever and however possible.

When forced to admit Blacks, they relegated them to second-class status. In some cases Blacks were issued only thirty-day work permits by the union, were charged higher initiation fees and dues, and then received no membership rights in return.

When Black workers at AVCO, as late as this summer, won a discrimination suit against both the company and Local 735, and the company was forced to hire more Blacks, 500 white workers staged a brief walkout.

"That ruling tore our seniority system all to pieces," claimed the union president. But "seniority" wasn't the issue. Racism was.

Discriminatory layoffs

Five years ago AVCO employed 4,000 production workers, including more than 500 Blacks, about 13 percent. Today, only 1,700 workers are on the job, less than 9 percent of them Black.

Most white workers at AVCO have been opposed to hiring Blacks all along, so the idea of defending Black gains in the face of layoffs is the furthest thing from their minds.

The president of Local 735 is Jack Bonner. Bonner reflects the views of many of the white members of his local. He believes that the affirmative-action plans were "prejudiced against whites" to begin with.

"Now," says Bonner, "we've got a lot of laid-off people out there trying to survive, and they're getting tired of this equal employment opportunity crap. . . . We've got a lot of turmoil in this country. All you hear is Black power, women's rights, welfare, big profits for the corporations. . . ."

Leon McClain, a Black worker at AVCO with ten years' seniority, puts the blame elsewhere. "I'm a strong believer in unions," says McClain. "But our local is not really for the workers, Black or white."

The union leaders, he charges, "are bleeding the workers—not just Blacks and women but white men, too. Our pay scale is lower than the scale of the big contractors we're doing work for, like Lockheed. We don't have any sick leave benefits. We don't have a supplementary unemployment benefit fund, like they have at Ford Glass. And on top of all that, there's the racial thing."

Protecting 'white rights'

Union President Bonner, however, is convinced that the "equal opportunity crap" is to blame.

Bonner makes no fine distinctions between "equal opportunity crap" in the area of employment and in other areas, such as housing and school desegregation.

In fact, Bonner is organizing a local chapter of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the racist outfit that began in Boston around the busing issue and has since spread to other cities and other issues.

ROAR has broken up women's rights actions in Boston. In Queens, New York, it has organized to force a Black family to move out of a predominantly white neighborhood.

ROAR stands opposed to everything the union movement ought to be fighting for. The unions should fight to protect the most oppressed layers of the working class and pave the way for united working-class action against the bosses.

Bonner's support for ROAR exposes what his defense of the "seniority principle" is all about: pure, unadulterated racism.

These views were summed up in a recent ROAR advertisement in the *New York Daily News*, which read, in part:

"We are tired of watching our mothers and fathers, after long years of seniority, lose their jobs in order to protect those newly-hired 'minorities.' We are tired of standing idly by while our brothers and sisters are denied entrance to law and medical schools, in favor of less qualified 'minorities,' and most of all . . . We are tired of having our children bussed [sic] out so that 'minority' children may be bussed into our schools."

Union & company discriminate

It's little wonder, then, that the Black workers at the AVCO plant in Nashville charge the union with collaborating with the company to discriminate against them, and turn to the courts for protection.

Leon McClain says, "If the company had been hiring and promoting Blacks fairly since the 1964 law was passed, there wouldn't be any need for lawsuits. But they haven't done that, and they still aren't doing it."

"As far as layoffs are concerned, they've had seniority within each department instead of plant-wide, and when they have to cut back, they hit the departments where the most Blacks are."

"The court says they have to use plant-wide seniority now, but even that still hits Black workers the hardest, because almost all of us were hired after the 1964 law."

The white workers, in their majority, including union President Bonner, say that strict seniority must prevail in the layoffs.

McClain says, "Plant-wide seniority is a fair system if it's done right, but before they let all the Black workers go, I think some consideration ought to be given to the fact that before 1964, Blacks had no rights at all. I don't think it would be right for this plant to go back to an all-white work force."

The two Nashville plants are just examples of a nationwide pattern, and the conflict between strict seniority and affirmative-action gains is the subject of a hot and heavy debate within the union movement.

Do the union leaders agree with Leon McClain that it just wouldn't be right to go back to an all-white work force? Or do they agree with Jack Bonner that it's time to put an end to "equal opportunity crap"?

In an article next week, I will take up some recent stands on this question adopted by the union officialdom.

Shanker's policies block united struggle to defend teachers, save N.Y.C. schools

By George Bause

NEW YORK, Sept. 3—A strike by the 80,000-member United Federation of Teachers is "virtually inevitable," says UFT President Albert Shanker, because of the New York City Board of Education's attempts to wipe out gains won by teachers in past contracts.

As the *Militant* goes to press, no progress is reported in negotiations for a new contract to replace the one expiring September 9. The UFT has a "no contract, no work" policy.

The board of education demands that teachers work a longer week without additional pay, relinquish preparation periods, give up all sabbatical leaves, and be allowed a smaller number of sick days.

In a further provocative move in the midst of negotiations, the board on August 28 sent layoff notices to 1,500 regularly licensed teachers, with up to two years' seniority, and to 325 guidance counselors, some after five years on the job.

The board had already fired 7,000 substitute teachers who had been working a regular five-day week. Hundreds more dismissals are threatened. The layoffs will mean larger class sizes, also a violation of present UFT contract terms.

The UFT has publicly rejected the board of education's demands and called for a 25 percent wage increase to make up for inflation. A membership meeting is set for September 8 at Madison Square Garden to vote either to strike or to approve a new contract if negotiators arrive at one in time.

"We hope there will not be a strike," Shanker told the news media August 29. "If there is a strike, it will be long and bitter."

Reject wage freeze

The teachers have now become the prime target in the drive by New York bankers to cut jobs, wages, and social services. When the Uniformed Firefighters Association voluntarily accepted a one-year wage freeze August 29, the UFT was left as the only city union (aside from the cops' associations, which sometimes masquerade as "unions") holding out against the freeze.

But the teachers' chances of saving jobs, maintaining class sizes and other benefits, and winning an adequate wage increase are gravely weakened by the policies of the Shanker leadership in the UFT.

In his weekly paid advertisement in the August 3 *New York Times*, Shanker reaffirmed his total political support for New York Mayor Abraham Beame, absolving him of all responsibility for the antilabor assault in New York.

"In the weeks and months to come we will need Mayor Beame more and more," Shanker wrote. "... He knows that budgets must reflect human needs, not bankers' needs. Only he, as our elected chief executive, can mobi-



Militant/Martha Harris

Shankerites slander as 'antiunion' Black and Puerto Rican parents who have been best fighters against school cutbacks.

lize the people to fight against the monied interests and for the preservation of elected government."

This is the same Mayor Abraham Beame who demanded, rammed through the city council, and then signed into law the wage-freeze bill that Shanker himself calls "the worst piece of anti-labor legislation which has ever been adopted in the United States."

Even on the bankers who are openly taking the reins of New York government to implement the cutbacks and layoffs, Shanker blows both hot and cold. In his August 24 advertisement he stated:

"In the city's search for investors, we must avoid a further decline in confidence."

"This," Shanker warned, "would come either from an overly generous settlement or continued labor unrest."

But who are these investors if not the same bankers who are tightening the vise on New York's working people? And isn't it precisely to restore their confidence that Beame is freezing wages and firing thousands of city employees?

Friends & enemies

The present UFT leadership does not recognize either the real enemies or the true friends of teachers.

If teachers vote to strike, they will find no friends on Wall Street, in city hall, or in the board of education. The potential allies of teachers are rather the *other victims of the cutbacks*: the young teachers who have already been fired; fellow city employees in sanitation, transportation, social services, and the rest; and above all, the Black and Puerto Rican communities, which suffer the worst in the cutback drive.

Shanker, however, has clawed his way to the top in the teachers union by defending the privileges and prejudices of older, white teachers and virulently opposing demands of Black and Puerto Rican parents for more minority teachers, for meaningful bilingual programs, and for a voice in their children's education.

In 1968 Shanker called the entire UFT out on strike against Black

parents and community school board members who were fighting for community control in order to improve one of the city's most impoverished school districts, Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Militant parents took their children through the picket lines because they saw the strike was a racist strike against the Black community and the educational needs of their children.

In community school board elections since then, Shanker has poured hundreds of thousands of dollars into opposing candidates favoring community control of the schools in the Black and Puerto Rican sections of the city. He has helped to elect boards, such as the present majority in District 1, that fire Black and Puerto Rican teachers, sabotage bilingual education, and even vindictively cut school lunch programs.

If Black and Puerto Rican parents do not see the difference between the 1968 strike and a 1975 strike, if they do not understand that this time the UFT's demands are just, and if some of them again go through the picket lines, the fault will lie squarely with the policies Shanker has carried out.

Such an outcome is not preordained, however. On June 9, thousands of parents from the ghettos and barrios joined a UFT-sponsored rally at city hall against the cutbacks. They marched with the UFT in spite of

Shanker's racist record, because they agreed with the demonstration's stated purpose, to "Save Our Schools."

Unfortunately for New York teachers, there is no indication Shanker is prepared to appeal to these forces for a joint struggle to preserve education.

Thomas Hobart, Shanker's loyal stand-in as president of the New York State United Teachers, recently wrote, "In the vanguard of the anti-union drive have been the large banks headquartered in New York City, the managements of *The New York Times* and other news media, and various right-wing and 'community control' advocates. . . ."

Hobart is wrong on both counts. The real "vanguard of the anti-union drive" is the Democratic party administration in New York, which is carrying out the bidding of the banks.

And the parents slandered by Shanker's mouthpiece as antiunion and antiteacher—such as the Por Los Niños forces in District 1—are precisely the ones who have waged the most consistent struggle against all layoffs and all cutbacks in the schools.

It is to these militant Black and Puerto Rican parents, not to Democrats like Beame, that teachers will have to look for support if they are to defend themselves against the coming onslaught.

Which Way for Teachers?

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Strikers jailed, fired

Rights of Michigan teachers under attack

By Paula Reimers

DETROIT, Sept. 1—With public schools scheduled to open this week, teachers in more than 100 Michigan school districts are still without contracts.

Locals of both the 80,000-member Michigan Education Association and the 20,000-member Michigan Federation of Teachers are meeting to decide whether to strike.

This has been a bad year for teacher contract talks. Added to the problems confronting teachers nationally—the declining economy, wholesale cuts in education budgets, rising unemployment among teachers—Michigan teachers have faced an unprecedented government assault on their right to bargain collectively.

In response to several militant teacher strikes last school year, the state legislature this summer passed a punitive anti-teacher-strike law. This legislation, however, was not vicious and reactionary enough to suit Republican Gov. William Milliken, who vetoed it with a call for stronger curbs.

While there is no new antistrike legislation at this time, the many threats and maneuvers by the state government have greatly emboldened school boards in 1975 negotiations.

The school board in Southfield, for example, demanded that teachers accept the gutting of the union grievance procedure and the right of the board to lay off "any teacher at any time for any reason with thirty days' notice." The teachers refused to accept the ultimatum, and picketed the board's office in protest.

One teacher leader described the school boards' negotiating tactics this fall as "going for the jugular."

As if to underscore the dangers facing teachers who dare to strike, John Melchor, chief negotiator for the Garden City Education Association during their strike last spring, is now serving a thirteen-day prison sentence for refusing to apologize to a strike-breaking judge.

Melchor and ten other Garden City teachers were sentenced to prison during their strike for refusing to obey a court back-to-work injunction. The



Militant/Paula Reimers

Strong labor backing for striking Crestwood teachers forced school board to back down from firing them. How will unions react to new antiteacher threats?

time was not served while the cases were under appeal. On August 22 the teachers were brought before Judge Charles Kaufman and informed that their sentences would be dropped if they would apologize to the judge.

Melchor refused and was promptly thrown into the Detroit House of Correction.

One crucial battle for teachers is shaping up in the Crestwood school district in suburban Dearborn Heights. The outcome will have a significant impact on teacher union rights throughout Michigan.

Teachers in Crestwood struck in September 1974 after working a year and a half without a contract. They went back to work in October under court injunction. In December they struck again, this time in defiance of the injunction. In late December, the school board fired the nearly 200 striking teachers and hired scab replacements.

The MEA organized statewide support for the strikers, members of the Crestwood Education Association. Thousands of MEA teachers pledged to strike in solidarity with Crestwood if the teachers were not rehired.

Pressure by the organized labor movement forced the board to back down. It agreed to take the Crestwood teachers back pending court appeals.

But by the end of the summer, both the Michigan Supreme Court and the Michigan Employment Relations Commission had upheld the right of the board to fire the teachers.

Highly significant is the development of a parents' group to support the Crestwood teachers. Up until recently the antiunion parents, organized by groups like the ultrareactionary John Birch Society, had been the most vocal.

The relationship of forces between the proteacher and antiteacher parents has been steadily improving. At the August 25 school board meeting, the

proteacher forces mustered about 400 to the reactionaries' 100.

In addition, another group of parents has asked for a court order to prevent the board from firing the Crestwood teachers. This promising sign shows what is possible in other areas as well.

At its August 29 meeting, however, the Crestwood board voted to hire a new teaching staff. The question now is how the union movement, especially the two teacher unions, will respond to this union-busting challenge.

Failure to meet the threat could cripple teacher unionism in Michigan and doom strikes this fall by giving school boards the unchallenged right to fire teachers whenever they strike.

BOSTON, Sept. 2—The Boston Teachers Union voted overwhelmingly, at a meeting of 2,500 teachers this morning, to authorize a strike beginning September 22.

The late strike date was chosen, according to BTU leaders, to allow for "the smooth opening of school." The BTU has not taken a formal position for or against busing, but it is clearly trying to avoid getting mixed up in expected racist violence as schools open September 8.

The teachers' old contract expired August 31. Teachers are asking for a 10 percent wage increase. The school committee offered 6 percent and further demanded that the union pay the costs of arbitration of last year's contract, whittling the wage increase down to practically nothing.

CHICAGO, Sept. 3—The Chicago Teachers Union struck today, closing the public schools on what was to have been the first day of the fall term.

The teachers voted yesterday by a nine-to-one margin to walk out in an effort to save jobs and keep class sizes down. The school board is threatening to fire 1,500 teachers and other school employees.

The strike mandate was greater than in any of the CTU's three previous strikes.

Discriminatory layoffs: UE member speaks out

By Ellard Yow

PITTSBURGH—Because contract negotiations were due to begin for Local 610 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE), the local meeting near the end of July was one of the largest in two years—200 of a total local membership of 3,700 attended.

A resolution upholding seniority as the "cornerstone of trade unionism" was presented for approval. The resolution had been unanimously adopted at the UE District Council 6 meeting in June and will be presented to the national convention in September.

"From its inception, 40 years ago, the UE has stood for equal rights, regardless of craft, age, sex, nationality, race, creed or political belief, and we have fought continuously against discrimination in all its forms," the resolution began. But after some righteous phrases about the "tide of discrimination" beginning to be reversed, the resolution got to its point:

"However, in our zeal to achieve equality we must resist the temptation to go overboard and create injustice in the name of justice. We speak particularly with regard to seniority, and the

efforts of those who would violate seniority in a misguided attempt to correct past wrongs."

The resolution vowed that UE would continue to enforce the principle of "first in, last out." It also pledged to continue the fight against discrimination, to "assess" the employer "the price of correction for past and present inequities."

I had a counterresolution to present. But when I began to read it over the mike, a group in the back of the room began booing and yelling, "Sit down." Meanwhile, I was pressing for time to present my defense of the resolution. The chair finally gave in after one of the stewards shouted, "Let him speak."

My resolution said, in part: "We, therefore, resolve that the UE modify its seniority system so that the percentage of women and Blacks employed in any given plant after a layoff is the same as before the layoff."

To explain my opposition to the district council resolution, I talked a little about seniority and how, while it is an important principle, it is not the "cornerstone" of trade unionism.

"Seniority was originally conceived

to protect the most vulnerable," I said. "It prevented the boss from laying off the older, perhaps slower, workers and keeping the younger and stronger workers. It also guarded against victimization of the militant workers who organized the industrial unions, such as the UE, back in the 1930s."

"Today the employers are still using the tactic of divide-and-conquer against working people. . . . Women and Blacks have made some important gains against job discrimination in the past decade. The UE must not allow the bosses to use the seniority system to reverse these gains."

"It is impossible to 'go overboard' or be 'overzealous' in defending the victims of centuries of discrimination."

I explained that the district council resolution's fine talk about assessing the bosses the price of correction for inequities was only words. Today, in the real world of growing unemployment, it is the victims of discrimination who are being assessed.

Our local should also propose to the national convention, I told the meeting, that the UE mobilize its ranks to demand from the employers and the

government jobs for everyone. "There's plenty of work to be done, and it's their economic anarchy that holds productivity to 65 percent of its capacity today. . . . We should demand a thirty-hour workweek with no reduction in pay to spread the available work. This is the richest country in the world and the profiteers can afford this."

Following my speech there was more applause than there had been boos before. The chair didn't ask for any further discussion and rushed to a vote. Instead of voting the two resolutions against each other, he called for a "yea or nay" vote on the district council resolution only. This caused confusion, and whatever nays there might have been never materialized. "We didn't know what we were voting for," one person said later.

During a later agenda point, Dan Margurite, president of District 6, made some conciliatory remarks about my resolution and said I had raised some valid arguments.

Some workers congratulated me, saying that they agreed with what I said. Others came up to say that they at least thought I had the right to speak to the membership.

By Dick Roberts

The fourth anniversary of President Nixon's declaration of a "New Economic Policy," August 15, 1971, passed last month.

Little was said to commemorate the event. Generally the capitalist press treats the NEP as though it ended April 30, 1974, when almost all of the early "wage-price controls" were dropped.

But the initiators of the NEP did not view it this way. Peter Peterson, Nixon's top economic adviser, wrote in a "white paper" on the NEP in December 1971 that it "marked the beginning of a new era in postwar international trade and finance."

Although some of the specific features of the initial plan were subsequently dropped, the main aim of NEP—to increase the competitiveness of U.S. monopolies in world markets—remains the central strategic goal of American imperialism.

It is a crucial ingredient of contemporary world politics. This and future articles will seek to draw a balance sheet on the first four years of NEP.

Peterson wrote that "the central fact of the past twenty-five years had been the conviction—ours as much as that of other countries—that the U.S. was dominant, both in size and competitiveness, in the international economy. . . . We as a nation and the world as a whole were too slow to realize that basic structural and competitive changes were occurring; as a result, international policies and practices were too slow in responding."

From a position of dominance of world markets in the immediate postwar period, by the late 1960s the United States had lost key markets, notably in textiles, steel, autos, and electrical equipment, to its powerful imperialist rivals—Britain, France, West Germany, and Japan.

The dollar had been severely shaken as the centerpiece of world finance, and a headlong flight from the dollar was underway in the late summer of 1971. Ever-increasing quantities of cheaper foreign goods were being sold at home. Trade and financial negotiations between Washington and major competitors failed to make headway.

With the NEP the American ruling class made a far-reaching turn.

The wage freeze was adopted at home. On the international front, the gold window was slammed shut to foreign central bankers, a tax surcharge was placed on foreign imports, and the dollar was devalued.

These moves signaled that the United States would now directly seek to correct its weakened position in the world economy at the expense of its imperialist rivals and the workers of all countries, not least of all the workers of the United States.

In fact, so far as the domestic economy is concerned, the NEP ninety-day wage freeze, subsequent wage controls, federal intervention to keep wage increases down, and the complete failure of the trade-union bureaucracy to oppose any of these moves in a significant way have resulted in remarkable success for the American ruling class.

Arnold Weber, former head of the NEP "Cost of Living Council," declared in 1974, "The idea of the freeze and Phase II [in which wages were tightly controlled] was to zap labor, and we did." Weber wasn't exaggerating.

The fact is that real wages, reflecting the actual purchasing power of the dollar, had been frozen in the United States since 1965. Inflation, primed by huge government expenditures for the Vietnam war, eroded all the wage gains of workers through the entire length of the war.

Thus when NEP was declared in 1971, the average weekly earnings of manufacturing workers with three dependents, measured in 1967 dollars, stood at \$101.81. This compared with the *higher* figure of \$102.41 for 1965.

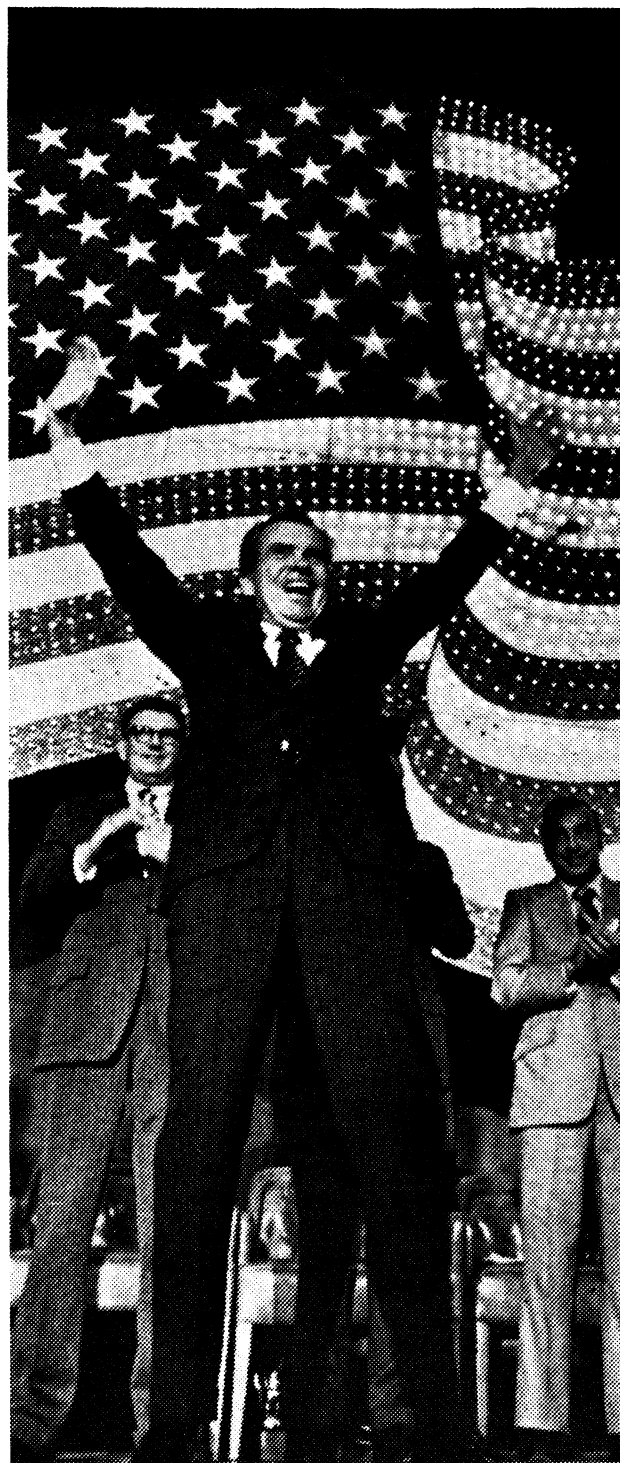
What about today? According to the July 1976 *Monthly Labor Review*, the estimated figure for April was \$98.49—lower than when NEP was declared four years ago and lower than in 1965 when Johnson began to escalate the war.

Here are some other pertinent figures taken from the *Monthly Labor Review* and the 1975 *Economic Report of the President*:

- From 1970 to 1974, wages and salaries of all workers in current dollars rose 38 percent.
- From 1970 to 1974 (December) the consumer price index rose 34 percent and food prices rose 48 percent.
- From 1970 to 1974 corporate profits before taxes rose 91 percent.
- Unemployment stood at 4,088,000 in 1970, at 6,601,000 in December 1974, and at 7,838,000 in July 1975—92 percent higher than the 1970 level.

NEP envisioned converting U.S. industry into a *trade-war machine*. Recognizing that the devaluation of the dollar would automatically improve the competitiveness of U.S. goods, Peterson nevertheless emphasized in his white paper that "our

Nixon's 'New Economic Policy': four years later



continued competitiveness depends more on new investment in plant and equipment, more on growth in research and development and more progress in training appropriate talent and manpower, particularly in the new skills U.S. workers will require as our society moves increasingly to more industrial sophistication and services."

But continuous technological advance in a racist society where whole sectors of the population cannot obtain the necessary skills to get jobs necessarily means that the productivity drive of U.S. monopoly brings higher and higher unemployment levels, even in economic upturns.

Ernest Conine summarized the processes in the July 25, 1975, *Los Angeles Times*. "Businessmen, it seems, are not prepared to hire workers back as fast as they were laid off," said Conine. "The emphasis is on higher productivity—partly through more prudent deployment of the work force, but mostly through investment in more efficient plant and equipment. . . .

"If the U.S. economy is to grow in a competitive, interdependent world, worker productivity must improve. Which means that industry must invest in labor-saving, capital-intensive equipment. . . .

"The more that production skills are upgraded, the harder it becomes for poor, disadvantaged workers to climb onto the first rung of the ladder. The gap between skilled and unskilled grows wider."

Blacks and women are the "disadvantaged" workers who are increasingly thrown out of jobs and can't get new ones. Black, Puerto Rican, and other oppressed minority populations of the big industrial centers have been ravaged by unemployment. The spread between white and Black incomes has widened in the past four years, after slightly narrowing in the 1960s.

According to the most recent U.S. Census Bureau studies, Black family median income in 1974 was 58 percent of white median income, down from 61 percent in 1970.

The lower wage levels and higher unemployment levels of Blacks enable the ruling class to keep the wages of all workers down as well as to maintain an ever-increasing permanent pool of unemployed workers of all races. "After the recession the U.S. will still face a long and painful period of high unemployment," *Fortune* magazine stated in its June 1975 issue.

"The economic and social consequences may be troublesome," said *Fortune*, "but all-out efforts to rev up the pace of recovery would be self-defeating," the business magazine added, because the capitalists hope to keep unemployment high for as long as possible, in order to reap the rewards of lower wage increases and higher productivity.

Figures in the July 1975 *Monthly Labor Review* eloquently testify to the success of the imperialists' economic strategy.

Comparing 1970 to 1974, U.S. output per worker hour still is not increasing as fast as the output of its strongest foreign competitors, but the rate differences have lessened in recent years. Increases in output per worker hour from 1970 to 1974 were:

United States	20%
Japan	36%
France	23%
West Germany	23%
Britain	17%

But the wage levels make the difference. American monopoly has been able to keep the increase of U.S. wages considerably below the increases in the rival imperialist nations. Wage increases from 1970 to 1974 are:

United States	21%
Japan	67%
France	42%
West Germany	44%
Britain	46%

The result is a significant strengthening of the U.S. competitive position measured in the increase of *unit labor costs*. If, for example, productivity in the auto industry increased 5 percent in the given year, while wages increased 7 percent, there would be only a 2 percent increase in the per-car cost of auto wages.

The figures for unit labor cost increases from 1970 to 1974 show the United States in a decisive lead:

United States	10%
Japan	63%
France	38%
West Germany	35%
Britain	50%

This was one of the central aims of NEP. As will be shown in a subsequent article, if the effects of dollar devaluations are taken into consideration, the differences in unit labor costs are even more striking.

Argentina on 'brink of coup'

Economic crisis racks Peronist regime

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

The shake-up in the Argentine army at the end of August is the most visible recent indicator that the economic, social, and political crisis racking the country continues unabated.

Army Commander in Chief Gen. Alberto Numa Laplane was replaced by Gen. Jorge Videla August 27. The day before, newly appointed Interior Minister Col. Vicente Damasco was stripped of his military post. Damasco had been the first military officer to take a cabinet post since the Peronist regime came to power in 1973.

The steps followed widespread opposition in the army hierarchy to what was seen as an attempt to portray the military as supporting the Peronist regime. Army tops called for Numa Laplane to be replaced by Videla after the commander in chief pushed for Damasco's appointment. Videla is considered to be a hard-line anti-Peronist.

Jonathan Kandell, in a dispatch from Buenos Aires in the August 28 *New York Times*, described the situation as one of "virtual insubordination" in the army, bringing the country "to the brink of a military coup."

Since completing almost seven years of dictatorial rule, the army has for two years maintained a public image of keeping its distance from the regime.

In late June the economic crisis exploded and moved rapidly to the political level. The Argentine working class went out on strike spontaneously, protesting the attempted establishment of an austerity program and denials of collective-bargaining rights. Demonstrators called for and won the resignation of government ministers credited with responsibility for the crisis.

The army chose to play a waiting game. As one retired general put it, "When the time comes, the military does not want people to say we did not give the Peronists a real chance. Better an hour later than an hour early."

On August 11 a new cabinet, the seventh set up in the thirteen months

of Isabel Perón's rule, replaced all officials associated with José López Rega, the former rightist strongman now in exile in Spain. The despised minister of culture and education, Oscar Ivanissevich, who had recently inspired student and teacher protests, was also replaced.

The new labor minister is Carlos Ruckauf, head of the insurance company employees union. He has been included in an attempt to convince the three million members of the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Federation of Labor) to subordinate their struggles to the bourgeois government.

The ability of the Peronist regime to keep the lid on the working-class struggles appears sharply reduced after the events of the last two months. A dispatch in the *New York Times* of August 31 reported, "Most observers doubt that Mrs. Perón can survive in office beyond the end of the year." Dissension within the Peronist political party, the Justicialists, is so deep that it led to a walkout of eighty delegates from the party's national convention August 24.

The economic crisis continues to escalate. The inflation rate for July reached an all-time monthly record of 35 percent. It is expected to reach an annual figure of 250 percent before the end of the year. One economist quoted by the August 13 *Wall Street Journal* predicted that "over the next 12 months we could reach a four-digit rate."

A wave of firings and layoffs since early July has brought unemployment to at least 7 percent, an enormous figure in a society where full employment has long been considered a norm.

The *Wall Street Journal* gave the following description of conditions in one of the most important economic sectors:

"Auto prices in the last six months have risen as much as 150% so that the cheapest car now costs \$5,000. As a result, people aren't buying and auto production is expected to drop 17% from 286,000 units last year. Their suppliers' sales have gone down 30%,



Argentine President Isabel Perón and rightist ex-strongman José López Rega (right), who is now in exile in Spain. Ability of Peronist regime to keep lid on class struggle has been sharply reduced.

and the country's auto exports are off 73% in value from last year.

"The chain reaction from the key auto and construction industries has spread to virtually every other industry, producing dire predictions of unemployment reaching a million workers or about 10% of the labor force by December."

Such high levels of unemployment are all the more grave because Argentina has no unemployment compensation system.

In addition, there is the problem of the country's \$10 billion foreign debt. Minister of the Economy Antonio Cafiero arrived in New York August 30 to try to obtain new loans and renegotiate the \$2 billion due on this debt by the end of 1975. Argentina's "foreign-exchange reserves have dwindled to the vanishing point," the *New York Times* reported August 31.

The trade-union bureaucracy, which regained its footing after the massive, spontaneous upsurge of the rank and file at the end of June threatened to

sweep it aside, has acted to prevent ongoing mobilizations of the working class to meet the economic and political crisis.

The only force putting forward a clear, consistent line to meet the crisis is the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The PST calls on the CGT to push for implementation of its plan of immediate economic emergency measures.

At the same time, the PST calls for the construction of a mass workers party built on the consciousness that the working class "can no longer support any sector of the bourgeoisie in the government, that we must stop being losers in the political arena and become winners as we are in the trade-union arena. We will construct a socialist workers party of the great masses capable of directing the mobilizations and strikes toward the conquest of a workers and popular government," which can build a socialist Argentina.

Win release of activists

Thai student protests back peasant struggles

From Intercontinental Press

The first major student protests in Bangkok to be held in support of peasant struggles were staged in early August.

The actions followed several months of protests by the Farmers Federation

of Thailand (FFT) and other peasant groups, which sent delegations to Bangkok to present their demands to Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj. The peasants called for the distribution of land to the landless, the dropping of all court cases against peasants, the

release of peasants arrested on trespassing charges, the scrapping of the former government's land reform legislation, and the lifting of martial law in the outlying provinces. The imposition of martial law made it illegal for the peasants to demonstrate.

Since May, six members of the FFT have been killed by unknown gunmen. Several other peasants have also been murdered.

Intha Sriboonruang, the deputy president of the FFT, told a reporter that "the farmers were slain because of conflicts involving either the diversion of Government funds to villages or land disputes with local capitalists." In addition, he noted that the murders had been carried out with impunity "because Thailand is under a tyrannical Government whose members are big landlords. The police and local Government officials are also serving the capitalists and allowing the murders to continue as if the lives of the people are like fish or vegetables."

A few days later he, too, was gunned down and killed.

On August 4, eight peasants and a student were arrested in Chiang Mai in northern Thailand. One student leader told *Far Eastern Economic Review* reporter Norman Peagam, "On the one

hand they are killing the farmers and on the other they are arresting them—in both cases to create fear and to discourage them from getting involved in politics."

Students staged protests in Chiang Mai and Bangkok in defense of the peasants. The National Student Center of Thailand, which organized some of the student protests that led to the downfall of the military dictatorship in October 1973, demanded the release of the arrested peasants and called for police action to arrest the gunmen. Several thousand students and others demonstrated in front of Thammasat University, and most universities and several teachers colleges went on strike. Some labor unions supported the actions, according to the August 22 *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

On August 14 Kukrit conceded to the protesters' demand and released the arrested student and peasants.

An indication of the growing political polarization in the country was the counterdemonstration five days later by more than 1,000 police, who denounced "mob rule" and demanded the rearrest of the peasant activists. The police stormed and sacked Kukrit's home. The regime took no action against the police.



Thai students in protests that led to overthrow of military dictatorship in 1973. Students are now mobilizing in opposition to government repression against peasants fighting for land reform.

August 26 march hits 'crimes against women'

By Sally Anderson

LOS ANGELES—On August 26, 750 women marched in the streets here to protest "crimes against women."

Over the objections of the Los Angeles Police Department, the board of police commissioners granted a parade permit to the August 26 Women's Coalition for a parade commemorating the fifty-fifth anniversary of women's suffrage.

The marchers carried banners and signs from a wide range of women's groups, including the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the National Black Feminist Organization, Orange County NOW, Los Angeles Women's Center, and several union locals.

Chants could be heard throughout the march demanding "Equal Pay for Equal Work," "The Right to a Job," and "Out of the Offices and Into the Streets."

The noontime rally, held at the city hall mall, attracted a number of office

workers from the government buildings surrounding the mall.

American Civil Liberties Union lawyer Jill Jakes, speaking about rape victims, referred to the Joanne Little acquittal as a major victory for the women's movement. She stressed the fact that women's groups across the country were successful in organizing support for Little.

Gloria Molina, representing a Chicana feminist organization, the Comisión Feminil Mexicana Nacional (National Mexican Women's Commission), denounced the "god-like control of doctors" and the practice of forced sterilization of minority women. She told the crowd about a class-action suit sponsored by the Comisión Feminil brought against the University of Southern California Medical Center/Los Angeles County Hospital. The suit, filed on behalf of nine women sterilized there without their knowledge or consent, will go to court on September 29.

Other speakers focused on the need to pass the Equal Rights Amendment in 1976, deteriorating economic conditions facing women, women in prisons, and lesbian oppression.

A women's rally for "Jobs and Justice" sponsored by the National Organization for Women was held in Chicago on August 26. Three hundred women gathered to hear Judith Lonquist, NOW legal vice-president, speak about the need for full employment, passage of the ERA, and an end to job discrimination against women.

Other speakers were Gov. Daniel Walker of Illinois and Gwen Martin of the Communications Workers of America.

At Central Michigan University in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, a victory rally for Joanne Little was held on August 26.

Trudy Hawkins told the crowd that the fight against racism and sexism must continue. She urged the students to attend the conference of the National Student Coalition Against Racism scheduled for October 10-12 in Boston.



Seven hundred and fifty women marched in Los Angeles August 26 on fifty-fifth anniversary of women's suffrage.

Maoist regime betrays Puerto Rico in U.N.

By Dave Frankel

On August 20 the United Nations Decolonization Committee voted eleven-to-nine to shelve a resolution on the colonial status of Puerto Rico. As expected, Washington's imperialist allies on the committee—Denmark and Australia—voted against further discussion or action on the resolution, which reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence."

Also helping to kill the proposal were two of Washington's most notorious clients in the colonial world—the police regime of the shah of Iran and the butcher-government in Chile.

Where long-standing ties weren't adequate to ensure a favorable vote, Washington had recourse to other methods. As one U.S. official said, it was prepared to "pull out all stops," and threats of economic and political sanctions were openly made.

In this situation, the representative of the Chinese government did not vote. Nor did the Maoist delegate get up and expose Washington's blackmail.

The *Guardian*, the only Maoist weekly in the United States, correctly noted that the UN vote was "a temporary setback to the Puerto Rican independence movement."

If this is the case—and it is—why did the Maoist regime fail to cast its

vote against the imperialist-sponsored resolution? The *Guardian* doesn't say.

The *New York Times*, in an August 21 editorial hailing the imperialist victory, did point out the Chinese government's abstention, calling it "noteworthy." "Peking's representative, in fact," crowed the *Times*, "cited the sharp divisions on the issue among third world delegates as a reason for his own course of inaction."

But the "sharp divisions" used by Peking as an excuse for its shameful refusal to vote were produced by Washington's blackmail. Are the Maoists, who pose as revolutionaries, saying that they are only obligated to support struggles that do not cause "sharp divisions" among the capitalist governments in the colonial countries?

The Maoist regime has clearly indicated that it is prepared to subordinate even verbal support for the Puerto Rican independence struggle to its own narrow diplomatic ends.

What about Maoist groups such as the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, the *Guardian*, and others? Will they criticize Peking's latest betrayal of revolutionary principle, or continue their slavish defense of the Chinese regime? What comes first with them: the rights of the Puerto Rican people or the interests of the Maoist bureaucrats?

L.A. Black convicted of killing cop; will appeal

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Expressing surprise and shock at the conviction of her son Philip on charges of killing a deputy sheriff and wounding two others, Ellery Allen assailed the jury's verdict as "very unfair."

"I don't see how the jury could have brought in a guilty verdict," she said. "It is impossible for my son to have disarmed" a deputy sheriff.

The prosecution claimed that Allen, a twenty-year-old Black student, shot the three cops after seizing the gun from a fourth cop last January 1.

The prosecution's witnesses, nearly all cops, told conflicting stories, but they all were compelled to agree that Allen was surrounded at all times by at least three husky deputies. None saw Allen take the gun from the deputy's holster.

No fingerprints were found on the gun, and no tests were performed to see whether Allen had fired a gun.

The cops were unable to explain how Allen, who is five feet, three inches tall and weighs 135 pounds, could have overpowered five deputy sheriffs. Nor could they explain why no fingerprints were found on the gun used in the shooting.

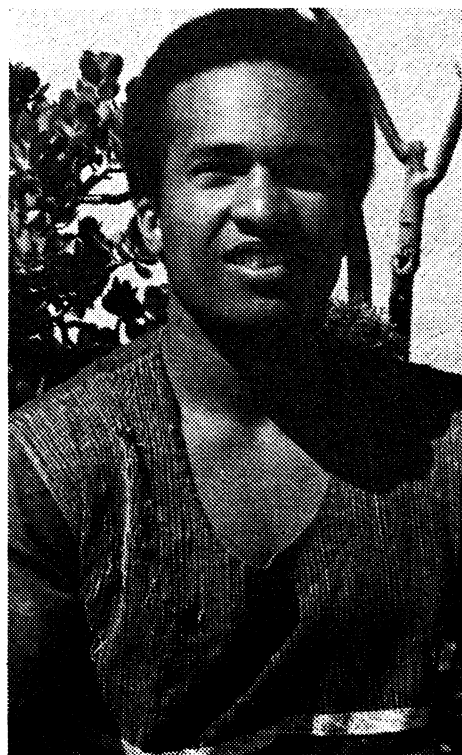
Two civilian eyewitnesses confirmed Allen's story that he was being beaten by the cops and never touched a gun.

Prosecutor Burton Katz relied on emotional appeals to the nearly all-white jury. At one point he suggested that because Allen had taken a Black studies course, he hated whites.

The judge allowed these racist insinuations.

Allen was originally charged with first-degree murder and two counts of assaulting a police officer with a gun. The murder charge was reduced to second-degree at the time the trial began in June.

The jury apparently could not swallow the prosecution's case whole, for they found Allen guilty of voluntary



Militant/Harry Ring

Philip Allen was convicted of manslaughter in death of cop despite lack of evidence against him.

manslaughter, a lesser charge. However, with the simultaneous conviction on both assault counts, Allen faces a possible life sentence. The judge has a great deal of discretion in sentencing, thus making a vigorous public defense vital.

Attorney Larry Steinberg, who defended Allen along with attorney Ben Wyatt, Jr., told the *Militant* an appeal is planned. Steinberg said there were several grounds for the appeal, including prejudicial actions by the judge, such as his refusal to admit as evidence the results of a lie-detector test that were highly favorable to Allen.

Sentencing will take place on October 2. Allen is currently free on \$25,000 bail.

California Nazi chief gunned down by rivals

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Local Nazi leader Joe Tommasi was shot and killed in front of the headquarters of a rival fascist group August 15.

"Captain" of the National Socialist Liberation Front, Tommasi, twenty-four, had earlier taken public credit for the February 4 bombing of the Socialist Workers party campaign headquarters here and the tear-gassing two days before of a rally sponsored by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

Tommasi was gunned down in the front yard of an El Monte building housing the National Socialist White People's party, founded by George Lincoln Rockwell. In 1967 Rockwell was also gunned down by a Nazi factional rival.

Tommasi had split from the Nazi outfit here, charging that it was too "liberal" and did not relate sufficiently to "armed struggle."

According to press accounts, witnesses said that Tommasi had been shopping about a half-block down from the NSWPP headquarters. As he drove by the place, one of a group assigned to guard duty made an insulting finger gesture.

Tommasi reportedly jumped out of his car and ran into the front yard. He was stopped by a bullet in the head. Jerry Keith Jones, eighteen, one of the

guards, was arrested on suspicion of murder.

Tommasi's declaration that his group was responsible for the SWP bombing and the attack on the Rosenberg committee rally was made in an interview with Jeanne Cordova in the March 21 *Los Angeles Free Press*.

Police later said they had questioned Tommasi and he had denied it.

In the interview, Cordova reported Tommasi as asserting, "We know the cops aren't interested if we bomb the left."

Since those February attacks there have been more than a dozen bomb and arson incidents in the city, with Nazis and Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles taking credit for a number of them. With the exception of a lone member of the Jewish Defense League, there have been no arrests in any of these incidents.

The August 22-28 issue of the *Free Press* featured posthumous publication of a second interview with Tommasi that he gave to Cordova August 1.

In that interview, Tommasi said his group was beginning to cooperate with a local Ku Klux Klan group. He said they had jointly organized a counter-demonstration at Los Angeles City Hall May 17 against a solidarity demonstration with Boston school desegregation fighters. That demonstration was organized by the NAACP and the Los Angeles Student Coalition Against Racism.

...mine strike: human lives versus profits

Continued from back page

Several fights broke out, but the cops, clearly outnumbered, decided not to press the issue and the march continued.

Meanwhile, despite increased fines and injunctions, plus appeals from the UMW international office to return to work, the strike spread still further, pulling out workers in Alabama and Pennsylvania.

In retaliation, Judge Hall levied an outrageous \$500,000 fine against the union on August 27, payable to the already profit-swollen coal companies if the miners were not back at work the day after Labor Day. Hall demanded that union officials "discipline" the membership, ruling that an additional \$100,000 fine would be extracted from the union for every day the strike continued.

Strikers in other states were acting in solidarity with the West Virginia protest, but in some areas they also raised other demands. Unsafe working conditions were at issue in Meigs County, Ohio. In Illinois, miners walked out to protest a shift-rotation policy that allowed the company to switch their hours every month.

Motivating the strikers was the UMW tradition of solidarity with union brothers and sisters, or, as one Logan County striker put it: "If I ever cross a picket line, my father—he'd get out of his grave and kick my ass up and down the road."

'Our only weapon'

In southern West Virginia, the struggle has increasingly focused on the demand for the right to strike over local grievances. "The only weapon we got is to stop the coal from coming out from under the ground," one older miner argued at a Whitesville Labor Day rally of 1,000.

The rally was organized by the Committee to Defend the Right to Strike, the most active group here, which is calling for a reopening of the 1974 contract to add a guarantee of the right to strike over local grievances. Miners at the rally voted overwhelm-



Miners rally at Drawdy Falls, West Virginia, on August 24 to defend right to strike.

ingly to continue the strike until this demand is won.

Meanwhile, from the board rooms in Pittsburgh and New York, the coal barons have sought to whip up public sentiment against the strike through a combination of lies, evasions, and red-baiting.

Leading the pack was U.S. Steel magnate Edgar Speer, who warned that the strike was putting the nation "in hostage to foreign energy sources." U.S. Steel owns many mines in the Eastern United States.

"No other union negotiates an agreement and then proceeds to totally disregard its one obligation in return—namely, to ensure that its members work under that agreement," Speer said.

He complained that "the international union to our knowledge has not put a single local union in trusteeship, lifted a single charter, or fired a union member."

Government intervention

Speer called for federal government intervention. "We will support new legislative action to place coal miner

labor relations under congressional control as in the Railway Labor Act."

This call for government strikebreaking was echoed in a Labor Day editorial in the *New York Times*. "Unless the strikers do return promptly," this big-business mouthpiece reasoned, "the walkout is likely to spread, with disastrous effect on the slowly reviving economy. Such a development would compel President Ford and Congress to intervene through passage of emergency legislation ordering the miners back to their jobs. . . ."

In Charleston, UMW Secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick stated that "federal control over the UMWA . . . would be the beginning of the end of our strength as a union. . . . We must preserve and protect the independence of our union."

The *Times* editorial also sought to attribute the walkout of 80,000 miners to a handful of "strike-happy young militants" who use "brute force" to keep the strike going. The paper even had the nerve to claim a "U.M.W. obligation to see that the grievance machinery is respected," when it is the companies who have openly flouted the grievance procedure all along.

Throughout the strike, the UMW leadership has allowed itself to be caught between a rebellious rank and file and the coal operators. The outcome of the strike will be an important test for the Miller team, elected to office on a program of support to the rank and file.

Miller's role

On the one hand, Miller has correctly attacked the company use of injunctions as an attempt to "bludgeon the men back to work."

"Labor disputes should and must be settled quickly at the mine site, not in the courtroom," he said.

But Miller and other union officials have at the same time opposed the strike and have urged the workers back to the mines.

"We're not against Arnold Miller, but he's not helping us," complained strike leader Bruce Miller at a recent rally.

Other miners, noting that they supported Miller when he ran for union office on the Miners for Democracy ticket, now say they are embittered by his failure to come to their aid when the companies violate their contract.

Young miners in particular have been angered by union officials' statements that attribute the strike to a band of "radicals." Such an attack was made in a statement by the District 17 Executive Board, which claimed that the strike leaders "have very little experience as coal miners. Their demands are impossible to win and their

activities will divide and ruin this union. . . .

"The lesson is clear: the companies like to see our union divided and are glad to allow these individuals to continue their divisive and destructive protest."

On August 30, UMW Secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick met with some of the Logan County local presidents in an effort to end the strike. He announced that the union is calling on the Federal Mediation Service to set up a meeting between the UMW, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, and a committee of four selected by the local presidents at the meeting.

The four presidents elected to the committee are Sim Howze, Roger Thompson, John Mendez, and Chick Prater. The coal operators have not yet commented on whether they will agree to such a meeting.

'Traditional' channels

Patrick's statement sought to persuade the miners to confine their struggle to "traditional" channels. "The law is the law," he said. "We can't change it by striking. We can try to change it by action through Congress or through the courts. . . ."

But it is precisely these big-business dominated institutions that have failed to meet the needs of the miners in the past, leaving them no choice but to take strike action.

Regardless of the final outcome of the current walkout, the miners have demonstrated a determination to defend their interests by whatever means necessary.

Who's being 'lawless'?

[The capitalist press has been virtually unanimous in attacking the striking coal miners. In Pittsburgh, where many of the coal companies are headquartered, the denunciations have been vitriolic. The following are excerpts from an August 29 Pittsburgh Press editorial titled "A Lawless Coal Strike."]

There is no justification whatsoever for the wildcat coal strike which is keeping 60,000 miners away from their jobs in West Virginia, Pennsylvania and at least four other Appalachian states.

The strike is in clear defiance of the three-year contract signed by the United Mine Workers (UMW) last December. It is opposed by the UMW leadership. It is contrary to the public interest. In the long run, it could hurt the striking miners as well. . . .

If it drags on for too long, the strike could be a serious threat to the steel industry and to the coal-burning electric power companies and the customers they serve. . . .

It's hard to imagine any grievance—however legitimate—that would warrant such lawless (and expensive) behavior.

By contrast, the United Steel Workers (USW) has stuck by its no-strike contract and even agreed to accept binding arbitration as a substitute for strikes until 1980.

There simply is no reason why grievances in the coal fields can't be handled much the same way.

Certainly the wildcat strike by the miners is a bad omen for labor relations, especially at a time when strikes of all kinds seem to be on the upsurge around the country.

Miners die as bosses stall on safety rulings

Miners are learning again an old lesson of the union movement: the courts are packed in favor of the bosses. The judges issuing antistrike injunctions are often stockholders in the mine companies.

But even when rulings favorable to miners are handed down, the companies appeal and prolong final decisions for months and years. Meanwhile miners die.

The August 1-15 issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal* reports one such case. An administrative law judge in the U.S. Interior Department has ordered the reinstatement of UMW committeeman Steve Shapiro, who was summarily fired last January 28 by the Bishop, West Virginia, subsidiary of Consolidation Coal Company.

The company claimed that Shapiro was fired for missing two consecutive days of work. But the judge ruled that "an important factor" in the firing was the boss's "displeasure" with Shapiro's insistence on reporting unsafe conditions to government inspectors.

The U.S. Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA) has written violation notices at the

Bishop mine for toxic fumes from roof bolt cartridges, improperly maintained sand devices on mantrip buses, an unsanitary bathhouse, unguarded high-voltage cables, failure to keep records of fan stoppages, and failure to withdraw miners when the fans were not working.

These notices were written over a two-and-a-half-year period, all of them on grievances filed by Shapiro. On one occasion, when Shapiro, as union committeeman, complained of excessive sand along the haulage road, he was assigned for the following year to shovel the sand himself.

The administrative judge ruled that Shapiro had to be rehired, granted full back pay, retroactive interest at six per cent, and attorneys' fees. The judge also recommended that MESA consider finding the Bishop mine in violation of the 1969 Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act.

But the company is appealing the ruling. In the meantime, nothing has been done to penalize the operators, and the safety violations continue. What's more, the company has refused to comply with the order to rehire Shapiro until its appeals are exhausted. —C.J.

Calendar

BOSTON

THE BOSTON ELECTIONS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DESEGREGATION. Speakers: Norman Oliver, SWP mayoral candidate; others. Fri., Sept. 12, 8:00 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opp. South Station). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

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CRISIS IN EDUCATION: HOW TO FIGHT BACK. Panel discussion. Speakers: Catarino Garza, bilingual teacher and United Federation of Teachers delegate; SEEK student; others. Fri., Sept. 12, 8:00 p.m. 2726 Broadway (104th Street). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

RALLY IN SOLIDARITY WITH CHILE. Speakers: Laura Allende, sister of Salvador Allende and former prisoner of junta; Carmen Castillo, resistance leader; Luis Figueroa, Chilean trade union leader. Thurs., Sept. 11, 7:30 p.m. Town Hall (W. 43rd St. near Broadway). Ausp: Chile Solidarity Committee. For more information call (212) 691-9025.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

HOW THE STRUGGLE FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CAN BE WON. Panel discussion. Speakers: Sylvester Vaughns, president, Prince George's County NAACP; Toba Singer, coordinator, D.C. Student Coalition Against Racism; Brenda Brdar, SWP candidate for D.C. School Board. Fri., Sept. 12, 8:00 p.m. 1345 E Street N.W., Fourth Floor. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...NSCAR

Continued from page 4

chapters on their campuses as soon as schools open," said Sherbill. "Send a delegate to our national steering committee meeting September 13, and begin laying plans now to bring a large group from your school or neighborhood to the October 10-12 national conference against racism.

"The NSCAR national office has buttons, leaflets, copies of our newspaper the *Student Mobilizer*, and other literature to help with this work. We can even provide speakers, such as Robert F. Williams, Rev. Vernon Carter, and our own coordinators.

"Get in touch with our national office at 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02121. Or call us at (617) 288-6200, and we'll be glad to give you the address of the SCAR chapter nearest you, as well as any help we can."

...Spencers

Continued from page 5

police protection was withdrawn.

Biggio still faces another count—threatening a witness who testified against him at the bombing trial. But this did not stop him from being part of the mob at the Spencers' house August 27.

He told reporters then how he sees the issue: "This is a white community. It's going to stay a white community. And we're going to run it."

Another ROAR member said of the Spencers: "I think those people stink. I think they're block-busters."

Despite this, Assistant Chief Joseph Veyvoda, the police commander for Queens, said that "the area is normal. There's no tense feeling."

The August 27 incident was "unfortunate," he conceded, but "there is adequate police protection in the area—no need for a handgun."

Asked if he would be leaving Rose-dale as other Blacks had decided to do after the earlier incident, Ormistan Spencer indicated he was not intimidated.

"We'll be hanging in there," he said.

...Angola

Continued from page 6

major cities in the central and southern parts of Angola, Malange, Henrique de Carvalho, Lobito, Benguela, Moçamedes, Sá da Bandeira, Nova Lisboa, and Vila Luso.

The MPLA and UNITA have clashed in Lobito and Benguela, as well as near the Cunene dam project on the border with Namibia (South-West Africa). South African capital is heavily involved in the Cunene project and according to several reports South African troops have entered Angola to protect Pretoria's interest in the dam.

The real victims in the Angolan civil conflict are the African masses in the urban and rural areas. Luanda, Nova Lisboa, Benguela, and Lobito are swamped with refugees. The Red Cross estimated that more than 500,000 Africans have been displaced by the fighting. In Luanda stocks of food, fuel, and medicine are dwindling.

According to the August 8 *Angola*

Report, published in Luanda, refugees arriving in Nova Lisboa said "that bodies are lying rotting in the streets of Malange, and that the water supply there has been contaminated. Gabela is a ghost town. . . ." Cholera has broken out in Benguela.

The northern part of Angola, which is the traditional base of the FNLA, has been particularly hard hit. An estimated 100,000 Ovimbundu migrant workers from southern Angola fled the coffee plantations in the north during the fighting between the MPLA and FNLA. Gen. António da Silva Cardoso, the former Portuguese high commissioner in Angola, stated that this year's coffee crop, which is one of Angola's major export earners, has been lost.

The August 1 *Angola Report* said, "Really serious is the plight of many of the Angolans who took refuge in neighbouring Zaire at the start of the Angolan war [in 1961]. Their number is estimated at about 2/3 of a million, and nearly 500,000 of them have returned. . . . the Bishop of Carmona last week told visiting correspondents that between 40 and 50 were dying of starvation every day."

Because of the war, food supplies from Luanda to the north have been blocked. Manioc (a starchy root used as a basic food) is scarce; malnutrition, particularly among women and children, is spreading.

...Portugal

Continued from page 8

temporary Portugal gives the Kremlin alone any incentive for wanting to intervene illegitimately. The West can be content with having Portugal's fate decided democratically by the Portu-

guese."

While U.S. intervention in Portugal remains a danger to which the U.S. and international left must be alert, it is impossible to combat this threat by giving any political support or cover to the Portuguese CP or the MFA government.

Nor is it possible to halt the drift to the right in Portugal by giving political support to any of the shifting groupings in the MFA, such as the Vasco Gonçalves group that in its last days at the head of the government passed procapitalist laws. This direction cannot be changed without getting the focus of politics off the MFA and onto independent working-class mobilizations. And that involves challenging the right of the MFA as a whole or any part of it to rule Portugal. It means making the issue of democracy work for the revolutionary forces instead of against them.

...Fowler

Continued from page 18

get out of the penitentiary," Fowler observed.

In an effort to provoke him and other outspoken inmates, the guards continually try to set up situations in the hope of starting a fight—"just to get you to do something so they can put you in lock-up and you can't be allowed out of your cell," Fowler explained.

"The officials are on my tail much more than on others', just to try to get me to blow up."

Support from the outside is essential, he said, to keep up the morale of those on death row. On the inside, Fowler has the unwavering support of all the other inmates: "Everybody's wishing and hoping the best for me."

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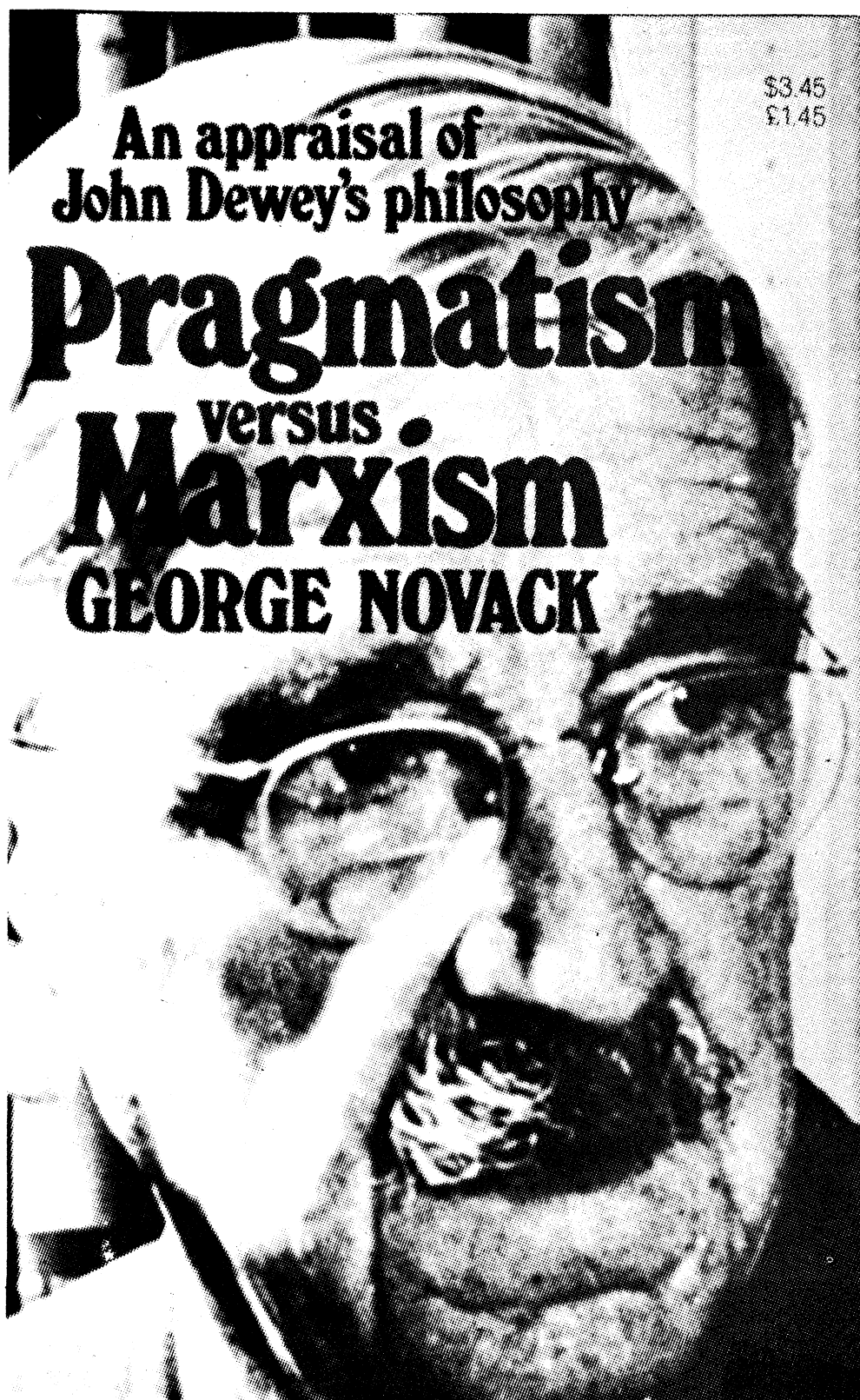
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Los Angeles; Tues. Sept. 16	Cleveland; Tues. Sept. 23
Bay Area; Wed. Sept. 17	Detroit; Thurs. Sept. 25
Seattle; Thurs. Sept. 18	Toronto; Fri. Sept. 26
Louisville; Fri. Sept. 19	

Speaking:
Antonio Silva, Portuguese soldier and revolutionary. Delegate from Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors.

Joel Geier, National Chairperson, I.S. Just returned from Portugal.

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Coal barons defy contract

Mine strike: human lives versus profits

By Cindy Jaquith

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Coal production ground to a halt in the Eastern United States at the end of August as two-thirds of the nation's miners walked off the job to protest violations of their rights by the coal companies and the courts. The massive strike was the first major confrontation between the coal bosses and the United Mine Workers since the signing of a new contract in late 1974.

At its high point, the strike—unauthorized by union officials—had pulled out an estimated 80,000 soft-coal miners, out of a total of 125,000. More than 40,000 struck in West Virginia, the center of the struggle. Four thousand walked out in Alabama, 8,000 in Kentucky, 8,000 in Pennsylvania, and thousands more in Illinois, Indiana, Virginia, and Ohio.

At *Militant* press time, miners outside West Virginia had begun to return to work under the pressure of stiff fines, injunctions, and the threat of federal intervention to smash the strike. In southern West Virginia, however, virtually all the miners remained out.

Denouncing the strike as "lawless" and "a national disgrace," the coal companies have sanctimoniously claimed that the miners have "violated" the contract. But the history leading up to this powerful walkout demonstrates that it was the consistent violation of the contract by the companies that finally forced the miners onto the picket lines.

Local grievances

"You can't break a contract that's already been broke," explained one young miner at a Labor Day strike rally in Whitesville, West Virginia.

At the root of the dispute is the deliberate refusal of the coal operators to settle local grievances, resulting in the piling up of thousands of grievances in the coal fields. The coal bosses have defied the new grievance procedure in the 1974 contract, which outlines a three-stage process for resolution of disputes.

Grievances are supposed to be settled at the mine site if possible. If not, they are then taken up by the union and company representatives at the district level. If that fails, an arbitration panel is supposed to be set up as a third stage.

However, the companies have been following a strategy of refusing to settle any grievances at the mine site, and then stalling on impaneling arbitrators. "They refuse to bargain in good faith," said one Virginia miner. "They say they have orders not to settle anything."

This leaves the local union no alternative but to strike. The operators then respond with strike-busting injunctions and fines. These are liberally dished out by the courts, based on the



Grievances are multiplying as safety conditions in mines deteriorate. Companies' refusal to settle grievances forced miners to take strike action.

1970 "Boys Market" U.S. Supreme Court ruling, which stated that the existence of a grievance procedure in a labor contract is an implicit no-strike pledge.

This antiunion interpretation of the law is all the more serious because grievances are multiplying in the mines as working conditions deteriorate. Like other workers, miners are being hit by murderous speedup, which has resulted in the deaths of seventy-six miners from January 1 to June 30 of this year. This is nine more workers than were killed during that same time span last year.

Denouncing the rising death rate, UMW President Arnold Miller recently pointed out, "It is up to the companies to put human lives ahead of production. It is up to the federal and state inspection agencies to enforce the law to the letter and to lay down penalties that will make violations more expensive than compliance."

The miners' pent-up anger at the companies' wholesale violations of the 1974 contract—from grievances to safety laws—finally exploded in early August when the Amherst Coal Company in Logan County, West Virginia, fired UMW Local 1302 President Roger Thompson.

Amherst had just announced that its underground mining operations would be temporarily shut down. When Thompson inquired about a group of idle miners at the work site on August

4, he was suspended indefinitely for "interfering with management."

Amherst's number one and number two mines were struck the very next day in support of Thompson.

On August 10, 700 miners met with UMW President Miller in Narnet, West Virginia, to complain about the grievance procedure. They demanded speedy action to get a ten-member arbitration panel set up to deal with grievances, in particular the firing of Thompson. But the panel was not seated until August 25.

Roving pickets

Meanwhile, the strike was spread by roving pickets to nearly all the mines in Logan County, and to mines in Boone and Kanawha counties. U.S. District Court Judge K.K. Hall began slapping striking locals with injunctions and fines for supposedly violating the contract. Local 1302 alone was hit with a \$6,000 fine for failing to return to work.

At Logan County's Buffalo Mining Company, police arrested Local 8454 President Sim Howze when he refused to cross picket lines set up at the mouth of the mine. Howze, who is Black, was found in contempt of the back-to-work order and sentenced to ninety days in jail.

Two hundred miners marched in Charleston August 18 to show support for Howze when he began serving his sentence.

On August 21, the strike spilled beyond the borders of West Virginia. Miners in eastern Kentucky, Ohio, and Virginia went out in support of the fight against injunctions and fines and the grievance procedure.

Three days later 2,500 miners and their families held a rally at Drawdy Falls, West Virginia, and pledged to continue the strike into its third week. It was one of many mass meetings the strikers have held.

The next day, 400 miners marched on Charleston again, protesting the continued imprisonment of Sim Howze. After demonstrating at the federal building, the miners marched to the UMW District 17 office to protest lack of support from district officials. Then they demonstrated in front of the offices of the Kanawha Coal Operators Association, headquarters of the bosses.

"See those people up there?" said miner Mike Branch, pointing at the operators. "Those people are the ones who got injunctions to try and force us back into those death traps."

"Are we going to mine coal?" asked Branch.

"No!" shouted the miners.

Right to strike

As the marchers took to the streets again, chanting "We demand the right to strike," they were confronted by cops who tried to block their path.

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