

# THE MILITANT

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

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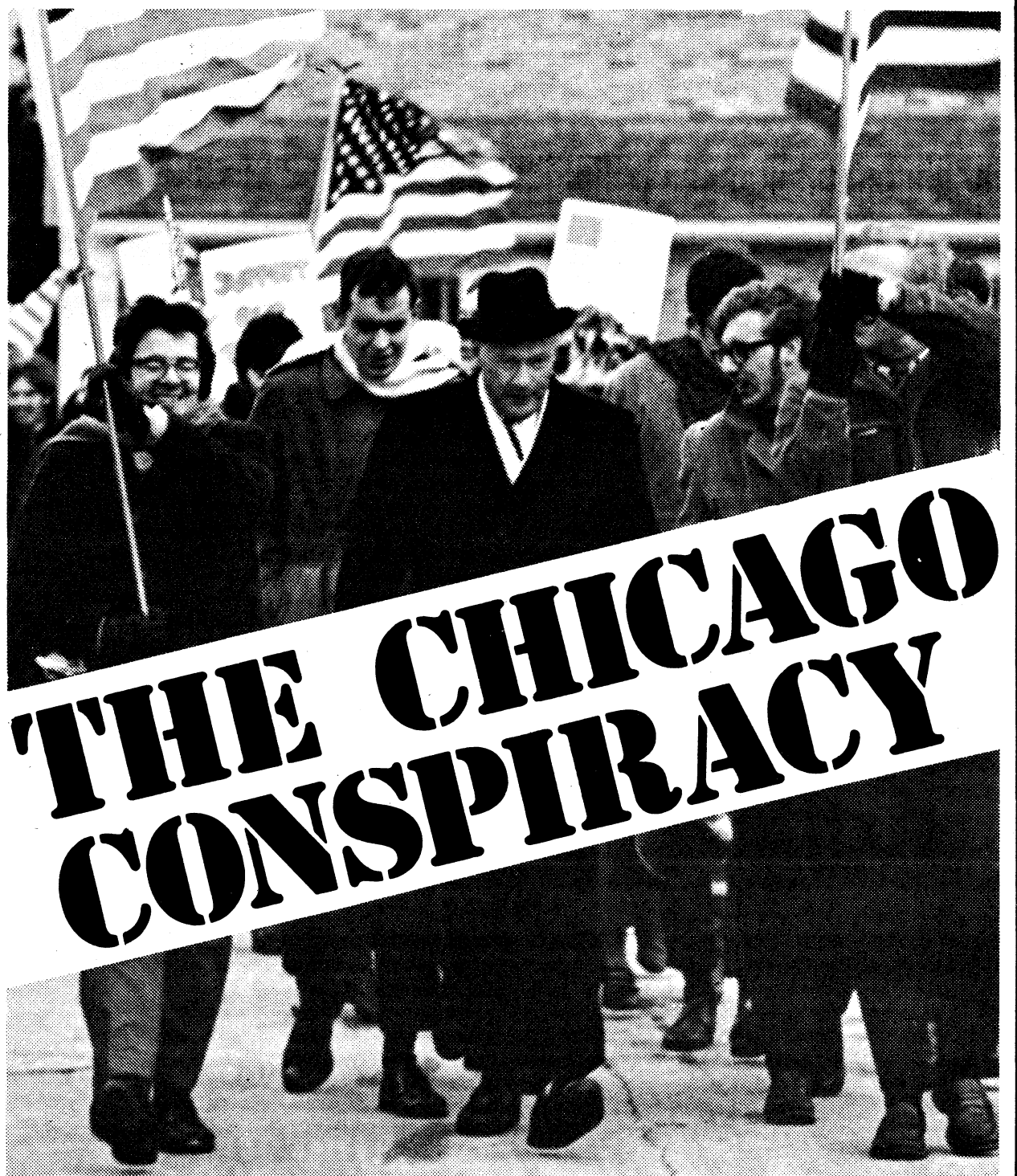
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## THE MILITANT

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**SWP CANDIDATE IN NOVEMBER RUNOFF:** Patricia Bethard, Socialist Workers party candidate for Seattle city council position five, captured 11,300 votes in the September 16 primary, qualifying her for ballot status in the November general election. This vote represents 17.8 percent of the total vote for this office in the "nonpartisan" election. The city council members are elected by city-wide vote.

Bethard, who is secretary of her American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees local and a member of the King County Federation of Labor, pledged to wage a vigorous campaign during the next six weeks.

To obtain ballot status for the November election, a candidate must place either first or second in the primary race and win at least 10 percent of the votes cast. The two candidates running against Bethard in the primary were Sam Smith, a Democrat, and Dominic Braun, from the right-wing "U.S. Labor party," a front for the National Caucus of Labor Committees. Braun received about half as many votes as Bethard.

Other SWP candidates for city council in the election also won significant percentages of the votes cast. Toby Elizabeth Emmerich received 5.4 percent; Gale Shangold, 3.7 percent; Karl Bermann, 2.7 percent; and Dave Zilly, 4.8 percent.

**UFW SUPPORTERS MARCH IN BALTIMORE:** On September 13, 250 people marched through Baltimore to show support for the United Farm Workers. The Baltimore Boycott House organized the event.

Chants included "Blood on the grapes—Acme doesn't care." (Acme Food Stores are being boycotted in Baltimore.) The march ended at Federal Hill Park with a rally. Speakers included Rabbi Steve Fuchs, of the Interfaith Center; Fr. George Burr, of the Social Action Committee (Baltimore Archdiocese); Marcella Avnet, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Betsy Dunklin, of the Baltimore Boycott House; and Raymond Stober, of the regional office of the AFL-CIO.

**BERKELEY TEACHERS' STRIKE STRONG:** In its third week the Berkeley teachers' strike remains strong and unified despite flagrant attempts by the board of education to divide the two teachers unions from each other and from the community.

Proof of the board's failure to divide the embattled teachers will be offered in Berkeley on Sunday, September 21, at a day of activities supporting the striking teachers sponsored jointly by the Berkeley Federation of Teachers, the Berkeley Teachers Association, and the Berkeley Pupil Personnel Association.

The day will begin at 12:00 noon in San Pablo Park with an educational fair of teachers and students demonstrating the educational programs being cut by the board, such as art, music, and ethnic studies. The day will culminate in a rally at which representatives of American Federation of Teachers and National Education Association locals throughout northern California will appear to offer their support to the Berkeley teachers.

A community food-fest will also be held. All proceeds from the day's activities will go to the strike fund.

**NEW YORK ERA COALITION OPENS OFFICES:** Marlo Thomas and Bella Abzug were among those who spoke at an open house September 9 to mark the opening of the headquarters of the Manhattan Coalition for the Equal Rights Amendment. About 250 people attended.

One of the coalition's coordinators, Larry Klepner, told

the group that they (the coordinators) were "stunned at how many people don't know that the amendment will be on the ballot in New York State this year—in less than six weeks. . . . What we need is an army of volunteers—people with a little time to spare—to help us spread our literature, to line up community groups to hear our speakers, help us get new residents registered in October, and above all, help us to get out the vote in November."

About ten members of a group called Stop ERA distributed leaflets opposing the amendment outside the meeting.

**PICKETS SUPPORT RAY MENDOZA:** A picket line was held at the Milwaukee County Courthouse September 12 to protest the continued imprisonment of Ray Mendoza. Mendoza, a young Chicano, originally from Crystal City, Texas, was convicted last fall of shooting to death two drunken, off-duty Milwaukee policemen. He was sentenced to two life terms in prison.

The picket line, sponsored by the Ray Mendoza Defense Committee, was held to focus attention on the September 19 hearing in circuit court in Milwaukee at which oral arguments for overturning Mendoza's convictions will be presented. Defense attorneys have filed papers with the court outlining numerous errors in Mendoza's trial.

**WALLACE HOPES TO SEE ELECTROCUTIONS:** Now that he has signed into law a bill restoring the death penalty in Alabama, Gov. George Wallace says he hopes to "see some electrocutions in this state." As he signed the bill, which will go into effect in six months, he said, "There are a lot of bad white folks and a lot of bad Black folks who ought to be electrocuted."

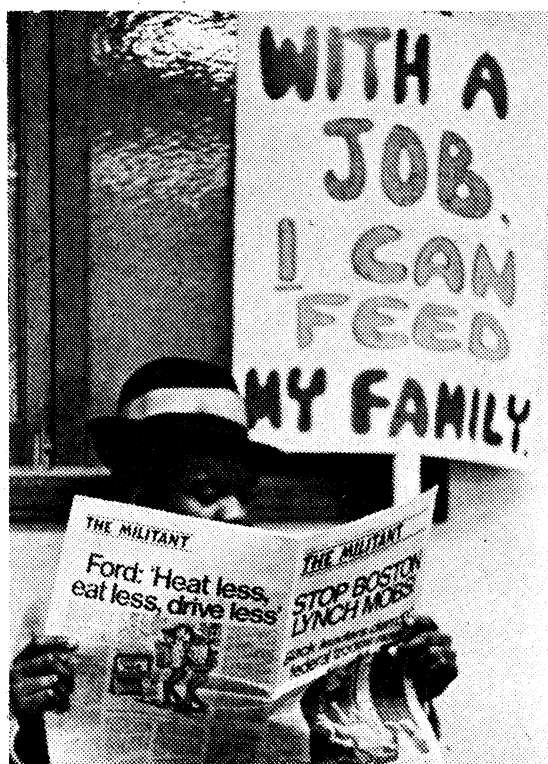
**JAILED TWELVE YEARS, FINALLY PARDONED:** Florida Gov. Reubin Askew and his attorney general signed full pardons September 11 for Freddie Pitts and Wilbert Lee, two Black men imprisoned twelve years for a double murder that another man confessed to in 1966. Pitts and Lee had also "confessed" to the slayings, but later retracted it, charging that they had been beaten and detained without counsel. The NAACP and the African People's Socialist party were instrumental in keeping pressure on state authorities.

**TROTSKY ON WEDEKIND:** An article about Frank Wedekind, the German expressionist playwright, written by Leon Trotsky for a German Marxist magazine in 1908, appears in the September issue of *Boston University Journal*, a magazine of "contemporary affairs, arts, literature" (775 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02215, \$2 per issue). The translation is by David Thorstad.

**UNCONSTITUTIONAL, SAYS JUSTICE DEPT.:** Denouncing the actions of the House Committee on Intelligence as "unprecedented" and "unconstitutional," Assistant Attorney General Rex Lee on September 13 demanded the return of all classified documents given the committee and said it would get no more unless the committee stops asserting the right to make such information public.

The dispute erupted over the declassification of a top-secret study showing that CIA agents were "starkly wrong" about the 1973 Middle East war. Not all of the study was made public, but CIA officials objected to one four-word phrase that they claimed could jeopardize U.S. intelligence methods and sources.

—Nancy Cole



Militant/Tom O'Brien

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# Black high school students let Boston racists know: 'We're here to stay!'

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON, Sept. 16—Black students, from kindergarten to high school, are stepping onto school buses in larger numbers every day as continued, massive police presence in this city's racist enclaves keeps antibusing bigots at bay. Nearly 1,900 Boston, state, and Metropolitan District Commission police are on duty.

Racist resistance to Phase Two, the second stage of desegregation in Boston schools ordered by Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity, remains high.

In Charlestown, roaming gangs of white toughs assaulted police last week.

On September 15, a week after the opening of school, a gang of ten racist hooligans stoned a public transportation bus driving through South Boston. Their target was the vehicle's Black driver, who was injured by flying glass.

That same day marked the seventh day that the racists have held "mothers' marches" against busing. The demonstrators intone the Hail Mary and Our Father, ending in a church courtyard, praying for deliverance from "forced busing."

## Guardsmen cut back

These demagogic attempts to cover up the real nature of a movement based on race hatred and mob violence reflect the frustration the bigots feel. While the police last week showed little enthusiasm for going after the gangs of toughs who threw bottles and bricks at them, they have been compelled to

physically cordon off access to the buses.

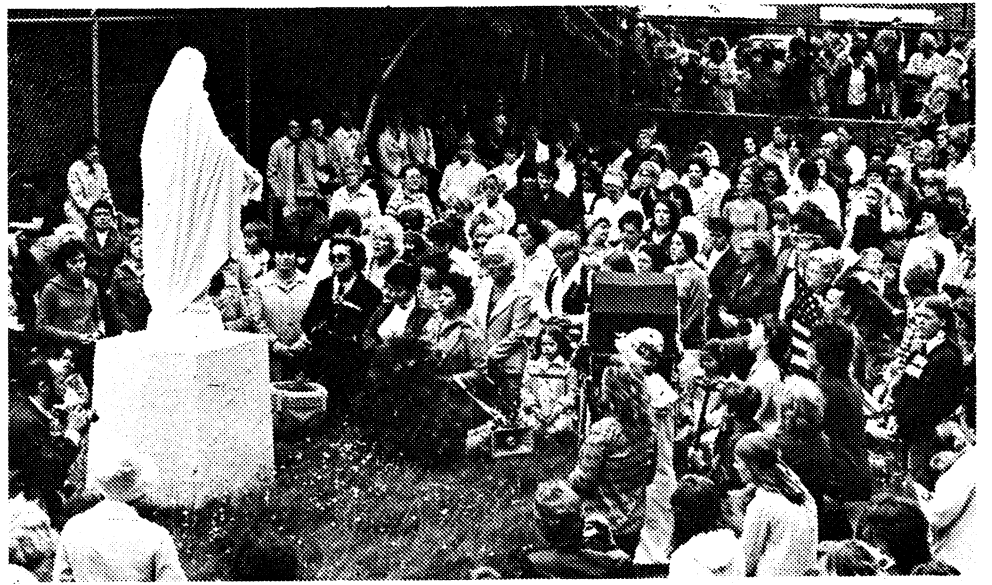
The large deployment of police is the reason for the relative calm here. However, on September 15, 300 of the 600 national guardsmen on duty here were withdrawn. Their removal is an indication that if the racists can cool their hot-headed warriors temporarily, police withdrawals that could embolden antibusing rock throwers might be in the offing.

Today, police lines were noticeably smaller and pulled back in Charlestown, with the nondeployed cops sitting in buses near the school. Although the number of local and state cops assigned to student protection cannot be reduced without Judge Garrity's permission, at a news briefing yesterday Assistant U.S. Attorney General J. Stanley Pottinger spoke repeatedly of "scaling down" the number of federal marshals by the end of the week.

Meanwhile, Black enrollment climbed above 75 percent of the projected figure on September 15—the highest so far.

White enrollment has climbed somewhat although the white boycott remains strong. At South Boston High School the boycott is lessening, and between 40 percent and 50 percent of the white students are attending. But few white students from South Boston or Charlestown have boarded buses going out of their areas.

This pattern was observed last year when, after a period of boycotting, white students went back into the schools in South Boston and other



Militant/Jon Hillson

Antibusing leader Louise Day Hicks (in dark glasses) leads demonstrators in prayers against 'forced busing.'

racist enclaves to provoke incidents.

At his news briefing Pottinger predicted that now the problems "would arise in the schools and not outside." And, indeed, incidents have been on the rise. There have been forty-five suspensions thus far, but disciplinary action is being meted out to Black students discriminatorily. Of four suspensions at South Boston High School and its L Street Annex on September 15, for example, all were Black.

During the past school year Black students received double the number of suspensions of white students.

## Racists have not given up

Desegregation is inching forward in Boston. But it would be foolhardy for supporters of desegregation to imagine that the racists have given up. One elected official, who demanded anonymity from the *Boston Globe*, reflected the tenacity of his racist constituents. "If we let go and say the buses are here and there is nothing we can do about it, that's the worst thing you can do," he said.

Meanwhile, frustration in the racist enclaves builds daily.

On the night of September 11 upwards of 250 racists battled police in Charlestown, erecting barricades and starting fires in the street. There was only one arrest.

In South Boston, two police officers escaped injury when they set off a gasoline bomb by stepping on it. On September 12, racists tossed a fiery, gasoline-soaked rug at police as the cops moved in on them.

New graffiti is boldly splashed on the walls. On September 15, I tried to get a photograph of some new "anti-busing messages" on "I" Street in South Boston. The graffiti read "KKK will stay" and "Boneheads keep out of South Boston."

The street was empty and the engine of the car, in which sat several socialist campaign supporters, hummed, ready to go. Suddenly, a middle-aged man yelled, "Hey, what are you doing?" He beckoned down the street and four hooligans, big and angry, bolted for me, yelling and howling, "Get him, get the camera."

Unable to get to the car, I ran from the toughs, making it to a big intersection safely, but the racists took my camera.

With such an atmosphere of aggression, one can understand the courage of the Black students. On September 12, when the buses with the Black students had pulled up to South Boston High, a Black student in the rear of one of the buses sang out, "Here we go Southie, here we go," the South Boston High football song the bigots have used to fire their racist rallies.

The song was immediately picked up by the busload of Black students. Startled white students went into the building and the headmaster rushed out to quiet the Black students.

Reporters and observers outside the school got a laugh from the Black students mocking the racists, but the incident meant something else as well. It said to the racists: You may hate us but we are here to stay.



Militant/Jon Hillson

Black students have displayed courage in braving racist provocations and taunts to attend schools of their choice.

# Dallas: desegregation fight heating up

By Marty Anderson

DALLAS—The struggle for desegregation of the Dallas schools is rapidly coming to a head.

On July 23 the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans threw out a four-year-old "desegregation" plan prepared by the Dallas school board. The appeals court said the plan was totally inadequate and ordered U.S. District Court Judge William Taylor to develop a new plan by October 15.

The appeals court denounced the years of foot dragging and obstruction of desegregation by the Dallas Independent School District. The court said that "endurance perhaps, but not speed records have been set" in this case.

The school board's original plan, drawn up in 1971, consisted essentially of crosstown television contact and

minimal busing of Blacks. A total of twenty-three white students have been bused.

The appeals court ruled that "the measures taken by the district court in the areas of student assignment and site selection and school construction to transform DISD into a unitary system are inadequate."

The judges added, "The obligation of every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary schools."

The ruling came after a stream of public meetings, lawsuits, and protests over the years had convinced the courts that some real desegregation will be necessary in Dallas. These activities are continuing.

On September 7, more than 100 representatives of community, religious, and educational organizations

drafted a statement reaffirming the demand of the Black community that there be peaceful and equitable desegregation in Dallas.

The statement said that the necessity to desegregate through a court order resulted "from centuries of racism" in all aspects of American society.

The deep feelings of resentment over the racist education in Dallas was best expressed by a South Dallas mother who said, "There's no way you're going to make me feel unreasonable for making demands when I see my children going to school in such deplorable conditions."

As in 1971, when their mobilizations led to the adoption of the plan that maintained segregated schools, racists here have once again been organizing, this time under the name "Citizens for Neighborhood Schools."

More than 800 of these racists gathered August 4 to demand "more rights for whites" and to listen to city council member Rose Renfro and CFNS leader Kathy Carter pledge to emulate Boston antibusing actions.

On hand to represent Boston ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) were Elvira (Pixie) Palladino and Fran Johnene. In typically demagogic fashion they blamed Boston's "problems" on "outside agitators" and "radicals."

Another speaker was retired Gen. Edwin A. Walker, an ultrarightist who denounced busing as part of a communist plot against the United States.

Another racist rally of about 700 met September 7 to chastise Texas Senators John Tower and Lloyd Bentsen for their absence during a Senate antibusing vote.

# Is the fight for desegregation really worth it?



Racist students outside Fairdale High School in Jefferson County, Kentucky.

By Tony Thomas

(First of a series)

**BOSTON**—Is busing really worth the fight? Wouldn't it be better for Boston's Black community to concentrate on controlling and improving the schools in their community rather than going through the trouble of trying to bus their children into white areas?

This is one of the questions that critics of school desegregation through busing have raised against the perspectives of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, the NAACP, and other groups in the Black community here who are trying to mobilize the Black community to demand implementation of the busing plan.

Mac Warren, a staff member of NSCAR, told me that he expects that this question will be discussed at NSCAR's second national conference, to be held at Northeastern University here October 10-12.

"This type of objection to busing was raised at our founding conference last February," Warren said. "A small group of Black and Puerto Rican students supported by some Maoist groups claimed that busing was against the desires and interests of Black people, particularly against the desire of Black people to control their own communities."

"The group that held these views at our conference in February even tried to break the conference up physically when they saw that they were a small minority of the conference," Warren continued.

Support for this view in the Black community has decreased over the past year, Warren told me. Racist violence and mobilizations showed Blacks that the real aim of the racist mobilizations—whatever the merits or demerits of busing—was to launch an attack on the democratic rights of Black people in all areas.

## Self-confidence & unity

Moreover, increased mobilizations of the Black community, particularly the national demonstration of 15,000 called by the NAACP here on May 17, have increased self-confidence and unity within the Black community.

The support given to Boston's Black community over the past year has forced the city, state, and federal forces to give more physical protection to Black students being bused into white areas this September as opposed to last year, thus far keeping the racist violence at a much lower level.

"These developments have helped people understand that busing is actually in the interests of the Black community," Warren explained. "Many of the people who had doubts about that were chiefly afraid that busing would lead to violence against Black children."

"That's an understandable feeling. If

I had children in the schools, despite my support to busing, I sure wouldn't send them to school if I thought that they would be harmed by the racist mobs. However, the way out of that is to fight for the government to give protection to Black children against the racists, and to organize monitors and in other ways make sure that the government continues to give protection.

"With the increased police protection and the sending of federal marshals to Boston, many parents now see that it is possible to implement the program and stop the racist violence."

"We haven't reached the point where there is adequate protection, and the government may withdraw the cops and U.S. marshals at any time. Still the progress that has already been made has encouraged people that the struggle to implement the busing plan can actually bring about a situation in which Black children can go to school safely."

## Community control

Some still oppose busing from a "nationalist" point of view. Warren reported, "Most of them try to claim that there's a conflict between fighting for community control of the schools in the Black community and busing of Black children into schools in areas like South Boston, Charlestown, and Hyde Park, where white racists are highly organized."

"These ideas are held by some Black college students, especially the ones that are influenced by the ideas of the various Maoist and pan-Africanist trends. The All African Revolutionary People's Party, for example, a small pan-Africanist group led by Stokely Carmichael, opposes NSCAR because of our support to busing."

These groups really don't understand what the issues are, Warren said.

"They counterpose the desire of the Black community to gain control over its schools—something that NSCAR supports, and, in fact, we are involved in struggles around this issue in New



Militant/Jon Hillson

NSCAR's MAC WARREN: 'The basic issue in this fight is right of Blacks to equal education.'

York and other areas—they counterpose this to the struggle to desegregate the schools. That's a completely wrong approach."

The real issue is the actual system of school segregation that exists in this country. In Boston, for example, the racist school committee has used its control over the schools to segregate Black children into inferior schools.

The whole system of de facto segregation through "neighborhood schools" is used to hold down Black people and preserve the better educational opportunities—and thus better economic opportunities—for whites.

Warren added, "The racists aren't really defending a 'neighborhood' school system. They're defending their centralized control over all of the schools in this city, including schools in the Black community, so that they can maintain the privileges for white schools located in white neighborhoods."

"Before the NAACP won its challenge to this system in the courts, the racists controlled which schools Blacks would go to. The school committee controlled the funds and systematically deprived the Black schools."

## Right to equal education

Warren explained that the basic issue in this fight "is the right of Blacks to an equal education. Fighting to win Black control of the schools in the Black community, and for adequate funding of such schools, is part of the fight for equal education."

"So is the fight for desegregation of the schools. Given the segregated housing patterns, there is no way to desegregate the schools and give equal access to all schools without busing."

"It is this aspect of the fight that is now the main battleground. School busing to begin to break down school segregation is occurring in many, many cities across the country. You can't duck this issue by falsely counterposing desegregation to Black control of the schools in the Black community without, in fact, turning your back on the fight and leaving the field to the racists. Black nationalists should be in the forefront of every struggle for Black rights, including the fight for school desegregation, as Malcolm X said."

There is another side to this question, Warren pointed out. "The racists are saying that we can't send our children to schools in certain areas of the city. If Black children don't have the right to go into Charlestown High, into Hyde Park High, into South Boston High, then we're a long way from being able to win control of the schools in Roxbury."

"We have to understand that what's involved is mobilizing enough power to push back the racists, while the racists are trying to build up enough power to smash us."

"Right now that's being expressed

around busing. If we lose this fight, we won't be able to talk about community control as an alternative, because we'll be in no position to win it."

## Baraka & 'quality education'

Warren showed me a pamphlet on busing by Amiri Baraka. Baraka is the head of the Congress of African People, a Black Maoist group. Baraka's ideas are influential among many of the Blacks who oppose busing.

In the pamphlet he claims that busing is an attempt "to trick the Black masses into thinking somehow their children are being better educated by going to South Boston." Baraka claims that helping out in this "trick" are "assimilationist Blacks who think that in order for black children to receive a good education whites must be present, but it should be clear that in working class communities, white or black, the education is foul!"

Baraka states that the real struggle should not be for busing, but for "quality education." Although he states that there is no educational improvement for the Black community from busing, even if it were completely implemented in Boston, he does say that it is necessary to back the Black community in the busing fight insofar as it is a fight for the democratic right to go to any school.

Mac Warren commented, "His position is similar to the positions held by some of the ultraleftist groups and groups calling themselves nationalist around here. Although, like Baraka, most of them claim to be for defending the Black community against violence around the busing question, which is all to the good, their criticisms of busing and their quest for 'quality education' is an excuse for abstaining from the struggle."

Baraka's ideas about quality education don't jibe with the facts.

"Black schools and schools in white working-class areas like South Boston are not the same. To understand that you just have to take a look at South Boston and then drive down the main streets of the Black community here in Roxbury. South Boston may not be as nice as some of the suburbs, but it's a different world from Roxbury or Dorchester."

"Federal Judge Garrity's decision that launched the busing program documented how better buildings, better educational programs, better teachers, more teachers, and more funds were being put into schools like South Boston and Charlestown than into the schools in the Black community."

"The NAACP and other groups have done studies showing that in South Boston the reading scores are higher than in schools in the Black community. It is also important to note that although the plan started in South Boston, it will cover not just working-

Continued on page 30



## Antiracist coalition

# Students plan for NSCAR convention

By Ginny Hildebrand

BOSTON—Student representatives from around the country met September 13 to further plans for the Second National Student Conference Against Racism. The conference is scheduled for October 10-12 at Northeastern University in Boston.

The planning meeting of 180 students was the national steering committee of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

Students arriving early for the meeting participated in a prodesegregation picket line at Boston City Hall. More than 100 protesters carrying signs and chanting, "Keep the buses rolling, stop racist attacks," were joined by a busload of SCAR activists from New York City campuses and high schools.

NSCAR coordinator Maceo Dixon told the steering committee meeting, "It's clear that with the events in Louisville, as well as Boston and elsewhere, racism can raise its ugly head anywhere and at any time. As we've said, Boston is a test case for the Black liberation movement in white racist America . . . it will set the pattern for struggles ahead."

Later in the meeting, Amy Husk, a high school student from Louisville, gave an eyewitness account of the events during the first week of school desegregation in that city.

Dixon emphasized that the way to beat the racists in Boston and across the country is through massive mobilizations of the Black community and its allies as was done on May 17. That's why, he said, NSCAR should bring hundreds of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian, and white youth together for its second national conference to make plans for continuing actions in defense of Black rights in Boston and every other community.

The conference has been endorsed by the National Education Association (the country's largest teacher organization) and the National Student Association (the major U.S. student government group).

Chuck Petrin of the NSCAR staff reported to the steering committee on progress in organizing the conference. A "Symposium on Civil Rights and Racism" will kick off the conference on Friday night, October 10. Among the keynote speakers will be Jerry Paul and Karen Galloway, defense attorneys for Joanne Little; Dick Gregory; and Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins.

Also speaking will be author Jonathan Kozol; Ruth Batson, a leader of the decade-long struggle to desegregate Boston schools; Luis Fuentes, suspended school superintendent in New York City's District One; and Robert F.

Williams, a veteran of civil rights struggles.

Also reporting to the meeting was Mary Watkins from St. Louis, who gave a rundown on the status of the J.B. Johnson defense campaign. Johnson, her son, is awaiting a new trial.

Eli Green, a coordinator of Atlanta SCAR, reported on the Joanne Little victory. He spent three weeks during August working with the Joanne Little Defense Committee. Green assessed the important part NSCAR had played in Little's defense through the dozens of rallies and picket lines it had helped to organize.

Noting that Little still faces a frame-up breaking-and-entering charge, he urged SCAR chapters to continue to gather support by arranging speaking engagements for her attorneys Jerry Paul and Karen Galloway.

During the discussion, Boston student leaders reported on the upcoming actions at more than a dozen Massachusetts campuses to protest cuts in funds to the state colleges. A Brooklyn College student reported on the fight against cutbacks in New York City colleges.

Discussion also took place on the status of desegregation fights in Detroit, New York City, and Pittsburgh.

Cecil Lampkin from Chicago outlined the defense case of Delbert Tibbs, which Chicago SCAR is actively supporting. Tibbs is a thirty-six-year-old Black from Chicago who is currently on death row in Florida. Last December he was convicted of raping a white woman and killing her boyfriend. Evidence confirms that he bears no resemblance to the description of the assailant and was not even in the area at the time.

Rashaad Ali described the antiracist struggle in California, and noted that SCAR chapters from the West Coast and Southwest were anxious to have discussions at the national conference on the fight for bilingual and bicultural education, support for the United Farm Workers, and the struggle of undocumented Mexican workers.

Another issue raised as an important discussion for the national conference is the position NSCAR should take on the use of force, including federal troops, to implement desegregation in racist enclaves.

The NSCAR coordinators also initiated a discussion on expanding NSCAR's leadership structure, including electing national coordinators from other areas of the country.

A special supplement to the *Student Mobilizer* will be printed prior to the conference to enable SCAR activists to begin discussion on these and other important questions.

The steering committee voted to issue NSCAR membership cards that will cost one dollar, or fifty cents for high school students, and ten dollars for organizations affiliating to the coalition.

## For more information

Last February 2,000 people from across the country met in Boston to form the National Student Coalition Against Racism. This fall, from October 10-12, students will again assemble for the Second National Student Conference Against Racism at Northeastern University in Boston.

If you want to join in the antiracist struggle, send in the coupon below.

( ) Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ to join NSCAR (\$1; 50 cents for high school students; \$10 for organizations).

( ) Please send me more information on the Second National Student Conference Against Racism.

( ) Please send me information on NSCAR buttons, posters, and literature.

( ) I want to arrange a speaking engagement for an NSCAR speaker.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and mail to: NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121.



Antiracist activists picket Boston City Hall in demonstration called by National Student Coalition Against Racism.

# Oliver campaign goes to Boston streets

By Baxter Smith

BOSTON—Gingerly, the curly haired starter craned over the long table, looked to the left, then cast his eyes to the right to be sure everyone was ready. Then he drew in a breath, "Redeee, go." The pie-eating contest for small fry at the block party in the predominantly Black South End September 13 was off and running.

"Go. Go. Go. Go. Goooo! Eat it!" a boy, whose waist came to the top of the table, commanded another small boy whose chest came to the top. Furiously, the small boy and three others stuffed their jaws, and everybody who saw it really got a bang.

"Hey, don't I know you from somewhere?" a woman, who recognized a man watching the pie-eating contest, said.

"Oh, yes," the man replied, "I'm Norman Oliver. I'm running for mayor . . . from the Socialist Workers party."

"That's it. I saw you on TV," the woman said, with a snap of her fingers. "How's it going?"

"Oh, just fine. Here, did you get one of my campaign brochures?"

The Socialist Workers party mayoral

campaign had come to the South End. Come with its supporters, and come with its message calling for desegregated schools, a program to combat unemployment and inflation, and other solutions offering a socialist alternative for Boston.

Oliver greeted almost everyone who had come, then joined the revelry, sampling zucchini bread and scarfing down a Syrian salad sandwich.

It was ten days until voters would go to the polls to choose two candidates from the four on the ballot for the mayoral runoff in November. Oliver's name is listed first, but incumbent Democratic Mayor Kevin White is up for reelection, and his strongest opponent is Democratic State Sen. Joseph Timilty.

Timilty put in a brief appearance at the block party, but White did not.

White's stated opposition to busing is well known to most Blacks here, but Timilty is posing as a liberal. Like most liberal politicians, though, Timilty talks out of the side of his mouth. He has colluded with ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights—the racist, anti-busing organization) and has boasted

of his voting record against busing.

Many Blacks, unfortunately, will be voting for Timilty as "the lesser of two evils."

The night before the block party Oliver and two other Black candidates in the coming election spoke at the Militant Forum on school desegregation. Part of the discussion turned to the inability of the Democratic party to come to the defense of Black rights.

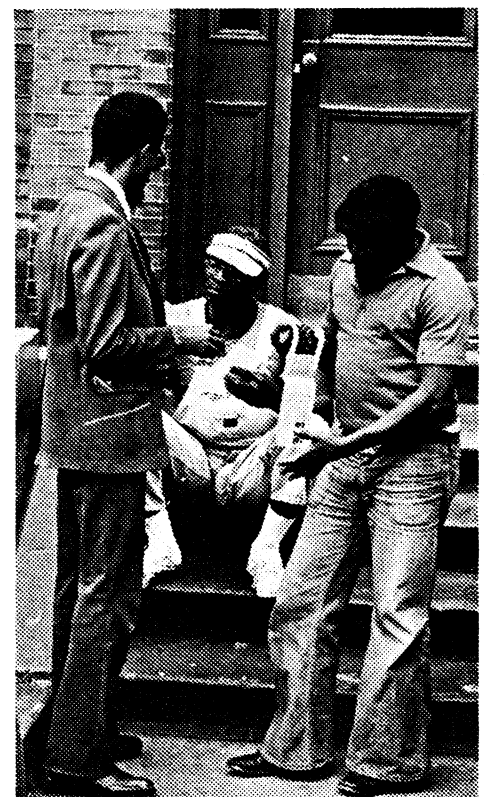
Clarence Dilday, a Black candidate for the currently all-white, all-Democratic city council, admitted that the Democratic party is no better than the Republican party. But he said he was dealing with "political realities" by running in the Democratic party.

"The reality is that most folks in the Black community are in the Democratic party, so if you want to reach them it's where you have to be," he said.

However, Dilday admitted, in reply to a question of what effect an independent Black political party would have, that if Blacks stopped voting for the Democratic party it would collapse.

Oliver pointed out that the Democratic party has done nothing for

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Norman Oliver (left) campaigning at South End block party.

## Voting at Gallo

# 'No matter the result, UFW is the winner'

By Harry Ring

LIVINGSTON, Calif.—While the final voting results remain to be settled, the union representation election at the Gallo vineyards here represents a clear moral victory for the United Farm Workers. And, if the deck isn't totally stacked, it will be a legal victory as well.

More than 500 votes were cast in the election here September 10, but so far only 354 have been officially counted. The rest have been impounded until challenges against them are settled.

The voting count released so far is 223 for the Teamsters union and 131 for the United Farm Workers.

However, 123 of the challenged votes are those of striking members of the UFW. If these votes are ruled eligible, the UFW is almost certainly assured of victory.

But even the results of the votes counted so far constitutes a strong indictment of the Gallo empire and its Teamster stooges.

The votes that have been officially counted are exclusively those of workers hired as strikebreakers since the 1973 UFW walkout at Gallo. These workers were carefully screened before being hired. Once on the job they were the targets of intimidation and lying propaganda by Gallo and the Teamsters.

Yet once in the secrecy of the polling booth, 131 of these 354 workers—37 percent—chose the UFW.

Whether or not the votes of the UFW strikers are to be counted will now be determined by the newly established Agricultural Labor Relations Board of California. The ALRB was slated to hold a public hearing on the issue at the state capitol in Sacramento September 16. On the basis of the recently enacted California farm labor law, the Gallo strikers were clearly entitled to vote.

The board will also hear arguments on the UFW challenge to the votes of thirty-five Gallo security cops who went to the polls as "farm workers."

The Gallo vineyard was one of the first where the UFW won a contract. It initially signed up the company in 1967 and won a three-year renewal in 1970.

In 1973, however, when that contract expired, Gallo joined with other growers to sign sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters.

### Gallo Boycott

The UFW members struck, and the nationwide boycott of Gallo was launched.

The steady stream of new brand names Gallo has been dumping on the market is testimony to the effect of the boycott. Although Gallo has about 50 percent of the domestic wine market, its sales have definitely been slipping.

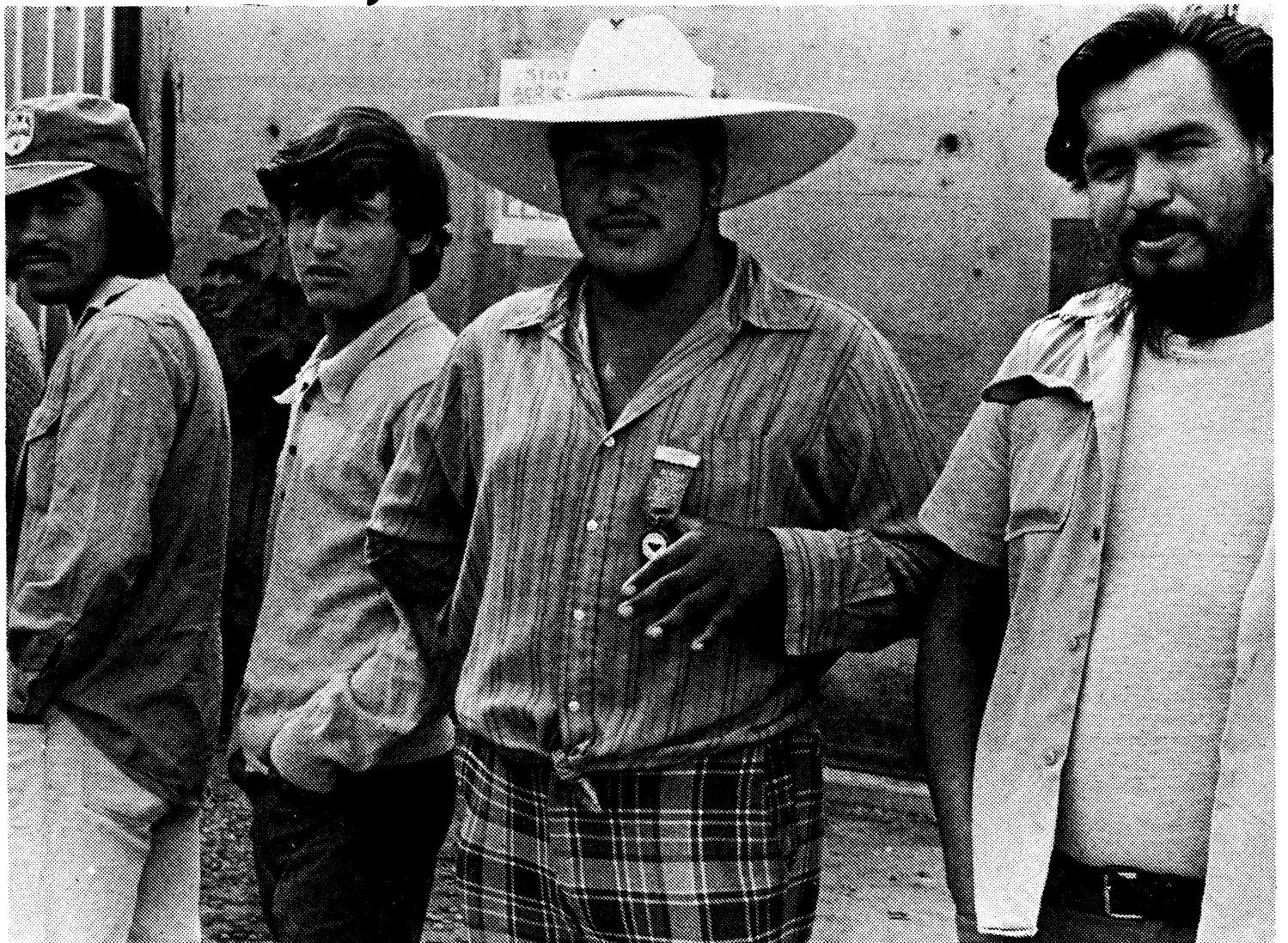
Yet it has stubbornly fought the UFW as part of the concerted grower drive to break the union.

With its giant plant in Modesto, Gallo operates only four relatively small vineyards in the nearby Livingston area. These employ a peak of 500 workers, according to a Gallo public relations representative.

But, he said, those 500 workers harvest only 5 percent of the grapes used each year by Gallo. The rest are purchased from grape growers throughout California.

Why has Gallo conducted such an intensive drive against the union? It is persuaded that if the grape industry is organized, the cost of the grapes they buy, as well as the ones they grow, will go up. They stand ready to fight with every trick in the book.

Interviews with key union leaders at the UFW headquarters here brought out some of the dirty tricks used by Gallo and the Teamsters in their campaign against the UFW.



Workers lining up to vote at Gallo vineyards. Despite tricks by growers and Teamsters, if votes are counted fairly UFW is likely to win. Militant/Arnold Weissberg

While the voting was going on, I talked with UFW executive board members Dolores Huerta and Richard Chávez and union organizer Fred Ross. Chávez and Huerta have been heading up the Gallo campaign since July.

Ross, a veteran labor organizer, is the man who put César Chávez on the road to where he is today by involving him in a Chicano community organizing project back in 1952.

Ross said that in forty years he had not seen such blatant intimidation practices by a company on the eve of a union representation election.

When the farm workers tried to enter company property to try to talk with the workers, Gallo had them arrested. Then the ARLB ruled that where an election is pending, the contesting unions must have access to the workers in the fields and in labor camps.

Gallo acceded. Then a court injunction was issued barring such access. Gallo magnanimously announced that despite the injunction UFW organizers would still have access to its workers.

### Security cops

However, Ross said, wherever the UFW people went they found Gallo security cops breathing down their necks.

"At Gallo's Snelling Ranch," Ross said, "I went door to door in the company housing. Each door I knocked on a guard would take a picture of me talking to the worker."

"Then we had our cameras taking pictures of them taking pictures of us. We complained to the farm labor board, and they ordered them to desist."

Did they?

"Hell no! They kept taking pictures right up to the eve of the election."

When the board considered the UFW complaint, Ross said, Gallo had a novel explanation. "They told the board they were taking pictures simply to show that the UFW had access to the workers."

Richard Chávez agreed the intimidation had been heavy and blatant. At the time of the UFW contract with

Gallo, he recalled, they never had more than a couple of security guards. Now they have thirty-five and they are all over the place. They even found the son of the head of security passing out Teamster leaflets to the workers.

The Teamsters put out one leaflet asserting that if the UFW won the election, the current employees would immediately be out of a job. The strikers would replace them.

They circulated this story, Chávez said, even though the UFW had publicly stated that as far as they were concerned, there would be no replacements if the UFW won.

"We told them," Chávez said, "that the strikers only wanted to be called back, according to seniority, as there were openings. The strikers didn't want to take away anyone's job."

### Stronger union

But Chávez said that regardless of the outcome of the Gallo vote, the UFW is emerging from the campaign a stronger union.

He said there may be as many as 300 union representation elections this year, and he's confident the union will do well in them.

He said that right in the Livingston area, just in the short time they had been conducting the Gallo campaign, they had won the support of workers in surrounding ranches.

"We've been signing up people everywhere," Chávez said, "in grapes, lettuce, almonds, tomatoes, peaches. By the end of the season we should have ten or twelve good contracts in the Modesto-Livingston area."

Dolores Huerta agreed the Gallo campaign had been a rough one.

"It was hard talking to the people who had been working there for the past two years," she said. "They've really brainwashed them. They hired people that never had any connection with the UFW. Then the company had a very intense campaign of intimidation. Our biggest job was to overcome that fear."

"With the newer workers who were just put on for the harvesting," she continued, "we didn't have that problem so much because they're migrant

workers who had been exposed to the United Farm Workers.

"The problem with them," she added, "was just being able to talk with them. They were all hired within the past ten days. We didn't get a list of these workers until last Thursday, six days before the election. Getting access to the workers was our number-one problem."

"Then," she continued, "we were never able to talk to people on company property once without security guards tagging after us. If we could have gotten even three or four days of free access to the workers, we would have won an overwhelming victory."

### Extensive screening

Another Gallo tactic, Huerta explained, was to hire families that normally have a hard time getting work. They hired families with children too small to work. Then they hired older people. They reversed their usual policy, she said, which is to look for working families headed by young strong males.

The company did careful and extensive screening and hiring, Huerta said. "We knew of one woman that was put in the office to do nothing but that, just screening, to make sure that no *chavistas* were hired."

But, she added, Gallo and the Teamsters keep making the workers into *chavistas*.

The Teamsters don't have an elected ranch committee like the UFW she explained. Instead, they appoint stewards. "But," she continued, "if any steward tried to defend the workers, they would immediately call him a *chavista*."

"We had two Teamster stewards who were leadership people for us in this campaign. They were so mad. They felt they were being made fools of when they were appointed steward and never had a chance to do anything for the people."

When I left Livingston, the outcome of the election was up in the air. But I left with the certainty in my bones that regardless of how the votes are counted, the United Farm Workers is the winner.



# Farm workers threaten to boycott unfair voting

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 15—Members of the United Farm Workers in Delano have voted to boycott the union representation elections, now being held unless the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board moves immediately to end the unfair practices of the growers and their Teamster allies.

Several hundred UFW members are now picketing the ALRB at the state capitol in Sacramento demanding action.

The problem is statewide. But it came to a head in Delano where, the UFW charged, the grower-Teamster dirty tricks have been the most blatant.

In a telephone interview, UFW board member Richard Chávez said today from Delano that the growers and Teamsters were flouting all the rules of the elections.

Workers have been taken from the fields to the polls in company buses with huge "Vote Teamsters" banners, Chávez said. Then, when the buses were midway to the polling area, they would stop, and the workers would receive a lecture on why they should vote for the Teamsters. In some cases the workers were threatened that they would lose their jobs if they didn't vote the right way.

At some ranches, he said, the supervisors ignored election procedures by stationing themselves in the area of the polling places while the workers were voting.

And in several instances, he charged, company personnel showed up at the polling area drunk and shoved UFW observers around.

"They made a mockery of the law," Chávez said, "and we're not going to go along with it."

Meanwhile, UFW leader César Chávez told the media that at some ranches armed security guards were actually stationed near the polling places. He said that 20 to 30 percent of the workers in the Delano area were



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

not voting because of "fear and intimidation."

"These are not free elections," César Chávez said.

Meanwhile, in the very face of this coercion and intimidation, the UFW continues to register impressive results in the representation elections.

At the Interharvest lettuce ranch, biggest in the Salinas Valley, where the UFW has held a contract since 1970, the union won hands down. The vote was 1,167 for the UFW, 28 for the Teamsters, and 18 for "no union."

At the other large ranch in the area, Bud Antle, the Teamsters won an anticipated victory. Since it was their first, and so far only, clear-cut victory, it was given a big play by the pro-Teamster media.

The media neglected to mention, however, one important fact. The Teamsters have held a contract at Bud Antle since 1962, before the UFW was on the scene. It is probably the only farm contract they hold that remotely resembles a legitimate agreement. The vote at Antle was 880 for the Teamsters and a not unimpressive 265 for the UFW.

At Egg City in Moorpark, only an honest ruling by the ALRB is needed to chalk up a major win for the Farm Workers.

Egg City workers walked out five months ago, totally disgusted with conditions under a sweetheart Teamster pact. In the election just held, with only the votes of the strikebreakers counting, the result was 186 for the Teamsters and 114 for the UFW. A total of 203 challenged votes have been impounded pending a ruling by the ALRB. Of these, 116 are the votes of the strikers now affiliated with the UFW. If the board follows the recently enacted state agricultural labor law, these striking workers are clearly entitled to vote in the election.

A similar ruling is being awaited in relation to the election at Gallo. There too, if the strikers' votes are counted, a UFW victory is likely.

At several farms affiliated with the Western Growers Association, the entire vote result has been impounded until the ALRB rules on a WGA proposition that all its 146 affiliated independent ranchers be treated as a single bargaining unit, with recognition going to whichever union wins a majority of all the ranches.

UFW attorney Jerry Cohen demanded that the ALRB fire its general counsel, Walter Kintz, since he entered into an agreement with the WGA to impound the ballots without consulting the UFW.

The principal strength of the UFW is on the big ranches, which employ large

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# L.A. boycott grows despite cop harassment

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—The United Farm Workers' boycott drive here has gained new momentum, according to Ken Fujimoto, recently appointed boycott director.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Fujimoto emphasized that the new farm labor law was only the latest stage in the fight for farm worker rights. It's not the end of the struggle.

It will still be necessary, even after the UFW wins elections, to force the growers to sign contracts, Fujimoto maintains. "As César said, we'll boycott until the ink is dry on the contracts."

A major focus of the boycott in Los Angeles is the Boys Market chain of thirty-seven area stores. Fujimoto said that 400 to 500 activists turn out for picketing each weekend at the Boys Markets. The aim of the picketing is to ask shoppers not to buy at Boys Market while it persists in selling scab grapes, scab lettuce, and Gallo wines.

The apparent success of the boycott can be seen from the reaction of the Boys Market management, which, in collusion with the Los Angeles County sheriffs, has harassed the picketers continuously. Boys obtained an injunction limiting the number and location of pickets. However, the injunction specifically stated that picketers had the right to freely talk to shoppers who wanted to listen.

Boys ignored that provision, and on August 3 four picketers were arrested in front of a Boys Market by Los Angeles County sheriffs. They were told that they had violated the terms of the injunction by "talking to customers."

The four were hauled down to the sheriffs' station and subjected to humiliating body searches. After three hours they were released with no charges.

On August 8 two Boys security guards grabbed UFW organizer Pete Savino, handcuffed him, and dragged him into a back room of the store. When the police finally arrived, they couldn't come up with any grounds for arresting Savino.

That same evening at another Boys Market an auto knocked down another picketer, Ray Huerta. When the cops

arrived they refused at first to even take a statement from Huerta, speaking only to the store security guards.

When a man verbally abused picketer Lydia Valencia—calling her a prostitute—she slapped his face. Police arrested her and charged her with assault. The charges were later dropped.

The UFW went to court seeking a restraining order against the Boys Markets and the Los Angeles County sheriffs to put an end to this harassment. Judge Norman Dowds refused to grant such an order. He said it would interfere with the First Amendment right of the Boys Market to tell the UFW to stop picketing!

Meanwhile, further evidence of the effectiveness of the boycott in Los Angeles was revealed in a report that grape shipments to the city from Coachella are down nearly 50 percent from the same period last year. In addition, the UFW reports that more than 150 stores in Los Angeles and Orange counties have pledged to sell only UFW grapes or no grapes at all.

In another development, the windows of the storefront boycott headquarters were smashed by rocks on the night of August 31. A bucket of paint was splattered across a mural above the entrance. The office had been the target of abusive phone calls from people identifying themselves as "the Teamster Conspiracy."

Fujimoto has been working on the boycott full-time for two years. His grandparents were immigrant farm laborers. Fujimoto grew up hearing about the mistreatment of his family at the hands of California growers. His grandfather's small onion farm was confiscated when all the Japanese-Americans in California were herded into concentration camps in 1942. The land was taken partly at the urging of the California Farm Bureau Federation, a growers' organization. The government never returned the farm.

Fujimoto is urging that all supporters of the UFW participate in the weekend boycott activities. Boys Markets are located all over the Los Angeles area. For information on times and locations of picketing, contact the UFW office at (213) 381-1136.

## Farm labor vote results

[Following is as complete a list as is available of the results of California farm labor elections as of September 15. Associated Press reported that as of September 15 thirty-six elections had been held.]

Ranch	UFW	Teamsters	No union
Bud Antle	265	880	40
Borgia	98	1	33
Brokaw Nursery	40	—	15
Anton Caratan*	85	71	57
M. Caratan*	121	—	0
Louis Caric & Sons	53	199	—
Chula Vista Farms	275	—	12
Bruce Church	140	38	3
Egg City*	114	186	—
Egger-Ghio	130	—	26
Elmco	201	304	19
Gallo*	131	223	—
Giumarra Vineyards*	508	747	40
Interharvest	1167	28	18
K.K. Ito	55	43	—
Konda Brothers**	—	—	—
Kyuitkyu	13	—	0
Lawrence Vineyards*	150	110	22
McCloskey Brothers**	—	—	—
McSweeney Farms*	2	—	45
Richardson Farms	—	70	5
Roy Smed	36	—	0
Tenneco Inc.	204	204	253
Dan Tudor & Sons*	58	106	7
Samuel Vener	202	—	19
West Foods	136	39	9
Yamano Brothers	56	—	45
A. & N. Zoninovich	23	97	—
Jack G. Zuninovich	29	37	—

— Not on ballot.

\* Results not yet determined pending disposition of ballot challenges.

\*\* Figures not available. However, it has been reported that the Teamsters won.



Militant/Harry Ring

UFW boycott organizer Winnie Arballo points to damage done to mural in front of UFW office by vandals. For two weeks prior to the attack, UFW office received threatening calls from people who identified themselves as 'the Teamster Conspiracy.'

# A new popular-front government in

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

On September 13, the Portuguese premier, Adm. José Pinheiro de Azevedo, went on national radio and television to announce that the three largest parties—the Communist party, the Socialist party, and the bourgeois Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—Democratic People's party)—had reached an agreement on the program of a new government.

The incoming cabinet, the sixth provisional government, a September 13 dispatch in the *New York Times* said, would "take a more moderate revolutionary course and guarantee representation of the major political parties."

By resorting to antidemocratic maneuvers to acquire and defend bureaucratic influence, and then justifying these moves by "revolutionary" phrasemongering and gestures, the Communist party had given the admiral an excellent pretext for linking respect for democratic rights to a reestablishment of "law and order" and guarantees for capitalist property rights. He obviously intended to take advantage of the opportunity.

The premier promised to reduce the influence the Communist party has gained by antidemocratic methods in the press, trade unions, and local government, an influence that has become the focus of widespread resentment among masses of workers and other poor strata.

"He said the program would seek to assure wide representation in news media belonging to the state," the September 14 *New York Times* reported.

"Democracy in the trade unions would be enforced . . . and municipal bodies 'irregularly constituted against the democratic will of the people' would be replaced. The functioning of the constituent assembly now drawing up a constitution providing for elected institutions would be guaranteed. . . ."

In addition, "The admiral served notice that nationalization of the basic sectors had been completed and that efforts would now concentrate on making the public sector more dynamic and efficient. At the same time, he said, the private sector would be helped and efforts would be made to restore the confidence of investors and bank depositors."

But this "moderate" program was presented in as defensive a way as possible:

"The pledges to reduce radical influence and to moderate the pace of the revolution were accompanied by pledges not to undo economic and social gains of the last 16 months."

In a dispatch from Lisbon September 12, *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger had reported that Pi-

nheiro de Azevedo had promised to return the daily *República* to its Socialist party editors and the station Radio Renascença to the Catholic church. Both were seized by "workers committees" a few months ago during the military government's demagogic campaign to pit "direct democracy" against the Socialist party and the Constituent Assembly.

In the case of *República*, there was a de facto alliance between Maoists and other ultraleftists on the "workers committee" and the CP-controlled printers union.

However, the September 13 dispatch in the *New York Times* did not mention any reference by the premier to these cases. The allusion to the Constituent Assembly, moreover, was vague.

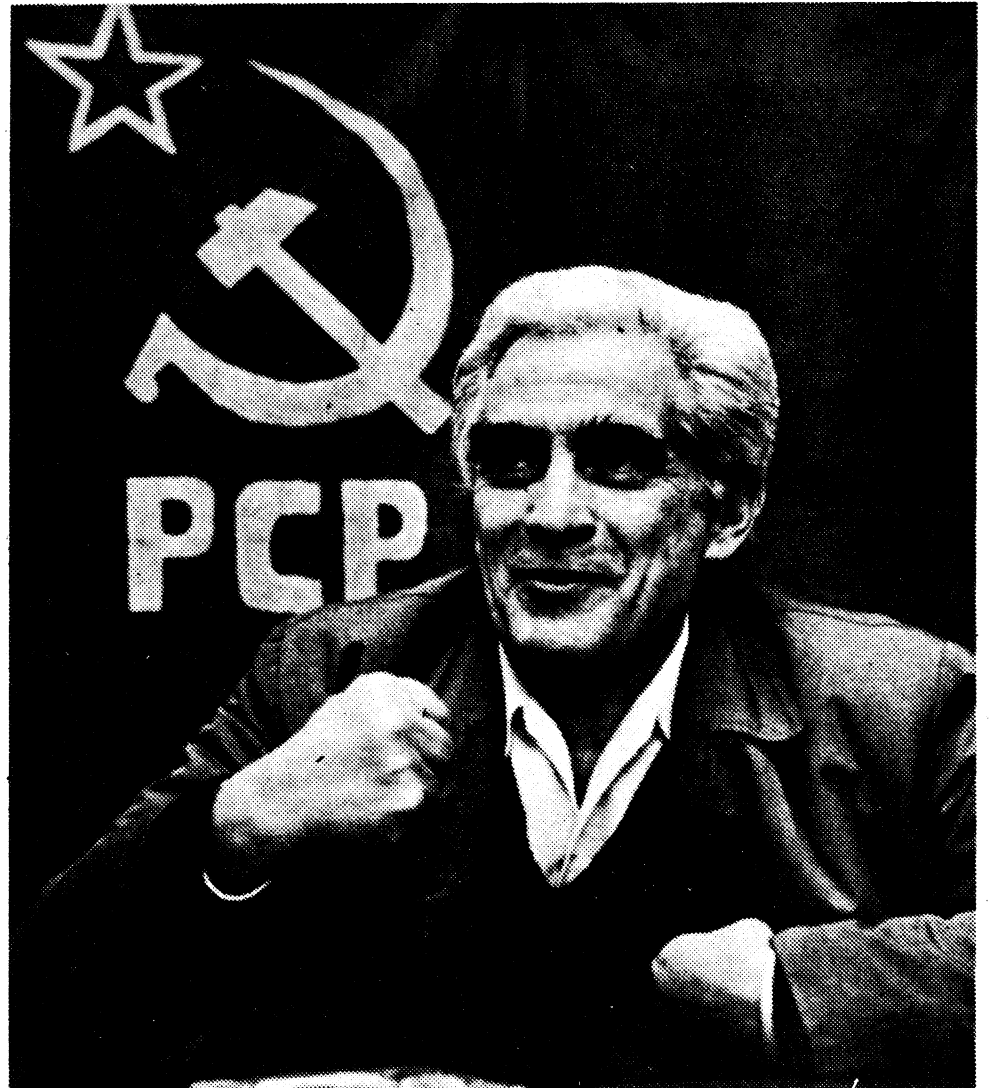
The governmental program announced September 13 by Pinheiro de Azevedo remained clearly within the popular-frontist context of the previous cabinets. This orientation was underscored by the announcement on September 12 that the president, General Costa Gomes, would visit the Soviet Union and Poland following the selection of the new cabinet.

## Want CP in Cabinet

It was evident that the Socialist party was anxious to keep the CP in the government. SP leader Mário Soares has insisted on this since April 1974. As an electoralist party, the SP does not want to take sole responsibility for a class-collaborationist policy, letting the CP gain the image of being the less corrupted workers party. If it did this, the SP would risk the same kind of depreciation in its appeal the Italian Social Democrats have suffered through their association with the various "center left" governments.

Costa Gomes, also, has shown that he does not want to expel the CP from the cabinet and from the positions it holds until its usefulness has been exhausted. In the first phase of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) regime, the CP was useful primarily as a means of assuring the political support of a large part of the industrial working class and as a transmission belt for the government in the labor movement. The CP's utility in this regard has inevitably diminished.

However, it is still profitable for the bourgeoisie to keep the Communist party tied to the government. It retains the support of an important section of the workers in big industry. Furthermore, it serves as a counterweight against the SP; and encouraging competition between the two workers parties gives Costa Gomes more room for maneuver. It is also useful during a period of economic crisis to keep the CP in a position where it can be used



CP head Alvaro Cunhal has opted for role of semiopposition party, with one foot in government and one foot out. Ultraleft groups continue to trail in CP's wake.

as a scapegoat for the failures of the bourgeois regime. To leave it in a more independent position would make it more subject to pressures from its base.

## Spínola Without a Monocle

The president, a shrewder and lower-profile version of his colleague and close associate General Spínola, has proved himself a master in manipulating the opportunist workers parties. Some of his aides, in fact, were so impressed with his skill that they could not help talking about it.

"The general [Costa Gomes] is a gambler," said a presidential aide who played a prominent role in the intrigue," *Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acoca reported September 8 from Lisbon. "We were counting guns, but we never planned to fire a shot. The first move was to get Gonçalves out of the premiership, then we would see whether the military wanted him to be their boss. They said no. That was the end of Vasco."

The wily old general fooled the Stalinists. But he also fooled the anti-Gonçalves faction in the military.

The president also cut down the anti-Communist officers who effectively turned the Armed Forces Movement against Gonçalves, refusing to let the anti-Communists emerge as the movement's dominant faction and putting in question the position of Maj. Ernesto Melo Antunes, theoretician of the vocal anti-Gonçalves coalition, and of Maj. Vitor Alves, another leading anti-Communist officer.

"The president wanted Gonçalves out, said an aide, but he did not want Antunes and his crowd running the Armed Forces Movement and telling him what to do. A moderate, the president shares the ideas of the Antunes faction, but he didn't want to split the military into irreconcilable sides."

So the general kept the Antunes faction on a leash:

"In fact, presidential aides met frequently with members of the Antunes group, and plotted strategy and tactics together. This was why the Antunes group became angry with Costa Gomes last week, and threatened to rise against him unless he acted quickly to remove Gonçalves."

"But Costa Gomes would not be rushed. He wanted the movement to deny Gonçalves the post of armed forces chief of staff, and he wanted more backing from the navy, the most radical of the Portuguese services. . . ."

"Whether the present military equilibrium survives will depend on how the army accepts his crackdown on the rival factions, which affirms the old general's power."

At the moment, Acoca said, the Antunes faction was the main problem. However:

"The president is aware of their attitude, and his aides say that he is confident that he can handle their opposition."

## Stalinists Play Their Cards

The Communist party also tried to play a complex game. However, it was a loser from the start because of the contradictions of its opportunist strategy. Nonetheless, its hand was strengthened temporarily by the fact that some of its objectives converged with those of Costa Gomes.

In the first place, the CP faced the problem of minimizing its losses following the defeat of its allies in the Armed Forces Movement. A sharp deterioration in its position as the privileged political instrument of the government threatened the jobs of a large number of influential CP members and supporters ensconced in the leading positions in the unions, governmental bodies, and the press.

There is no reason, for example, to believe that the CP members and supporters on the main Lisbon morning paper, *Diário de Notícias*, are more dedicated to revolutionary principles than the CP leadership. But they were obviously very unhappy about the CP's move to accept the consequences of its political defeat and make some concessions to the SP. They printed a front-page editorial September 1 condemning the turn and calling for a stronger "revolutionary authority."

## Pathetic Appeal to the MFA

The day before Gonçalves's ouster, *Diário de Notícias* made a final appeal in its September 4 issue to the MFA not to capitulate to the "real



President Costa Gomes shown last year with his old friend General Spínola. Costa Gomes has proven to be a master in manipulating opportunist workers parties.



# Portugal to mask rightist course

country"—meaning not to give in to majority opinion—but to remain true to the example it gave in the April 25 coup:

"That dawn, companheiros of the MFA, marked your first moment of courage. At that time you forgot about the real country, this sleepy Portugal, sleepy and therefore exploited, and therefore colonialist, and you stood up as our historic vanguard."

The CP-dominated paper humbly offered its action in purging twenty-four journalists who publicly objected to its Stalinist editorial line as an example of courage that the MFA should imitate by defending Gonçalves against overwhelming popular opposition:

"But revolutionary reporting cannot be done by counterrevolutionary reporters. And therefore these types were ousted. So, many people, who are part of this 'real country' that you have not yet managed to awaken, will come to protest—perhaps violently—in front of our building. That will not weaken our resolve. Our example is your first moment of courage."

In fact, there have been violent demonstrations in front of the *Diário de Notícias* building in protest against this purge. And the likelihood that the first cutbacks in CP influence will come in the press, where this influence is most obvious and most directly offensive to the majority of the population, was probably a major factor in the "revolutionary intransigence" of those responsible for this dreary Stalinized sheet.

But it is probably also true that much of the CP following believed the "revolutionary" arguments that were offered to justify the party's antidemocratic maneuvers. So, it could be expected that there would be resistance to a sudden turn to an openly conciliatory policy.

## May Go Into Semiopposition

For these reasons, as well as the more fundamental one of the needs of the specific Stalinist strategy of reformism, the CP seems to have opted for the role of a semiopposition party, with one foot in the government and the other outside. The formula the party general secretary, Alvaro Cunhal, chose was a "government of national unity" made up of individuals identified with the coalition parties but not formally representing them.

Moreover, the formula of a "government of national unity" skirts the thorny problem of whether posts in the new cabinet should be divided up on the basis of the April 25, 1975, election results, in which the CP won 12.5 percent as against 38 percent for the SP. According to this formula, the government will not be one of parties, but of individuals chosen by the military. This suits the CP's purpose by maintaining the principle of a government above popular sovereignty, where the CP can advance its interests by serving the military directly.

This formula also allows the CP to remain a government party and at the same time to keep a free hand to pressure the government from the outside. This could be expected to prove useful in defending key positions from attack and minimizing the sacrifices the CP can look forward to having to make.

However, the main value of this tactic has to do with a more fundamental strategic concern. Facing a large Social Democratic party, the CP has to cultivate a tougher, more "revolutionary," image to be able to compete. By taking a certain distance from the new government, which is obviously going to try to whittle down some of the gains the workers have made, the CP can hope to turn its defeat to advantage and perhaps recoup some of its losses in the labor movement.



From left: Deposed CP-backed Premier Vasco Gonçalves, President Costa Gomes, and new premier, Admiral José Pinheiro de Azevedo. Costa Gomes maneuvered to ditch Gonçalves when it served his purposes. Now new premier moves to guarantee capitalist property under cover of defending democratic rights.

Although this contradiction can be exploited by militant sections of the working class, just as the "democratic" strategy of the SP has offered a defense for such strata against the bureaucratic regimentation pushed by the CP, it holds grave dangers.

Stalinist "militancy" is dogmatic and fanatical in character. It stands in the way of clear political and strategic thinking on the part of the most combative workers. It can thus lead to the isolation of whatever vanguard elements are misled by it. Furthermore, it remains fundamentally subordinated to opportunist objectives, and thus where taken for good coin, leads to disorientation and disillusion.

One of the greatest dangers of this illusory "militancy," moreover, is the way the capitalist class can use the shortsighted posturing of the Stalinists as a pretext for counterrevolutionary mobilizations and repression. In an explosive situation, it is suicidal to pretend to be revolutionary when you have no intention of carrying out a consistent campaign to unite and mobilize the working masses to take power.

Most of the groups to the left of the mass reformist parties in Portugal, however, have fallen into the CP's trap. The neanarchist confusion of most of these groups plays in with the limited objectives of Stalinist "militancy." In their fascination with advanced forms of organization and militant initiatives by the most radicalized strata, the Portuguese ultraleftists have tended to lose sight of the relationship of forces in the society as a whole and of the importance of timing in a revolutionary process.

For the ultraleftists, the question of a political strategy for taking power becomes dissolved in a vague and timeless process of the "self-guided organization of the masses." Instead of focusing on the key issues in the class struggle at each given moment, they offer formulas that are supposed to be "intrinsically revolutionary." Thus, however radical their activity may

seem, it can be kept within safe limits, overall, for the bourgeoisie. It becomes a diversion, a kind of reformism, in which "exemplary" gains are substituted for decisive advances.

## The August 25 Bloc

Fortunately for the Stalinists and for the bourgeoisie as well such ultraleftists are numerous in Portugal. By forming a bloc with the CP on August 25 they enabled the Stalinists to give a broader and more "revolutionary" allure to the August 27 demonstration in support of Gonçalves. They are continuing to cover the CP's retreat.

The August 25 bloc defended the whole record of the Gonçalves government. Most of the components of this front took their distance from the CP when it turned to a more openly conciliatory position on August 28. But they continued to push the more left-sounding aspects of the CP's opportunist line. For example, the manifesto of the Frente de Unidade Revolucionária (FUR) published in the September 11 *Diário de Notícias* condemns "Social Democracy" in the abstract, linking it with "fascism."

The manifesto defends the Fifth Division of the General Staff, which used Stalinist propaganda in the interests of the regime. It panders to Portuguese nationalism, which the CP and demagogic military officers have tried to use against the SP. Furthermore, it offers no concrete program for uniting the workers against the coming capitalist offensive.

More immediately damaging than all these failings, the front identified itself at its first news conference with the antidemocratic methods of the CP.

When one representative of this bloc, Ezequiel Vicente of the Portuguese Democratic Movement, a front group of the CP, was asked about the September 8 decree banning the publication of statements by "unauthorized" military sources, he gave the following answer, as summarized in the September 11 *Diário de Notícias*:

"He said that the secretariat of the

Front had taken a position on this and that it repudiated the law. But it also considered that such methods would have been effective and even patriotic at other times when the Revolutionary Council was in a very good situation to do this but that 'now they are aimed at silencing progressive officers.' Revolutionary measures to halt the abuse of freedom of the press were never taken, and now they seemed belated."

This was a particularly shortsighted position, since, as it turned out, the press close to the SP also repudiated the law, and the de facto common front of the SP and CP press forced the government to retreat. Furthermore, the government had been emboldened to try this attack because the CP had tried to use its control of the press to give the impression that Gonçalves had more support than he did, and this crude maneuver was quickly exposed.

The pressures of the situation in Portugal have apparently led some revolutionists to opt for joining the biggest militant bloc immediately available. It is to be hoped that they will realize their error before the process goes too far.

However, regardless of the errors of some sincere revolutionists and the confusion of the ultralefts, the CP bears the main responsibility for the diversionary role of the FUR. Although it is not in it directly any longer, it is present by proxy through the Portuguese Democratic Movement. Furthermore, without direct or indirect CP support, this front could have no significant influence.

Nor is it likely that the support of Stalinist circles for this front is an example of the CP being outdistanced by its ranks. No doubt it has problems in controlling the ultraleft moods it has instilled in its membership. But it has been able to rally them behind unpopular policies before, and there is no evidence as yet that the Stalinist machine has lost its grip. The FUR and the ultraleft campaign in the CP-dominated press still fit in too well with its overall policy objectives.

## Legion of Justice

In 1969 and 1970 terrorist attacks were carried out against antiwar, Black, and socialist activists in Illinois. A group calling itself the Legion of Justice took credit. At the time, many people dismissed these attacks as the work of a small, isolated right-wing group that was incapable of anything more sinister than occasional harassment.

Far from being merely a small nut group, however, it has now been revealed that the Legion was financed, armed, and organized by the police department of the city of Chicago and by the United States Army. This secret story is coming to light as the foot soldiers in this terrorist operation confess in order to save their own worthless necks.

The story that is unfolding underscores the fact that government collusion with ultrarightist forces to destroy movements against oppression and exploitation is not limited to CIA assassination plots in other countries.

If armed robbery, death threats, and brutal assaults were ordered by the Legion's government commanders, what other tactics were used, in Chicago and elsewhere, by similar extralegal arms of the government?

Was the New York "red squad" engaged in a similar operation against Malcolm X—an operation that led to his assassination in 1965?

Is the Los Angeles "red squad" *at this very moment* covering up its own involvement in the wave of right-wing bombings in that city, a campaign of terrorism that parallels in almost every way the actions of the Legion of Justice?

The crusade of violence conducted by the Chicago cops through the Legion was ended only after a public outcry began to be raised. A united defense effort, in which the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance played an important part, forced a halt to the wave of attacks.

To combat this type of terrorism, the links between the government and the right-wingers must be exposed. Among the steps being taken to do this are the suit sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund and similar legal actions by victims of government crimes, which are forcing out the truth about government attacks on democratic rights. These efforts deserve the full support of all those anxious to bring a halt to Legion-style "justice."

## Secret war deal

Some of the secret provisions of the new Mideast "peace" accord are starting to come out. They strongly underline the fact that, far from guaranteeing peace, the pact only sets the stage for new, wider, and deadlier wars, with United States forces in the front lines.

Bad enough are the publicly announced provisions: to send U.S. "technicians" to the Sinai and to up the arms flow to Israel to the staggering sum of \$2.4 billion to \$3.3 billion for the first year alone.

Now columnist Jack Anderson, who claims to have seen some of the secret provisions, has revealed more of what Kissinger promised the Zionist state:

- The United States will supply Israel with such advanced weapons as the Pershing ground-to-ground missiles and F-16 jet fighters. *The Pershing missile is specifically designed to carry nuclear warheads.*

- U.S. and Israeli military experts will immediately make a study of the arms Israel wants, and the United States will "view Israel's requests sympathetically, including its request for advanced and sophisticated weapons."

- Within two months, the United States and Israel will "conclude the contingency plan for a military supply operation to Israel in an emergency situation."

According to Anderson, "Experts who have studied the secret language claim it is more binding even than the SEATO agreement, which drew the U.S. into the Vietnam War."

Ford, who recently pledged to veto "again and again and again" any new spending for social welfare, did not hesitate to commit these untold billions of dollars for a new war drive.

The American people feel differently. Recent polls show that the public opposes, by a more than 2-to-1 margin, the large-scale financial aid to Israel. A plurality opposes sending the U.S. "technicians." It is no wonder Ford and Kissinger insist on hiding the full extent of the secret deal.

Working people in this country have no interest in fighting for—or paying for—imperialism's client state in the Middle East. Our interest lies in exposing the secret accords, cutting off the arms flow to Israel, and stopping the plan to send U.S. forces to the Sinai.

### IAM & women

An article on the Coalition of Labor Union Women appeared in the September edition of the *Machinist*, the newspaper of the International Association of Machinists. This same issue of the *Machinist* was "A Salute To 116,544 Women in the IAM." Obviously, the IAM thinks that they can make up for years of discriminatory treatment with one issue of their newspaper.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women was formed more than a year ago and this is the first time the *Machinist* has seen fit to print anything about it, except for a one-sentence mention a few months ago. The only reason that the IAM is taking notice of CLUW now is that some of the leaders of CLUW have refused to support those women who were hired under affirmative-action programs and are now being laid off according to strict seniority.

The IAM can't heap enough praise on those CLUW leaders who go along with defending the "sacred" seniority system. These women, by not standing up for those that they are supposed to represent, are playing right into the hands of the opponents of women's rights. The white, male job trusts like the IAM have joined with the industrialists and employers to try to reverse the few gains in equal employment that we've made so far.

C.G.

Chicago, Illinois

### Office rebellion?

I found this item in a recent Boston *Herald-American*:

Several office workers in the election commission in the state office building went berserk and smashed the glass teller windows that separated them from the outside world, apparently protesting the bureaucratic inefficiency of the office. Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis was forced to comment on the situation, promising to work on getting rid of bureaucracy.

In typical fashion, though, the *Herald* reported, they hadn't cleaned up the glass yet a day after the outburst.

Ken Withers

Boston, Massachusetts

### Prisoner fund

Enclosed you find a ten-dollar contribution to the prisoner fund. I am pleased to be in a position to contribute to this very important purpose.

Those in prison, as you know, are there as a result of deeds they did in retaliation to the dehumanizing alienation of this vicious capitalist society.

If they can read such a paper as the *Militant*, they can come to realize this and channel their justified anger not against random people, but against those forces responsible for the oppression of themselves and their friends.

The growth and expansion of this effort is to me of the highest importance.

Patrick Quirk

Champaign, Illinois

### Prisoner fund-II

Enclosed please find a check for five dollars. One dollar should go towards a two-month introductory subscription for an old friend who recently moved to the United States. The remainder I'd like to contribute to your Prisoner Fund, to be used particularly to get the *Militant* to women prisoners.

Keep up the excellent job! I wait anxiously every week for the new issue to arrive and read it cover to cover.

B.L. Stewart

Toronto, Ontario

[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.]

### Anti-immigration

I read your paper quite often and find it entertaining, but I don't always agree with it. For instance, you are pro-immigration when you know the public at this time is anti-immigrant. So how dare you go against the people and at the same time say you are with the people?

At the same time you continue to scream about the need for jobs, you must realize the alien has some effect on the job market. What makes you think the alien should be such a privileged character that he can go traipsing around the globe? Don't you think the simpler solution is for him to look to his own government?

I find it very strange to hear you people are for it. You cannot hope to represent the people and talk like that.

S.M.

New Orleans, Louisiana

### Attica Brothers

Having been actively involved in support work for the Attica Brothers for four years and also having relied upon the *Militant* for consistently good coverage in the past, we were disappointed to find no coverage in the *Militant* of the Brothers' present situation nor coverage of the rallies and other events scheduled to commemorate the anniversary of the uprising.

We hope the *Militant* will correct this error by resuming regular coverage of the Attica Brothers' continuing struggle for justice.

Jim Livingston

Kate Livingston

Ithaca, New York

### It's not so simple

Please cancel the remainder of my subscription to the *Militant*. The slogans, the name-calling, and the rigid ideological line have made me tired of reading it. While I look for information, too often I get oversimplified viewpoints.

Furthermore, the useless internecine squabbles with the *Guardian* and the Communist party are a waste of space. Any radical group can prove the validity of its arguments simply by being consistent and letting events prove them out.

Richard Heath

Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts





### Hard to keep away

Please send me a year's subscription to the *Militant*. I have subscribed for the past five or six years, but let the subscription lapse, and I miss reading it.

A.S.  
Walnut Creek, California

### Hard-earned credit

Two of the pictures that appear in the *Militant* dated September 19 were not taken by Jon Hillson, as credited, but by Anne Teesdale. They were the front-page photo of racists overturning a car in Boston and the page 3 photo captioned "Boston, 1975."

Ordinarily, I wouldn't bother you with such a minor point except that the racists tried to beat me up for taking these pictures.

Anne Teesdale  
Boston, Massachusetts

### Important distinction

I would like to suggest that the *Militant's* analyses of the economic crisis and the attacks on workers include where socialists stand concerning the police.

Many people lump all city services together and fail to make the distinction between those *needed* by the community and the repressive role of the cops. I am surprised that there has been nothing in the *Militant* on this, and I hope there will be such an analysis in the near future.

Martha Harris  
Brooklyn, New York

### Not infallible

The letter to the editor entitled "Wasted space?" by Ross Anderson in the September 12 *Militant* made it absolutely necessary for me to write.

In his letter Ross Anderson refers to the letters section as space wasted. True, sometimes certain letters fail to add to the quality of the paper. And true, the *Militant* often fails to cover certain questions concerning the policy of the Socialist Workers party concerning a variety of issues.

Let's face it, however: I don't believe that I've ever heard or read anywhere where the *Militant* or the SWP has claimed infallibility or perfection. There's always room for change and improvement in everything.

As for Ross Anderson's comment concerning "the too-often hysterical rhetoric found in the *Militant*," I'll just say, friend, just read a few articles from the other radical papers. Read these a while and you'll come to the conclusion that the *Militant* is the soul of cool but logical rhetoric, even when you might not agree with a particular stand.

Wayne Griggs  
Neches, Texas

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

## The CP and Chicano nationalism

LOS ANGELES—The August 23 *People's World*, West Coast newspaper of the Communist party, informs us that Lorenzo Torres, head of the CP's Chicano Liberation Commission, was honored here recently. Even CP General Secretary Gus Hall was on hand to ladle out the praise.

Torres "has been an example of Communist standards," Hall declared, commending Torres for his "persistence" and "steadfast dedication."

Evelina Alarcón laid it out politically: He "has given the Party and the Chicano movement a realizable solution to the plight of the Chicano people," she said. "At a time when nationalism and the call for nationhood was high, Lorenzo fought for a working-class approach."

To put it plainly, Torres has been a model CPer because of his "persistence" and "steadfast dedication" in opposing Chicano nationalism.

The Communist party views Chicano nationalism with undisguised hostility. Is this because, as they claim, they favor instead a "workingclass approach"? Or because nationalism is not revolutionary enough?

No, the reason this reformist party regards Chicano nationalism as dangerous is precisely because of its revolutionary potential. Chicano nationalism is too revolutionary for their politics.

The last several years of the Chicano liberation movement have amply demonstrated the progressive character of Chicano nationalism. Take the example of the United Farm Workers, which has led the organization of the agricultural laborers, a task the gringo trade-union bureaucrats have ignored for decades. It is the nationalism of an oppressed people that has given such dynamism to *la causa*.

And what about the Chicano antiwar demonstrations against the racist Vietnam War? And community struggles for bilingual and bicultural education, and against the harassment and deportations of *mexicano* immigrant workers without visas?

The driving force that set all these movements into

motion was nationalism. And obviously these movements have all been progressive and in the interests of all the oppressed.

In the electoral arena, Chicanos have set the pace as well by forming the Raza Unida parties, independent Chicano political parties that have opposed the racist Democrats and Republicans.

The real reason the CP opposed Chicano nationalism is that it has undermined the CP's strategy of support to liberal capitalist politicians. This is what the Stalinists usually refer to as the "realizable" or "practical" approach to Chicano liberation.

The draft political resolution presented to the recent CP convention mentions that the Chicano struggle has continued to develop and progress, "especially in the field of political action." True enough. But there is no mention whatsoever of the role of the Raza Unida party in the resolution! Instead, the election of Mexican-American Democrats as governors in New Mexico and Arizona is held up as the chief example of "progress."

While the fact that these tokens could be elected does demonstrate that Chicanos can no longer be totally excluded from holding public office, electing pawns of the Democrats and Republicans to fill these offices does not represent a step forward for the Chicano people.

The Democratic and Republican parties represent the oppressors of Chicanos. They are committed to upholding racism and exploitation. They only put up Chicano and Black candidates to promote the lying claim that they can be a vehicle for liberation.

What the Chicano liberation movement needs is activists who will demonstrate "persistence and steadfast dedication," not in pimping for capitalist *politicos* but rather in exposing their crimes against the Chicano people.

For the Communist party to shamelessly boast of its antinationalism is a measure of its corruption as a working-class party.

## La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



### 'Profit Island, U.S.A.'

A few weeks ago I received a copy of a booklet published by the Puerto Rican government called *Puerto Rico: Profit Island, U.S.A.*

The purpose of the book is to convince North American capitalists that they should invest their money in this Caribbean U.S. colony. In the process the authors inadvertently let on to more than they probably intended.

"You're about to discover," they write on page one, "... that the unique financial, economic and strategic advantages to establishing and conducting a manufacturing operation on the Island add up to one irresistible attraction: *profit potential*."

The advantages in many cases are real. For example:

- "Corporate and personal income earned in Puerto Rico is *not subject to Federal taxation!*"
- "Qualifying manufacturers enjoy *100 percent exemption* from all Puerto Rican taxes."
- "Average hourly wages are considerable lower than on the Mainland."
- "Almost 900,000 workers make up Puerto Rico's total labor force. . . . About 100,000 of these workers are readily available for immediate hiring."

In case you think they're kidding, enclosed with the book are all kinds of charts that prove their claims. One of the most interesting shows a *steadily widening gap* between hourly manufacturing wages in the United States and in Puerto Rico—from \$1.33 in 1963 to \$2.05 in 1974.

Their figure for the "immediately available labor supply" is too modest. Puerto Rican government figures show the number of unemployed people on the island is now more than 200,000.

In this regard the book is simply a little bit out of date, and its figures are in no way due to lack of candor. But in other ways *Profit Island* is a cover-up of the terrible poverty that afflicts the island's people

and the real reason for the island's disastrous condition.

One chapter in the booklet starts, "Twenty-five years ago, none of the prosperity Puerto Rico enjoys today could have been foreseen. . . . But *Operation Bootstrap* . . . has given the Island one of the fastest industrial growth rates in the world today."

This "prosperity" is pure fiction for the masses of Puerto Ricans. It is only true for the capitalists who are bleeding the island dry. The per capita income of Puerto Ricans is one-third that of North Americans, yet prices on the island are higher. Unemployment is 24 percent, according to official figures. And the gross national product of Puerto Rico actually declined in 1974.

Why is this? *Profit Island*, inadvertently, provides the answer.

"Much of Puerto Rico's success stems from the fact that it is *proudly American*. It's a self-governing Commonwealth of the United States, protected by the Constitutions of both Puerto Rico and the U.S. Its citizens are U.S.; its currency is U.S.; its armed forces and judicial and postal systems are U.S."

That sums it up pretty well. Puerto Ricans live under social and economic misery despite the island's skilled labor force, its factories, and its natural resources, because it is a colony of the United States. Real power is in Washington, not San Juan, and wealth produced on "Profit Island" winds up on Wall Street.

But despite the protestations of Washington's San Juan lackeys that Puerto Ricans are "proudly American," there is increasing proindependence sentiment on the island and growing labor militancy. The two are becoming closely intertwined.

This means the days of Puerto Rico as a profit paradise for the U.S. capitalists are definitely numbered.



**Possible clue**—A National Cancer Institute study found that whites have a far better chance of surviving cancer than Blacks. "Although the authors gave no reason for the racial difference," United Press International reported August 28, "other studies suggest that whites take advantage of modern screening and diagnostic techniques more frequently than Blacks, an institute spokeswoman said. This may be due to social, economic or other factors, she said."

**Join the New Action Army (I)**—A spot check of beef sold to the army showed 60 percent failed to meet standards. The test showed about one million of 1.7 million pounds included excessive fat and/or such items as



'Ain't that sweet! Jerry sent us a flag to rally around!'

metal, hair, or dead flies. Sen. Lowell Weicker felt it indicated a laxity on the part of military buyers.

**Join the New Action Army (II)**—About three million veterans are alcoholics but few receive effective treatment from the Veterans Administration, a government study showed. The study showed that the rate of alcoholism among veterans is 10.2 percent—double the average for all Americans.

**Faulty logic**—A reader sent us an item about a New York man who was shot in the head by a youth when the youth asked him for a cigarette and he replied he didn't smoke. Our reader thought this suggested that nonsmoking can also be dangerous. To the

contrary, it simply suggests that smoking can make people violent.

**The editorial or imperial 'we'?**—"I don't think anyone would deny that there is something seriously wrong with our national mechanism. We are starving in a land of plenty. . . ."—From a speech to British businessmen by Prince Philip.

**Eat, baby**—Twenty-five percent of baby food tested by Consumers Union contained filth, including rodent hairs, insects, and paint chips from enamel jar lids. Industry representatives were agreed in the philosophic view that nothing much could be done about this, although a Beechnut official agreed it's "a repugnant thought."

## By Any Means Necessary

### Baxter Smith



# Bermuda union fights U.S. company

[The following column was written during a vacation trip in August.]

HAMILTON, Bermuda—Good grief, here it was four in the afternoon, way out on the North Shore Road, super-heat from the subtropical sun was giving the hills in the distance a melted look, and for some unusual reason traffic was tied up and reduced to a crawl. Even the four vacationing militants from New York City could sense something wasn't cricket.

"What's the holdup?" one of the vacationing militants asked a perspiring, short-pantsed police officer who was detouring the Hamilton-bound traffic.

"A bloody demonstration," he replied, waving on the traffic and looking pestered.

A bloody demonstration, the vacationing militant thought, conjuring the picture of a cop attack on a peaceful protest. Then he recalled the different language expressions in this British island colony, 570 miles off the coast of North Carolina.

The demonstration was a ten-mile march of 400 people on August 27. It was called by the Bermuda Industrial Union (BIU) to protest an antiunion, open-shop construction operation on the U.S. air force base.

Kemmons Wilson is the owner of the U.S. construction company that is building 250 housing

units on the base at a cost of \$9.6 million.

Wilson, who is also chairman of the board of Holiday Inn, Inc., brought most of the skilled workers and laborers from the States. He has hired some Bermudians but has refused to recognize the BIU and thus isn't contributing to the local workers' pension, medical, and vacation funds.

The BIU, which is somewhat similar to a labor federation, brought out workers from its hotel, printers, public works, and other divisions to support the affected workers in the construction division. Thirty or so government workers who took a half-day off for the march were threatened with dismissal. If Wilson fails to come to terms, the BIU is considering strike action.

Demonstrators—nearly all of whom were Black—in addition to carrying signs protesting Wilson's policies, carried signs opposing foreign and big-business domination of the island, and in support of independence.

Several days after the march, one of the vacationing militants learned more about the issues and problems on the island during interviews with BIU leaders.

Business leaders are always worried about the loss of income during a strike or job action because of the high standard of living on the island, BIU President Ottiwell Simmons said, "and our recent march shows them that the union has the courage

to stand up for its members."

Unemployment is high—6 percent officially. Blacks, who comprise about 60 percent of the population of 55,000, have the highest unemployment rate.

Of the 27,000 in the work force, 9,000 are expatriates, mostly whites from England who get the island's better jobs. Add to this the government's racist immigration policy, and a history of slavery and present-day discrimination that for young Blacks often means rough treatment from cops, who are more plentiful here than in nearly any other country, and you can get the kind of Black rebellions that shook the island in 1968 and 1972.

Universal suffrage came in 1968, but Blacks—most of whom support the labor party, which favors independence—have been gerrymandered on the electoral front ever since.

"Oh, sure, we've got a few Black ministers with portfolios in the government, but it's just a few white families that rule," said Doreen Lightbourn, assistant editor of the BIU paper, *Worker's Voice*. Lightbourn is a big woman with big eyes, a big outlook, and a big contempt for injustice.

"So you've got Black bitching at Black and the big, fat white sitting above it all with a smug look on his face. Now isn't that something?"

Then she laughed a big laugh.

## Women In Revolt

### Linda Jenness



# Acclaim for 'Woman's Evolution'

*Woman's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family* by Evelyn Reed is being read and discussed by a wide variety of people. With 13,000 copies sold, reviews of the book are continuing to appear.

The feminist press has been among the first to acclaim the book. The August 1975 *Women's Guide to Books* says, "It is an instant classic—512 pages long, the product of 20 years of research, the definitive work on evolutionary theory as it relates to women."

This tribute comes on top of praise from *Majority Report*, where Pam McAllister wrote, "It is time for women to reclaim their buried history, arm themselves with well-documented studies and, with heightened self-confidence, join the debate."

And in the *Spokeswoman* Jill Sellers says, "*Woman's Evolution* is an engrossing book, and its theory linking oppression to property is immeasurably more satisfying than theories linking oppression to childbearing. Whether we want to have

children or not, it is a low blow indeed to call this capacity a disability, and blame our status on our physiology."

Carol Dix wrote in the *Guardian* in London, "I ploughed into her theories and findings and, I have to admit, unearthed a gem." Also from London, the *Evening Standard* wrote, "The world has been a patriarchy only for the last 6000 years. . . . For one million years before that women led the way. . . . Evelyn Reed is one of the big feminist success stories of the year."

Other reviews include:

• John Stoltenberg, *WIN* magazine, July 31: "A brilliant and fascinating refutation of patriarchy's favorite historical error . . . that the father-family has always existed. . . ."

• *New Times*, from Illinois, July 1975: "A book for those who are serious about the women's movement and the struggle for women's liberation. . . ."

• M.J. Betzold, *Fifth Estate*, June 5-11: "Wom-

*an's Evolution* will probably be the most popular book on anthropology ever written. . . . Psychology, sociology, history and most other social sciences have been shaken in the last decade by feminists who have begun to refute the patriarchal lies that have passed for scientific research. Anthropology has been largely untouched however until *Woman's Evolution*."

• Joanne Von Blon, *Minneapolis Tribune*, June 1: "Evelyn Reed uncovers an ancient matriarchal clan system and as she carefully fits together all the shards of information, the shape that emerges as the creative and powerful force behind our ascent from ape to human is decidedly female."

Evelyn Reed begins another speaking tour this fall. Her tour will take her to St. Louis, Detroit, and Philadelphia, and then to Ireland. For more information about her tour, or to order a copy of *Woman's Evolution*, write to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.



# THE CHICAGO CONSPIRACY



Mayor Daley

Hanrahan

Lt. Grubisic

Sutton

'Cicero Sam'

Stewart

**How Mayor Daley's 'red squad' conspired with ultraright terrorists of the Legion of Justice in armed attacks on antiwar, Black, and socialist groups.**

**By Cindy Jaquith**

CHICAGO—In unprecedented public confessions, members of a paramilitary, fascist-like gang, the Legion of Justice, have admitted that their attacks on socialists, Blacks, and antiwar activists were financed, supplied, and directed by the Chicago Police Department and the U.S. Army.

The disclosures by Legion gangsters Thomas Stewart and Stephen Sedlacko—made both on television and in court under oath—are unique in detailing how government agents actually led a right-wing terrorist band, with the knowledge and complicity of high public officials.

The confessions cast the Legion's wave of terror in an entirely new light. In 1969 and 1970, when the Legion carried out its armed attacks on Illinois movement groups, it was dismissed by the capitalist press as a "nut group." The victims of Legion assaults had to wage an uphill battle to publicize the seriousness of the attacks and the role of city officials in covering them up.

Today, the Legion's true face as an arm of local and federal spy agencies has been exposed. The fact that the group had the financial and military backing of the government underscores the danger its attacks presented.

## Posed as 'patriots'

Posing as "patriots," the members of the Legion of Justice began their violent activities in 1969, at the height of the massive movement against the war in Vietnam. Dedicated to the proposition that "treason must be punished," Legion thugs attacked antiwar demonstrations, socialist headquarters, radical bookstores, Soviet cultural groups, and movement coffeehouses.

Tire irons, mace, blackjacks, and eventually guns were their weapons. They were also equipped with sophisti-

cated electronic surveillance devices, including bugs.

The most serious Legion actions were the following:

- **November 1, 1969:** A raid on Chicago offices of Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers party, in which occupants were clubbed and maced and files stolen.

- **December 4, 1969:** Chicago police murdered Black Panther party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in early morning. That evening thirty cops—some with guns drawn—burst into SWP headquarters, claiming they had received a report of a gun fight.

Just prior to cops' arrival, SWP officials around the country received phone calls from persons pretending to be Chicago party leaders, claiming

that people had been "tommy-gunned" at Chicago SWP headquarters.

- **December 6, 1969:** Another Legion raid, this time on Dekalb, Illinois, apartment of some YSA members. Occupants were clubbed and maced; all victims were sent to hospital.

- **December 10, 1969:** Death threat from Legion pinned to door of Chicago SWP organizer, Richard Hill.

- **February 3, 1970:** Legion vandals invaded Guild Bookstore, macing owner and ruining literature.

- **March 11, 1970:** Legion thugs tried to bust way in to Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal at Palacio Theater.

- **June 26, 1970:** Our Lady of the Mount Church robbed by Legion members carrying guns. Records on "Conspiracy Seven" defense committee were

stolen and priests told to get out of town.

- **June 27, 1970:** YSA and SWP offices burglarized again; literature destroyed and equipment stolen.

- **August 26, 1970:** Tear gassing of Russian Moiseyev Dance Company performance.

- **December 1972:** Tear gassing of performance by Chinese Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe.

*Each of these attacks was under the direction of the Chicago red squad and/or the 113th Military Intelligence Group of the United States Army.*

## Daley spy scandal

The hidden story of the cops' involvement in the Legion of Justice began to come out last spring, during

*Continued on next page*

## The White House connection

CHICAGO—"I feel they were directly involved—or if not as such—they were indirectly involved," said Thomas Stewart when asked if the White House played a role in the Legion of Justice violence.

Stewart, a member of the Legion, was describing the gang's fascist-like attacks to interviewers on Chicago's WTTW-TV.

Asked how he knew the Nixon administration was involved with the Legion, Stewart said he could not reveal his evidence because "I would feel I would be in danger of death. . . ."

The grand jury studying Chicago police spying also has some evidence, according to WTTW-TV. The station reported April 23 that at least one Watergate figure is being investigated by the grand jury for alleged links to the Legion.

White House ties to the Legion have also been confirmed by John O'Brien, a former spy for the 113th Military Intelligence Group. O'Brien first broke the story of army involvement in the Legion's attacks.

Testifying at 1973 hearings on the Chicago Seven trial, O'Brien admitted that in 1969 he met with Watergater G. Gordon Liddy. O'Brien did not disclose what transpired at the meeting.

Addressing a class at Northeastern Illinois University in the spring of 1975, O'Brien said he feels that, in retrospect, the whole Legion affair was a precursor to the 1970 Huston spy plan. The use of burglary, wiretapping, and infiltration; the distribution of "intelligence" throughout the federal spy network; and the use of right-wing cover groups for these operations all smack of the plan approved by

Nixon in the summer of 1970.

The use of the Huston plan against the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers party—both victims of the Legion, as well—is the subject of a \$27 million lawsuit filed by the two socialist organizations in 1973. The suit is being supported by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

PRDF National Secretary Syd Stapleton said, "The facts that have come out about the Legion of Justice are startling proof of our charges. The revelations show that a conspiracy between the federal government, local red squad, and ultrarightists existed to deny the socialists, and many others, their constitutional rights.

"Our suit is aimed at halting exactly this kind of illegal activity. The Legion of Justice disclosures will aid us in doing that."

Continued from preceding page

revelations about Mayor Richard Daley's use of the red squad to illegally spy on hundreds of community groups, civil rights organizations, antiwar activists, and Democratic and Republican politicians.

In March, a Cook County grand jury was convened to hear the charges against Chicago cops, with State's Attorney Bernard Carey heading up the investigation. Carey, a Republican, defeated Daley crony Edward Hanrahan in the last election, thus putting an opponent of Daley in charge of the powerful state's attorney's office.

Since the investigation began, Daley and Police Supt. James Rochford have bitterly opposed it. Rochford brashly declared that spying on "violent" organizations "will continue despite the cost to me personally."

Daley has tried to present surveillance as just another "public service" for the citizens of Chicago. In a document filed in July, answering a lawsuit by spy victims, his attorneys stated that "at all relevant times [the police] were acting to preserve and protect the peace and order of the community and to promote the general public health, safety and welfare."

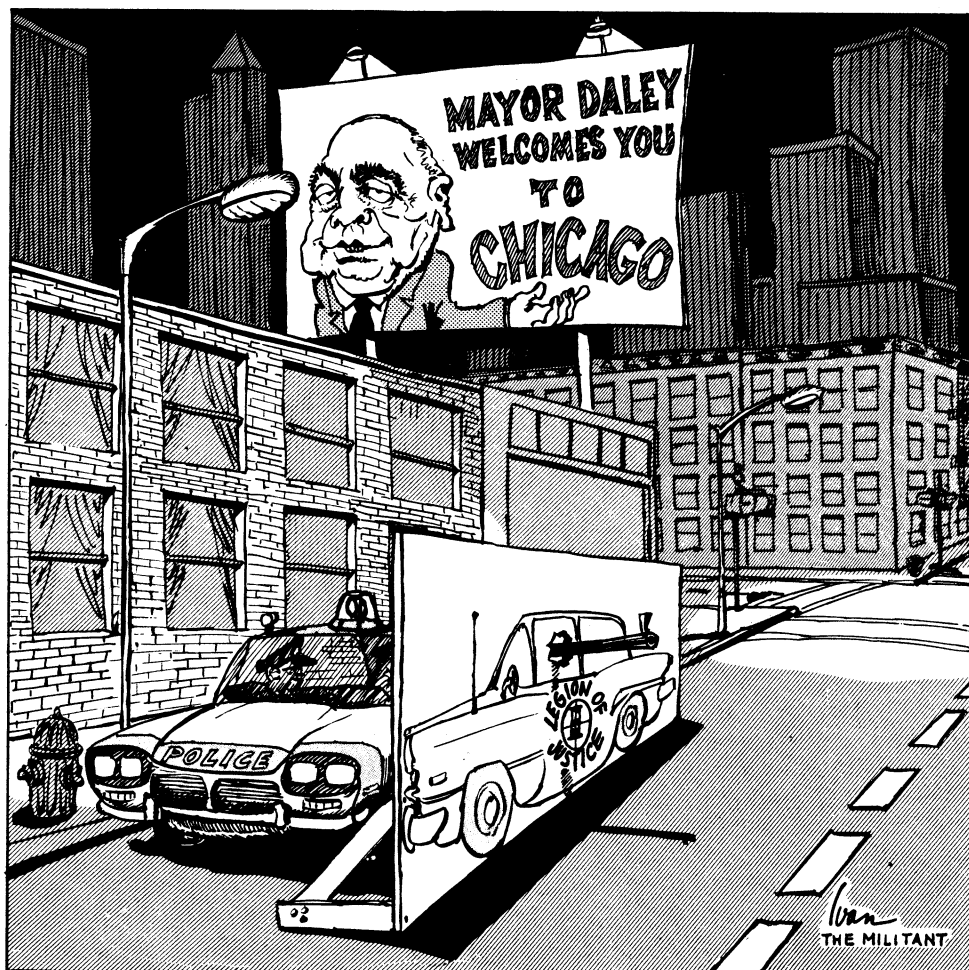
But the people of Chicago were already beginning to learn how Daley's "finest" went about protecting their "health." In a series of *Chicago Daily News* articles, reporters Larry Green and Rob Warden had begun to tell the story of the red squad-Legion connection.

Then, in July, Legion member Thomas Stewart went to court. Stewart had been convicted for the 1970 Our Lady of the Mount Church robbery. He remained out of jail, however, awaiting an appeal. When he lost the appeal, he filed a motion for a new trial, stating that he was set up for the conviction by his attorney, the leader of the Legion of Justice, S. Thomas Sutton.

#### 'It would all come out'

Stewart claims he did not commit the church robbery, but that Sutton would not let him take the stand in his own defense, because "if I testified it would come out that he was—Mr. Sutton was involved, and the police involvement, and all the rest of it."

At hearings on his request for a new trial (see transcript on following pages) Stewart has detailed dozens of secret



meetings where Legion members, red squad cops, and Military Intelligence agents cooked up their raids. For each attack, the Legion supplied the foot soldiers, the army provided the weapons, and the cops stood lookout.

To grasp the magnitude of this conspiracy against democratic rights, it is necessary to retrace the racist, profascist history of Sutton's political activities.

#### Antibusing leader

In 1966, Sutton joined with Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan, and neighborhood "antibusing" organizations in mob actions against demonstrations for open housing and school desegregation in the Chicago area. Sutton led an outfit called "Operation Crescent," which boasted that it provided its members with "battle kits" to combat civil rights demonstrators.

Sutton helped incite the violence by racist whites that greeted the open-housing marches in Chicago led by Rev. Martin Luther King. One of

Sutton's bodyguards, "Cicero Sam" Oleinick, earned his nickname for beating up Blacks at that time.

In 1968, Sutton ran unsuccessfully for governor of Illinois in the Republican primary. He then ran as an "independent" in the race, on a segregationist platform.

Meanwhile, the antiwar movement was beginning to attract millions of people. The campuses were swept by protests against the genocide in Vietnam and racism at home.

On a national scale, the FBI and CIA began stepping up their drive to sabotage peace forces and crush the student movement. J. Edgar Hoover's "Counterintelligence Program" to "disrupt and neutralize" the socialist, antiwar, and Black movements went into high gear.

In Chicago, Sutton began turning his attention more toward the Vietnam issue and the campuses. He became the "attorney" for a right-wing group called Vietnam Veterans Association, which worked out of the campaign offices of George Wallace.

On May 5, 1969, the ultrarightist attorney made his first public appearance under the Legion of Justice banner. He spoke at the University of Illinois, Circle Campus, on "How elite white students can organize and train to defeat S.D.S. 'scum' and black racists at their own revolution."

#### 'There will be a bloodbath'

One suburban newspaper gave a flavor for the fascist rhetoric employed by Sutton, quoting from a later speech he gave at Chicago's Northeastern Illinois University:

"Sutton called for the formation of a 'right-wing terrorists underground.'"

"I want," he said, "to make the Sen. Joe McCarthy era look like a love-in, to make the French Revolution look like a tea party. There will be a blood bath and people will suffer."

This raving reactionary was the man chosen by the cops and the army to operate the Legion of Justice as a front for their attacks on the left.

Sutton is now dead. But while alive, he did not work alone. On the one hand, he collaborated with Thomas Filkins, special operations director of Military Intelligence in nearby Evanston. On the other hand, he worked with red squad members, who themselves functioned in the Legion.

As Stewart tells it, meetings with cops and army agents were a routine event, taking place either at a motorcycle store, known as the Chop Shop, or at the Smoky Hollow bar, both located on Chicago's Northwest side.

Today, the outside of the Smoky

Hollow is plastered with antibusing signs in solidarity with the racist forces in Louisville, Kentucky, and Boston. The bar's owner, Steven Telow, earned his own credentials as an antibusing leader back in the 1960s.

The main owner of the Chop Shop, Joseph Miede, is now dead.

#### Police role

In testimony at his hearing, Stewart explains that the cops and Military Intelligence agents would approach the Legion with requests for specific raids, and then would supply whatever weapons, tools, and protection were needed.

One cop, Joseph Grubisic, played a central leadership role in Legion strategy.

Today, Lieutenant Grubisic is the head of Chicago police intelligence. Other red squad officers named by Stewart as active in the Legion are also still on the force: James Fitzgibbons, Raymond Vase, and James Nolan.

Stewart said the cops often cased a target office for the Legion and then parked cars outside the office during the raid. Three squad cars "covered" for the Legion burglars when they robbed the radical Newsreel film office in 1969, for example. When the Legion made its June 27, 1970, attack on the YSA and SWP offices, Lieutenant Grubisic and another cop kept guard out front, Stewart testified.

He added that for that particular operation, the raiding party left directly from police headquarters! "We went down behind the police station," recalled Stewart, "and met the other people there in the parking lot of the police station."

After each raid, the stolen materials were brought back to the Chop Shop or the Smoky Hollow, where they were parceled out to the police and Military Intelligence.

Once the army got hold of the files, they were distributed to the FBI, Secret Service, naval intelligence, and other agencies in Washington as a matter of routine. Materials were also distributed to the ultraright Minutemen. YSA members as far away as Austin, Texas, received Legion threats.

#### Electronic surveillance

Sometimes, instead of stealing from movement offices, the Legion left something—a bug. At least two headquarters—that of the American Friends Service Committee and the liberal Independent Voters of Illinois—were bugged by the Legion, using equipment supplied by Military Intelligence.

For his "patriotic services," Stewart received \$100 a week for "expenses." The money came from Military Intelligence.

The Legion members' salaries were a small price to pay for what the government got in return. The Legion's "intelligence gathering," as Stewart calls it, supplied the cops with membership lists, financial records, and other documents. Victims were hospitalized, equipment smashed, and funds stolen.

These attacks were consciously aimed at disrupting the activities of Black, antiwar and socialist groups, at terrorizing activists, and at driving away potential supporters. The hands of the cops and the Pentagon remained "clean" in the process, because the Legion would always take credit for the raids.

The Legion members were explicitly told that their target groups had no claim to democratic rights. As their messiah Sutton put it after the first raid on the YSA, "We find that there is no law that can protect a traitor."

Stewart, in a recent interview on Chicago's WTTW-TV, described the attacks as if they were search-and-destroy missions: "It was simply a matter of obtaining intelligence files on what were termed subversive organizations. . . . The YSA, SDS were considered the enemy. Any antiwar

## 'I am not a crook'

"The charges [of Legion-cop complicity] are false and are made by a group that knows the charges are false. . . . It is about time the public learned that both the right- and left-wing groups in our society have a common, concerted purpose: to create public distrust of the administration of criminal justice."

—State's Attorney  
Edward Hanrahan,  
April 1970

"The Chicago Police Department has long had an outstanding record for moving swiftly to arrest any vigilantes or other persons who take the law into their own hands."

—Francis Sullivan, Chicago Police Department, April 1970

" . . . there was no army involvement in, direction of, or support to the Legion of Justice."

—Maj. Philip Fogle, U.S. Army information office, Pentagon, April 1975

"All the way along the line I had complete confidence in the fact that I was working for a number of government agencies and the police and I had nothing at all to worry about. . . . Information came from Hanrahan's office. . . . we were aware of everything they were doing."

—Thomas Stewart, Legion of Justice member, 1975

"In conversations and in my work with the police department and other agencies, I was advised that, for example, if I was at a demonstration and I broke windows or did something violent, that I wouldn't have to worry about it. I would just make a phone call and they—I would be let out."

—Thomas Stewart, July 1975

"[I received] somewhere between—approximately a hundred dollars a week in 1969, which was mainly for expense money. . . . [The funds] were supplied by Military Intelligence. . . . the 113th Military Intelligence Group."

—Thomas Stewart, July 1975



group was considered the enemy."

The fact that they were immune from arrest emboldened the Legion gangsters.

"All the way along the line I had complete confidence in the fact that I was working for a number of government agencies and the police and I had nothing at all to worry about," Stewart said in the WTTW interview.

Assurances of immunity were received from State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, he explained. "It was implied through Sutton and through the police officers. . . . Information came from Hanrahan's office. Whether it came through one of Hanrahan's people or one of the police officers, I'm not sure. . . . But we were aware of everything they were doing."

In the event of prosecution for their crimes, Stewart testifies, the red squad

Waxman asked the judge.

Sedlacko did offer testimony on a power struggle within the Legion leadership near the end of the group's wave of terror. He said that Lieutenant Grubisic wanted to wrest control of the Legion from Sutton, so that Grubisic could deal directly with Military Intelligence.

Whatever the disputes within the gang, the Legion's attacks tapered off in 1970 and it eventually ceased all public activity. The credit for breaking up this fascist-like formation must go to the antiwar, socialist, and civil liberties groups that united in a campaign to put the Legion out of business.

Recognizing the danger posed by Sutton's group, the SWP and YSA took the initiative in calling for a counteroffensive to expose the Legion and the

"... in the Chicago area, with immunity from the police and with the atmosphere created by Vice President Agnew's speeches and other Administration attempts to whip up a new witch-hunt hysteria, such movements can grow and become a very serious threat to civil liberties and the ability of movement organizations to operate unless they are countered effectively and quickly," he pointed out.

The socialists played a major role in setting up the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, also known as the DATA committee. It was endorsed by a broad range of activists, including leaders of many antiwar groups, student organizations, SWP, YSA, Young Workers Liberation League, Communist party, Independent Voters of Illinois, as well as trade-union officials and politicians.

The DATA committee concerned itself with all the Legion attacks, getting out the facts about each, and aiding in legal assistance for the victims.

It also confronted the police department, state's attorney's office, and city hall with telegrams and delegations, demanding an end to the legal immunity of the Legion thugs.

It was only through this persistent campaign that any of the Legion members came to trial at all. Even then the state's attorney's office managed to get almost every case against the Legion dismissed or the defendants acquitted—with the major exception of the Stewart conviction.

The story of how Stewart came to stand trial is itself testimony to the effectiveness of the DATA campaign. At his recent hearing, Stewart said that he had decided not to show up for his trial. He missed two consecutive hearing dates and was declared "at-large" by the cops.

But the DATA committee knew very well that the cops were capable of finding Stewart—if they wanted to. Finally DATA sent a delegation to Police Comdr. James Riordan on September 14, 1970, demanding that the fugitive be brought in.

### 'A lot of heat put on'

Less than twenty-four hours later, the police "found" Stewart and arrested him. At his hearing, Stewart described a conversation he had with Officer Fitzgibbons at the Chop Shop on surrendering:

"Officer Fitzgibbons told me that I was creating a lot of waves by not surrendering, that a lot of heat was being put on the police department and Hanrahan's office. I was getting people upset and there were delegations of—I am not sure if it was the IVI [Independent Voters of Illinois] or just Socialist Workers party and other organizations banded together complaining . . . about police collusion and if I turned myself in this would take the heat off, he said."

Legion members and their victims, including SWP members Laura Miller and Kitty Cone, who were in Chicago

at the time, have gone before the grand jury to testify. But the Daley machine is doing everything possible to thwart the investigation.

Intelligence division cops have been stationed in the witness waiting room, in an effort to intimidate potential witnesses. One former red squad cop, who participated in burglaries at two movement offices, says his life has been threatened.

The judge has clamped a gag rule on the investigators and the witnesses, but Mayor Daley and police officials have remained free to comment on the spy charges.

State's Attorney Carey, who is running the inquest, has himself hinted that the crooks may go free. "If there are no indictments," he told the *Chicago Tribune* in August, "so be it."

But public pressure may force the grand jury to indict at least some of those responsible for the Legion crimes.

In the meantime, the SWP and YSA are pressing forward with plans for their own campaign against the people who organized and carried out the Legion attacks. The socialists are consulting with attorneys to map out a plan of legal action to bring those responsible for the attacks on the SWP and YSA to justice.

"We are demanding that all the criminals involved be indicted," says Patricia Grogan, a spokesperson for the SWP. "We want to see Richard Daley, Edward Hanrahan, Joseph Grubisic and all the other responsible officials behind bars where they belong, along with their colleagues in Military Intelligence, the FBI, and other federal agencies."

### Open files

Grogan said the socialists are demanding that all the files on the Legion's wave of terror be opened. "We think the people of Chicago—who were beaten, burglarized, and spied on by this gang—now have a right to see the documents of the agencies that directed these attacks.

"Perhaps in those files we can find the answers to the many mysteries that remain in this scandal," she noted. "For example, whose idea was it to set up the Legion in the first place? In addition to the red squad and Military Intelligence, how many other government agencies did S. Thomas Sutton work for?"

"How many other 'Legions of Justice' are operating today in collusion with the government—in Boston, Louisville, and other cities rocked by racist white terror?"

"We intend to mount a massive drive to expose this use of right-wing gangs to silence the fighters against racism, war, and oppression," she said. "The campaign of the DATA committee against the Legion of Justice proved that a united effort against these thugs can force a halt to their attacks. We intend to wage an even bigger campaign to bring all the instigators of the Legion gang, from Daley on down, to justice."



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Legion of Justice 'headquarters,' the Smoky Hollow bar, is still a favorite spot for red squad cops and right-wing scum. Today bar is also a center for racist, antibusing movement.

met with Legion defendants to inform them of exactly what the state's case would be.

But the cops tried to avoid having to arrest the Legion thugs in the first place if possible. "I was advised that, for example, if I was at a demonstration and I broke windows or did something violent that I wouldn't have to worry about it," said Stewart. "I would just make a phone call and they—I would be let out." The number he called was Lieutenant Grubisic's.

Stewart's charges of cop complicity have been vehemently attacked by attorneys hired by Daley to defend the police department. But the basic story Stewart tells has been confirmed under oath by a second witness, Stephen Sedlacko. Sedlacko, a former Green Beret, was also in the Legion and directed many of its "strike forces."

Sedlacko testified that he led the 1970 church robbery Stewart was convicted for. Sedlacko was also indicted on that charge. But Sutton arranged for him to jump bail and gave him a phony passport and identification.

"I believe he obtained the identification from the federal government," said Sedlacko, who reportedly spent time in Colombia, New York, and California while underground.

When asked about his activities while underground, however, Sedlacko suddenly refused to testify any further. His attorney, Sheldon Waxman, said he is "in fear of his life."

"Wouldn't you be afraid of the CIA?"

protection it was receiving from city hall.

In an open letter dated December 15, 1969, SWP leader Fred Halstead sounded the alarm concerning the Legion's attacks. "While at this stage the danger is not comparable in degree to what has happened to the Black Panthers or at the Chicago conspiracy trial," he wrote, "it is part of the same general picture."

### Panther connection

It is now clear that the Legion's attacks must, in fact, have been coordinated with the attacks on the Panthers. At least on December 4, 1969. Given the detailed planning that went into each Legion operation, the December 4 "coincidence"—Panthers raided in the morning, the SWP at night—is no coincidence at all.

State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, whose office carried out the bloody Panther ambush, must have known about, and intended, to have the police stage a second raid that day, perhaps in the hopes that a similar slaughter would occur.

"The most serious aspect of the situation," Halstead warned, "is that the [Legion of Justice] has carried out violent illegal acts under immunity from the Chicago and DeKalb police departments. Indeed these departments have harassed the victims instead of moving against the criminals.

## Cop-Nazi plot in L.A.?

Chicago is not the only city where cops and politicians provide a haven for right-wing terrorists. In Los Angeles, Nazi and Cuban exile groups have taken credit for more than a dozen bombings since last February. None of the attackers have ever been arrested.

After a near-lethal bombing of the Socialist Workers party headquarters in Los Angeles on February 4, the National Socialist Liberation Front, one of the Nazi groups, openly claimed credit for the attack. "We know the cops aren't interested if we bomb the left," boasted the front's leader, Joe Tommasi.

*The cops haven't made a single*

*arrest in this case. They claim they can't find any suspects.*

In light of the confessions by Legion of Justice members, revealing how they worked hand-in-hand with the Chicago police, state's attorney's office, and U.S. Army, the Nazi violence in Los Angeles takes on a new, even more serious meaning.

Are L.A. cops active in the leadership of the right-wing terror raids, as they were in Chicago? Is L.A. Mayor Tom Bradley providing legal immunity to the Nazis so they can continue their violence? Are the attacks coordinated with federal police agencies, such as the FBI or CIA?

—C.J.

# INSIDE THE LEGION OF JUSTICE



Legion director S. Thomas Sutton at 1969 news conference displaying 'treasonous' materials stolen from Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers party.

**The sworn testimony of Legion of Justice member Thomas Stewart, detailing how the Legion functioned as an extralegal arm of the Chicago police and the Pentagon.**

[The following are excerpts from the sworn testimony of Thomas Stewart, a member of the ultrarightist Legion of Justice, at court hearings held in Chicago on July 22, 28, and 29, 1975.

[In 1971 Stewart was convicted of armed robbery and assault in the Legion raid of a church where movement groups met. He was sentenced to two to eight years in prison. He has now filed a motion for a new trial; the current hearings are to determine if the case should be retried.]

**Question.** Will you describe the circumstances under which you met S. Thomas Sutton?

**Answer.** Yes, sir. In the early part of 1969 I saw a newspaper article that described a confrontation at the University of Illinois Circle Campus. A girl was beaten out there for showing a film. I made a contact to her and she introduced me to Mr. Sutton.

**Q.** And what, if anything, did Mr. Sutton represent himself or the Legion of Justice to be?

**A.** He represented it as an intelligence-gathering organization that worked for a number of government agencies and with the Subversive Intelligence Unit.

**Q.** What was his part in that organization?

**A.** He was the leader of the organization.

**Q.** What did he tell you his functions were?

**A.** His functions were primarily intelligence gathering. Gathering of intelligence files directed against antiwar groups, communist organizations, socialist organizations, and other subversive organizations. And, also, on some occasions harassment of leftist individuals and organizations.

**Q.** In reference to this organization, what representations did he make as to any additional connections that he may or might have had?

**A.** Representations were made to connections to Army intelligence, to various other military intelligence agencies, to the Chicago Police Department, Subversive Intelligence Unit.

**Q.** And in connection with those representations what, if anything, did Sutton say that he or his organization were going to do?

**A.** Well, sir, we were working for these agencies gathering intelligence information.

**Q.** Well, in reference to the red squad, am I correct in saying it was a red squad at the Chicago Police Department?

**A.** Well, sir, I refer to it as Subversive Intelligence Unit. It's referred to by some people as a red squad.

**Q.** Did you ever meet any members of that squad?

**A.** Yes, sir.

**Q.** Did you ever meet a Sergeant Grubisic, who is presently a lieutenant?

**A.** Yes, sir.

**Q.** Speaking of Sergeant Grubisic, how did you get to know him? Were you introduced to him?

## **John Birch Society**

**A.** I was introduced to him by other officers of the intelligence unit that I had met at John Birch Society meetings.

**Q.** Did Sergeant Grubisic identify his job with the Chicago Police Department?

**A.** Yes, sir, he did. At those meetings I had occasion to be introduced to Officer Fitzgibbons of the Subversive Intelligence Unit, Officer Raymond Vase of the Subversive Intelligence Unit, and other Chicago police officers, who I am not certain of whether they were working for the subversive unit or they were ordinary Chicago police officers.

**Q.** In meetings that were held at the Legion of Justice did either Sergeant Grubisic, Officer Nolan, or Fitzgibbons attend any of those meetings?

**A.** Sir, they attended meetings with members of the Legion of Justice.

**The court.** What meetings are you talking about?



A. I am talking about meetings with Mr. Sutton, meetings with me, meetings with Mr. Sedlacko, meetings with Mr. Miede at the motorcycle shop [a Legion hangout], and other contacts that Mr. Miede had that worked with the Legion of Justice. That would have been meetings, perhaps, before—not perhaps, but, before and after an operation, intelligence-gathering operation was conducted. The police officers were advised of specifics and would supply information; cover, things of that nature.

### Our Lady of the Mount raid

Q. Did you ever attend a meeting wherein there were—there was conversation concerning a raid on Our Lady of the Mount?

A. Yes. I was present, Mr. Sutton was present, Mr. Sedlacko was present, Officer Fitzgibbons was present, and Mr. Miede was present.

Q. What, if anything, was discussed at that meeting, and who did the talking? Generally, what was the subject matter of that meeting?

A. The breaking into the church, Our Lady of the Mount, was discussed at that meeting. Mr. Sutton originally, as always, put forth the plan as far as breaking—put forth the plan to break into the church. He gave the reason, as always; he was the one that controlled the meeting. At the time the objective was to obtain files that were relating to the Conspiracy Seven defense.

Officer Fitzgibbons took the role of supplying background information on priests and their connections to Father Groppi; in fact, connections to one of them, Father Flynn to the Saul Alinsky Institute. Father Flynn was supposed to have been trained there, as was Father Groppi.

### Requested police cover

[At another meeting] as I recall it, Mr. Sedlacko requested a cover for this operation, as in others, we had been supplied in other operations. And Officer Nolan was going to get back to him on that. And he was also—he also requested that he check out the security system of the church.

Q. And what, if anything, was said then?

A. [At a third meeting] Officer Nolan reported back that he was unable—they were unable to provide a cover. However, they advised Mr. Sedlacko that there was no burglar alarm system.

\* \* \*

[When Stewart's trial for the church raid came up] I told Mr. Sutton that I wanted to testify in my own behalf, to tell exactly what happened, what I knew, the fact that I wasn't there. And he said I couldn't do that.

Q. Was there any conversation at or about this time in connection with your wanting to give testimony that referred to the Legion of Justice or his own participation in this thing?

A. At that time the conversations were, as I remember, were that I could not bring anything out about the Legion of Justice because if I testified—if I testified it would come out that he was—Mr. Sutton was involved, and the police involvement, and all the rest of it. And that was another reason that he pointed to me besides not having to worry about it.

\* \* \*

[The following testimony is under cross-examination.]

### Purpose of Legion of Justice

Q. What did you understand the purpose of the Legion of Justice to be?

A. I understood them to be intelligence gathering, to gather physical documents, membership lists, financial records of subversive organizations.

Q. So that you intended, and you did, gather intelligence against organizations that you thought were harmful to this country?

A. Yes, sir. Not only that I thought were harmful but what others directed me to do.

Q. Well, talking about Mr. Sutton, did he tell you that the YSA was an organization harmful to the United States of America?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What, in particular, did he tell you about that organization?

A. That they were a communist organization, they were revolutionaries, and were causing chaos on the campuses, and that they were, in general, a danger to our country.

Q. Did you believe that?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you believe that today?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, you said others told you things about the YSA. Who were those other people?

A. Members of the Subversive Intelligence Unit.

Q. What did they tell you about the YSA?

A. Basically the same thing that Mr. Sutton told me.

Q. Did Mr. Sutton ever tell you that the YSA was violating any laws of the State of Illinois or the United States of America?

### 'YSA members were traitors'

A. The only law I remember him relating to me was that they were traitors and treasonous individuals.

Q. And is that why you began infiltrating the YSA?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you do insofar as infiltrating? What, actually, did you say that you were? Who did you tell the people there that you were and what did you do?

A. Well, the first time that I came to the office on Canal Street there was an individual that I knew from high school; so, I had to use my correct name. I told them I was sympathetic to their cause, I wanted to know a little more about it, that I was against the war in Vietnam, and basically some issues that I had been briefed on before.

Q. Now, what happened as a result of your initial conversations with them?

A. I attended other meetings and struck up somewhat of a friendship with some people there in the organization. And I gathered any intelligence information I could obtain, physical.

Q. When you say "gathered" you mean stole? Did you steal them?

A. On some occasions, yes.

In conversations and in my work with the police department and other agencies, I was advised that, for example, if I was at a demonstration and I broke windows or did something violent that I wouldn't have to worry about it. I would just make a phone call and they—I would be let out.

Q. Who were you to make a phone call to?

A. As I remember, I was directed by Mr. Miede; I was given a phone number. And, as I remember, it was Sergeant Grubisic.

Q. So, in effect, you were led to believe or were told that you had immunity from prosecution insofar as things you did wrong; is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. You were told you had nothing to worry about if you broke the law; is that correct?

A. Yes. But, I didn't consider it breaking the law.

Q. So, if you broke somebody's window and if that particular somebody didn't want their window broken you didn't consider that breaking the law?

A. No, sir, only in reference to the activities, intelligence gathering; or, say, at a left-wing demonstration, a confrontation. Only something relating to the activity I was—that I was doing or that I was ordered to do.

Q. Were you ever told to commit other offenses against the laws of the State of Illinois, other than involving the YSA and the planning of the Our Lady of the Mount case?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. These instances of breaking the law, are they the same as intelligence-gathering operations?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many such intelligence-gathering operations did you go on?

A. I would say a half a dozen. Specifically, I can think of four major ones that I recall.

Q. What were those four?

A. The breaking into Young Socialist Alliance office at 302 South Canal.

A. Breaking into the Young Socialist headquarters at DeKalb.

Q. Next?

A. Breaking into the Guild Bookstore.

Q. Next intelligence-gathering operation?

A. The break-in to the Young Socialist Alliance office at 180 North Wacker.

Q. This is a second—this is at a different office?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, insofar as any of these other offenses, were you ever charged with crimes?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Which ones, other than the first one and other than the Our Lady of the Mount case that is in court today?

A. The break-in to the Young Socialist Alliance office at 180 North Wacker.

### Privy to state's evidence

Q. And did he [Sutton] tell you, as you told us before, that you had nothing to worry about insofar as that case?

A. Yes, sir. I remember before we went to trial Officer Fitzgibbons obtained information as to what evidence did exist.

Q. How did you learn about that?

A. Through Mr. Sutton and through Officer Fitzgibbons.

Q. Well, tell us how you learned of these things?

A. Well, Mr. Sutton obtained the information from Officer Fitzgibbons; he must have told him to do it, to obtain it. Later I talked to Officer Fitzgibbons at the motorcycle shop.

Q. Now, what did Officer Fitzgibbons tell you about your upcoming case insofar as the Young Socialist Alliance office at 180 North Wacker?

A. He told me the nature of the evidence the state had, which consisted of a fingerprint off of the cash box.

\* \* \*

Q. Now, anyway, when you went there [to the YSA and SWP offices at 180 North Wacker Drive] on June 26 and 27 [1970] you knew where you were going; is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. Who had ordered you to go there?

A. Mr. Sutton.

Q. What did he tell you to do when you got there?

A. To collect all the files, all the documents in the office.

### Files turned over to gov't

Q. And do what with them?

A. I don't remember specifically being told what to do with the documents. Mr. Sedlacko was in charge of that operation. The files were, as I remember, taken to the motorcycle shop where members of the police department made copies of what they thought were valuable. Other copies were turned over to Military Intelligence.

\* \* \*

Q. Would there have been a conversation in which some member of the Chicago Police Department told you, do you know there's something going on at the Guild Bookstore?

A. Yes, sir, I was made aware of the Guild Bookstore.

Q. What did they tell you, "There's traitors running a bookstore," or something of that nature?

### Infiltration of SDS

A. Well, sir, at one point in 1969 I was directed by the officers and Mr. Sutton to frequent and to infiltrate a number of organizations along Lincoln Avenue. It involved SDS and other subversive organizations. The Guild Bookstore would have fallen into that category, being it was in the same general vicinity. I made the rounds rather frequently, a couple of times a week.

\* \* \*

Q. Now, did you, prior to going there [to the Newsreel office] late 1969, did you have a conversation with anybody about that intelligence-gathering operation at that address?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was that?

A. Mr. Sutton.

Q. And this—

A. And there were two gentlemen that were from Military Intelligence.

Q. Now, how long before the actual operation did you have the first meeting?

A. For several months in the summer or fall, it was the summer of 1969, I conducted a surveillance at the request of Mr. Sutton, and infiltrated the organization. On one particular time that I was at the office, which was a Sunday afternoon, a particular film depicting—the film had come from Hanoi, and it depicted in one portion of it an American plane that was shot down. And later in the film several flyers being paraded through the streets of Hanoi. I reported back to Mr. Sutton. And, as I remember it, sometime after that, which would have put it, say, within a month's time between the time I first saw the film and the film was taken.

Q. Where did that conversation take place?

A. Planning meetings were held either at Smoky Hollow Tavern, which was used somewhat as a headquarters, or Mr. Sutton's office in Elmhurst.

### Army wanted film stolen

Q. Which of the members present at that meeting set forth the reason that the film was to be obtained?

A. One of the members from Military Intelligence.

Q. What was stated on that subject?

A. They told me that it was very significant, the fact that photographs of at least three or a number of American pilots that were alive, prisoners of war,

*Continued on next page*

Continued from preceding page

were shown in the film. And it would be helpful or advantageous for the families, mainly because of the fact they were prisoners of war.

Q. Now, what happened next insofar as the operation to enter the Newsreel establishment?

A. Well, I made a phone call to the office, told them I was going to—identified myself to the party, who knew me by name, at least, told them I wanted to pick up some copies of their newspaper and I would be by in a few minutes.

A few minutes later I went to the door, party came down and recognized me, opened the door. And I proceeded to go up the stairs and the other individuals in the group took the SDS or whoever he was, along with them up the stairs.

I walked in past the person that was from SDS or from Newsreel. And the other individuals on the team followed me. And they subdued him, I guess I would say, along the way, took him upstairs with them.

Once they were taken upstairs several members of the entry team who had been supplied with Mace pointed cans of Mace at the individuals and told them not to move. And up to a certain point they didn't move at all. Two individuals who were doing some carpentry work did not do anything.

Later on in the occurrence the one person that opened the door did put up some resistance and he was Maced and he was beaten at a later time.

### Destruction 'usual procedure'

Q. Is it true that in these intelligence-gathering operations that you were free to destroy property or harass people if that was your whim to do so?

A. That would depend, sir. It depends upon a particular incident. If the primary mission was obtained, if the documents, in this instance the film, was obtained safely, well, then, that was the usual procedure.

Q. Harassment or destruction was usual procedure?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have a little victory party at Mr. Sutton's house after this operation?

A. You might call it that, sir. The films, some of the films, were viewed. He had arranged for a projector to be there. And I don't know if you would call it a party or not.

Q. Did you have any beer or pretzels or anything?

A. I think so.

\* \* \*

Q. How did you know that Officer James Nolan was interested in the YSA operation?

A. The number of meetings that were held such as the first planning meeting with Officer Fitzgibbons and meetings with other intelligence officers, they were interested in anything and everything in relation to gathering files. And that isn't something I would even question, that he was interested. In one way or the other I knew he was interested.

### Cops at YSA raid

Q. Insofar as the YSA break-in at 180 North Wacker where your fingerprint was found, was there to be any police association with that operation?

A. I don't—when you say police association, what do you mean, sir?

Q. I mean were they to be present?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you learn that?

A. From Mr. Sedlacko. And also from personal observation.

Q. Tell us what you mean by that?

A. Outside of the premises there was an unmarked squad [car] with an individual. As best as I can identify him, it was in the evening, it was Sergeant Grubisic and another officer in the car.

Q. When you were leaving there were you carrying anything?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What were you carrying?

A. Files, boxes of files and bags of files.

Q. What hour was this?

A. I would—around midnight.

Q. And you were not stopped by anybody as you left there?

A. No, sir.

Q. Now, what did you understand Mr. Sedlacko to mean by cover?

A. Well, what that means is that if in any of these operations, as happened at the Palacio Theater, where the regular police, a regular police officer, a uniformed police officer, was called onto the scene, the intelligence unit officers would clear the matter up. And that's how I understood it to mean.

Q. So, cover was some sort of fictitious story

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**'The files were taken to the motorcycle shop, where the police made copies of what they thought were valuable. Other copies were turned over to Military Intelligence.'**

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**'In conversations with the police and other agencies I was advised that if I broke windows or did something violent I wouldn't have to worry about it.'**

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**'The YSA was a communist organization, they were revolutionaries, were causing chaos on the campuses, and were a danger to our country.'**

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wherein charges could be dropped?

A. No, sir, where no charges would be instituted to begin with.

Q. So, some sort of a story that the intelligence unit of the police department would tell other units of the police department so that you wouldn't be arrested?

A. Yes, sir.

[Second day of testimony]

\* \* \*

### Tear-gas attacks

Q. Now, you were—as we broke off on cross-examination last time you told us, I believe, that in addition to the offenses that you told us about, that you committed other offenses that we did not have time to get into, is that correct?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Would you tell us what you meant by other offenses?

A. One of them would have been the tear gassing of or the attempted tear gassing of a Young Socialist Alliance political party.

Q. Did you ever use tear gas or similar-type bombs in any other operations?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Name one of them.

A. The tear gassing of the Bolshoi [Moiseyev] ballet.

Q. Did you have tear-gas bombs with you at that time?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many?

A. One tear-gas bomb and two smoke bombs.

Q. And can you describe them in more detail than that?

A. Yes, sir. The tear-gas grenade was a round baseball-type CS grenade.

Q. Was there a reason put forth by Mr. Sutton as to why this would be a good thing to do or even a necessary thing to do?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did he say?

### Dancers were 'KGB agents'

A. That the Soviet dance troupe, even though it was a—supposedly coming to this country for the purpose of bettering relations among the people—among the dance troupe there were supposed to have been Russian agents, KGB agents, and also that those who supported something like this were un-American.

Q. What was the subject of the meeting on August 27, the day after the bombs were thrown?

A. I remember its being a session to get together more or less patting ourselves on the back. Officer Fitzgibbons seemed very pleased with the operation. Everyone seemed very pleased. I don't recall anything else being discussed.

### Paid gov't agents

Q. Incidentally, was there any money or monetary remuneration that changed hands for the services that you were performing?

A. Sir, I decline to answer that on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

*The court:* The court has ruled you must answer the question.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you receive that monetary payment, check or cash?

A. Cash, sir.

Q. Who gave you the cash?

A. Some occasions Mr. Sutton, on other occasions Mr. Miede, sir.

Q. What amounts of cash are we talking about, hundreds of dollars?

A. The only way I can describe it, sir, is to give you an amount on a weekly basis.

Q. How much a week was it?

A. Somewhere between—approximately a hundred dollars a week in 1969, which was mainly for expense money.

\* \* \*

Q. Were any of the associates in the Legion of Justice members of the Minutemen?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was that?

A. Mr. Brettman was at one time.

### Military training with Minutemen

Q. Did you ever attend any meetings with the Minutemen members?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And were those meetings all in Chicago or were they other places?

A. They were other places, sir.

Q. What other places?



A. Norborne, Missouri.  
 Q. What was located in Norborne, Missouri?  
 A. The headquarters of the Minutemen.  
 Q. How many times did you go there?  
 A. Three occasions I think or two occasions, sir.  
 Q. You went there for what purpose?  
 A. To gather intelligence information to set up an operation.  
 Q. It was also to learn how to use certain weapons, wasn't it?  
 A. No, sir.  
 Q. Wasn't there any weapons in that place in Missouri?  
 A. No, sir.  
 Q. You didn't go on any kind of training sessions and use of different kinds of weapons?  
 A. No, sir.  
 Q. Did you ever possess any weapons in 1970?  
 A. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may incriminate me. [Court rules Stewart must answer.]  
 Q. What kind of weapons?  
 A. One was a rifle, the other was an AR-15. It's a military rifle, sir. The other was a Mark II submachine gun.  
 Q. By the way, did the Legion of Justice have access to an armored vehicle?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. Where was that?  
 A. Behind Smoky Hollow Tavern, sir.

#### Attacks continued in 1972

Q. In December of 1972 you went to see Mr. Miede at his motorcycle shop, is that correct?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. When is the last time before that you had been at the bike shop?  
 A. Shortly—in fact, I might have went over there to pick up a tear-gas grenade for the Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe.  
 Q. You were still engaged in Legion activities, weren't you?  
 A. What I said is I—it was not technically at that time Legion of Justice, sir.  
 Q. It was called something else?  
 A. It wasn't called anything, sir.  
 Q. It was the same people involved, wasn't it?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. Mr. Sutton?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. You were still working with Mr. Sutton in December of '72, weren't you?  
 A. Yes, sir.

\* \* \*

Q. When is the last time before the actual break-in on the night of the twenty-sixth [of June, 1970] that you discussed it with anybody?  
 A. I did with Mr. Sedlacko.  
 Q. Who else?  
 A. No one else discussed it. After that they were assigned their positions.  
 Q. And where did you discuss it with Mr. Sedlacko? By it I am referring to the YSA break-in.  
 A. In our car, sir.  
 Q. Where was the car?  
 A. At the time I am not certain. I think he picked me up that day from work. We went down behind the police station and met the other people there in the parking lot of the police station.  
 Q. For the YSA break-in?  
 A. Yes, sir.

\* \* \*

[Third day of testimony]

#### Attempt to burn down office

Q. Going to the 180 North Wacker break-in for a moment, that is where you piled books and papers in the middle of the floor and covered them with paint isn't that right?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. And you put some flammable liquid besides the paint?  
 A. Not that I recall, sir, no.  
 Q. Was there another liquid on those papers and books besides paint, do you know?  
 A. All I remember, sir, is the liquid was thrown on them to destroy the books.  
 Q. And did it ever occur to you that the paint piled on those books in an old building might have started a fire?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. And the things you took with you, or at least your group, was a typewriter, isn't that right?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. And you took a tape recorder, right?  
 A. I think so, sir.  
 Q. And a checkbook or more than one checkbook, perhaps, but at least one checkbook, isn't that right?

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**'We tear gassed the Russian ballet, because among the dance troupe there were supposed to be KGB agents, and those who supported something like this were un-American.'**

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**'We went down behind the police station and met the other people there in the parking lot of the police station.'**

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**'Officer Fitzgibbons told me that a lot of heat was being put on the police department and Hanrahan's office . . . organizations were complaining about police collusion.'**

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A. That I don't recall.  
 Q. Was taking the typewriter and tape recorder part of your intelligence-gathering operation?  
 A. No, sir, I did not direct that to be taken.

\* \* \*

#### Victims beaten up

A. That was the break-in into the YSA office at 302 South Canal Street.  
 Q. Who was—somebody struck on that occasion?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. Who?  
 A. All the occupants of the premises.  
 Q. How many occupants?  
 A. Four, sir.  
 Q. And they were all four struck?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. You took part in that, didn't you?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. How many of you went on that one, 302?  
 A. I recall approximately ten individuals.

\* \* \*

[The remainder of the testimony is on redirect examination.]

Q. You testified that you received money from Mr. Sutton?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. And what was the purpose of your receiving that money?  
 A. Expenses, sir.

#### Army paid Legion salaries

Q. Okay. Did Mr. Sutton have any conversation with you in which he disclosed the source?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. What did Mr. Sutton say about the source of those funds?  
 A. He told me that they were supplied by Military Intelligence.  
 Q. By Military Intelligence, what do you mean?  
 A. At that time that is all it meant to me. In subsequent conversations with him I learned that it was the 113th Military Intelligence Group.

\* \* \*

#### Conspiracy Seven rally gassed

Q. Did Officer Fitzgibbons provide you with tear-gas grenades for any other operation?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. Could you relate to us one such operation?  
 A. One operation was a tear gassing of a Conspiracy Seven rally on the side of the Federal Building in Chicago.  
 Q. Do you recall about when that took place?  
 A. Spring of '70, sir, best remembrance.

\* \* \*

Q. And what did you at that point, in the period in which you were active member and participant in activities of the Legion of Justice, what had you been informed were its goals and purpose?

A. To gather intelligence and harass subversive organizations that were against the United States government and against the war policy of the United States government.

#### 'I was working for U.S. gov't'

Q. And you were told you were working for the United States government?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. And you were aided by the Chicago Police Department?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. You testified before under questioning by Mr. Wolfson I believe that you were arrested [for] the Cicero church operation in September of 1970 by police officers from the intelligence agency?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. During the period after the Cicero church operation and before you were arrested, did you have any conversation with people, the subject of which was whether or not you should surrender?  
 A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. And what was said to you and by whom about your surrendering?  
 A. Officer Fitzgibbons told me that I was creating a lot of waves by not surrendering, that a lot of heat was being put on the police department and Hanrahan's office. I was getting people upset and that there were delegations of—I am not sure if it was the IVI [Independent Voters of Illinois] or just Socialist Workers party and other organizations banded together complaining to the, about police collusion and if I turned myself in this would take the heat off, he said.

## AFSCME fights for contract

# Atlanta school workers ready for showdown

By Tony Dutrow

ATLANTA—School employees here are getting ready for a showdown battle to defend their standard of living, threatened by cutbacks in educational funding.

On September 8, the school board chapter of Local 1644, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, gave the Atlanta Board of Education its demands for a contract and a living wage. Three hundred union members packed the board's meeting room as Willie Bolden, staff representative for Local 1644, presented the demands.

Local 1644 has been recruiting new members hand-over-fist in the past year. It now numbers 4,000 members in three chapters: school board, Grady Hospital, and public works.

More than 1,200 of the 1,500 school board employees have signed up for the union. They, like other Atlanta city workers, have never had a union contract. To win one—in this open-shop, "right to work" state—would be a major breakthrough for all public employees and would set the stage for Local 1644's other chapters to win

union recognition and signed contracts.

The present confrontation was provoked by the board's August 11 decision to take away an across-the-board wage increase of \$240 a month previously granted to both the nonacademic employees and Atlanta's 4,000 teachers.

Alonzo Crim, Atlanta's first Black school superintendent, justified the wage reduction by pointing to budget cutbacks by state and federal government. This summer the Georgia state legislature voted to cut its share of the Atlanta school operating budget by \$3.3 million.

The school board says it can save \$1.8 million by rescinding the pay increase.

Inflation has already cut sharply into the living standards of the maids, cooks, and other school workers, the overwhelming majority of whom are Black. Their pay starts as low as \$443 a month; after twenty years in the schools some still make less than \$600. Not surprisingly, their response to the latest attack was swift and angry.

At an emergency meeting of the Local 1644 school board chapter on August 23, the union voted to demand reinstatement of the \$240 increase, called for another meeting to ratify a contract proposal, and established a strike committee.

The school board, too, started to dig in for a strike. Members of the union strike committee observed large amounts of food being frozen and freezers overloaded with supplies. Some 150 cooks, not members of the union, were enlisted by the board to be available at a moment's notice in case of a strike.

At a special school board meeting September 2, Willie Bolden, speaking for the union, challenged the board to sit down and negotiate.

"I don't care what you call it," he said, "a memorandum of understanding between the school board and the



AFSCME local 1644 has been recruiting members hand-over-fist. More than 1,200 school board employees have signed up.



AFSCME leader Willie Bolden demanding that school board sit down and negotiate contract.

union, a piece of paper, or a contract. We will sit down and negotiate wages, hours, and working conditions of all classified school board employees."

At that meeting, the board was confronted with unexpected reinforcements for AFSCME's struggle against the cuts. The Atlanta Association of Educators, local affiliate of the National Education Association, publicly endorsed Local 1644's fight. Some 2,200 teachers, about half the total in the city, belong to the AAE.

Nathaniel Ingram, past president of the AAE, condemned the board for taking away the promised \$240, noting that it hurts the pitifully underpaid maids and cooks the most.

Ingram said that the school board, which has refused dues checkoff for the teacher organization, was pushing it into a fighting posture along with AFSCME. "You keep kicking, you keep hitting," he said, "and you will awaken the sleeping giant."

The 200 AFSCME members in the audience burst into applause upon hearing this declaration of solidarity.

Since then, the AAE executive board has voted to honor AFSCME picket lines in the event of a strike, and the two groups are working toward closer cooperation in the fight that looms ahead.

On September 6, 500 AFSCME school board chapter members met to vote on their contract demands. As proposed by the union leadership, these included restoration of the \$240; a further 18 percent wage increase to catch up with inflation; a cost-of-living escalator provision; and a thirty-five-hour workweek.

Television news cameras cranked away as Bolden called for a standing vote and every worker rose to affirm the demands.

Negotiations are now under way, with an October 13 deadline for reaching a settlement.

The school board's position is that without new funds from the state it cannot pay any increase whatsoever. The workers know they face stiff resistance, but they are united and determined to win.

## Antilabor violence fails to stop Illinois strikers

By John Isenhower

MELROSE PARK, Ill.—More than 200 workers at Capital Packaging, a subsidiary of Alberto Culver, are out on strike here. The workers, mainly women, Blacks, and Latinos, are in Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-507. They are waging a militant strike.

The picket lines are tough. So tough that it may cost Dave Watson, the local vice-president, one of his legs.

On September 9, strikers report, a scab truck driven by Richard Mitchell made its way through the picket lines.

On the way out, Mitchell mowed Watson down.

Watson is hospitalized in critical condition. One of his legs may have to be amputated.

Frances Norcutt, one of the strikers, said that Mitchell had come back with "witnesses" after he ran down Watson. They claimed they "saw the whole thing." Their statements were eagerly taken down by the police. No one from the union was interviewed.

Earlier, Velma Powell, another striker, was run down by scabs. Fortunately, she is back on picket duty. She plans to press charges.

Betty Ludford, who helps organize the union's picket office, described more police complicity with the attacks on the strikers. "The company calls the police to help them herd scabs. Bam! Six or seven squad cars. No wonder my taxes are going up so much."

The workers are paid from \$2.37 to \$3.36 an hour. They get almost no fringe benefits. The union began with demands for a \$1.00 across-the-board raise, increased hospitalization coverage, and an additional holiday.

The contract expired last January 31. The company asked for an exten-

sion. The union conceded. The company returned the favor by stalling negotiations.

In the process the union demand for money went down to twenty-five cents. The company countered with nineteen cents.

Feeling their strength at the bargaining table, the company began its campaign of violence against the pickets.

The antiunion violence, however, has only increased the determination of the strikers to stay out however long it takes to win their strike.

## Right to sell 'Militant' at L.A. airports upheld

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—An important victory for civil liberties was won here recently when the California Superior Court overturned the conviction of Stu Singer for selling the *Militant* at Los Angeles International Airport in May of 1974.

The arrest was one of a series that threatened the right of socialists to circulate their ideas through their press.

Singer, who was the organizer of one of the Los Angeles branches of the Socialist Workers party at the time, was handcuffed and taken into custody by four plainclothes cops. He was

charged with soliciting without a license on airport property. Bail was set at \$125.

The city attorney's office claimed that selling the *Militant* was a commercial enterprise, not a political one, and therefore wasn't protected by constitutional guarantees of free speech.

Despite this claim, however, the arresting cops thought otherwise. They questioned Singer about his "communist affiliations" and also said they wished he had been carrying illegal drugs so he could be charged with a felony.

At the trial, Singer's attorney, Linda

Abrams, brought out the Catch-22 nature of the city's case. The Board of Airport Commissioners had granted an exclusive license to Host International, Inc., to sell newspapers. But Host refused to carry the *Militant* and claimed that its "unpopular" views would make it hard to sell.

Abrams also argued that a license to sell the *Militant* was not necessary since such selling was protected by the First Amendment.

But these arguments were rejected by the judge and Singer was convicted.

The appeal was undertaken by University of California-Los Angeles law professor Kenneth Karst, an Amer-

ican Civil Liberties Union volunteer attorney.

Karst argued that the city was arbitrarily deciding what newspapers could be sold on the basis of their content.

The appeals court agreed with Karst, noting that the city's basis for selection of what newspapers could be sold at the airport was a violation of the First Amendment.

The decision could be an important precedent. Many cities have regulations banning the sale of newspapers at airports, bus stations, and other public facilities.



## U.S. tour threatened

# Washington stalling on Hugo Blanco visa

By José Pérez

A speaking tour of the United States by Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco scheduled to begin September 25 is being threatened by the U.S. State Department, which has been stalling on a response to his visa application. The government's action is clearly a maneuver designed to prevent Blanco from being heard in the United States.

Blanco is scheduled to visit some twenty U.S. cities to speak on "Today's Latin America: Continent without justice." The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) is coordinating the tour.

After having led peasant unions composed primarily of Quechua Indians in the department of Cuzco in Peru, Blanco was arrested in 1963. He was not brought to trial until 1966, when the government accused him and other union leaders of murdering three police officers and "subversion of all kinds."

A worldwide campaign was launched to demand that Blanco's life be spared and that he be freed. This was finally accomplished when the Peruvian military regime released him as part of a general amnesty in 1970.

Fearing the peasant movement, the military government refused to allow Blanco to return to the Cuzco region after his release. So, restricted to Lima, Blanco waged a campaign for the release of prisoners who had not been included in the amnesty and also actively supported a national teachers' strike.

The government retaliated by deporting Blanco to Mexico. He left that country in June 1972 to go to Argentina, where he was arrested by the government in July and held without charges for three months. After being

released, he was deported to Chile, where he resided until the military coup of September 1973. When the coup came, Blanco, along with hundreds of others, sought refuge in the Swedish embassy, where he was granted asylum and offered residence in Stockholm.

Since then he has lived in exile in Europe, and has been active in defense of the victims of the Chile coup and other Latin American political prisoners.

During his years in Peruvian prisons Blanco wrote *Land or Death*, a book about the peasant movement he led. The book is currently available in four languages, including English. He has also written numerous articles since that time, including major contributions to two books on the Chile coup.

Because of these qualifications, Blanco received more than a dozen invitations from academic departments and universities to give lectures in the United States. He then applied for a U.S. visa in Stockholm in mid-July of this year, and was told he would receive an answer in early August.

When he checked back in early August he was informed that no decision would be made until late August because of unspecified "problems." On September 4, he was told the decision was being put off for another three weeks.

With these delays, the rights of the many individuals and organizations who have invited him to speak are jeopardized. The delay also raises the clear possibility that Blanco may be denied a visa altogether.

When it became clear that the State Department was stalling on granting the visa, many of those who had originally invited Blanco to speak, along with other prominent individu-

als, began addressing protests to the government.

In a September 9 letter USLA called the delays "intolerable and in the worst Watergate tradition of harassment of individuals or organizations whose views the Government disagreed with."

U.S. Representatives Michael Harrington (D-Mass.) and Parren Mitchell (D-Md.) both sent letters to the State Department urging approval of the visa application because, as Mitchell expressed it, "American citizens have the right to hear the views of this noted political personality."

Other messages have come from Thomas Davies, chairperson of the Latin American Lecture Series at San Diego State University; Richard Falk, acting director, Center of International Studies, Princeton University; Phyllis Kahn, Minnesota state representative; Dean Peerman, managing editor of the weekly *Christian Century*; Leland Rayson, Illinois state representative; and Ramona Ripston, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California.

Also joining the campaign demanding that Blanco be allowed to enter the country is Pathfinder Press, Blanco's literary agent and U.S. publisher.

Pathfinder editors had wanted to discuss with Blanco several matters relating to translation rights to his works and future U.S. publishing projects, consultation that Pathfinder called "absolutely necessary" in a September 11 letter to the State Department.

Pathfinder also noted in its letter that "continued delay or denial would violate the recent Helsinki Agreement." The agreement, signed during Ford's European junket last July, is the latest product of the "détente" between Washington and Moscow.



Militant/Ben Atwood

Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco. State Department is trying to sabotage his U.S. tour by dragging feet on visa application.

The agreement includes a section that states as its purpose "to promote wider dissemination of books and artistic works." The first paragraph under this section includes, as one of the means, promoting "international contact and communications between authors and publishing houses."

USLA is urging that telegrams or letters of protest be sent to: Leonard Walentynowicz, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20020.

The committee is also asking that copies of all letters and telegrams be sent to USLA, 156 Fifth Avenue, Suite 600, New York, New York 10010.

## New trial demanded

# Ali joins N.J. rally for 'Hurricane' Carter

By Thomas Tilitz

NEWARK, N.J.—On September 6, 3,000 people rallied at city hall here to demand freedom for Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis. Heavyweight champion of the world Muhammad Ali, Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson, and neighboring East Orange Mayor William Hart were among the featured speakers at the rally.

Carter and Artis were convicted of the murder of three white men by an all-white jury in 1967. At the time, Carter was a contender for the world middleweight boxing championship and an outspoken critic of police brutality against the Black community.

Because of his political views, he had been the victim of a long campaign of police harassment in his home city of Paterson, New Jersey. His arrest for murder of the three people at a Paterson bar was the last in a long line of attempted frame-ups against him. Artis was caught in the frame-up only because he was seen with Carter on the night of the murder.

The case against the two Blacks, flimsy from the very beginning, completely collapsed last October when the prosecution's star witnesses—the only ones to place Carter and Artis at the scene of the murders—recanted their testimony.

The two witnesses had been in the area because they were robbing a nearby factory. Police documents that came to light only last October show that the two witnesses received pro-

mises of leniency, which were fulfilled, in exchange for their testimony against Carter and Artis.

Since the evidence of the pressured testimony and recantations by the witnesses came to light, support has grown rapidly for Carter and Artis. However, Judge Samuel Lerner, who presided over the original trial, has twice denied motions for a new one. The judge stated that the recantations of two government witnesses "did not have the ring of truth." These decisions are currently being appealed.

Because of Carter's achievements as

a boxer, his defense has drawn strong support from figures in the sports world.

Muhammad Ali is cochairperson of the Hurricane Trust Fund, a national group coordinating publicity and fund-raising for the case.

In his speech at the rally, Ali said that Carter symbolizes thousands of others who have been unjustly imprisoned all over the country.

He said that Carter's position as a public figure had brought the case to prominence, but that an important result of a victory in Carter's case

would be growing concern for the thousands of others who continue to rot in prison.

The champion dedicated his upcoming fight against Joe Frazier to "Hurricane" Carter's freedom.

A high point of the rally was an address by Carter through a telephone hook-up to the assembled crowd. Carter expressed his thanks to everyone who was there. He said that he heard about the rally that morning and was hoping to attend, but found that someone had locked his door.

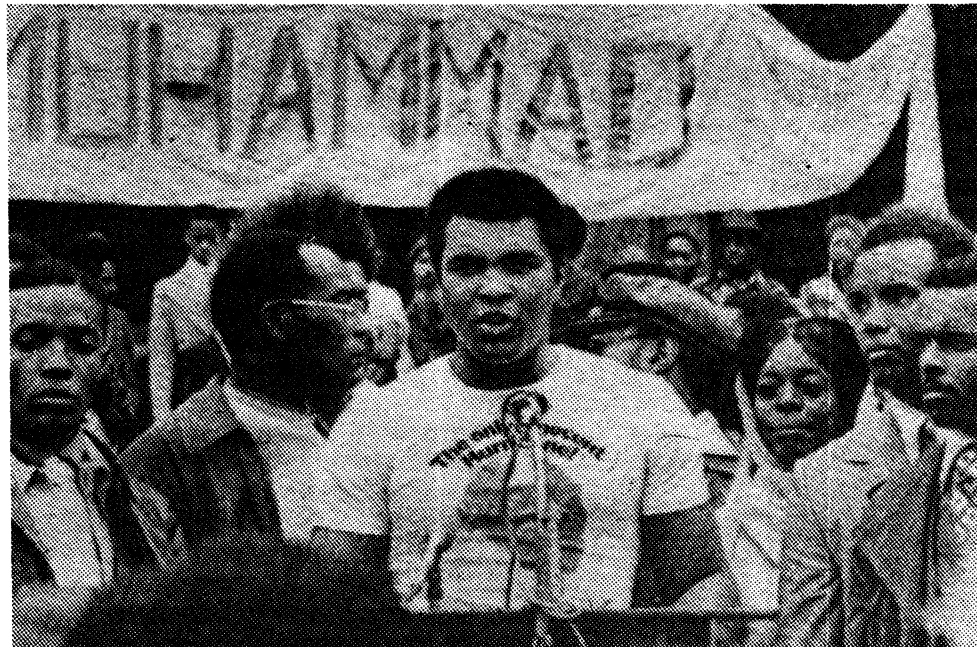
Newark Mayor Gibson spoke and proclaimed September 6 "Justice for Rubin Carter Day" in Newark.

"We are here to do everything possible to get a new trial and get the governor to grant a pardon," he said.

A representative of United Auto Workers Local 9 said that his union's delegate assembly had voted unanimously to back the defense and presented a \$500 contribution.

The New Jersey Student Coalition Against Racism distributed a statement supporting the drive for Carter's release.

The effort to free Carter has won extremely broad backing. Along with Ali, cochairing the Hurricane Trust Fund is William Friedkin, director of *The Exorcist* and *The French Connection*. A sampling of the prominent people in the fund's committee are: Hank Aaron, Harry Belafonte, Johnny Cash, Jesse Jackson, Norman Mailer, and Basil Paterson.



Heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali at Newark rally of 3,000 to demand new trial for Rubin 'Hurricane' Carter.

## Eight killed in two days

# More Argentine socialists assassinated

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

Three more Argentine Trotskyists have been murdered by ultraright terrorists. Oscar Lucatti, Patricia Claverie, and Carlos Enrique Povedano were found shot to death on the outskirts of La Plata September 6.

Their murder brought to eight the number of members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) and its youth affiliate Juventud Socialista (JS—Socialist Youth) assassinated by ultrarightists within forty-eight hours.

On September 5 the bullet-riddled bodies of Adriana Zaldúa, Ana María Lorenzo, Lidia Agostini, Hugo Frigerio, and Roberto Loscertales were found in a car near La Plata, in an area where at least a dozen other victims of ultraright murder gangs have been found in recent months.

The latest three victims were kidnapped in the center of La Plata September 5 as they left the PST headquarters to mobilize protest against the murder of their five comrades.

In a statement September 5, the PST called on the provincial and federal governments to investigate the assassinations and punish those responsible. The party stressed the need for the parties and organizations of the working class to organize a massive mobilization to halt the ultraright murder gangs and defend democratic rights.

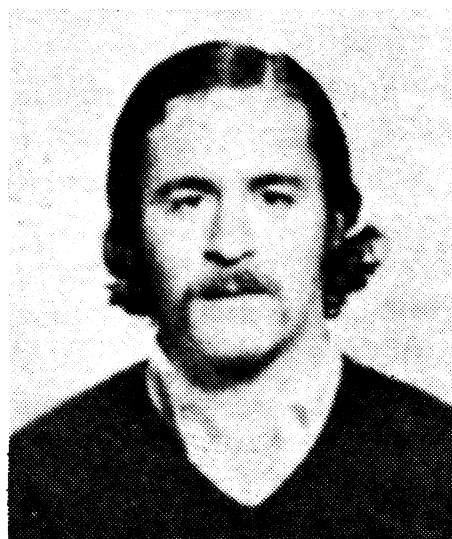
A memorial meeting was held September 6 to pay tribute to the eight slain comrades' contributions to the revolutionary movement.

Despite rumors that a third wave of terrorist assassinations would be carried out and a death threat against a PST leader at Petroquímica Sudamericana, a large number of workers from that plant attended the funeral.

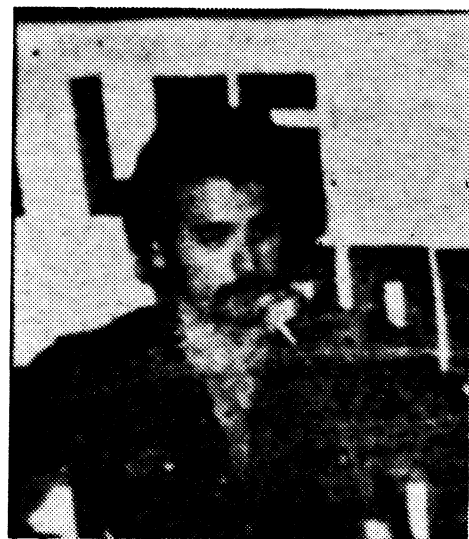
"We found out about the murder of the compañeros yesterday when we were mobilized here in La Plata," a leader in the factory told a reporter from the PST newspaper *Avanzada Socialista* September 6. "Later we discussed what we could do at a factory assembly. It was decided to send a delegation from the factory here to the memorial meeting and funeral. In addition, messages condemning the assassinations have been sent from the Asociación Obrera Textil [Textile Workers Association] and from SETIA,



Patricia Claverie



Oscar Lucatti



Carlos Povedano

Avanzada Socialista

the organization of supervisors and technicians. Plus the compañeros in the factory put up a sign saying, 'Curi pays goons to kill.'"

Curi is the owner of Petroquímica Sudamericana, a chemical plant whose workers are out on strike. The murdered PST members had been actively involved in organizing solidarity for the strikers.

The strike began September 4 with a plant occupation. The workers demanded a 300,000 peso advance on wages and the signing of a collective bargaining agreement granting a minimum wage of 800,000 pesos a month. On the fortnightly payday September 2, many workers received only 150,000 pesos.

The meaning of these figures becomes clear if it is kept in mind that at the end of June, Isabel Perón announced a new minimum wage of 360,000 pesos, which was protested as starvation pay. During July and August, official statistics showed an additional 58.3 percent rise in the cost of living.

The PST memorial meeting was addressed by a worker from the Propulsora Iron and Steel Works in La Plata, representing his shop stewards committee. He issued a call for action, pointing out that "the mercenary gangs that count these eight compañeros among their new victims will not stop here."

Ernesto González spoke in the name of the National Executive Committee of the PST. He denounced the Peronist government for not taking any action

to prevent these assassinations and the hundreds of others carried out against trade unionists, political activists, and liberal opponents of the regime.

"As guilty or even more guilty than the actual murderers are those who incite them, those who direct the assassins and cover up for them from the shadows," he said.

More than twenty organizations in Argentina, as well as sister parties in other countries, sent messages of solidarity. The Justicialist, Communist, and Intransigent parties were among those sending messages.

The message from the Juventud Radical, Movimiento Línea Nacional (National Line Movement, Radical Youth) said in part:

"The PST and JS have once again been attacked by parapolic gangs that by means of assassination try to halt workers' and students' struggles. The unity of the people and their mobilization is the only guarantee for wiping out these assassins who serve imperialism."

The September 8 issue of *Avanzada Socialista* provided brief biographies of the eight slain Trotskyists.

• Roberto Loscertales, 31 years old, was a member of the La Plata regional leadership of the PST. He joined the Trotskyist movement in 1967 as a university student, and became a founding member of the party's student group in La Plata. He traveled throughout Argentina helping the party obtain legal status for the 1973

elections, and worked in the trade-union movement.

• Hugo Frigerio, 30 years old, joined the PST in 1973. A leader of state workers, he ran for public office on the PST ticket in 1973.

• Lidia Agostini, 27 years old, joined the PST this year. She was a doctor at the Municipal Hospital of La Plata.

• Ana María Lorenzo, 36 years old, joined the PST in 1973. A member of ATULP (Asociación de Trabajadores de la Universidad de La Plata—University of La Plata Workers Association), she was fired when the Peronists took over the university. She then worked for an economists association.

• Adriana Zaldúa, 22 years old, was a member of the Juventud Socialista, which she joined in 1971 as an architecture student. She had done political work on the campus.

• Patricia Claverie joined the JS in Bahía Blanca as a student activist. At the time of her death she was attending the University of La Plata and working in the provincial legislature.

• Carlos Enrique Povedano was a member of the La Plata regional leadership of the PST. He joined the party in 1971 when he was studying economics. He was a recognized leader in the recent struggles of welfare workers.

• Oscar Lucatti joined the party in 1972 during the election campaign. He helped build the JS in the Ensenada area while serving as a shop steward in the La Plata Ministry of Public Works.

## Faces government attacks

# Wide support won to save Russell foundation

From Intercontinental Press

Wide support has been won in the campaign to save the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation,\* an organization active in the defense of political prisoners around the world, from a twofold government attack. Donations to aid the foundation's legal defense effort have been received from dozens of countries, reaching the sum of £10,000 (£1=US\$2.11) by the end of July.

In Britain, after Labour party members of Parliament Anthony Benn and Michael Foot joined forces with trade-union leaders Jack Jones, Lawrence Daly, Clive Jenkins, and Hugh Scanlon to issue an appeal, hundreds of trade-union branches throughout the

country made contributions to the defense effort. In addition, both the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and the Transport and General Workers Union made official donations.

In the United States, Professor Noam Chomsky of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology gave the campaign his public support. A number of other academic figures also responded.

In Australia, Nobel Prize winner Patrick White wrote to numerous newspapers calling for support to the foundation.

One side of the two-pronged assault against the foundation is a complex tax claim pressed against it as a test case in an attempt to reverse a High Court ruling unfavorable to the Inland Revenue. The claim concerns gifts made to the foundation as far back as

1967. The money has long since been spent on the foundation's campaign against the Vietnam War and in the construction of its headquarters and printing plant.

The tax claim has already been ruled against by the Inland Revenue's own special commissioners. Continued prosecution of it, however, would compel the foundation to sell its material assets and prevent it from pursuing its extensive work in publishing and in defense of political prisoners.

Widespread protests from Labour party members of Parliament and other public figures persuaded the Inland Revenue to drop its original demand that the foundation pay the legal costs for all the hearings involved. Even so, the organization estimates that it needs a total of

£30,000 to ensure its survival.

At the same time, the foundation faces an attack by the municipal government in Nottingham, the site of its offices and printing plant. The Nottingham Corporation has so far ignored international protests and decided to go ahead with plans to demolish the Russell Foundation's offices so as to facilitate the passage of large trucks to a nearby industrial park. An appeal to the Department of the Environment remains unanswered.

Protests against the tax suit may be sent to Prime Minister Harold Wilson, 10 Downing Street, London, England. Letters protesting the plan to demolish the foundation's offices may be sent to the Lord Mayor of Nottingham, Old Market Square, Nottingham, England. Copies of all protests should be sent to the foundation.

\*Bertrand Russell House, Gamble Street, Nottingham NG7 4ET, England.



# An important vote for NY Painters union

By Sam Brown

NEW YORK—Members of the International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades District Council 9 in New York City recently voted on an important referendum for the future of our union. At stake in the vote was the approach the union would take to the growing crisis of the building trades—dwindling membership and increasing amounts of work being done by the unorganized sectors of the various trades.

The specific issue in the vote was whether the dues checkoff paid by union members would be increased from 1 percent of the total wages to 2 percent. Although called a "dues checkoff," this tax upon the wages of union members has nothing in common with real union dues. It is deducted by the employers and paid to the union, but is in addition to the regular dues of about ten dollars a month currently paid by painters in New York.

Of course, the biggest proponents of this increase in members' payments to the union were the elected officials of District Council 9. The painters union

in New York is particularly top-heavy with bureaucrats.

With 6,500 members (2,800 of whom are retired), about one-quarter of the working painters in the city, D.C. 9 has more than twenty local unions and twenty full-time business agents, plus the staff of the district council itself, which includes Secretary-treasurer James Bishop.

Bishop and the business agents of the local unions have a well-deserved reputation for failing to meet the needs of the membership. A position in the bureaucracy means an opportunity to enjoy a fat salary from the union.

For these officials, the most important thing was to maintain their own jobs. They argued that the union treasury was running out of money and that unless the members voted in favor of the increased checkoff, the union would be unable to maintain itself.

What they meant was that they would soon be unable to pay their own salaries.

Opponents of the increased checkoff took a different approach to the prob-

lems faced by the union. As an initial step, they advocated the consolidation of the various locals into one city-wide local, or into several locals, one for each of the five boroughs of the city.

Such a move would immediately result in huge savings for the district council, since the salaries of most of the business agents could be eliminated. In addition, those agents who remained should be required to go out and earn their money. This in turn, through the bringing in of new members, would further increase the financial base of the district council.

Of course, these steps would be only the beginning if the painters in New York are to make any headway against the antiunion offensive of the nonunion contractors.

A union leadership that was interested in more than simply lining its own pockets would involve itself, and the union members, in organizing the nonunion painters in the city and the work now being done by nonunion contractors. It would make the union a vehicle for enforcing the work rules and conditions in our contracts, which

are now violated on a daily basis all over the city.

It would fight for new measures to ensure the health and safety of the working painters. And it would take the initiative in involving the other building-trades unions in a fight against the attacks on the construction unions.

The vote on the referendum for the additional 1 percent was held July 26. Only 1,800 members came out to vote, and the referendum passed by a substantial margin, a victory for Bishop and his coterie of supporters.

The union leaders scheduled the vote on a summer Saturday hoping that most of the painters who opposed the increased checkoff would not bother to come out and vote. An additional reason for the low turnout was that although most union members probably opposed the increase, many simply felt there was little or nothing that they could do against the bureaucracy.

To revitalize the painters union, it will require the forging of a new leadership, which will break with the old craft unionism and class collaborationism.

## Rally marks fourth anniversary of Attica

By Sara Bloxson

BUFFALO, N.Y.—Despite a cold rain, 200 people came out for an Attica commemorative rally here September 13, the fourth anniversary of the prison uprising at Attica. "If we ain't talking about unity, we ain't talking about nothing," Attica Brother Big Black told the crowd. "If we don't get together, total unconditional amnesty for the Attica Brothers and all political prisoners will be a long time coming."

"We must get together and mobilize around that, build our communities, do whatever work we got to do jointly together in struggle," he said.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Attica Brothers Political Support Organization and Attica Now. A message to the rally from John "Dacajewiah" Hill was read by attorney William Kunstler. Dacajewiah was the first Attica defendant to be convicted of murder. His case is now under appeal. A total of sixty-two inmates have been indicted.

Kunstler recalled standing outside the prison gate at Attica four years ago and hearing the "pops" of rifles and



1971 Attica prison rebellion

buckshot being scattered throughout the yard by state troopers and guards. Forty-three men were left dead.

Today, Kunstler said, "four years later, not a single murderer has been

indicted, not a single murderer has been charged with any crime, and the chief murderer [Rockefeller] is just a heartbeat away from the presidency."

A representative from the Committee

for the Freedom of the Puerto Rican Nationalists stressed the unity between the Puerto Rican struggle for freedom and the struggles in the United States.

Other speakers included Rev. Mosie Lee Stroble Smith, mother of Attica defendant Bernard "Shango" Stroble, and representatives from the Action for Forgotten Women and the Revolutionary Workers Congress.

Tom Soto from the Prisoner Solidarity Committee urged people to fill the courtrooms when the Attica defendants' trials come up, and to take the message of the Attica Brothers to everyone.

As part of the commemoration, a spirited march led people past a local police station. They chanted "Amnesty now" and "Rockefeller, we've had enough—Attica is all of us."

One of the neighborhood residents, watching the march, commented, "If it hadn't been for Rocky, the Brothers wouldn't have been killed. Money, that's all. He's got the money. Money rules everything."

## N.Y. city council votes down gay rights bill

By Brenda Howard

NEW YORK—A New York City Council committee defeated a gay rights bill September 11 for the sixth time in four years. The bill, Intro 554, would have prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation in housing, employment, and public accommodations. It was defeated 7 to 4 by the General Welfare Committee.

More than 200 people crowded into the council chambers for the hearing before the vote. Speaking for the bill were New York Lt. Gov. Mary Ann Krupsak; New York District Attorney Robert Morgenthau; and representatives from the New York Bar Association; National Organization for Women; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; United Catholic Parents Association; Lesbian Feminist Liberation; and the Gay Activists Alliance.

Opponents of the bill included the Uniformed Fire Officers Association, the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association,

the Rabbinical Alliance of America, the Council of Jewish Organizations of Boro Park, the Committee for Protection of Family Life, and the Council of Community Conscience.

Krupsak termed the measure "nothing more than a recognition of simple justice." She was booed loudly by the bill's opponents when she referred to rights guaranteed everyone by the Constitution.

In response to a voiced objection to gay teachers, council member Theodore Weiss pointed out that parents "concerned" about having their children taught by Catholic or Jewish teachers did not have any right to have those teachers fired, and they should not have the option of having gay teachers fired based on personal biases either.

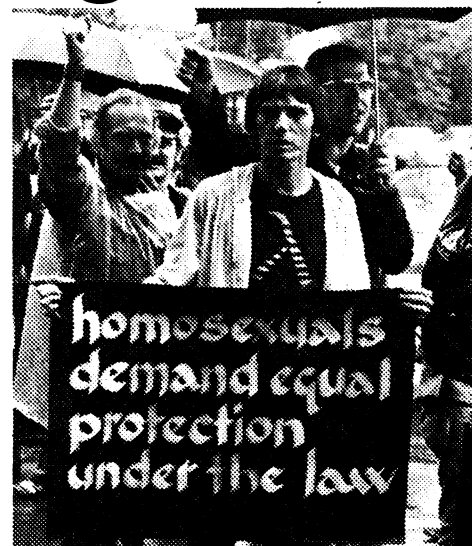
Rabbi Norris Josephy opposed gay rights on behalf of the Rabbinical Alliance of America and the Council of Jewish Organizations of Boro Park, Brooklyn. He admitted that he had not

read the bill and did not know its provisions, but insisted that it was sufficient to know that homosexuality is an "abomination and a sin."

A representative of the Uniformed Fire Officers Association spoke against the bill, charging that homosexuals were emotionally and physically unfit for the rough life of a fire fighter. Besides that, he argued, budget cuts have badly affected the fire department, and passage of Intro 554 would only further discourage fire fighters.

Similar phony arguments were heard from the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association. That group's spokesperson added that it was necessary to preserve the public image of a cop's manhood. His opinion, he said, was that allowing women, Puerto Ricans, and Blacks to be cops had already lowered police department standards. Gay police would be the last straw.

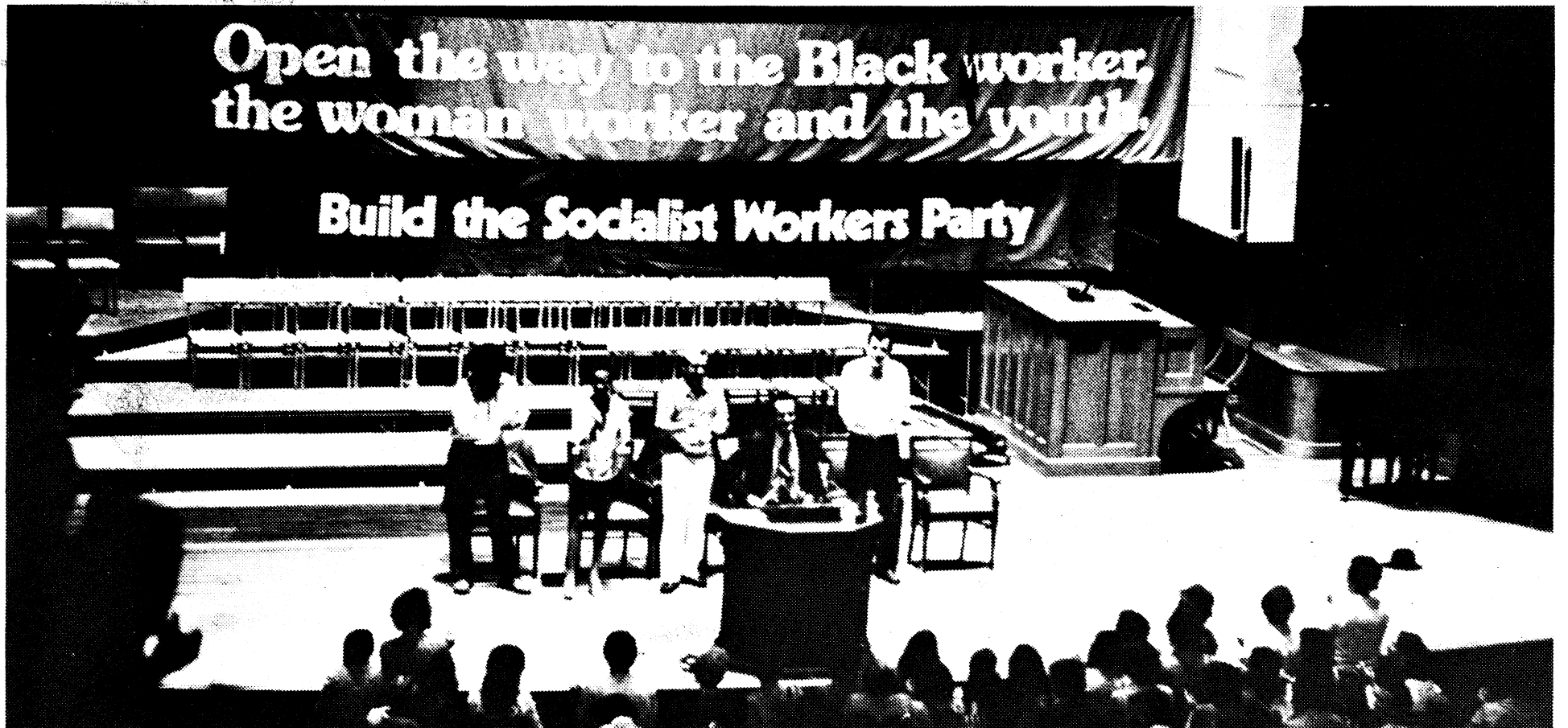
On September 13, the Gay Human Rights of Queens County, Lesbian



John Lauritsen

Feminist Liberation, and the Gay Activists Alliance demonstrated at Queens Boro Hall demanding equal rights for gays and the passage of Intro 554.

# SWP convention: party turns toward new opportunities



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

## By Nelson Blackstock

The *Hyde Park Herald* bills itself as "Chicago's oldest community newspaper." The August 6 issue carried news of an event that is in many ways symbolic of much that was discussed at the Socialist Workers party convention, held August 17-21 in Ohio.

"Socialist Workers party will open headquarters here," announced a front-page headline. "We've found an openness to socialist ideas in Hyde Park and the south side," Suzanne Haig told the *Herald*, "so we felt it would be a good idea to have a headquarters down here."

In the elections last spring the SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago, Willie Mae Reid, had polled 15

*This is the second of several articles on the recent Socialist Workers party convention.*

percent of the vote in Hyde Park. The community is largely Black.

The full meaning of the *Hyde Park Herald's* story became clear when Elizabeth Stone gave the "Tasks and Perspectives" report to the SWP convention.

"If what we are saying about the change in the objective situation is true," Stone told the delegates, "then what is required is a corresponding change in the functioning of the party. Some of our tasks change. Our priorities change. We make a turn."

The SWP's new store-front headquarters on Chicago's South Side is part of that turn.

The change in the objective situation Stone was talking about—the new political realities in the United States—provided the framework in which the delegates looked at what the SWP will be doing in the months ahead.

That new political situation had been the subject of the political report and the Black report, which the delegates had discussed and approved before Stone presented her report. She summed up some of the lessons.

## New stage

"We've discussed the new stage of the world crisis of capitalism. We believe this to be a social crisis which is the counterpart in the last part of this century to the crisis of the thirties," Stone said.

The post-World War II period of capitalist expansion is over. The American ruling class is now out to drive down the standard of living of the workers. That means more unemployment and more inflation.

"More 'Big MACs' marching across the country. More cutbacks. More attempts to make Black people bear the brunt of these attacks. More attempts to make women bear the brunt. More attempts to

weaken and push back the labor movement."

Neither the pace at which the crisis will develop nor the tempo at which there will be a countermobilization of the workers can be predicted. But some things can be predicted.

"In such periods of crisis, all the rules change. Politics changes. The mood of the working class changes," Stone said.

Stone's report mapped out some of the ways the SWP has been and will be preparing for these changes. Between convention sessions, socialists gathered for workshops. There they talked about what the turn will mean in many areas of party work.

The South Side Chicago branch is one of two new branches in that city resulting from the division of a long-standing central branch. The other new branch will function in the communities located on the North and West sides of Chicago.

That isn't the whole story on new SWP branches. Newark, New Jersey; Baltimore, Maryland; San Jose, California; San Antonio, Texas; and New Orleans, Louisiana, are all cities where branches were set to move into operation after the convention. They are all important urban centers with large concentrations of workers. Some have extremely big Black populations. Two, San Antonio and San Jose, have a significant number of Chicano residents.

In New York City, the Lower Manhattan branch is moving its headquarters into the Lower East Side. An area with a significant Puerto Rican and Black population, it has been the scene of the community-control battles in Community School District One. Socialists are already well known there.

This perspective of geographic expansion reflected the delegates' belief that the emerging capitalist crisis will open the door for rapid growth of the socialist movement.

The report pointed to some of the ways the new political situation has already had an impact on the day-to-day work of socialists.

The SWP has been a part of some of the most important working-class struggles in recent months—in the trade-union movement, the antiracist fight, activities of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, and in the women's movement.

Socialists are finding a greater receptivity to their ideas among working people. The solutions offered by SWP election campaigns are beginning to appear to more people as reasonable answers to the problems they face.

In past years most people who joined the SWP had previously been members of the Young Socialist Alliance. Now, a still small but growing number

of workers are joining the party directly—without prior experience in the YSA.

Delegates focused a good bit of attention to the subject to winning new members to the party. One of the largest of the workshops zeroed in on this.

A top priority was placed on the struggle against racism.

Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, addressed a rally held after the convention adjourned. He described the confrontation brewing in Boston and explained the need for a mobilization of the party on a national scale in the fight to defend school desegregation.

The rally heard a message sent from St. Louis by J.B. Johnson. He had only recently been released from jail because of a defense effort in which socialists participated.

Greetings came from the mother of Ray Mendoza, a Milwaukee Chicano serving a life sentence on a police frame-up.

The rally sent a telegram to the American Indian Movement backing their efforts to get the FBI off the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.

## Farm workers

Baldemar Velasquez, president of the Toledo-based Farm Labor Organizing Committee, was introduced at the rally. FLOC is organizing farm workers, predominantly Chicano, in Ohio and Michigan.

The black Aztec eagle of the farm workers was



Militant/Walter Lippmann

ELIZABETH STONE: 'In such periods of crisis all the rules change. Politics changes. The mood of the working class changes.'



emblazoned on one of the banners hanging at the front of the convention hall. Pedro Vásquez, who has been a leader of the Chicano movement in Texas since the 1960s, described the impact on the Chicano community of the inspiring struggle of farm workers in Texas and California.

The convention agreed to rally to the aid of the United Farm Workers Union in the organizing drive in the California fields this fall.

Vásquez was among those the convention added to the SWP National Committee. The NC is charged with leading the party between conventions.

Malik Miah, who is the national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, was also placed on the new national committee. In his report to the convention on the work of the YSA, Miah announced that the YSA has doubled its Black membership in the past year.

## Trade unions

An important aspect of the SWP's turn will be in the party's trade-union work. Delegates from several cities described socialist activity in the unions.

In both New York City and Chicago the party has recently made special assignments of experienced members to coordinate trade-union work.

The employer offensive against the labor movement in New York City was of special concern for the delegates. In her report Stone described how the party has responded to the New York crisis.

First of all, the SWP went on an educational campaign around the issues at stake. The party calls for a moratorium on interest payments to the bankers, an end to military spending, and a crash public works program to provide new housing, schools, health-care facilities, and other desperately needed social programs.

The SWP has combined this with an attempt to build a united response of all victims of the cutbacks. The unions must reach out to those hardest hit by the cutbacks in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, the party believes, in order to mount an effective defense against the assault of the bankers and their servants in the two capitalist parties.

New York showed clearly why it is necessary for labor to break from the capitalist parties and initiate independent labor political action by organizing a labor party based on the trade unions.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women is an important organization of unionists. Despite problems with sectarian obstructionists and foot-dragging union officials, CLUW remains "very much alive and represents a pole of attraction for union women."

Stone also talked about the Equal Rights Amendment. Socialists will continue to be active in the movement to counter reactionary efforts to block the ERA's passage. Currently, in the Southeast the SWP is involved in a five-state campaign for approval of the amendment.

## Women's liberation

"Women's liberation sentiment continues to grow in this country," Stone observed. There has been a proliferation of women's groups of various sorts on both a local and national level.

Just as a growing number of Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican activists have recently become interested in the ideas of socialism, a parallel process is visible among feminists. A measure of this growing sentiment was a recent conference at Antioch College on socialism and feminism that drew more than a thousand participants.

Also discussed was the SWP 1976 national election campaign—Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president. "The economic crisis has affected the way our campaigns are seen," Stone said. "People realize that during a period of economic difficulties socialist parties tend to grow."

The activity of the SWP covers a lot of ground. Stone touched briefly on many aspects of the party's work.

One such area is the work of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which finances and organizes support for the SWP and YSA suit against illegal surveillance and harassment by government agencies.

Syd Stapleton, director of the PRDF, told about growing support for the suit.

The suit is without precedent. "We've already put the rulers on the defensive," Stone asserted, by obtaining and making public secret documents exposing the methods of capitalist rule.

The SWP puts a special importance on the circulation of the *Militant*. The convention agreed that the party will conduct both a subscription drive and a sales campaign for the paper this fall.

# Socialist union activists share ideas, experiences

By Andy Rose

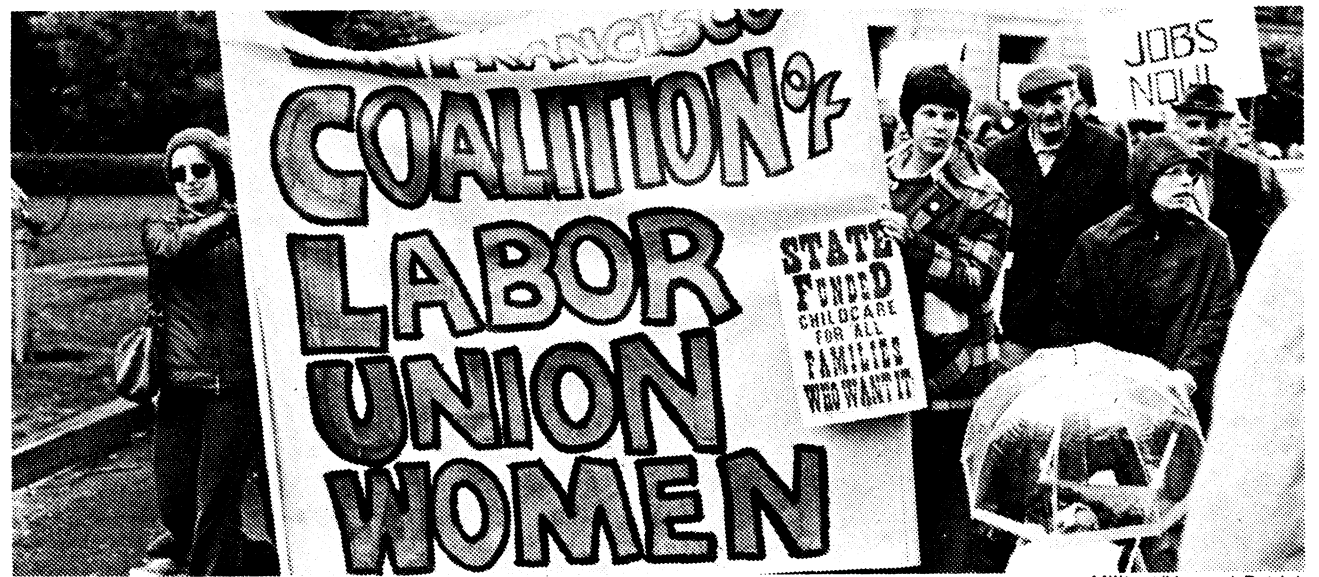
Machinists, bus drivers, carpenters, librarians, printers, sewage treatment plant operators, painters, hospital workers . . . all told more than 300 members of sixty-two different trade unions participated in the recent Socialist Workers party convention.

Eleven workshops were held during the convention so that party members in various unions and industries could discuss their experiences and exchange ideas.

The workshop discussions revealed that SWP members are involved in a spectrum of union activities so broad and varied that it even surprised many participants.

Public employees are under special attack right now because of the cutbacks in social spending. In the New York City budget crisis, the leaders of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and other city unions have failed to put up any serious fight against layoffs, a wage freeze, and other antiunion moves.

Ray Markey, an AFSCME delegate who was elected to the SWP National Committee at this convention, argued persistently in AFSCME meetings for a strategy of united mass action with the Black and Puerto Rican communities to stop the layoffs and cutbacks. Two AFSCME locals were convinced to sponsor a united demonstration on June 28. Although small, this action helped raise the idea of a fighting perspective and spurred discussion throughout the union movement in New York.



Militant/Howard Petrick

In Atlanta, SWP member Bill O'Kain was elected secretary-treasurer of AFSCME Local 1644. In Local 1644's present organizing drive and fight for union recognition, he and other SWP members have won respect for their hard work and sound ideas on building the union.

The Atlanta SWP branch also makes a special effort to sell the *Militant* at city workplaces and AFSCME meetings, selling more than fifty a week at these sites.

At another workshop, teachers from around the country discussed work they have done around the major issues facing the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association, notably the fight against cutbacks and defense of the right to strike.

The teachers also took up the need to win both the AFT and NEA to a strong stand in defense of desegregated schools. Probusing resolutions were defeated at the recent AFT convention at the behest of President Albert Shanker, but many Black teachers and other union militants are determined to continue this fight.

The steelworkers workshop offered a good illustration of the variety of opportunities now opening up in the unions.

One party member in the United Steelworkers of America is chairing a strike assistance committee in a small local forced out on strike. Another led a successful fight in his plant against an "incentive pay" speedup plan backed by the employers and USWA bureaucrats. Others are active in committees on safety and health, and in trying to mobilize union members in support of the United Farm Workers and for jobs demonstrations like the one last April 26.

One woman steelworker who was hired under an

affirmative-action plan, only to be laid off soon afterwards, has launched a fight together with other women steelworkers against the discriminatory layoffs. Neil Berns, a coke-oven worker at U.S. Steel, is running for county commissioner in Pittsburgh on the SWP ticket and was endorsed by his union local.

There were also workshops on the building trades, printing trades, communications workers, hospital workers, mine workers, United Farm Workers support, and Blacks in the unions.

One of the largest workshops brought together women trade unionists. A report by Linda Jenness evaluated the development of the Coalition of Labor Union Women since its founding a year and a half ago.

Jenness pointed to the importance of the CLUW convention set for December in Detroit. "The convention can spark new interest in CLUW," she said. "It gives all the CLUW chapters a focus—recruiting new members, trying to get everyone there, and preparing for the discussions and debates that will take place at the convention."

A key issue will be CLUW's stand on discriminatory layoffs. The CLUW National Coordinating Committee, at a meeting in May, failed to adopt a resolution in defense of affirmative-action gains where these conflict with seniority rules.

Jenness said that further discussion within CLUW can convince many members that this position is wrong and that the CLUW convention should take a strong stand against discriminatory layoffs.

In many unions and workplaces, of course, there may be no immediate opportunities for participating in struggles around wages, hours, and working conditions. But all workers are affected by the economic crisis and are looking for answers, and at every job site there are many who are interested in the big questions of national and international politics.

In the public employees workshop, Steve Beumer, a Detroit bus driver, told how he is doing fruitful political work in such a situation.

During the mine workers' strike last fall, he introduced a motion of support that was adopted by his union local, and in the process raised important ideas about labor solidarity.

Ninety percent of Detroit bus drivers are Black, and Beumer found that many were interested in the school busing fight in Boston. He won union approval to set up a table at the bus garage with buttons and literature about the May 17 NAACP march on Boston. Not only did fifty drivers buy May 17 buttons, and hundreds more take leaflets, but several were interested in getting involved in continuing antiracist activity.

Beumer stressed that he regularly sells the *Militant* to co-workers on the job and at union meetings. He has also sold a number of *Militant* subscriptions and some socialist pamphlets. He urged other unionists to always carry the prepaid *Militant* subscription cards as the fastest and easiest way to sell subscriptions on the job.

Through such regular socialist education on the individual level, along with the party's leading role in the mass struggles of the working class, a growing number of workers—organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed—are being won to socialism and joining the SWP.

# Camejo-Reid campaign plans set

It wasn't surprising, of course, that the campaign of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid for president and vice-president struck a responsive chord at the national convention of the Socialist Workers party. But it was gratifying for those involved in the day-to-day work of the SWP campaign to note the sea of brightly colored "Vote SWP" T-shirts at all the convention sessions.

Here was the nucleus of supporters who over the next fourteen months will span out across the country, making this campaign the biggest and most effective challenge to the Democrats and Republicans that they had seen in some years.

"The economic crisis has affected the way our campaigns are seen," Betsey Stone said in her report on the party's tasks and perspectives. "Many people who were not interested in socialism at all a few years ago are now ready to give us a hearing."

It was reported that already more than 347,000 copies of the campaign platform, "The Bill of Rights for Working People," have been distributed.

Thousands of these were ordered and passed out by people who had just recently heard about the Socialist Workers party and its presidential campaign. And it is these new volunteers, and the energy and ideas they will contribute to the 1976 socialist campaign, that was the subject of much discussion by those attending the convention.

At a workshop, campaigners from around the country offered their ideas and suggestions of what they had found to be effective means of reaching new people and involving them in actively campaigning for the Camejo/Reid ticket.

Linda Thompson from Chicago talked about some of their experiences with the mayoral campaign of Willie Mae Reid this past spring. They went to the supporters, Thompson said, rather than waiting for them to come to the campaign headquarters. "We planned a series of campaign socials in areas where either we had done campaign activity or where we knew we had some supporters," she said.

"You can also do campaign work where you live," Thompson continued. "We know that people are voting for us in these neighborhoods. I had one cookout where I live, and I invited everybody I knew in the neighborhood. They had heard of us, liked us, had seen the posters around the neighborhood, and came on in to check it out."

After you find the volunteers, one activity that can fit into almost anyone's schedule, said Carla Hoag from Pittsburgh, is plant-gate distribution of the Bill of Rights. Since such a distribution campaign was begun in June, Pittsburgh supporters have been to a dozen plants with nearly twenty "campaign teams."

"You don't see our literature strewn on the ground," Hoag told the workshop. "They take the material, and they do one of two things—they either stand there and read it or they carefully fold it and put it in their pockets to read later."

Two nationally coordinated activities were discussed by activists at the convention. One is the set of campaign tours planned for this fall, and the other is an ambitious projection to meet the requirements for ballot status in thirty states for the November 1976 elections.

Candidates Camejo and Reid and national campaign chairperson Ed Heisler take to the road in October. Camejo, who will be accompanied by *Militant* reporter David Salner, will begin his tour in St. Louis. Then, after attending the convention of the National Student Coalition Against Racism in Boston from October 10-12, he will resume his tour in Denver, followed by stops in Seattle, Washington; in Portland, Oregon; in several California cities, including Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oakland, San Diego, San Jose, and San Francisco; in Chicago; and in Boston.

Reid's tour starts in Minneapolis. After the Boston NSCAR convention, which she will attend, she travels to Newark and then back to Boston for a tour stop there. After that Reid's schedule takes her to Baltimore, Cleveland, New Orleans, Houston, and New York. *Militant* reporter Debby Woodrooffe will travel with Reid.

Heisler's tour will take him to Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta.

# 'Why I joined the SWP'

By Nancy Cole

"I knew the government we have isn't any good. I knew there was something wrong and that it had to be changed, but I didn't know how. By a stroke of luck I found the party."

This was how one person attending a national convention of the Socialist Workers party for the first time put it.

Others expressed their reasons for joining the revolutionary party or the Young Socialist Alliance differently. They had first learned of the SWP in their unions, in antiracist struggles, in abortion coalitions, on campuses, in community organizations, by reading the *Militant*, or by hearing about an SWP election campaign.

The convention was more than just inspiring for many of them. For Janny Becker, a Seattle social worker, it gave her a "gut-level perspective of what the party really is."

Those who were inspired by the convention to join the SWP included a child-care worker from Brooklyn, a leader of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee in Ohio, and a San Francisco high school student who had been a leader of Students United Against Cutbacks last spring.

Another was Nicomedes Sánchez, an activist in Puerto Rican community struggles in New York City for nearly twenty years—in the South Bronx, in East Harlem, and now in the Lower East Side. Last spring he was a candidate for the District One school board on the Por los Niños slate. He's also chairperson of the city-wide Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs.

Nicomedes was aware of the SWP and other groups on the left, but "I never paid any attention until the SWP became active on the Lower East Side," he told the *Militant*.

"Here was an organization whose members didn't just want to become leaders—although they at times took on leadership tasks—but they did consistent work and they had an influence on the group [Por los Niños]."

This singled out the SWP for Nicomedes, and the political discussions he had with individual SWP members impressed him. "They had a real grasp of history, but they could work in local struggles and relate them to the broader political questions," he said.

The convention was the "culmination of experiences" for Nicomedes. He found that this revolutionary party "can be and is democratic." He joined the SWP upon his return to New York.

## Newcomer

Carol Silver, on the other hand, is a relative newcomer to politics. She's a Boston bookkeeper, and she first became actively involved this past spring when she began attending meetings of the Coalition to Defend Abortion Rights.

There she met members of the SWP and YSA and was impressed with their seriousness and organizational capabilities. She joined the YSA in May.

In the past Carol had cast protest votes for both the Socialist Workers party and the Communist party. "I didn't understand the differences, but I figured anything was better than voting for the Democrats and Republicans."

"In afterthought, I feel I got involved with the right group. The Communists and other people don't support the Equal Rights Amendment—something that is very important to me. I could

never support a group that didn't support something like the ERA," Carol told the *Militant*.

Carol especially enjoyed the women's liberation workshops during the convention.

"As someone said in the workshop, if the ERA isn't passed, it's going to be a terrific blow to the women's movement. Some people may think I'm prejudiced, but I think the women's movement is going to be a key factor in making the revolution."

For some, a familiarity with the various political tendencies led to a decision that the YSA and the SWP are the only groups to join. For Osborne Hart, a student at Morehouse College in Atlanta, the choice was between Maoism and Trotskyism. Peking's counterrevolutionary foreign policy finally solved it—Bangladesh, Chile, and then the American Maoists' stand on Portugal proved too much. Osborne chose the YSA.

The clincher for Miesa Patterson, a Black student at Spelman College in Atlanta, was reading the Pathfinder Press book *Black Liberation and Socialism*, edited by Tony Thomas. "Primarily I was concerned about the situation that Blacks faced. The SWP had the best program for that," she said.

## 'Actually did things'

The St. Louis YSA's active participation in the Student Coalition Against Racism, and in defense activities around the cases of J.B. Johnson and Joanne Little, convinced Mary Pritchard, a Black assistant manager of a McDonald's restaurant, to join. According to Mary, "They went out and actually did things."

A twenty-seven-year-old member of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) is the one who found the party by "a stroke of luck." For Cathy, who first started working in a dime store at age sixteen, a revolutionary party with an analysis of, and program for, the labor movement was a welcome discovery.

Her most recent job was at a small nonunion shop. "After working there for about a month, I started asking people if they ever thought about having a union. They said, no, what could a union do for them? I told them they'd get better pay, sick leave, that there were lots of advantages in having a union. The general opinion then was that they wanted a union."

So a union organizer from the CWA was sent to help in setting it up. After numerous confrontations with the boss, they got their union, but he made it clear he wanted Cathy out of the shop any way he could do it.

"He even told the union organizer that he couldn't hold up his head in there as long as I was there."

Three days before she left for Ohio to attend the convention, the boss fired her for the third time, "laying off" eleven other union activists at the same time. Cathy plans to fight to get her job back.

It was through the CWA organizer that Cathy eventually learned of the SWP. At first she was "taken aback, kind of scared." But she soon discovered that the SWP was exactly what she was looking for.

"I've had people tell me the same things all my life. They were unhappy about things, and they'd ask me why is this happening. I had no answers."

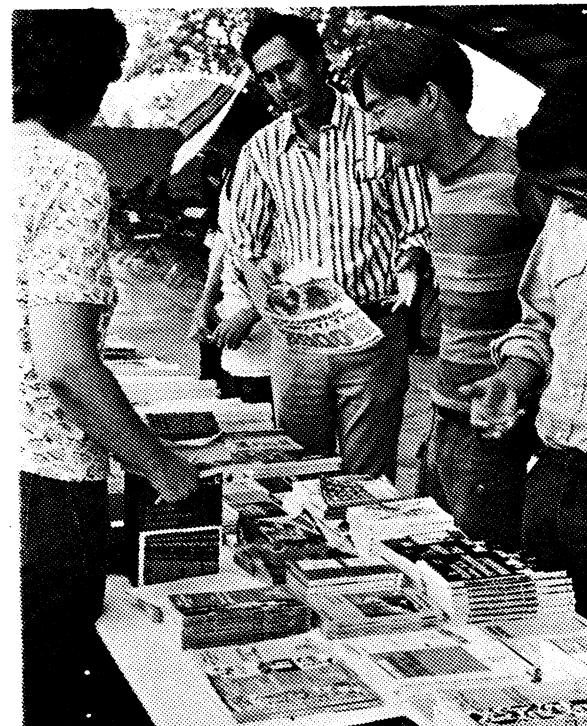
"I think when these people find out there is an answer, that there is a party to fight with, they're going to stand behind the SWP."

## Appetite for Marxism

Those present at the SWP convention displayed a powerful appetite for Marxist literature, buying some \$9,800 worth of books and pamphlets from a table set up by Pathfinder Press. The top sellers were four books newly published by Pathfinder:

- *Teamster Politics* by Farrell Dobbs, 669 copies;
- *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II* by James P. Cannon, 616 copies;
- *Pragmatism versus Marxism* by George Novack, 506 copies; and
- *The Challenge of the Left Opposition (1923-25)* by Leon Trotsky, 450 copies.

Pathfinder also publishes and distributes a growing number of titles in other languages. Of the total convention sales, \$240 worth was in Spanish.





## Democrats agree

# Ford campaigns against busing, for cutbacks

By Frank Lovell

President Ford, campaigning for reelection in Dallas last week, gave top priority to the two issues that he thinks will win votes for him next year. These are cuts in social spending and an end to busing for school desegregation.

Both issues are the code words of racism: "welfare cheats" and "forced busing."

These were the vote-catching signals used by Nixon in 1972. Thus Ford picks up the tools of his predecessor, mentor, and benefactor—the one who appointed him.

Speaking at the convention of the National Federation of Republican Women, Ford said that if relief spending for the poor continues, "half the people of this nation will be living off the other half." He promised to veto social legislation "again and again and again."

On the issue of school busing, Ford said that he had believed since the 1954 Supreme Court ruling on desegregation that "there is a better way to achieve quality education than by forced busing."

He neglected to say that whatever "quality" there may be in education would have been effectively eliminated if the Congress had failed to override his veto of the \$7.9 billion federal appropriation for school aid, inadequate to begin with.

The fact is that Ford's attack on school busing has nothing to do with "a better way" to improve education. It is a way to deprive ghetto children of an education and overturn the 1954 Supreme Court decision against "separate but equal" schools.

The housing patterns in this country are such that the poor, and especially Black people and other minorities, are segregated from the better-off white population. If the children in poor neighborhoods are to receive even an average, standard education, there is no other means than the school bus.

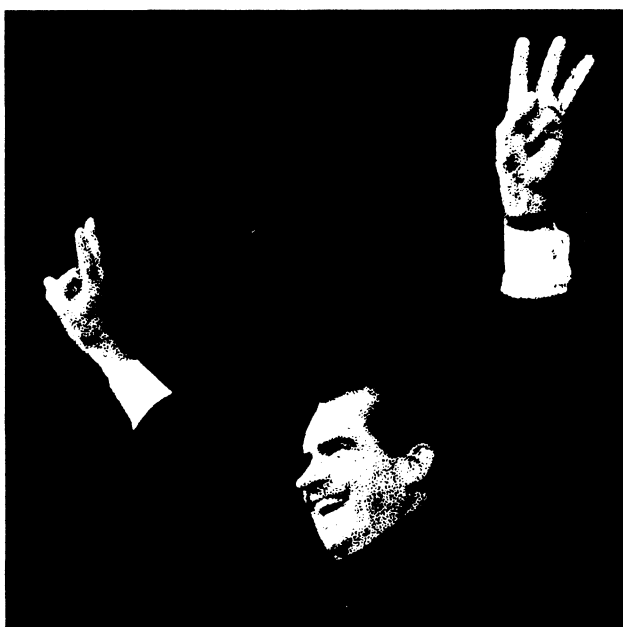
Ford may think his politically expedient demagoguery will help him in the 1976 election, but at this stage it is a greater aid to the racists. His antibusing remark made headlines in nearly every major city.

Ford's pledge to veto all social legislation in the interest of "sound fiscal affairs" puts him on the side of those who oppose education. But his tight fiscal policy has served to disarm his political opponents in the Democratic party, who now find themselves in agreement with him on this issue.

Ford told the well-to-do Republican women in Dallas that those who want to divert military spending to social programs are "dead wrong." This was wasted against the Democrats because they have drafted no such legislation.

Democratic congressional majorities approved every penny spent for the Vietnam War, which fueled the present inflation, and they are still shoveling it to the Pentagon at the rate of \$100 billion or so a year.

Neither are the Democrats seriously opposing



Where have we heard this before?

Ford's racist antibusing stand, just as they failed to challenge Nixon on this issue.

There is good reason why the Democrats find little to debate about with Ford, hesitate to challenge him on real questions of policy, and scurry about looking for side issues.

He falsely charges them with being the free spenders in government, those who appropriate funds for public schools and favor relief programs for the unemployed.

Both Democrats and Republicans endorsed public welfare and voted for improved education when the economy was expanding. They often debated over how much and where, but the welfare state program was never an issue.

The economic crisis has changed that. The welfare state program is an issue now, but not between the Democratic and Republican parties. They have agreed to scuttle it.

As prices rise and unemployment increases, creating greater need for welfare and public works, both political parties of the employing class have cast these urgent needs aside. This is nowhere more clearly evident than in New York City, where the only concern of Democrats and Republicans alike is how to meet the demands of the bankers.

"I don't see any difference between a hard-nosed reactionary and myself on how you work the city of New York now," says Paul O'Dwyer. He is viewed as one of the most liberal Democrats in New York State.

As the *New York Times* sagely observed, "Decades of Democratic action and oratory were cast aside in a matter of weeks as Mayor [Abraham] Beame dismissed thousands of city workers, imposed a wage freeze, demanded a blanket cut in the theretofore sacrosanct City University budget and went along with increased subway fares and bridge tolls."

It's the same story in Chicago, Detroit, Atlanta, San Francisco . . . everywhere Democratic administrations are turning on the very unions and Black communities that helped elect them.

So what about the vaunted labor-Democratic alliance?

Another liberal Democrat, Rep. Edward Koch of Manhattan, told the *Times*, "It's not in labor's interest to have knee-jerk response to their interests." Based on the past year's record, no fair-minded person could accuse the Democratic party of that particular sin.

But what is really not in labor's interest is to keep putting up with the inflation and unemployment, the suicidal arms buildup, racial discrimination, cuts in social services, unfair taxation—not to mention the false promises and general corruption—that are perpetrated by the Democrats and Republicans.

What is not in labor's interest is to continue pouring union members' energy, money, and votes into supporting politicians who only serve big business.

The problems confronting this country are so big they can only be resolved on the level of government, not by individual unions. This is widely recognized.

But experience demonstrates conclusively that to do so will require a different kind of government, a workers government, one that truly serves the interests of the majority.

There is no way to get there through the Democratic and Republican parties. It will take a different kind of party: a labor party, based on the unions, that champions the needs of all the working people of this country.

## 'Militant' sellers up goals to spread busing story

By Pat Galligan

The on-the-scene coverage of the school desegregation struggle in last week's *Militant* prompted two areas to kick off this fall's single-copy sales campaign with a special effort.

YSA activists in Louisville decided to up their bundle to 100. Cleveland, which has a weekly goal of 300, took 1,100 copies. We will report on their results in two weeks when we'll have our first scoreboard on the sales campaign.

When the *Militant's* coverage of major events presents the opportunity, other areas will want to follow the example of Louisville and Cleveland and substantially raise their bundles for a particular issue. When they do, we'll pass along their experiences.

\* \* \*

So far, 182 new subscriptions have been sent in. Though the drive has just begun and November 30—the end of the drive—seems far away, start sending in those subscriptions soon.

One way to make sure that you're

prepared for the drive is to carry a packet of prepaid subscription cards. Susan LaMont from Boston has already sent in a couple of prepaid cards for the subscription drive. (The cards are available in packets of five cards for five dollars or eleven cards for ten dollars.)

\* \* \*

The socialist candidates for president and vice-president, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, along with Ed Heisler, chairperson of the campaign committee, will be barnstorming the country beginning in October.

At street rallies and other campaign events, socialist campaigners will be hawking the *Militant* and distributing other campaign material. They can also sell subscriptions while canvassing their neighborhoods.

The *Militant* itself is a valuable piece of socialist campaign literature. *Militant* reporters David Salner and Debby Woodroffe will be accompanying the candidates on their upcoming national tours to provide complete coverage of the campaign.

Sales of the *Militant* will introduce thousands of people to the socialist alternative in 1976. Subscriptions will allow new readers to see how the candidates respond to a variety of issues and events.

Camejo-Reid supporters Tony Lozito, from Putnam Valley, New York, and Matthew Terranova, from Lodi, New Jersey, sell the *Militant* in their towns. Lozito has a weekly bundle of ten copies and Terranova twenty.

Doris Marks, a campaign activist in Cincinnati, has been selling from twenty-five to thirty *Militants* each week over the summer. She has just raised her bundle to thirty-five copies a week.

What about the rest of you, Camejo-Reid supporters? If you don't already sell the *Militant* in your neighborhood, or where you work or go to school, now is a good time to start.

To order a weekly bundle, write to the *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. The cost is seventeen cents per copy and we'll bill you at the end of each month.



Militant/Jon Flanders

By Dick Roberts

On September 15, 1971, exactly four years ago, the then secretary of the United States Treasury shocked a meeting of international bankers in London.

The United States faced a staggering balance of payments deficit expected to reach \$11 billion for the full year of 1971, John Connally reminded the assembled financiers. That is, the United States would spend \$11 billion more abroad than foreign nations would spend in the United States.

Connally demanded that this balance of payments be reversed by \$13 billion, so that the United States would not only erase its deficit completely, but enjoy a \$2 billion surplus. Otherwise the Nixon administration would stick to the harsh measures in world finance that had been proclaimed in the "New Economic Policy" a month earlier.

Connally's demand was horrifying. The British *Manchester Guardian* was typical in its response: "A transformation of \$13,000-millions in the U.S. trade account—a sum equivalent to an overnight cut of more than 50 percent in British imports, for example—would cause widespread disruption and unemployment."

But by July of 1975, an even greater transformation had been achieved. The U.S. *trade surplus* was reckoned at the historic record of \$6.4 billion for the first seven months of 1975.

In an earlier article (*Militant*, September 12) we looked at the first four years of NEP from the domestic standpoint: the effect of its attack on wages and the drive to increase productivity in U.S. industry. This article will examine results of NEP in international trade and finance.

Besides the direct freeze on all wages (and the supposed freeze on prices), there were two other main features of Nixon's August 15, 1971, proclamation:

- A tariff surcharge was placed on all goods imported into the United States, generally at a rate of 10 percent.

- The U.S. Treasury closed its gold window. Washington would no longer convert dollars into gold for foreign central banks. This paved the way to two devaluations of the dollar.

Reduction of the U.S. exchange rate was a central aim of NEP. The value of the dollar would be reduced compared with foreign currencies. This would mean that U.S. goods would be cheaper abroad and that foreign goods would be more expensive in the United States.

If, to illustrate, a Volkswagen sold in the United States for \$3,000, a 10 percent reduction of the value of the dollar in terms of the West German mark would automatically raise the price of the VW to \$3,300.

Since the prices of American-produced cars would not be changed, this could be a severe blow to foreign competition. It would (and did) lead to massive profit losses and job losses for other countries.

The 10 percent surcharge was imposed to force foreign bankers to allow the value of the dollar to fall, without engaging in competitive devaluations of their own to negate the American move.

### Gold window

Nixon's closing of the gold window was a further step in a process that had started earlier.

Up until 1968 international finance was governed by the dollar-gold-exchange standard established at Bretton Woods in 1944. Currencies traded at fixed rates in relation to each other. Foreign central banks could trade the dollars they got from U.S. expenditures abroad for the gold held by the U.S. Treasury at a fixed rate—initially thirty-six dollars per ounce.

The Bretton Woods system was undermined, and ultimately toppled, by the inflation of its key currency—the dollar.

An ever-increasing volume of dollars poured into foreign countries as the United States sold goods abroad, as its corporations invested "multinationally," and as the Pentagon supported a global imperialist police force.

The U.S. balance of payments deficit meant that increasing billions of dollars were held abroad. But as the inflation stepped up year by year in the United States, *these dollars lost purchasing power*.

More and more frequently as the 1960s elapsed, foreign capitalists (and U.S. corporations abroad) turned in their dollars for other more stable currencies or for gold.

By 1968 the U.S. gold supply had dwindled to less than half its level in the immediate postwar period, and the first step was taken to sever the fixed connection between currencies and gold.

From then on the U.S. Treasury would exchange gold only with foreign central banks, still at fixed rates. The gold supply within central banking

# Nixon's NEP: why they floated the dollar

would be frozen. Central banks could not buy or sell gold on the open market.

This set up a "two-tier" gold system. Gold could now be bought and sold outside the central banking system at free-market prices—and its price spiraled upwards, to its present rate of about \$142 an ounce.

But the exchange rates of currencies remained fixed—and the inflation of the dollar sped on.

In response, foreign holders of dollars now turned them in to their own central banks for stronger currencies, and the foreign central banks increasingly demanded gold (and other reserves) from the U.S. Treasury in exchange for the unwanted dollars dumped on them.

This had reached flood-tide proportions by the late summer of 1971, and it was this "flight from the dollar" that NEP and the slamming of the gold window put to an end.

Foreign holders of inflated dollars were stuck with them. The exchange value of the dollar would drop as it was traded ("floated") in money markets against stronger, less inflated currencies.

### U.S. success

In December 1971—as Connally's message got through—an attempt was made to refix exchange rates with the dollar greatly devalued. But it did not hold. Inflation continued and in February 1973 the dollar was devalued a second time.

A further evolution of the role of gold in international finance has only recently taken place.

At the August 31 meeting of the International Monetary Fund the two-price system was ended. Central banks are now permitted to calculate the value of their gold reserves at the free-market price.

The IMF decision underlined the refusal of U.S. imperialism to allow the dollar to be fixed at any price. Now the price of all gold, along with the values of world currencies, is floating.

The free float of the dollar permits the American ruling class to continuously resort to inflation as a countercyclical device in the United States without undermining its competitive position in world trade.

And the dollar float, to prices well below those that obtained when Nixon declared the NEP in 1971, has helped the United States to achieve spectacular successes in foreign trade.

Next to the West German mark, for example, between 1970 and 1974 the value of the dollar had depreciated by 41 percent. In our illustration this would raise the price of the VW not to \$3,300 but to \$4,230!

In the *Militant* article two weeks ago it was stressed that the American ruling class has been able to retard the rise of unit labor costs compared with its major rivals because of the significantly lower wage increases in the United States compared with the wage increases in foreign countries. From 1970 to 1974 unit labor costs increased by the following percentages:

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

But these figures are based on national currencies and do not take into consideration the devaluation of the dollar compared with foreign countries. When the same table is reproduced in terms of dollars the effects are even more striking!

United States	10%
Japan	100%
France	59%
West Germany	90%
Britain	47%

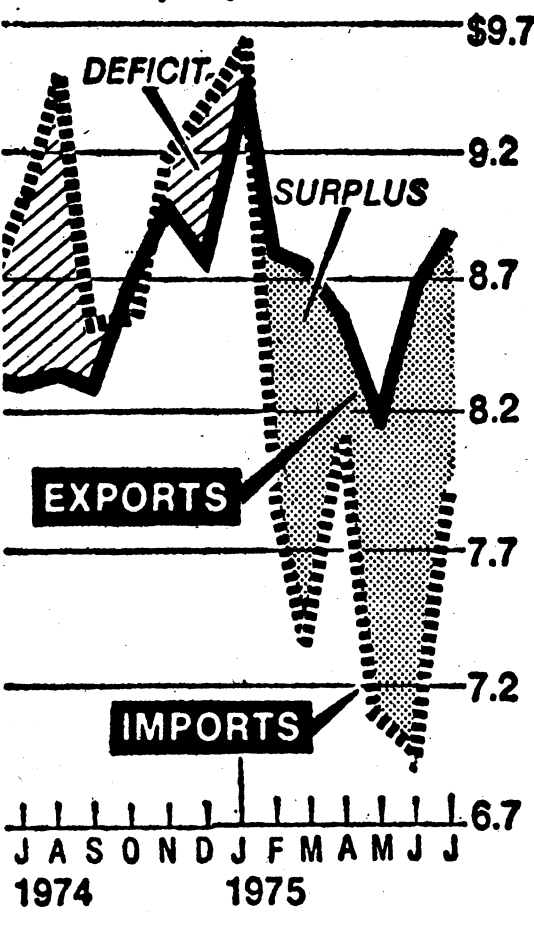
Because the British pound has been even more devalued than the dollar, the free float of currencies has helped Britain against the United States to a certain extent. But in the other markets it is a different matter, to say the least.

The news of the July trade surplus was heralded as follows by the August 27 *New York Times*: "By all evidence, American goods are capturing more than their share. . . . And according to calculations of the First National City Bank, the United States' share of the world market for manufactured goods rose from the low point of 21 per cent in the first quarter of 1973 to 23 per cent in the fourth quarter of 1974. At the same time, competitors, such as Canada, West Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium all experienced sharp drops in their market shares."

This was the main aim of NEP. But in the past four years another ingredient of world economics has played a crucial role that was only dimly perceived by the designers of NEP—the world energy crisis. In order to draw a full balance sheet on the NEP, it is also necessary to take the energy crisis into account. This will be undertaken in a future article.

### United States Exports and Imports

Billions of dollars,  
seasonally adjusted



'New York Times' graph illustrates balance-of-trade gains of U.S. capitalism in 1975.



# ...Shanker betrays N.Y. teachers, students

Continued from back page  
contract *subtractions*, rather than the union proposing additions.

Then, having deliberately forced the UFT to strike, the board retaliated by invoking the antilabor Taylor Law, which prohibits strikes by public employees in New York State. In addition to the fines and jail sentences yet to be set for the union and its leaders, the law imposes penalties on striking teachers of two days' pay for each day on strike.

## 'Whatever I can sell'

"I have to sell whatever I can sell," Shanker told reporters before the settlement was announced. And in order to sell this deal, he made some amazing "Alice-in-Wonderland" predictions.

"These are emergency provisions," he reassured teachers. "We are pretty sure the emergency won't be over in one or two years, but there is a plan now that it will be over in three years, and that eventually we will be out of that emergency, and when we're out of it, these [contract] provisions will pop back."

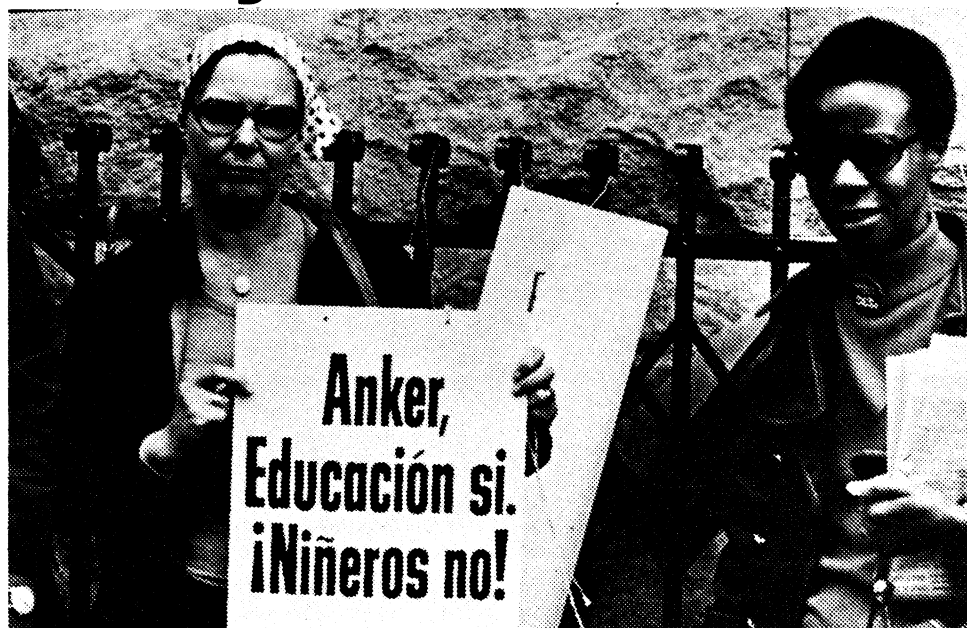
Shanker, of course, knows that the bankers—and whatever agencies they set up, such as the new Emergency Financial Control Board—are not going to allow anything to "pop back" into union contracts.

"We are at the point of maximum strength. We have gotten the most that we can possibly get, given the fiscal situation of the city," Shanker concluded at the delegate assembly.

Obviously he didn't convince the entire UFT membership, nor did the board of education do so well with the city's local school boards. A board negotiator said that if the local boards had a vote, which they don't, they would have turned it down because of the shortened school days.

A solution should "give our children more education, not less," a spokesperson for one of the local boards said.

The strike began September 9 with



Willie Mae Reid (right), Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, joins UFT picket line to show solidarity with striking teachers.

class size as the central issue. Teachers returning to school for the one day left in their contract on September 8 had found major contract violations, primarily classes that were impossibly large.

With this issue in the spotlight, the majority of parents were won to support of the strike. There were some neighborhoods where the memory of the UFT's 1968 strike against the Black and Puerto Rican communities was too vivid, and parents and even teachers opposed the strike. But most schools were not operating during this strike, not only because there were no teachers, but because the parents boycotted them.

## 'No one wants a baby-sitter'

At one meeting of parents and teachers the night before the strike began, in the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn, one parent put it this way: "No one wants merely a nine-to-three baby-sitter. If we don't support the

teachers' demands, that's *all* we'll have."

The meeting decided to join the strike picket lines at 7:30 the following morning.

Ken Miliner, an activist in the *Por los Niños* struggle in District One of the Lower East Side, described the community reaction. "District One has strong union traditions, but the racist teachers have not acted like unionists, and the UFT has not acted like a union there," he told a September 12 Militant Forum.

"In the week before the strike a group of teachers cheered as the UFT-backed school board fired a Puerto Rican principal that the parents had taken months to select," Miliner said.

"At the second of two meetings called to discuss what position they would take on the strike, there was heated discussion around the racist record of the UFT, but the sentiment that emerged was that of one parent: 'Too many students in one classroom is no education.'"

"The assembly voted to support the strike, but with the provision that they would have educational picket lines to show teachers that, contrary to what Shanker says, the community wants to work with them, and they want their bilingual programs restored and expanded, they want a stop to the firings of teachers and community-chosen administrators, and above all, they want to show everyone concerned just what the present UFT leadership and board of education is doing to the schools in their district."

## Meaning of defeat

The UFT had a historic opportunity with this strike to begin to forge an alliance with the oppressed Black and Puerto Rican communities that so desperately want better education for their children.

The board of education's proposal, which is generally portrayed in the media as giving something—not much, but something—to the teachers at the expense of the students, was a trap set to disrupt and destroy any such alliance. And the Shanker leadership of the UFT, deeply ingrained with a conservative, job-trust approach, for whom the strike slogans about "saving our schools" were only empty rhetoric, took the bait.

The outcome can only be to further weaken the union, deepen the hostility toward it among Black and Puerto Rican parents, and prepare the way for more defeats.

This strike was also an opportunity to break through the wage freeze and cutback scheme of the New York bankers. The UFT could have set an example that would have inspired other unionists to fight back. Instead it fell right into the pattern of capitulation to the bankers set by other municipal unions.

The full ramifications of the New York teachers' strike are as yet only dimly perceived by any of the participants. But they will be felt for a long time to come.

# Striking teachers hold united action in Chicago

By Dan Caine

CHICAGO, Sept. 15—The strike of nearly 27,000 public school teachers here continues strong with 96 percent of teachers not crossing the picket lines. The Chicago Teachers Union, on strike since September 3, is demanding a cost-of-living pay increase, smaller classes, and an end to the threatened cut of 1,500 jobs.

On Wednesday, September 10, 8,000 teachers rallied outside the board of education where board officials and CTU representatives were negotiating. From there hundreds boarded buses to go to the Cook County Jail to join a protest by the city college teachers. The day before, Norman Swenson, president of the Cook County College Teachers Union, had been sentenced to five months in jail for disobeying a court order to get 1,300 striking teachers back into Chicago city college classrooms.

The sentence, which came on top of \$35,000 in fines levied against the union, was imposed by Circuit Court Judge L. Sheldon Brown in an emotionally charged court session. Brown told Swenson, "You're setting a terrible example for your children as well as the college students." And then he added, "I don't know if it's going to increase the crime rate or not, but it's not right."

The issues in the college teachers'

strike include salary increases, maintenance of current class sizes, and regular contracts for teachers hired under five-month, automatically terminating contracts.

The September 10 rally at the county jail was the first united action by the two teachers' unions. Signs listed the unions' demands and included such slogans as "Injunctions are anti-labor" and "Ask for a raise and they throw you in jail."

A number of labor leaders turned out to protest the blow struck against the college teachers, including representatives from the American Federation of Teachers national leadership, the Chicago joint board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Amalgamated Meatcutters, United Steelworkers District 31, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and AFT Local 2408 from the University of Minnesota. Also present was a contingent from the United Farm Workers of America.

The featured speaker at the demonstration was CTU President Robert Healey, who issued a statement of solidarity with the college teachers: "We're all on the picket lines for the same things—for lower class size, so that you can do a better job with the students, so that you do not have students who are programmed to fail even before you get a chance to work with them."

Referring to the hundreds of teachers in both unions threatened by layoffs, especially recently hired Black and Latino college teachers, Healey said, "These teachers have prepared themselves to help children and students, and they should work, and not be thrown on the ash-heap of the unemployment bins."



CHICAGO TEACHERS: 'Ask for a raise and they throw you in jail.'

The city's capitalist newspapers continue to denounce the teachers, calling for the passage of legislation that would ban strikes by all public employees. The Chicago Region Parent-Teacher Association has urged the board of education to get a court injunction against the public school teachers.

In the past, CTU leaders have depended on Mayor Richard Daley to intervene on their behalf during contract disputes. And Healey has publicly called upon Daley to mediate this strike. But this time, despite his squabbles over "fiscal irresponsibility" with Gov. Daniel Walker, Daley has come out squarely against any of the teachers' demands.

"It's been proven the board doesn't have the money," Daley said September 11. "And if you haven't got the money, how can you meet the need?" And, he continued, the teachers "have lost the esteem of a lot of their students by going out on strike."

Daley has urged the teachers to return to work "on the promise that the legislature will do everything it can" to override Governor Walker's school aid cuts.

So far, the board of education has stubbornly refused to offer anything except a one-year extension of the current contract.

# Calendar

## CHICAGO: WEST-NORTH

**TEACHERS AND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.** Speakers: Mary Ann Kaufman, Kennedy-King Chapter, AFT Local 1600; Cecil Lampkin, SCAR; member of Chicago Teacher's Union. Fri., Sept. 26, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1; strikers, \$50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

## CLEVELAND

**FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING DRIVE.** Speakers: Baldemar Velasquez, Farm Labor Organizing Committee; Rich Seckel, UFW. Fri., Sept. 26, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

## DETROIT

**THE EDUCATION SYSTEM AND TEACHERS' RIGHT TO STRIKE.** Speakers: Paula Reimers, second vice-president, AFT Local 2000; others. Fri., Sept. 26, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

**UNITED FARM WORKERS AND THE ELECTIONS: STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL.** Speakers: Miguel Pendas, writer for *Militant*; others. Fri., Sept. 26, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

## NEWARK

**LOUISVILLE AND BOSTON: BUSING AND THE FIGHT FOR AN EQUAL EDUCATION.** Speakers: Nan Bailey, *Militant* correspondent, member, YSA National Executive Committee; Robb Wright, N.Y. SCAR. Fri., Sept. 26, 8 p.m. 11 A Central Ave. (near Broad St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 624-7434.

## NEW YORK

**PORTUGAL AT THE CROSSROADS.** Speaker: Barry Sheppard, national organization secretary, SWP. Fri., Sept. 26, 8 p.m. Weinstein Dormitory (NYU). Sub-basement. Univ. Place below Eighth St. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

## WASHINGTON

**CAN CAPITALISM SURVIVE?** An educational series. Speaker: Dick Roberts, author, staff writer for *Militant*. Fri., Sept. 26, 8 p.m.: **Behind the Crisis of America's Cities.** Donation: \$1. Sat., Sept. 27, 10:30 a.m. and 1:30 p.m.: **The Reasons Behind America's Falling Economy.** Donation: \$1, both classes. 1345 E St. N.W. Sat., Sept. 27, 8 p.m.: reception and party. Donation: \$1. 810 E St. S.E. Ausp: Militant Forum and D.C. Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (202) 347-1317.

## ...busing

*Continued from page 4*

class areas like South Boston, but the whole city."

Busing would enable Black children to use these better facilities, programs, and teachers and force the improvement of the facilities in the other areas, Warren pointed out. "It would be a real improvement that would help get Black children some improved education, and that's a fact."

Warren told me that a few small Black groups in Boston echoed Baraka's charges that busing was based on an "assimilationist" idea that Blacks would get better education because whites are present. He said that some groups have even attacked busing as "forced assimilation."

"But the busing program is the result of a struggle that the Black community here has waged for many years for school desegregation. Polls in the Boston *Globe* show more than 70 percent of the Black community fa-

vored the current desegregation plan before school started this year. Even most of those who opposed it didn't differ with its aims, but questioned whether busing could be effectively implemented."

Warren pointed out that people who reject the busing program as "assimilationist" act as if the "schools in the Black community are centers of the development and affirmation of Black culture, identity, and power, part of some drive to develop Black nationhood. In reality, these schools are controlled by the same racists that control the schools in South Boston and are carrying out the same racist policies in regard to Black culture and identity."

"The type of pride and self-confidence that's developing in the Black community around the busing struggle is increasing the nationalist sentiment in the community, encouraging Blacks to demand more of a say in how Black children are treated in the schools and what they are taught and so on."

Warren concluded by saying "I want

you to understand that I don't believe that busing is the final solution to the problem of Black education—very few people here in Boston or anywhere else supporting this struggle think that.

"Once busing programs like this one in Boston are won," he continued, "there will be lots of other problems with the education of Black children and the problems of racism in the schools remaining to be solved. However, we will have taken a big step in winning our rights, and hopefully we can build up the type of movement in the Black community and among our supporters that can help win struggles on other fronts, too."

"But if we don't stand up and fight around school desegregation now, as I pointed out, we won't be in a position to fight for those other things."

## ...Oliver

*Continued from page 5*

Blacks except when forced to. "And to run in the Democratic party is, at best, deceiving yourself that it can be a vehicle for helping Black people," he stated.

Oliver used the desegregation fight as an example.

"The organization and mobilization of prodesegregation forces should be done independently of the Democratic and Republican parties, both of which have shown that they aren't concerned with ensuring the democratic rights of Black people."

"School desegregation has been the law of the land for more than twenty-one years. Yet President Ford has repeatedly given encouragement to racist resistance to desegregation with his antibusing statements."

"The Democrats are no better. Here in Boston it has been the all-Democratic school committee that has deliberately maintained and—as Garriety showed in his ruling—extended the dual school system. The all-Democratic city council allows ROAR to use its chambers as a meeting hall, and city hall itself sports the racist symbols of ROAR."

Dilday, Oliver, and John O'Bryant, a Black candidate for school committee who also addressed the forum, all agreed that the show of force by police

and federal marshals had been a major factor in dispiriting racist violence against the school buses.

Dilday won applause when he called for the removal of Boston Police Department officers who know and are friendly with the racists, and the bringing in of the 101st Airborne Division to break up the antibusing mobs and defend Blacks against racist attacks.

## ...UFW

*Continued from page 7*

numbers of migrant workers. The growers apparently feel that by including the small ranches in a single voting unit they can offset this UFW strength. This is particularly so because it is generally easier to intimidate and coerce smaller groups of workers.

The WGA signed a sweetheart contract with the Teamsters July 18 to get in under the wire before the new labor law went into effect August 28.

When the Teamsters called a meeting of farm workers in Salinas to report on their "negotiations" with the WGA, they had to hastily call off a crowded meeting when the assembled workers began chanting, "Chávez sí! Teamsters no!"

Meanwhile, a further court session was scheduled on the recent ruling denying the UFW access to the workers in the fields and accompanying labor camps. The ALRB had ruled that if there were to be fair elections, the contesting union must have access to the fields. The board ruled that union organizers be permitted to enter company property an hour before work, an hour during the lunch break, and an hour after work.

Such access is vital to the UFW. All the major growers have sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters. That gives them automatic access to the workers on the job. If the UFW is denied such access, the elections are reduced to a hoax. So far, two pro-grower judges have ruled that such access is "unconstitutional." Appeals by the ALRB were slated to be heard September 17.

Clearly, it will take a massive struggle to prevent the field hands from being cheated of their rights.

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# Hugo Blanco

## LAND OR DEATH

### The Peasant Struggle in Peru

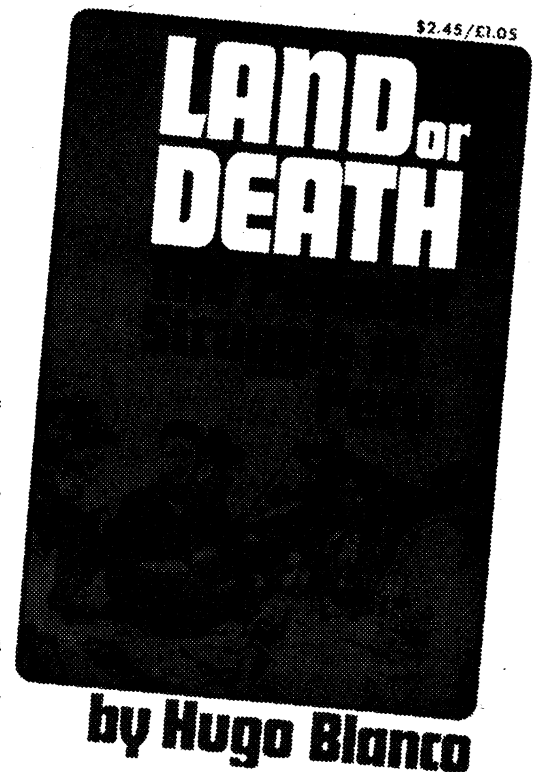
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## HOUSTON

### Activists' conference

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26. FARM WORKERS & LA RAZA. Speaker: Kris Vásquez, activist in Chicana feminist group Mujeres Unidas and Socialist Workers party 1973 candidate for school board. 8 p.m., Lafitte Room, Univ. Center, Univ. of Houston.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27. PORTUGAL: THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY & SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. Speaker: Joel Aber, socialist activist in New Orleans. 11 a.m., Lafitte Room.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS: CAN WE PROTECT OURSELVES AGAINST IT? Speaker: Tom Vernier, member of Houston Teachers Association. 2:30 p.m., Lafitte Room. Donation: \$2.50 for conference, \$1 for each session. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Houston Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

### Rally for socialist campaign

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27. RALLY AGAINST RACISM & FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION. Speakers: Pedro Vásquez, SWP candidate for mayor; Betsy Farley, SWP candidate for controller; and Dan Fein, SWP candidate for school board #3. Also hear firsthand reports on desegregation fights in Boston, Dallas, Corpus Christi, Houston, and New Orleans. Dinner, 6 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. ILA Hall, 1100 74th St. (at Ave. K), Houston. Donation: \$3.50 for rally and dinner, \$1 for rally only. Ausp: YSA and Houston Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## Pathfinder Press Books

### The Fight for Socialist Democracy



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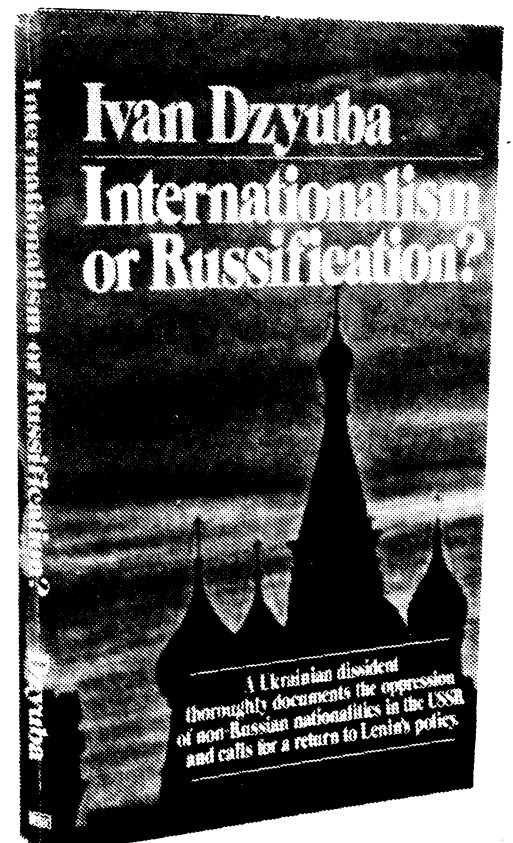
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Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.



## N.Y. strike settlement

# Shanker betrays students, teachers

By George Bouse  
and Nancy Cole

NEW YORK—The United Federation of Teachers voted September 16 to end their strike and accept a contract that represents a stunning defeat for teachers, for students, for parents, and for every working person in this city.

In contrast to the cheering crowd of 23,000 teachers who had voted almost unanimously to strike the week before, the UFT delegate assembly September 16 was grim.

The delegates debated the proposed agreement for two hours before voting. The result was 662 in favor of accepting the deal and 359 against. The membership vote later that day totaled 10,651 for, 6,695 against.

Dissatisfaction with the settlement ran high. It was adopted only because teachers saw no way to fight for something better.

"I didn't understand, and I'm very upset," a young English teacher told a reporter just after voting in favor of the settlement.

"This is my first strike. . . . I want to settle. I want to get back to work. But I don't see why they have to keep cutting so much money out of education.

"My friends have been trying to show me that continuing the strike is not going to help anybody—so I agree. . . . I guess."

### Benefits gone

The settlement, demagogically pushed by UFT President Albert Shanker as the "best possible outcome," offers teachers and students alike far less than they had one year ago.

Gone are many teachers' benefits won in previous contracts (see box below). Gone are an estimated 15,000 substitute and regular teachers, laid off or not replaced. And gone are two class periods a week for students—a yearly reduction equivalent to ten days of instruction.



Militant/Howard Lewis

Shanker told striking teachers that layoffs, wage freeze, larger classes, and fewer benefits were 'best possible outcome.'

Parents were outraged that the board, after laying off so many teachers, was now beginning to whittle away at the length of the school day. And they were outraged that the UFT, after vowing it was fighting for the students' interests, had accepted the deal.

One laid-off teacher of high school Spanish said he had urged parents at his own child's school "not to scab" on the teachers.

"Now, how can I go back there?" he asked unhappily. "They're just going to say, 'Well, the teachers are just trying to go home early.'"

Shanker's initial pledge to fight for a 25 percent wage increase melted away early in the negotiations. And the only pay raise discussed was for teachers

with longevity—those with more than ten years of service are supposed to get a \$750 raise and those with fifteen years, \$1,500. But they may never see these "raises." The money budgeted for them is frozen for at least a year under the city's wage freeze.

But perhaps the hardest pill to swallow is the promise to rehire only 2,000 teachers—for only one year—using the money saved by not paying salaries during the strike, added to the state's Taylor Law fines each striker will have to pay.

### Campaign against unions

According to Shanker, the only ones who would have gained from a prolonged strike would be New York's bankers, now engaged in a ruthless

campaign to break municipal unions in order to solve the city's financial crisis.

But what Shanker didn't say was that the settlement he agreed to handed the bankers and the capitalist politicians a victory that no one will forget for a long time.

The UFT strike, following Shanker's earlier refusal to accept the wage freeze, was potentially the first powerful challenge to the ruling class's assault on New York workers. Other resistance, such as the sanitation workers' wildcat strike in July, had been effectively squelched.

Unlike contract negotiations of the past, the UFT's began with the board of education listing their demands for

*Continued on page 29*

## Fiction versus fact about UFT contract

"I know it's not usual to applaud or cheer the fact that you end up with most of what you had before," UFT President Albert Shanker told the delegate assembly September 16. "We're not used to that, but we also know that in times of prosperity you make gains and in times of depression you have to fight very, very hard to hold onto what you had before. . . . That's what you'll see we have done."

Shanker's statement explaining the ten-page contract proposal distributed to teachers September 16 listed his reasons for recommending adoption of the agreement. Few teachers had time

to read more than this statement before voting. They may have been rudely awakened later when they learned the real terms of the new agreement. His reasons are printed below with the facts following them.

"1. They restore class size to 1972-75 maximums."

FACT: The maximums of thirty-two to thirty-four students per class are not in the new contract, as they were in the old one. Class size is now dependent on the board's promise to rehire 2,000 teachers.

"2. Over two-thirds of all laid-off members will be rehired beginning

immediately, and all of us will be back in a short period of time."

FACT: With the money saved by the board during the strike, it has agreed to rehire some 2,000 teachers for one year. This is only one-half of the regular teachers already fired this fall, and does not include the thousands of substitute teachers, paraprofessionals, and other UFT members no longer working.

There are no provisions in the agreement for rehiring any other teachers.

"3. The board has abandoned virtually all of its negotiating demands: its

proposals to strip teachers of important rights and benefits."

FACT: The new contract gives up two preparation periods per week for teachers in Title I schools; teachers may now be ordered to cover seven periods a year without compensation, instead of the old contract's two; and sabbatical leaves are reduced.

"4. We are convinced there is no more money to be had."

FACT: Only if the banks continue to reap their profits at the expense of New York City workers. Billions would be made available by a moratorium on interest payments to the banks.