

# THE MILITANT

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



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MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT  
International  
**socialist**  
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## THE MILITANT

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**BOSTON SWP DEMANDS INVESTIGATION:** During the week of August 8-14, the Socialist Workers party's offices in the Roxbury section of Boston were burglarized and ransacked. At a news conference August 18, SWP senatorial candidate Carol Henderson Evans demanded a full investigation of the incident. The office is one of three campaign headquarters in the Boston area for Evans.

In addition to removing valuable office equipment, the intruders deliberately scattered files, literature, and mimeograph paper throughout the office.

A story on the break-in in the Boston *Herald-American* linked it with recent admissions by FBI officials that they had authorized burglaries of radical groups in 1972 and 1973.

## Boston racists step up attacks on Blacks

**BOSTON**—Two weeks before the opening of schools here, racists have escalated their violent attacks against Black people.

On August 22, whites harassed a Black family at their Dorchester home and spat on one of the children. On August 23, a group of whites in Dorchester attacked and stabbed a Black man. A week before, racists chased a Black onto Castle Island in South Boston and severely beat him.

Black sailors stationed in East Boston have been beaten recently, and there have been many other such incidents in East Boston, Dorchester, and South Boston.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism released a statement August 24, which was widely broadcast on Boston's radio stations. It said, in part:

"On April 23, Mayor Kevin H. White called a march for peace in Boston. He stated that all people should join forces to help put an end to the violence in the city of Boston.

"Since the march there have been a number of racist attacks on Blacks in the city. The mayor has done nothing to insure the safety of Blacks in Boston.

"We at NSCAR demanded that if Mayor Kevin H. White was concerned with the safety of people in this city, then he should go on an all-out campaign to stop the violence where it flows from—and that is from the racist bigots in this city.

"In two weeks the schools will be open in the city of Boston. And unlike last summer, the city was relatively quiet. However, the recent wave of attacks on Black people is just a beginning and an indication of just what the city is going to be in for.

"Antibusing leaders have already held protest rallies, vowing to continue to resist the desegregation order.

"NSCAR has demanded that all of the antibusing criminals who have attacked Blacks be arrested and prosecuted. We demand that protection be guaranteed for Blacks in the city of Boston."

**LABOR DAY MARCH IN RALEIGH:** Demonstrators will march on Raleigh, North Carolina, September 6 in a Labor Day March for Human and Labor Rights. The national protest, called by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, will demand freedom for North Carolina political prisoners, including the Wilmington Ten and the Charlotte Three.

Another goal of the march is to support the organizing campaign of J.P. Stevens textile workers in North Carolina. Rally speakers will include Angela Davis and Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond.

**MEEROPOLS WIN ROUND WITH FBI:** Federal Judge June Green has ordered the FBI to search its fifty-nine field offices for files relating to the 1950s trial of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. At a Washington, D.C., hearing July 22, Green also directed the bureau to submit to questioning under oath on its filing system. The government is resisting turning over all files on the case as demanded by the Rosenbergs' sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol.

"You say it's a terrible burden to release everything on the Rosenberg case," Judge Green said to the government attorney, "but isn't that what it's all about?"

**FREE LUREIDA TORRES!:** Lureida Torres, a twenty-six-year-old school teacher, has been imprisoned in New York since June 24. She is a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist party. Her "crime" was refusing to testify before a grand jury.

The government is using the grand jury investigation of bombings attributed to the "Armed Forces of National Liberation" as an excuse to "harass and intimidate the growing Puerto Rican independence movement," says the committee formed to defend Torres.

A motion to release Torres on the grounds that her jailing is solely punitive since she has sworn she will never testify

was rejected by a federal judge August 12. During the hearing, seventy-five supporters demonstrated outside the courthouse.

A news release from the Campaign to Free Lureida Torres states, "'Free Lureida Torres' and 'Stop the attacks on the Puerto Rican independence movement' are the goals of the national campaign. The group has launched a letter writing and petition drive directed at U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi, demanding Torres' immediate release. The Campaign, which includes church, labor, Puerto Rican, women's, Black, Native American, gay and anti-repression groups will be calling for many demonstrations both in New York and around the country."

**LOUISVILLE BUSING PLAN UPHELD:** A federal court of appeals has upheld the Louisville busing plan. The August 23 decision came nine days before the start of school. Racist violence marked the opening of school a year ago under the same desegregation plan.

The court rejected pleas of the Jefferson County Board of Education, which doubles as a leading force in the antibusing movement. The decision noted that 85 percent of the sixty-one schools in the old school district were "racially identifiable" in a system which had "formerly practiced segregation by law."

**APPEAL FILED FOR 450 HAITIANS:** The National Emergency Civil Liberties Foundation announced August 12 that congressional findings had prompted it to appeal the cases of 450 Haitians facing deportation.

The Haitians arrived in Florida between 1972 and 1974 in small boats. The Immigration and Naturalization Service denied their requests for political asylum. An investigation by the Immigration Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee found that the Haitians were interviewed shortly after their arrivals without adequate explanation or access to counsel and other assistance. The committee also said the State Department's reports to the INS concerning the Haitians were "grossly inadequate," constituting "arbitrary denials, based apparently on the socio-economic status of the applicant."

The civil liberties attorneys also asked that the Haitians be allowed to work while their cases are under review. Their situations are now desperate since they are denied employment and welfare assistance.

**'AMERICAN WAY OF EXECUTION':** "Society is entitled to revenge, pure and simple. It's for society's own good health and well-being. It has a cleansing effect." That's what Iowa Attorney General Richard Turner has to say about the death penalty. Turner favors hanging should capital punishment be reinstituted in Iowa because "it's the American way of execution."

Since the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the death penalty on July 2, and offered guidelines for "acceptable" state laws, reactionary officials like Turner have scurried to patch up their death laws or get new ones on the books. Twenty-one days after the court decision, Oklahoma had a new law. It took Massachusetts legislators a month. Louisiana is soon to complete work on its new law.

No executions can take place before the Supreme Court meets for a new term in the fall. At that time the court has to decide whether to rehear the cases from Georgia, Florida, and Texas, where the justices approved death.

**PUT THEIR MONEY WHERE THEIR POLITICS IS:** A large number of Minnesota taxpayers indicated through the state's tax checkoff system that the Socialist Workers party is the party they most want to support. Under Minnesota's checkoff law, state income taxpayers can designate one dollar of their payment to support the party of their choice.

The result: taxpayers checked off \$2,555 for the Socialist Workers party in their 1974 and 1975 returns. That figure, only slightly surpassed by the right-wing American party (\$2,951), was almost two-and-one-half times greater than the Libertarian party (\$1,023) and eight times greater than the Communist party (\$319).

**'AS I SEE IT':** With this issue we begin a new column, "As I See It." (See page 30.) This column, which will appear from time to time, will offer our writers an opportunity to express their opinion on a variety of topics.

**PURGED:** Joseph Schott, retired FBI agent and author of *No Left Turns*, an irreverent accounting of his twenty-three years with the bureau, has been expelled from the Society of Former Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Inc.

"It's hard to believe they would do this," says Schott, "but it's typical of the old FBI, ganging up on anybody who criticizes."

—Nancy Cole

## Nothing changed in five years

# Attica prisoners strike for human dignity

By José G. Pérez

The 2,000 prisoners at New York's Attica prison, site of the famous 1971 uprising, began a general strike August 23.

The prisoners are well organized. They prepared the strike by drawing up a list of demands and circulating at least three different leaflets. State officials concede the protest is completely effective, with 99 percent of the prisoners on strike.

The issue that sparked the strike is the same one that led to the 1971 rebellion: prisoners want to be treated as human beings, not beasts.

About 70 percent of the prisoners are Black, Puerto Rican, or other minorities. They are a target of special abuse.

Many of the demands of the current protest were also raised in 1971. That rebellion was crushed when a government army of 1,000 troops stormed the prison, shooting indiscriminately. Thirty-eight prisoners and hostages were murdered and 300 others wounded in the attack.

After the massacre, many inmates were indicted and some convicted.

To placate public opinion, an unending stream of "blue ribbon" commissions have studied the state's prison system and made numerous recommendations.

But nothing has changed.

As the strike was entering its third day, state officials claimed that the situation was peaceful and that they were not planning any forceful measures to break the strike.

Reportedly, negotiations between the state corrections commissioner and strike leaders are under way. However, reporters have been barred from interviewing prisoners, so news accounts have not told their side of the story.

I was able to obtain part of the prisoners' side from Frank "Big Black" Smith, who was active in the 1971 rebellion. He currently is a leader of Attica Now in New York City. He gave



ATTICA, 1971

me copies of documents from inmates explaining events leading to the strike.

Last April, the guards' association and the state reached an impasse in negotiations over a new contract.

Harassment and arbitrary lock-ups intensified in prisons throughout the state, as guards tried to pressure the state into giving them higher pay, more overtime, hazardous duty pay, and more weapons.

At the end of May, Attica was closed down for two days for a weapons shake-down after a series of fights.

On June 7, inmates filed a federal class-action suit protesting transfers of large numbers of mentally ill inmates

into the general prison population.

On July 4, 350 inmates sent a petition to Benjamin Ward, state corrections commissioner, demanding that he meet immediately with them to prevent a crisis.

The prisoners said that prison authorities had denied them any way to deal with the problem: "Your office answers our real problems with abstract letters, your subordinates here at the prison hold our needs and wants in contempt, while the court shuffles paper."

On July 11, guards attacked Yusef Abdul Alim, an inmate leader and a

believer in the Sunni Muslim religion. Cops beat him and then took him to the "box," a segregation cell, where cops maced him and broke his jaw.

Prisoners in D-yard saw the attack and protested. Guards beat several of them and put them in the "box."

Beatings continued for several days, while the Correction Commission—the state's permanent "blue ribbon" watchdog panel—sent a team to investigate conditions at Attica. They reported that conditions are "just as bad, perhaps worse" than they were in September 1971, adding, "What we have is a combat situation."

On July 21, the *New York Times* front-paged a story about the Correction Commission's report. In the following month, government officials and news media said much about "overcrowding" at prisons, implying that all problems could be resolved by building more and more prisons.

In a recent open letter to Gov. Hugh Carey, Attica inmate R. Dhoruba Moore blasted the notion that ending overcrowding is a cure-all.

"The crisis in state prisons," he said, "is fundamentally attributable to not only 'overcrowding' but to the reactionary racist character of [the prison] system."

Among the central demands of the prisoners are:

- An end to arbitrary and capricious prison regulations and racist or repressive interpretations of statewide rules.

- Reassignment of inmates to facilities near their homes, so they can maintain ties with their families. Now, most of those at Attica come from New York City, which is hundreds of miles away.

- Enactment of a law limiting prison sentences to five years.

- Changes in parole and temporary release programs so that eligibility is not based on sentence or charge. The protesters want the programs to be available to more inmates.

## Ford sets 'Great Debate' with Jimmy Carter

By Dick Roberts

The main development coming after the Republican convention appears to be the decision of President Ford's campaign committee to engage Jimmy Carter in a debate.

In Vail, Colorado, August 24, Ford challenged Carter to four ninety-minute debates, to begin as soon as possible after Labor Day.

But the significance of the "Great Debate" will not be in presenting differing political views.

(It remains to be seen whether the candidates actually talk to each other. They didn't in 1960. The Richard Nixon-John Kennedy "debates" were staged so that the candidates received questions that they individually responded to without addressing each other.)

The point of the Ford-Carter appearances, which will also be carefully staged if they take place, will be to distract attention from fundamental issues facing Americans.

It is certain that the capitalist candidates will not give serious answers to the massive and increasing unemployment in America, to the financial devastation of the big cities and municipal layoffs, to the witch-hunt against undocumented workers, to the increased racist attacks on Blacks, to the erosion of education, or to the attack on women's rights, just to name a few of the key problems facing Americans.

The debate will be another part of the process of trying to drum it into the heads of voters that the Republicans

and Democrats are the only alternatives. The message is: "You may have disagreements with the system, but there's no place for any of your views in the 'Great Debate.'"

That is why the question of "equal time" is so important.

The fact is the Democrats and Republicans wouldn't be considering a "debate" if they hadn't succeeded in overcoming Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act requiring "equal time" for all candidates, including those from smaller parties.

In 1960 it took a special act of Congress to exempt the Kennedy-Nixon show from equal-time regulation. But in 1975 a change was made in the interpretation of the law.

The networks do not have to grant "equal time" to lesser parties if the debate is a "bona fide" news event occurring outside the TV studios. And this is why the League of Women Voters offered its services as sponsor of the debates.

The capitalist parties and the big TV networks are working hand in hand to deny the democratic right of smaller parties to have their views heard. This is the prerequisite for the "Great Debate."

The "Great Debate" fosters the myth that there is no alternative to capitalist politics by *actually excluding any alternative views.*

The most frequently given excuse for this is that there are "too many other parties." Former Federal Communications Commission Chairman Newton Minow scornfully mentioned "the vege-

tarians and the prohibitionists, the anti-abortionists and McCarthy."

If Minow would recheck his TV he would find that Americans hear a lot more from the makers of soap than from any political parties. The major networks almost totally exclude serious discussion of any of the critical problems in American society.

The problem is not that there are too many different views. It's that the control of the media rests with capitalist corporations and they exclude all serious alternative views.

The suppression of "equal time" is another example of the suppression of democratic rights that is an everyday aspect of capitalist society.

### Carter letter to Peter Camejo

[The following letter was sent by the Jimmy Carter presidential campaign committee to the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters February 13. Now that the primaries are over, and especially in light of the pro-

posed "Great Debate" between Carter and Ford, there would be tremendous interest in a debate between Carter and Peter Camejo. This would provide a genuine juxtaposition of the capitalist and socialist programs.]

Dear Mr. Camejo:

Thank you for your letter. Governor Carter asks that I express to you his willingness to discuss the issues with you at appropriate times and forums during the campaign.

Since he will be entering every primary, there should be ample opportunity along the way. Of course, I am sure you realize that until after the convention, our primary concern must be with fellow Democrats seeking the same nomination.

Sincerely,  
Jody Powell,  
News Secretary



**Nearly 260 killed since June**

# Black rebellion deepens in South Africa

By Steve Clark

"I'd be surprised if most of the tenants here knew how to mop their own floors," commented the caretaker of a deluxe apartment building in Johannesburg, South Africa.

But if their floors were dirty August 23, these wealthy apartment-dwellers were out of luck. Because their Black maids, butlers, and custodians—along with thousands of other Black workers—didn't show up for work.

August 23 was the first day of a three-day strike by Black workers against the racist apartheid system in South Africa. The strike was most effective in Johannesburg. Most Blacks who work in that city live nearby in the all-Black township of Soweto.

"In Johannesburg itself," wrote *New York Times* correspondent John Burns, "the economic hub of the country, the effect was starkly apparent. Black absenteeism as high as 80 percent in many factories and offices forced thousands of whites to do menial work usually carried out only by blacks."

According to Burns, word of the strike was spread by pamphlets bearing the name of the African National Congress, a Black organization banned by the white minority regime in 1960.

During the previous week, Black protests also erupted in the coastal city of Port Elizabeth, 560 miles south of Johannesburg. Local police shot and killed thirty-three Blacks during the Port Elizabeth demonstrations.

These deaths brought to sixty the number of Black protesters murdered by South African authorities in one two-week period last month. According to the government's own figures, nearly 260 Blacks have been killed since June, when the current upsurge of anti-apartheid activity began. Cops also killed at least one Black youth and wounded several others during demonstrations in Soweto in solidarity with the three-day strike.



Anti-apartheid protests in South Africa have continued to mount during summer

The white minority regime is frightened by the prospect of large numbers of Black workers joining student protests that have mounted since June. "... The possibility that labor might revolt against Pretoria's employment practices, in which most blacks are restricted to unskilled jobs at subsistence wages, could have serious implications," warned an article in the August 22 "Week in Review" section of the *New York Times*.

The conditions facing Black workers in South Africa provide fuel for a powerful explosion. According to the *Financial Mail*, a Johannesburg newspaper, the average monthly income of white South Africans in 1973 was \$211.60; Blacks took home \$11.50.

In addition, Black workers in South Africa's factories, mines, and fields have no social or political rights. They cannot legally unionize or strike. The official justification for this is that Blacks are not citizens of South Africa. Instead, they are supposedly citizens of nine undeveloped "homelands" set aside by the government—similar in

some ways to Indian reservations in this country.

These "homelands" comprise only 13 percent of South Africa's land, although Blacks make up more than 70 percent of the population.

Blacks must receive official permission to live, work, or travel outside these areas. They are required to carry "passbooks" with them at all times. Violations are punishable by fines, imprisonment, or banishment to one of the "homelands."

Since the South African economy depends on cheap Black labor, the government grants permission for 10 million of the 18.5 million Blacks to live outside their "homelands." Nonetheless, these Blacks face inferior, segregated housing and public facilities.

Most Black workers are forced to live in separate cities near their jobs. Soweto is one of these cities. Many others are clustered around every major industrial area in South Africa.

These are the conditions that sparked the outburst of anti-apartheid

protests this summer. The racist white minority regime's response has been violence and repression, with a few minor reforms.

In addition to the nearly 260 police murders mentioned earlier, the government has rounded up thousands of protesters. It has jailed at least 170 leaders of various Black organizations.

The few government concessions have not even left a dent in the apartheid system. After the government announced its latest reform August 20—a slight relaxation on land ownership rights for Blacks—Minister of "Justice" James Kruger made the regime's intentions crystal clear.

Speaking of South African Blacks, Kruger said, "He knows his place. . . . They always say they will overcome, but I say we will overcome."

The protests this summer have placed the government-appointed leaders of the nine Black "homelands" in a difficult spot. They have collaborated with their white masters for years in return for minor privileges and favors.

Now they are threatened with losing whatever credibility they have in the eyes of the Black masses. At the same time, if they cannot control their supposed followers, they are of no use to their white bosses.

Faced with this dilemma, seven of the nine "homeland" leaders issued a statement August 21 accusing the government of "jackboot tactics." They demanded "full human rights for blacks and not concessions, as concessions can no longer satisfy the aspirations of the black man."

The government-sponsored leaders have already been bypassed by events. But even they have been forced to recognize that full human rights, not minor concessions, are what the current struggle in South Africa is all about.

And full human rights can mean only one thing—the total destruction of the apartheid regime.

## **'76 Socialist Workers candidates**

# Camejo, Reid: 'Protest apartheid's bloodbath'

[The following statement was released August 24 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president of the United States.]

In the past two months, hundreds of Black South Africans have been slaughtered by the racist white minority regime. Thousands have been slammed behind bars—with no formal charges—including leaders of all the major Black organizations.

What crime have they committed that is punishable by mass jailings

and instant executions?

They have demanded the right to speak their own language in school, rather than the language of their oppressors.

They have demanded the right in their own country to live and travel wherever they choose.

They have demanded decent jobs, decent schools, decent hospitals, and other things now reserved for a white minority.

And—the worst crime of all—they have demanded the destruction of the racist apartheid system that has deprived them of all these rights. They have demanded their birthright as masters of their own land and futures.

Our campaign—the Socialist Workers party campaign—doesn't hesitate to say where we stand on "crimes" like these: we're for them 100 percent.

But what about our Democratic and Republican party opponents? What have Ford and Carter had to say about the *real* crimes and the *real* criminals—about the ruthless massacre of Blacks by Washington's allies in South Africa?

Nothing. Not one word.

In contrast, when South African troops marched into Angola last winter to gun down Black freedom fighters in that country, President Ford took a personal interest. In fact, he poured in million of dollars in arms, mercenaries, and advisers to help the white invaders.

How can Jimmy Carter's silence be explained?

Perhaps Carter detects an echo of his "ethnic purity" views in some recent pronouncements by South African officials. After all, he himself last April bemoaned "black intrusion" into white neighborhoods, and gave his stamp of approval to "the natural inclination of people to live in ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods."

Where has this "natural inclination" taken root more deeply than in South Africa?

Of course, both Carter and Ford say for the record that they support majority rule in South Africa. But actions speak louder than words, and the actions of both capitalist parties bolster apartheid.

American investments totaling \$1.5 billion help prop up the South African regime. Washington—under both Democratic and Republican administrations—has sold millions of dollars in planes, helicopters, and other military equipment to the white minority government.

Neither Ford nor Carter has protested this support to apartheid. Why? Because American corporations rake in superprofits from the exploitation of cheap Black labor in South Africa, and because the Pentagon values the presence of a racist regime on the southern tip of the African continent.

Black organizations in the United States have spoken out this summer

against the policies of the white minority regime. "The repressive measures in South Africa point up the urgency of eliminating apartheid and white minority rule in that country," said an emergency resolution passed at the June NAACP convention.

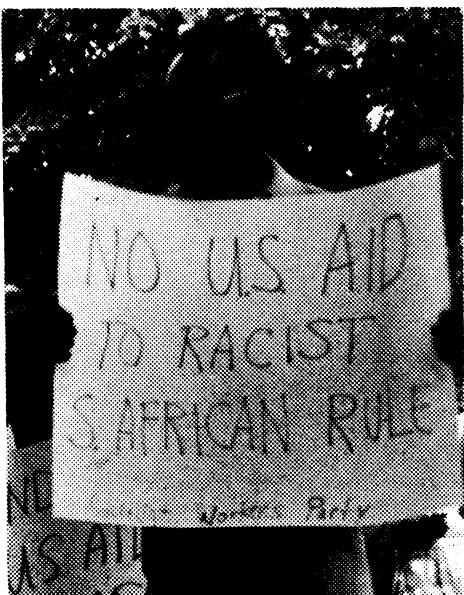
"We urge the United States government to continue to take all public and diplomatic actions to make evident its firm commitment in opposition to the racist policies of the South African regime and the barbaric treatment of its non-white citizens."

A few days ago a delegation headed by Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH demanded that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger "communicate to South Africa in the strongest terms" U.S. opposition to apartheid.

There is a pressing need today for international solidarity with the struggle in South Africa. We in the United States must demand the immediate release of all South African political prisoners and support the struggles of Black South Africans to win majority rule.

But the best way that Black organizations, student groups, and trade unionists in this country can help the South African masses is to demand an end to Washington's complicity in their oppression. Rallies, picket lines, and demonstrations must demand:

Not one more dime to the racist butchers who are oppressing South Africa's Black majority!



Militant/Hayden Perry



## As authorities continue to stall

# Socialists renew petitioning in California

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 23—Socialist Workers party members and supporters are once again on California streets gathering signatures for the presidential slate of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, as well as Omari Musa, the party's nominee for U.S. senator.

This extra petitioning effort, coming after the SWP had already filed far more than the legally required number of signatures, was forced by the stalling tactics of the California state authorities.

As of this writing, the California Supreme Court has not responded to an SWP motion that its slate be ordered certified for the state ballot.

Such a brief was filed August 18.

The action was taken after state election officials failed to comply with their own laws.

According to state election statutes, independent nominating petitions are to be processed within five days after being submitted.

The deadline for filing petitions is September 3, but the SWP made an initial submission of petitions August 4 and 5. Nearly three weeks later, according to election officials, these are still being processed.

To qualify an independent nominee for the state ballot, it is necessary to submit petitions bearing the signatures of 99,284 voters. To ensure a sufficient number of valid ones, the SWP submitted more than 138,000 signatures for Camejo and Reid and more than 134,000 for Musa.

In making an early submission the SWP acted on the basis of the five-day processing requirement stipulated in the law. If the law had been complied with, the party would have shortly known if it had already obtained a sufficient number of valid signatures

or, if it didn't, how many more were needed.

Failure of election officials to comply with the law has placed an added discriminatory burden on the SWP. Qualifying for the ballot has required considerable resources both in campaign personnel and money. Having met these requirements, the party quite reasonably wants a maximum, not a minimum, period of time to devote to the actual campaign rather than to further involvement in the petitioning process.

Concretely, for the past week SWP campaigners have been compelled to resume petitioning because they cannot be certain what the election board's finding will be on the signatures already submitted.

It may well be, for example, that when the officials get around to completing their check of the submitted signatures, the party will find that it already is in compliance and that it is gathering additional signatures unnecessarily. Or, if some additional ones are needed, it may be that they are gathering more than is necessary.

Failure of state officials to comply with the law in this regard stands in stark contrast to their insistence that those submitting petitions comply with every small detail of the election statutes. It is simply one more example of their determination to try to keep dissenting forces off the ballot and their willingness to use every trick they can to accomplish this.

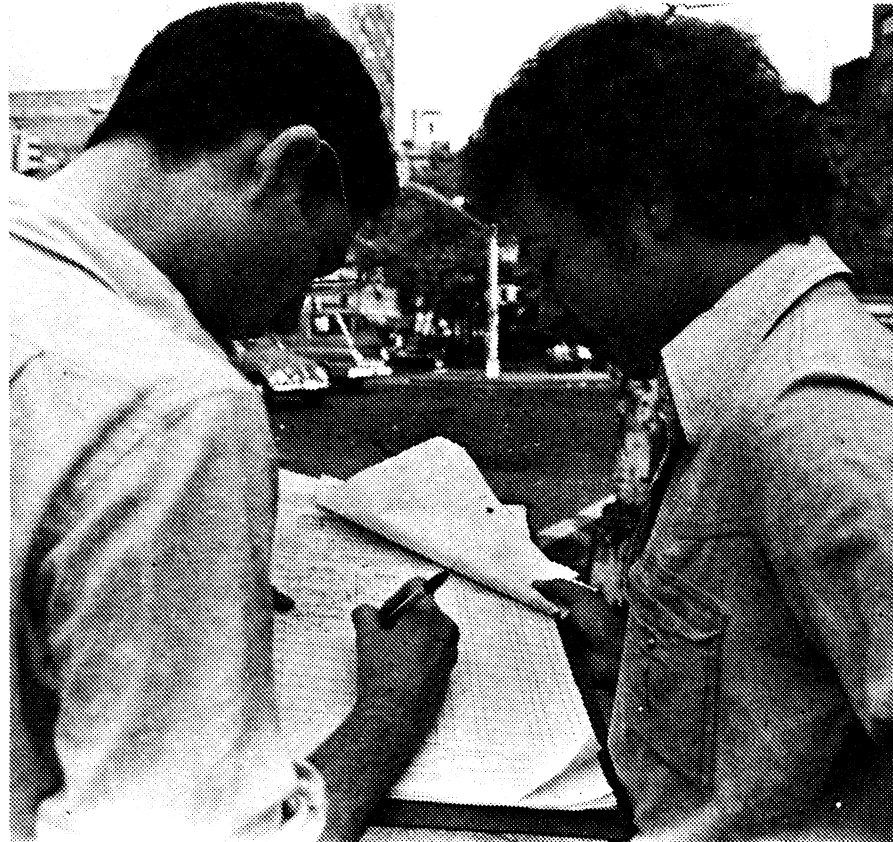
The SWP is equally determined that it will not be cheated of its rightful place on the ballot. While pressing the court action, it is also continuing to collect signatures. When the September 3 deadline is reached, the party will have submitted enough signatures to have demonstrated that it has more than amply complied with the law and

that it has not been deterred by the discriminatory treatment to which it has been subjected.

The party has appealed to all supporters of democratic rights to

make their views known by letters and telegrams to Gov. Edmund Brown and Secretary of State Marge Fong Eu at the State Building, Sacramento, California 95814.

## New York ballot drive



Militant/Susan Ellis

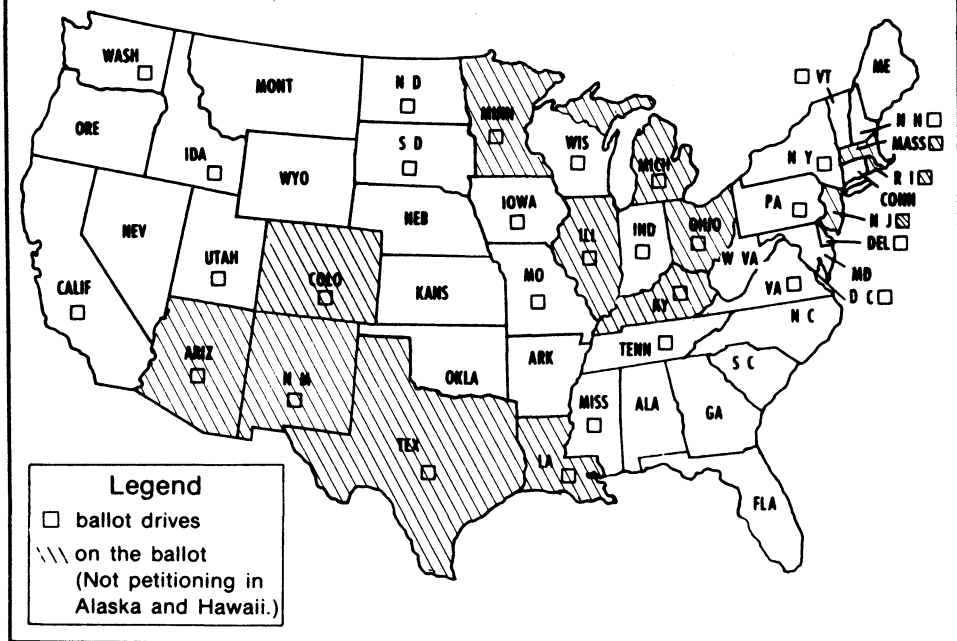
Socialist petitioning gets under way in New York. First mobilization of N.Y. Camejo and Reid supporters, Saturday, August 21, collected 27,000 signatures. A second mobilization is scheduled for Saturday, August 28. All those who can help in the New York area should contact the nearest SWP headquarters listed in the Socialist Directory on page 31.

## First time in Illinois

# SWP candidates validated in four new states

PUT CAMEJO AND REID  
ON THE 1976 BALLOT!

Goal: 30 states and District of Columbia



August 24, 1976

Currently petitioning:

California  
Indiana  
Iowa  
New York  
North Dakota  
South Dakota  
Virginia

Filed but not certified:

Delaware  
Idaho  
Missouri  
Pennsylvania  
Utah  
Washington, D.C.  
Wisconsin

Certified:

Arizona  
Colorado  
Illinois  
Kentucky  
Louisiana  
Massachusetts  
Michigan  
Minnesota  
New Jersey  
New Mexico  
Ohio  
Rhode Island  
Texas

By Dick Roberts

Louisiana, Texas, Illinois, and Rhode Island have certified Socialist Workers party petitions for the November ballot. Furthermore, a ruling on Michigan's new primary law will definitely put the SWP on the Michigan ballot this year.

This brings to thirteen the number of states that have so far validated the Camejo-Reid slate.

It is the first time in history that the SWP's presidential ticket will appear on the Illinois ballot. Andrew Pulley, the SWP's candidate for U.S. Congress in Chicago's First Congressional District, was also certified for the ballot.

"This is particularly important," Pulley said, "because of the struggle that has erupted here over the attempt of the white racists to keep Blacks out of the all-white Marquette Park neighborhood."

"It is a focal point of the stepped-up attack on Blacks," Pulley said, "and it needs the attention that our national campaign can give it."

Pulley is active in the open-housing struggle in Chicago's southwest side. Peaceful and legal marches led by the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Movement have been attacked by white racist mobs in recent weeks.

"It's becoming clear to movement supporters that Mayor Daley, the cops, and the white press are out to frame up the Black protesters and blame us for the racist violence," Pulley said.

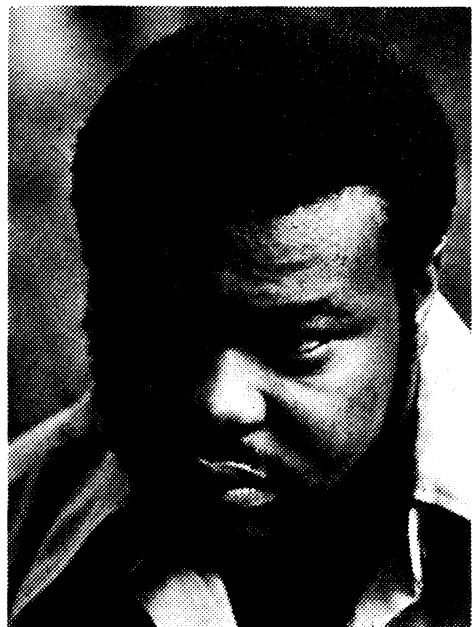
"Last Friday [August 20] the whites held a meeting with Mayor Daley. The weekend was marked by harassment and arrests of Blacks.

"In one case white thugs chased a

Black man back to his home in the area, throwing bricks at him and breaking his windows. He ran into the apartment, got a gun, and came out and fired it in the air. The police arrested him."

Pulley stressed that the SWP campaign would expose the hypocrisy of blaming Blacks for the conditions of unemployment, rotten education, and poverty that the racist capitalist system imposes on Blacks.

Andrew Pulley was the SWP vice-presidential candidate in the 1972 elections. Official figures gave the 1972 SWP presidential and vice-presidential ticket 798 votes in Rhode Island, 9,700 votes in Texas, and 14,398 votes in Louisiana.



Militant/Brian Shannon

ANDREW PULLEY

# Kelley grilled on break-ins, socialists' suit

By Diane Rupp

FBI Director Clarence Kelley was interviewed on the national television show "Face the Nation" August 8. If the hot TV lights didn't make him sweat, then searing questions must have done the job.

A week before Kelley went on TV, it was revealed that an FBI informer had burglarized the Denver Socialist Workers party office. And just four days before a federal judge had charged the FBI with giving "false" answers in the SWP lawsuit against government spying and disruption.

The program got off to a bad start for Kelley. The first question was about the Denver burglary.

And later in the show three members of the panel of newsmen grilled Kelley on the burglaries, harassment of the SWP, FBI lies in court, and the crisis that the nation's political secret police face.

The following is a sample of the questions and answers on the socialist suit.

George Herman, a CBS correspondent, asked:

"[There was] a burglary in Denver almost a month ago, I believe it's a month ago tomorrow, by a man who was not an FBI agent but was a paid informer of the FBI. There is some argument therefore whether it was an FBI operation. But nevertheless, some of the fruits of that burglary ended up in the files of the FBI.

"Then, as you know, there was a great deal of legal foofaraw as to whether that was being withheld, whether it was truthfully told. So my question is, what are you, Clarence Kelley, doing? What is your attitude and what are you doing about that?"

Kelley: "In the first place that is one of the matters which I must say that it's under investigation, it's a part of litigation, and therefore, I cannot delve into it to the depth that apparently you want.

"I can say this, however, that the agent who was handling it is no longer handling that type of material. He has no informants, so that at least if there be any propensity on his part, it's stopped.

"In addition to that, we had already set out rules, regulations, and admonitions that that which is done by an informant can be construed as that which is done by the agent. And if it's wrong to be done by the agent, it's



'It's ten o'clock. . . Do you know where your agents are tonight?' Conrad

wrong to be done by the informant.

"Now, did he receive notice of it? I don't know that he did. He should have because it was widely publicized. So we had already laid the groundwork to prevent this and did not.

"It has now been brought out and in the litigation it will be, of course, exposed completely."

## More scandals?

Fred Graham of CBS News asked: "Mr. Kelley, a lot of the recent irregularities that have come out have come out as a result of a suit by the Socialist Workers party, involving the Socialist Workers party. And of course, that just happened that the suit brought that out. And my question to you is, to your knowledge, are there other scandals lurking in the woodwork like that, that we just haven't learned about yet?"

Kelley: "I hope not. But I cannot say categorically that there is nothing else which has not been revealed. Again, remember, people don't just

step forward and give you a confession about everything that they've done. I know of none which is lurking in the shadows."

Sanford Ungar of the *Atlantic Monthly* asked:

"Mr. Kelley, speaking of the Socialist Workers party, that group couldn't possibly find a better means of publicity than all the attention that the FBI has given to it, and the information about irregularities that have come out. Why, in 1976, is the FBI still investigating the Socialist Workers party?"

Kelley: "Well, of course, were I to give you a complete and elaborate description of our procedures and an outline of our reasons for doing things, I would be here for quite some time, you well know."

Herman: "But I think what Sandy [Ungar] means is, is the Socialist Workers party in your mind a threat to the United States government?"

Kelley: "Again, I'm not going to

answer that without the full elaboration and we're now having a suit, and were I to say this is ridiculous for us to investigate, that might give fuel for this suit.

"I'm telling you that we're going to be going through this suit with a feeling that if there is corrective action needed, it will be taken. We've got guidelines Sandy, you know about them, and if this suit says you're wrong in going into that matter, we will stop it, just as we're going to stop anything else."

## Red scare over?

Ungar: "Mr. Kelley, isn't part of the problem, though, that you have many agents who've worked so-called security cases for many years, who have not been told that the red scare is off, that the 1950s and the 1960s are over, and that the FBI isn't and shouldn't be so concerned about political groups anymore?"

Kelley: "This is your opinion that the red scare is off. I don't know that it's completely off, Sandy. And, however, if this be the declaration of the courts and the attorney general and the consensus of the authorities, all right, we'll abide by it."

Ungar pressed his question, asking whether political spying shouldn't be stopped.

Kelley: "By all means do we avoid and should avoid anything just because it's politically oriented. It's when there is a possibility of overthrow of the government by force and violence and there is some sort of a espionage network attached to it, then we should investigate.

"Now, again, when it's determined that we are going down the wrong path we'll change the path."

Graham: "But sir, isn't it true that you investigated this group thirty-eight years and have no evidence of illegal activities?"

Kelley: "I'm going to have to tell you again that this is a matter under investigation. There are, according to their own statements, 2,000 [SWP members]. I don't think that because it's a small group is necessarily to indicate that it's not potentially dangerous."

## No cover-up?

Graham: "Sir, in regard to that litigation, the judge in that case recently accused the FBI of giving false information repeatedly to the judge in the case. Are you looking into the state of—"

Kelley: "Yes, indeed. That's a very distressing thing. I say to you that we're not going to engage in any cover-up. This smacks of a cover-up."

Graham: "Have you found out who did that, sir?"

Kelley: "No sir, I have not as yet."

Graham: "How long have you been looking into it?"

Kelley: "Well, we have been looking into it for quite some time now, as soon as it occurred, but it has not as yet been revealed. . . ."

Herman: " . . . Is there a threat of mass resignations, of mass changes, and defections from the FBI if you should move too rapidly against the remnants of the Hoover power structure?"

Kelley: " . . . I certainly know of no threat, nor do I think there is any possibility of a mass resignation. As a matter of fact, I think as this administration goes on that there will be greater support generated, because at the base of all of this is the principle of integrity.

"I think that the American people are entitled to integrity, so we're going to maintain it at all costs because there is the seat of our need."

## Judge to CIA: 'Let me read files'

By Diane Rupp

NEW YORK—The CIA cannot use "national security" as an excuse to cover up all evidence of its burglaries and wiretaps against U.S. citizens, U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa said. Griesa brushed aside the CIA's blanket claim of "state secrets" privilege at a July 29 pretrial hearing in the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against the CIA, FBI, and ten other government agencies.

CIA Director George Bush has already admitted in a sworn statement that the spy agency carried out break-ins and electronic surveillance against SWP members who traveled overseas.

But the government refuses to give any details of CIA wrongdoing, to allow a CIA witness to testify, or to produce CIA records on the SWP or the Fourth International, the international Trotskyist organization.

Government lawyers appeal to a catch-all section of the CIA charter to justify such tight-lipped secrecy.

The law that set up the CIA in 1947 gave the spy director the job of "protecting intelligence sources and methods."

The government also claims that evidence of CIA crimes is "secrets of state." "It is indisputable that the foreign relations of the United States would be affected by disclosure of the matters inquired into [by the SWP lawsuit]," argued government lawyers.

A legal memorandum by the SWP's attorneys answered that the government was using the supposed need to protect CIA sources and methods as a "shield" to hide facts about crimes.

Claims to protect national security don't make the CIA "immune from being called to account before a federal court" about attacks on democratic rights, said the SWP's attorneys.

Griesa decided, "I cannot at this point possibly accept the idea that all of the information requested is subject to protection in the national

interest, and that none of the information requested can be released without jeopardizing our security and foreign relations."

The judge agreed to examine some of the CIA material on the SWP in private to determine whether it is actually as "top secret" as the government claimed.

However, when the judge looked at material from the spy agency he could not make sense of it because the CIA had blotted out so much of the records.

"It's difficult, if not impossible, to decide when you have not got the facts on which to make the decision," complained Griesa. "And when I see a document that has all the names, dates, and other things, similar things, deleted, I'm a little at a loss."

Griesa told the government lawyers to produce a CIA official to help him go over the files and answer the judge's questions about information the spies censored.



## More files, more questions

# What next in socialists' suit against gov't?

[In the following interview Syd Stapleton discusses the lawsuit by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI, CIA, and other secret police agencies. Stapleton is national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the suit. Diane Rupp conducted the interview on August 21.]

**Question.** On August 11 FBI Director Clarence Kelley announced a massive shake-up of the bureau. How does Kelley's announcement change the FBI?

**Answer.** As far as I can tell, all he plans to do is simply take the whole batch of cases and procedures that were formerly carried out by the internal security section of the FBI and put them under the administrative guidance of the General Investigative Division—which will mean nothing.

It doesn't change anything, so far as I can tell. It doesn't change the use of informants. It doesn't change any of the kinds of procedures they've used in

illegal means." That's the kind of evidence Attorney General Levi's guidelines say the FBI must have to maintain an "investigation."

In reality, however, they don't have any evidence. And they'll have to say that. Or they'll end up submitting documents that show the SWP is a Marxist organization and that *that* is the basis for investigating the SWP, even under the new FBI reorganization.

**Q.** While looking for files for the SWP lawsuit the Justice Department found evidence that FBI agents had done burglaries in 1972 and 1973. That discovery touched off a criminal investigation of the FBI.

**A.** On August 19 the Justice Department made a surprise raid for documents at the FBI offices in New York and Washington, D.C.

**Q.** One government official told the New York Times that the Justice Department took "file cabinet after file cabinet" from the FBI. Do you think those files include records on the SWP and YSA?

**A.** I think there were probably documents in those files that refer to the SWP and burglaries against the SWP after 1966.

This is a general problem that we've had to deal with. Because of the Justice Department investigation FBI agents are taking the Fifth Amendment [against self-incrimination] in relation to burglaries they conducted.

And certain documents and information have gone into the Justice Department for this criminal investigation of the FBI and have not come out.

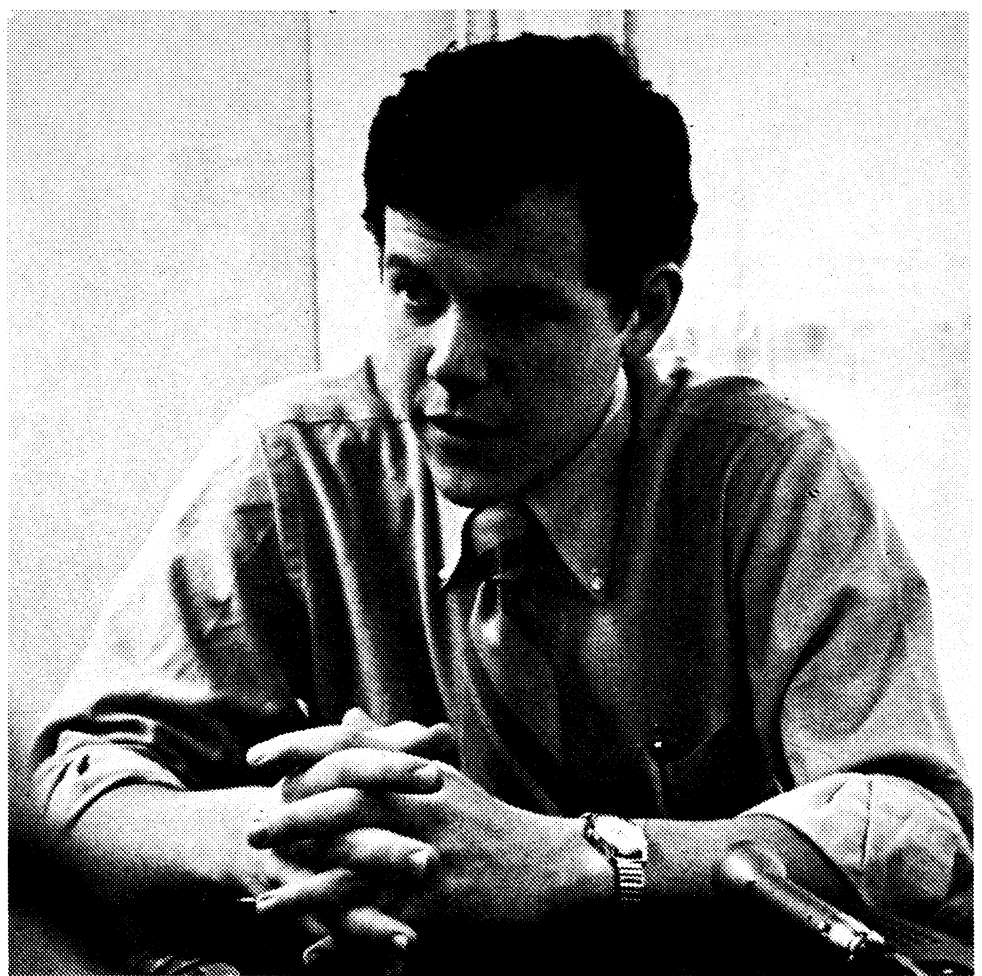
We're going to do everything we can to insure that the Justice Department investigation doesn't just develop into more of a cover-up by withholding more of the information from us and the American people.

When we discovered that the FBI agent in New York who was in charge of investigating the SWP during the '70s was going to take the Fifth Amendment, we asked to question one of the officials who is responsible for collecting data in the Justice Department investigation. We will continue along that line.

**Q.** Whom else do you plan to question in the lawsuit?

**A.** In addition to Kelley, we plan to question FBI agents that the Justice Department says may know about burglaries in the 1970s.

We also began a deposition of former Attorney General John Mitchell about



SYD STAPLETON: Trying to uncover secret police files

Militant/Michael Baumann

a month and a half ago. But because we hadn't been supplied any documents from the Justice Department about operations during Mitchell's tenure, we weren't able to pin him down about some of the specific activities. So when we get those documents we'll continue questioning Mitchell.

We've also tried to take depositions from officials of the CIA. The CIA has objected to providing any information about any of its activities. So we're going to have to fight that issue out before we can proceed with questioning CIA officials.

**Q.** Did you question Timothy Redfearn, the FBI informer who stole files from the Denver SWP offices on July 7?

**A.** He refused to testify in the deposition. He took the Fifth Amendment in answer to every question that was posed by Margaret Winter, one of the SWP's attorneys. He did that probably because he's under investigation for a number of crimes, some of which were just plain burglaries for money, in addition to the burglaries that he committed against the SWP.

We plan to question FBI agents in Denver who were aware of and responsible for the actions of this informer. There are at least three such agents.

**Q.** What evidence has the government turned over for the lawsuit recently?

**A.** We've probably received 3,000 or 4,000 pages of material in just the last week as a result of the court order and Kelley's telegram to all field offices telling them to turn over all material about the SWP.

We're now awaiting the files on the six informers that the judge ordered the government to turn over. We expect that we will be receiving 18,000 to 20,000 more pages just on those six informers.

We're also asking for more material on informers, information on FBI policy deliberations, and evidence on the FBI's use of wiretaps.

We still have outstanding a request for documents from the National Security Agency about the interception of overseas phone calls.

And we will be pressing for information about the CIA attacks on the SWP and the Fourth International [the international Trotskyist organization].



'Uh—these are sort-of secret organizations that our government hires to see that we enjoy the right kind of—uh—liberty.'

the past. There are no changes in the guidelines or instructions that influence how the FBI conducts these investigations.

It's possible that at some point in the future they will feel enough pressure that they will try to make some administrative changes that will have some effect on what they really do in their investigations and harassment of socialists and Blacks and activists in the women's movement and so on. But that point has not yet been reached.

I think that just the fact that the administrative reorganization has been put forward as such a big change, though, is an indication that they feel a lot of pressure.

**Q.** How do you plan to get out the facts about what Kelley's shake-up of the FBI means?

**A.** One step we plan is to take a deposition from Clarence Kelley. That means he would have to answer questions posed by SWP attorneys under oath.

The kinds of questions we expect to ask would be: what does this reorganization mean? What discussions led up to it? What guidelines apply to the investigation of the SWP?

The second thing we'll be doing is filing a series of written questions for the government to answer.

We will ask them to identify every single piece of paper in the FBI files that they claim contains evidence that SWP activities "involve or will involve use of force and violence or any other

## Reuther, DSOC add names to sponsor list

Victor Reuther, longtime leader of the United Auto Workers, has added his name to the list of Political Rights Defense Fund sponsors. The PRDF is organizing support for



VICTOR REUTHER: New PRDF sponsor.

the lawsuit by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against illegal government spying and disruption.

Reuther joins other labor sponsors of the PRDF, such as: Louis Antal, president, District 5, United Mine Workers; César Chávez, president, United Farm Workers; Abe Feinglass, vice-president, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; Russell Gibbons, assistant editor of Steel Labor, United Steelworkers of America; Herbert Hill, NAACP labor director; and Olga Madar, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee has also added its support to the PRDF.

If you want to become a PRDF sponsor too, return this coupon to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

☐ Please add my name as a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund. I endorse its efforts to publicize, build support, and raise funds for the PRDF lawsuit against illegal government surveillance, harassment, and interference with democratic rights. I understand that sponsorship does not imply agreement with the political views of the plaintiffs.

☐ Enclosed is a contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

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

Organization (for identification only) \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

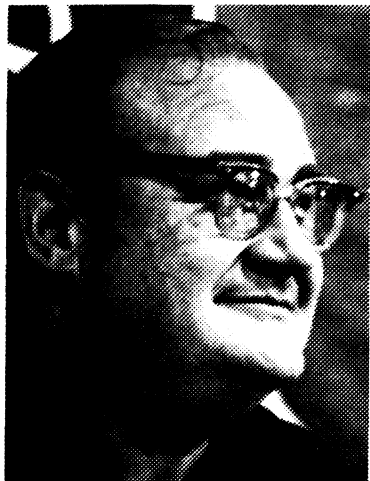


# 1,650 people attend rally at close of

During the week of August 8-13, 1,655 people from across the country—and many from around the world—gathered in Ohio for the twenty-eighth national convention of the Socialist Workers party.

The six days of political discussions, workshops, educational talks, and meetings culminated in a rally on Friday evening, August 13. The featured speakers at the rally were Socialist Workers presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. Many other speakers also addressed the rally. Brief excerpts from all the speeches are printed below.

Future issues of the Militant will report on the discussions and decisions at the convention, who attended it, and what the Socialist Workers party will be doing in the year ahead.



## Fred Halstead

"The FBI and CIA want to intimidate us, to intimidate dissenting ideas," said Fred Halstead at the SWP's 1976 convention rally. "They want to destroy, disrupt, threaten, and scare all movements for social progress. And they've not been doing it just to us. They've been doing it to the Black struggle, the women's movement, and labor."

Halstead was the Socialist Workers presidential candidate in 1968 and a widely known leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement. Halstead chaired the rally and opened with a few remarks about the party's ground-breaking lawsuit against government spying and harassment.

"We want to point out to the American people that they have a stake in this case. The Socialist Workers party is fighting for everybody's democratic rights.

"The right to think for yourself," Halstead said, "to engage in political activity without having some gumshoe cover you like a blanket for your whole life, is a right that has to be defended and protected.

"The monstrous machine of surveillance, intimidation, and disruption does not respect the right of dissent. It does not respect the Bill of Rights, rationality, or the right of humanity to settle its disputes on the basis of the fullest available knowledge and the clearest clash of ideas.

"But we socialists respect those rights. We have always fought for them and we always will. We're not afraid of them. It's the rich, the privileged, and the oppressors who are afraid of them.

"Great social movements

are never the results of plots," Halstead said, "and in the long run they can never be stopped by gumshoes."



## Omari Musa

Omari Musa is the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in California. Musa centered his comments on the SWP's petitioning drive to meet California's extremely restrictive ballot laws. Almost 200,000 signatures are required to guarantee a ballot spot in that state for both Musa and the SWP's national ticket.

"When we first called a news conference to announce that we were going to collect those signatures, the media sort of smirked at us," Musa said. "You know, it has never been done before.

"But when we called another news conference a few weeks later to announce that we were turning in a total of 270,000 signatures, there were no smirks.

"This year Californians are going to have a choice on the ballot that represents the interests of working people in the United States and all over the world."



## Cathy Sedwick

"There is a growing realization among young



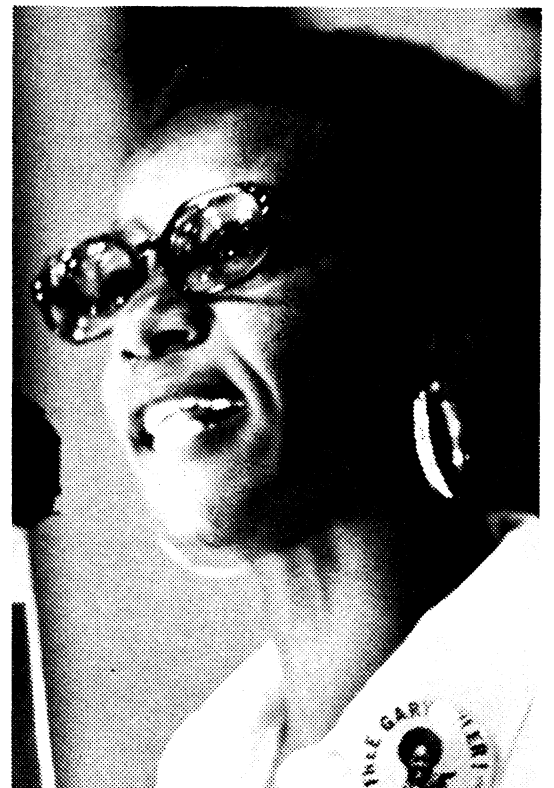
## PETER CAMEJO 1976 Socialist Workers presidential candidate

"One thing that totally separates the SWP campaign from all the other candidates is that we are internationalist," Peter Camejo told the rally. "We don't see this election campaign as simply a question of what's going to happen in the United States.

"Our campaign centers on how working people in this country can support the struggles of all working people throughout the world. We want the Panama Canal returned to the people of Panama. We want independence for Puerto Rico. We support the struggles of the Black masses in South Africa.

"And we take a steadfast and hard stand in support of causes that may be temporarily unpopular in this country—such as our defense of the Palestinian people, who at this moment are being slaughtered in the Tel Zaatar refugee camp in Lebanon by reactionaries backed by Washington, Israel, and Syria."

Camejo also commented on the SWP's lawsuit against government spying. "History will record that the most important event of the bicentennial was not a bunch of ships sailing up the Hudson," Camejo said, "but the defense of the Bill of Rights by the Socialist Workers party, which has mobilized public opinion and exposed the FBI and government for what they have done."



Militant/Lou Howort

## WILLIE MAE REID 1976 Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate

Willie Mae Reid aimed her fire at the racist offensive against Blacks and other oppressed nationalities in this country. "We're prepared to fight whenever and with whoever is ready to move against this racist drive," Reid said.

"We're ready to build support among all the forces that are willing to stand up together for change. We are determined to educate on the facts, and to win over more and more individuals and organizations until our numbers swell in actions big enough and powerful enough to demonstrate that the time to change things is right now.

"The patient explaining and hard work to organize the victims of this society to respond to their oppression is what the Socialist Workers party is all about," Reid said. "And our work will pay off in dividends—dividends of a massive social movement powerful enough to bring the mighty machinery of the greedy to a screeching halt.

"We socialists are determined to build a movement that can protect working people and the oppressed right now. And we're committed to the development of a movement that—along with wage slavery and sexual oppression—can wipe racism right off the face of the earth."

people that a society that cannot and will not give us access to education, employment, and the resources we need to realize our potential as human beings is basically wrong—and that such a society must be changed," Cathy Sedwick told the rally. Sedwick is a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance.

"In this election year," she said, "youth won't settle for peanuts, and we know that Ford hasn't got a better idea. So the YSA will be going onto the high school and college campuses this fall with an alternative: the Camejo and Reid campaign."



## Juanita Tyler

Juanita Tyler is the mother of Gary Tyler, an eighteen-year-old Black youth from Destrehan, Louisiana, who is

serving life imprisonment for a racist, frame-up murder charge.

"I am Gary's mother and a mother that knows what really happened to her son," she said.

"Gary is really innocent. The only thing Gary is guilty of is trying to get an education—and guilty of being Black.

"There is more than one Gary Tyler," she said. "All across the country there are Gary Tylers. And we don't take these Gary Tylers and just sweep them under the rug and forget about them. We have to continue to build efforts for these youth.

"I think every mother and

# Socialist Workers party convention

father—Black, white, yellow, or blue—should get involved today, because all their youth may become Gary Tyler."

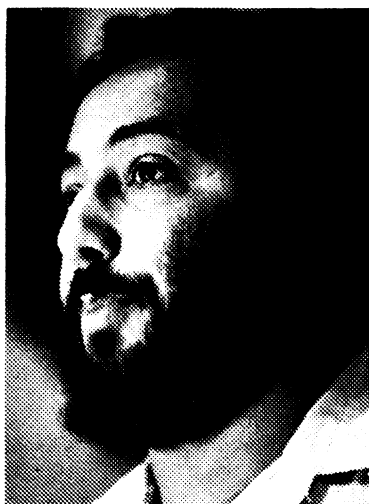


## Sylvia Weinstein

"As long as there is a woman oppressed and exploited, the Socialist Workers party is going to be by her side when she fights and we're going to stand by her shoulder to shoulder until there aren't those kinds of conditions anymore."

Sylvia Weinstein is a member of the SWP in San Francisco and a leader of the fight in that city for quality child care. "When women win the Equal Rights Amendment," she told the rally, "we're going to tell the rulers of this country: 'Now you're going to implement it.'"

"We want those rights—the equal opportunity, equal pay, equal jobs. And we've earned them. Because there's not a job in this country that a woman can't do as well as a man."



## Juan José Peña

Juan José Peña is chairperson of the New Mexico Raza Unida party, which last May endorsed the Socialist Workers 1976 presidential slate.

"The Socialist Workers party is a party that in the past several years has helped to further the cause of the Chicanos," Peña said, "through its newspaper the *Militant*, which has been correctly identified as the newspaper through which a great number of Chicanos get their news about the Chicano movement."

"The SWP has recognized the need for Chicanos to organize Chicanos independent of the society that has placed such a crushing burden on us for being different, after having suppressed us and stolen our

land and all our means of livelihood."

The SWP "works diligently to uplift the Black struggle for civil and human rights," Peña said, and "trys to make the white conscious that racism is as harmful to him in the long run as it is for all those against whom racism is directed."

"A socialist society must be a democratic society that allows full participation in that society for everyone; where ideas and creativity are allowed to flow freely and naturally and without suppression; where criticism and free discussion are the keystone of the society, along with the guarantee that every single human need will be met."

"It is the suppression of these freedoms that the people of the Western world and the people of the workers states [Soviet Union, China, etc.] themselves find most onerous and noxious about these states. Languages and cultures of the various people must be allowed to grow, thrive, flourish, and blossom to their full beauty."



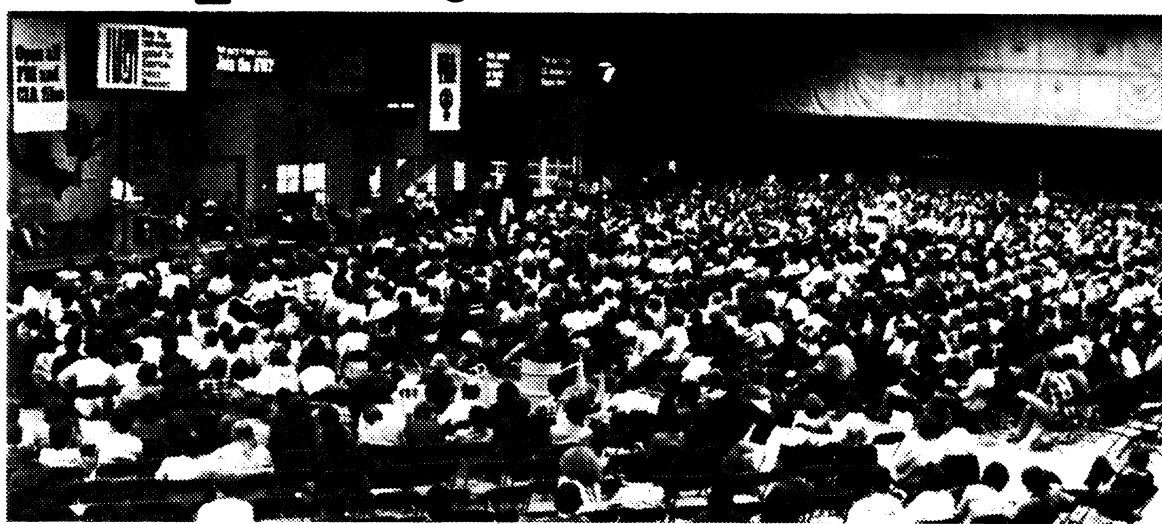
## Linda Jenness

"One thing that separates socialist politics from capitalist politics is that socialists are not involved in politics for personal gain," said Linda Jenness, the SWP's candidate for president in 1972.

"We're in politics because we have a vision of the future," Jenness said. "We think that we can totally reorganize society, that we can change the whole world."

"There are lots of people in this country that agree that society should be changed and want to change it. But wanting to change society isn't enough. You have to know how. And we know that to make a socialist revolution that will free humanity from exploitation and end the distortions and horrors imposed on human beings by capitalism, the working masses need their own political party."

"What binds us in the SWP together is that we have all learned that it is not enough to be a union militant, or a Black freedom fighter, or a Chicano or Puerto Rican nationalist, or a feminist. We've learned that in addition we must build a party that unites all the oppressed and that can organize the working class for a fight."



Militant/Walter Lippmann

**The 1976 SWP convention rally received messages from many activists in movements for social change in this country. Excerpts are printed below.**

**Vernon Bellecourt is national field director of the American Indian Movement.**

We appreciate and we are very grateful for the work that the staff of the *Militant* newspaper has been doing, because much of the media across the country have to some extent blocked out the American Indian Movement and much of the Indian community in their reporting.

We find that if it weren't for the objective reporting of the *Militant*, all people for the most part would know very little of the truth about the United States government and FBI misconduct and illegal acts against the American Indian Movement and other political activists.



**Leonard Boudin is a prominent New York attorney. He is representing the SWP in its lawsuit against government spying and was Daniel Ellsberg's lawyer in the Pentagon papers case.**

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the SWP for the impact it is having on the repressive institutions of the American government.

Even though we are still far from a trial in the SWP and YSA's lawsuit, the information produced by the case and the work you have done are in the process of helping to change the American people's perception of the government and its police agencies. And there's a great deal more to come.

Many radicals in the past have avoided challenges to the government's repressive operations. It is testimony to the seriousness of the SWP's



commitment to human rights that it has pressed forward with the case. Keep up the good work. You are leaving an admirable mark on American history.

**Joe Madison is executive secretary of the Detroit branch of the NAACP.**

It is with great honor that I accept this opportunity to greet you in the name of peace, freedom, and brotherhood.

The mobility of the Socialist Workers party to get out the word of fair play and justice has been one that I have long admired, particularly among its youth.

I sincerely hope that your convention will be meaningful, and will ignite the rest of the country in doing something about the problems of racism in America.



**William Kunstler has served as defense attorney for American Indian leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means and the defendants in the Chicago Seven "conspiracy" trial, and is currently representing J.B. Johnson, victim of a racist frame-up in St. Louis.**

I want to express my appreciation to the *Militant* and its staff for providing a ready source of news and information that is largely ignored by the so-called establishment media. If it were not for outlets like the *Militant* there would simply be no way to find out what happens to a Russell Means, a J.B. Johnson, or a Gary Tyler.

But of even more importance perhaps has been the determination of the SWP to unmask the criminality of the FBI. Its suit against that agency has breached the dam erected by J. Edgar Hoover that for decades hid the excesses of the bureau



from the eyes of all of us.

In doing so, the SWP has made an incalculable contribution to the rights and liberties of all Americans whether they subscribe to its political principles or not. It is my fervent hope that someday the people of this country will understand the enormous debt which they owe to this courageous and inspirational party.

**Nada Chandler is president of the Philadelphia National Organization for Women.**

In working together, our priorities are sometimes different, even if the goal is the same. I know that the end to sexism and racism is a priority of the Socialist Workers party, as it is for the National Organization for Women.

On the occasion of your convention, I want to wish you success in the upcoming elections.

**Vincent Hallinan was candidate for president of the United States in 1952 on the Progressive party ticket.**

Greetings and best wishes for success in your 1976 presidential campaign.

The complete similarity between the two old parties makes other choices essential.



**Lennox Hinds is president of the National Conference of Black Lawyers.**

The information that has been revealed as a result of the SWP lawsuit substantiates our fears and suspicions of the deep-rooted lawlessness that has contaminated every fabric of the Justice Department and the FBI leading all the way up to the White House.

The National Conference of Black Lawyers pledges its support in fighting this abuse of power and government lawlessness.



## U.S. out of Korea

The massive U.S. armada that President Ford has dispatched to Korea constitutes a dangerous aggression that could trigger suicidal nuclear war.

The Pentagon has sent in helicopter gunships, F-4 Phantom and F-111 jet fighters, B-52s, and part of the Seventh Fleet.

Responsibility for the tense Korean situation lies with the United States.

Washington has 41,000 troops stationed in South Korea. Its air bases there include an arsenal of 1,000 nuclear warheads. The United States arms and finances the dictatorial regime of President Park Chung Hee.

On June 11, *Times* correspondent Andrew Malcolm cabled a story from Seoul describing the Park regime:

"It is prohibited here," said Malcolm, "... to criticize the Government, the Constitution or the president. Last year, eight men were hanged on charges of belonging to an outlawed political party. ...

"Arrests in the night and jailings are common. So, too, are charges of torture, including denial of sleep during questioning that lasts several days. Bail is nonexistent.

"Professors and other potential political opponents discover their employment terminated for unexplained or suspicious reasons. There have been deaths under questionable circumstances, with one dissident victim 'falling' from a bathroom window after interrogation."

It's the familiar stench of U.S.-backed semicolonial regimes, whether in Brazil, Iran, or South Korea.

Jimmy Carter quickly stepped into line behind Ford's aggressive threats. This gave a preview of what can be expected of the Democratic nominee in the White House.

U.S. imperialism is responsible for the artificial division of Korea just as it was Washington's effort that led to the division of Vietnam in 1954.

Washington has no more business being in Korea than it had in Vietnam. The United States should withdraw all of its occupying forces from Korea, now!

## Black gang scare

The capitalist-owned news media and politicians have recently raised a hue and cry about the dangers of Black youth gangs.

"Vicious Gangs of Youths Spread Fear in Detroit," announced a page-one headline in the August 18 *New York Times*. Typical of media coverage, it painted a picture of marauding Black youth terrorizing an entire city.

The Democratic administration of Mayor Coleman Young announced a crackdown on young Blacks.

The Democrats voted to empower cops to arrest people for the crime of not producing acceptable identification.

They hired 450 more cops and assigned 400 of them to go after the young Blacks.

"I want the pimps, prostitutes, gangs, and youth rovers off the streets," warned a statement from the mayor. "Someone's going to get hurt, beginning tonight. Don't let it be your child."

George Wallace couldn't have put it better.

Some have suggested reinstituting STRESS, the police terror squad that murdered eighteen persons—all but one of them Black—before it was abolished in 1973.

This entire campaign must be seen for what it is—one more aspect of the racist offensive against Blacks. It's aimed at fueling racist fears among whites and diverting attention from the real problems.

The campaign against youth gangs aids and encourages antibusing lynch mobs and racist "ethnic purity" rioters like those who attacked a Black demonstration for open housing in Chicago last July.

If Coleman Young and the others intended to do something about the problems of Black teen-agers, there is a logical place to start. Unemployment among teen-agers in Black urban ghettos is an astounding 57 percent—not counting those who have given up looking for work and students seeking summer jobs.

At the same time, housing in the ghettos is not fit for human beings. More schools, hospitals, and child-care centers are desperately needed.

Mayor Young and his fellow Democrats will tell us there's "no money." That's a lie. When they wanted more money for cops, they found it. And when they want more money for the Pentagon, they find that too—about \$115 billion annually.

That money should be used to improve conditions in the ghettos and provide jobs for all who want them.

### Bilingual education

Two of the most hard-fought-for reforms of the Chicano movement were the demand for bilingual-bicultural education and the demand that more Spanish-speaking (preferably Chicano) teachers be hired.

We were often told that the California State Department of Education had, in fact, allocated \$36 million toward this goal. A July 20, 1976, *Los Angeles Times* news story stated that the California Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission had found the following:

- Only 10 percent of those eligible for bilingual instruction received that instruction.

- Eighty percent of the teachers involved in the state-funded bilingual programs were not bilingual.

- Seventy school districts were turned down in their application for funds because there was "no money" at a time when there was a 14.7 percent surplus in state funds allocated to bilingual education.

Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles, a Democrat who ran against a Socialist Workers party candidate for that position, has been accused of "deliberately strangling bilingual education in the state." Not only are the programs inferior ones over which we have no control, but they further insult us by spending the money for non-Spanish-speaking teachers.

M. Alarcón

East Los Angeles, California

### 'Militant' scoops 'Times'

Your page 27 story of August 6 ["San Antonio Chicanos demand U.S. charges against killer-cop"] made the front page of the *New York Times* [August 16] in all its glory and enlarged.

Congratulations!

F. Wyder

Brooklyn, New York

### Louisville desegregation

I noticed that in the article "Ky. Blacks mobilize for busing" in the July 23 issue of the *Militant*, neither Benitha Ellis nor Rev. Charles Elliot was reported to have told Judge Gordon that statistics show that when whites are bused to formerly all-Black schools, somehow, "miraculously," those Black schools become vastly improved over their former conditions.

Although it's probably too late to present that fact in court now, if Ellis or Elliot didn't mention this fact, I think it would be nice for someone in Louisville to pass the word along to them or others for the next time. At any rate, letting more and more people know that should help mobilize them at this point.

Thomas Beushier

Houston, Texas

### NAACP suit against brutality

My story in the August 6 *Militant* concerning the Ossining, New York, NAACP suit against police brutality contains a factual error not included in my original article. The *Militant* reports that Police Chief Warren Stahl was the defendant, while he is only listed for a secondary complaint. Officer Nugent Zaccardi is the actual defendant.

The Ossining police have a long history of harassment and attacks against sectors of the Ossining community fighting for social change.

They spied on members of a local storefront coalition, including Women Strike for Peace, the Black Liberation Front, the Young Socialist Alliance, and others. They harassed members of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, and their supporters during an organizing drive at a local nursing home.

The suit is part of an ongoing drive to stop these types of attacks.

In the meantime, it's business as usual for the Ossining police.

Scott Cooper

Ossining, New York

[Editor's note—We regret the mistake. It was introduced by an error in the transcription of a report phoned in to our offices by correspondent Cooper.]

### Socialist Party

Fred Feldman's report on the Social Democrats [*Militant*, August 27] was effective, if very painful, reporting.

The historic and principled debates between those of us in the Socialist Party and those of you in the Socialist Workers Party will continue, as will our cooperation on a range of concrete issues and within broad coalitions. But what a tragedy that the final end of the Shachtman position is not simply that his followers have chosen to work within the Democratic Party, but to help provide the leadership for the most conservative wing of that party!

One correction only: when the Shachtman group won a majority within the Socialist Party and changed the name to Social Democrats USA, the Socialist Party reorganized within months, it is running the former mayor of Milwaukee—Frank Zeidler—for President and it is very much alive. The other split was, as your writer noted, led by Michael Harrington who formed the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

David McReynolds

New York, New York

### Ivan gets around

Ivan's cartoons are becoming a regular feature in the *Milwaukee Courier*, one of two Black weeklies in this city. The electric chair cartoon on the death penalty (*Militant*, July 16) appeared in the *Racine Star-Times* as well. The *Courier* also used the Ivan graphic "Free Gary Tyler" (*Militant*, June 25).

Bob Schwarz

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

### Crimean Tatar struggle

The article describing the June 24 meeting in New York in defense of imprisoned Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev featured in the July 16 issue of the *Militant* was under the headline "NY meeting says: Free Soviet Tatar dissident."

It is important when publicizing Dzhemilev's case to include the full name of the people whose struggle he represents—the Crimean Tatars—not only because they are a distinct national group. It is also important because one of the ways Stalin and his heirs have sought to eliminate the struggle of the Crimean Tatars is by defining them out of existence.

First Stalin deported their entire population from their homeland in the Crimea in May 1944, dispersed them in Central Asia, and in 1946, abolished the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which had been

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# International Socialist review

## Rebel in a Chinese Girls School

China in the early 1920s. Revolutionist Chen Pi-lan tells the story of how the struggle for women's liberation from feudal traditions developed into a struggle for socialism.

### Introduction

Chen Pi-lan joined the Chinese Communist party in 1922, at the age of twenty. In 1924 she was among those selected to attend the Communist University of the Eastern Toilers in Moscow, a school run by the Communist International. The following year a revolutionary upsurge broke out in China, and Chen returned to participate. From 1925 to 1927 she served as a member of the Shanghai municipal committee of the Communist party, in charge of the women's bureau.

This article will be followed by a second, in which Chen will recount her experiences as a leader of the All-Shanghai Women's Federation during the Shanghai uprising of 1927.

After the defeat of the 1927 revolution, the result of opportunist policies dictated to the Chinese CP by Stalin, Chen Pi-lan and her husband, Peng Shu-tse, were expelled from the party. They were accused of "Trotskyism" for raising criticisms of Stalin's policy of alliance with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang.

Later Chen was a founder of the Revolutionary Communist party of China, and served on its political bureau. In 1949 Chen and Peng were forced to flee China as the Maoist regime launched a campaign of persecution of Trotskyists. Some disappeared, some are known to have been killed, and others were imprisoned and remain in Mao's prisons to this day. Chen and Peng have lived in exile ever since.

Chen is currently engaged in writing her memoirs. She has followed with great interest the resurgence of women's liberation struggles on a world scale.

The translation of this article from the Chinese is by Jane Tam.

### By Chen Pi-lan

In the winter of 1972 I read an article entitled "Feminism and the Marxist Movement," written by Mary-Alice Waters and published in the October 1972 issue of the *International Socialist Review*.

This article was of great interest to me, especially the following part, which I will quote:

"At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held a year and a half later at the end of 1922, the main line of the 1921 resolution\* was reaffirmed. The congress called attention to the fact that some sections—unspecified—had not implemented the decisions of the last congress, and urged them to rectify the default. Special mention was made of the effective work among women being done by the Chinese comrades, who had organized themselves along the lines indicated at the Third Congress. The Comintern attached great importance to work among the particularly oppressed women of colonial countries. They realized that there was no possibility of transferring power to the working class in an underdeveloped country any more than in an advanced capitalist country without mobilizing women in struggle for their liberation.

"Especially pertinent to this question is an article that appeared in the June 1970 issue of the *International Socialist Review* on 'Women in the Chinese Revolution.' It is an interview with Chen Pi-lan, today a leader of the Chinese section of the Fourth International, who was recruited to the Chinese Communist Party in 1922 after a CP leader came to her girls boarding school and gave a speech on 'Women's Position in Society.' She is an outstanding example of the kind of women who were won to the Marxist movement by the correct policies of the Communist International during its revolutionary years. Chen describes how they organized the girls school, demanding the right to cut their hair, to have coeducation, to hold discussion circles on questions such as freedom to love and freedom of marriage, in addition to participating in strikes, May Day demonstrations, and forming working women's clubs."

Ever since reading the above quotation, I have wanted to describe in detail how I came to socialist ideas and then became active in the women's movement. I believe that my experience demonstrates and confirms the correctness of

\*The Third Congress of the Comintern in June 1921 adopted a resolution called "Theses on Propaganda Work Among Women." It explained why a socialist revolution was necessary to achieve women's liberation, and the necessity for the Communist parties to win the support of the masses of women if they were to lead the socialist revolution to victory.—ISR

Mary-Alice Waters's study about the Comintern in its earlier period—attaching "great importance to work among the particularly oppressed women of colonial countries."

In describing my experience in the revolutionary movement, especially my activities and role in the women's movement, I cannot separate it from the earlier history of the Chinese Communist party, because the women's movement was part of the CCP's work, and the women's movement in each period has its different historical and political background. (Of course, here I only cite some main events, emphasizing particularly the women's movement.)

Chinese communism was the direct product of the May Fourth Movement in 1919. Beginning in the spring of 1920, communist groups were established in major cities such as Shanghai, Peking, and Canton, and in Hupeh, Honan, and Shantung provinces. Two main factors pushed forward the communist movement in that period: First, having totally committed themselves in the First World War, the imperialists had to leave the East alone; therefore, Chinese native capitalism could develop rapidly in the resulting vacuum, and the size of the proletariat increased. The newly rising working class demonstrated its power in its strike to support the student patriotic May Fourth Movement, which in turn raised the workers' political consciousness.

The second significant influence was the Russian revolution in October 1917. Owing to the combined social development in China, some radical nationalists, the leaders of the May Fourth Movement, such as Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao, were quickly won to communist ideas and were active in founding the CCP. The Founding Congress of the CCP was held in July 1921. Of the twelve participants in this founding congress, four came from Hupeh. After the congress, the four Hupeh participants immediately returned to Wuhan to engage in all kinds of activities. They were Tun Pi-wu, Ch'en T'an-ch'iu (of Hupeh), Li Han-chün (of Shanghai), and Pao Hui-sung (of Canton), all founders of CCP sections in different areas who held prominent positions.

Tung Pi-wu, an overseas student in Japan, was the principal of Hunan High School. (He was vice-chairman of the Chinese People's Republic

*Continued on page ISR/3*

**Also in This Issue: •Free Mustafa Dzhemilev!  
•Farrell Dobbs Answers the FBI**

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## The Cutting Edge

The fall of the Tell Zaatar refugee camp to Christian rightists backed by Syrian troops, and the subsequent massacre of hundreds of Palestinians, is a grave setback for the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Lebanese Arab working masses as a whole.

The Palestinians and the Lebanese Arab masses now face a solid front against them, ranging from arch-reactionary forces led by the Lebanese Christian bourgeoisie, to the self-proclaimed progressive Assad regime in Syria, to Israel and U.S. imperialism.

The Lebanese rightists and their backers fear any moves that would eliminate the special privileges of the Christian minority in Lebanon. They oppose demands by the Arab masses that Lebanon place itself on the side of the Palestinians in their struggle against Zionist colonialism and on the side of the Arab struggle against imperialist domination.

The Syrian rulers regard an independent Palestinian movement as an obstacle to their goal of concluding a deal with Israel at the expense of the Palestinians. Like all the bourgeois Arab rulers, Assad fears the capacity of the Palestinian movement to inspire the workers and peasants of his country to struggle against his oppressive regime.

The Israelis hope that a bloody defeat for the Palestinians will cut off the development of the anti-Zionist struggle within Israel itself. The Palestinian demonstrations within Israel and on the occupied West Bank last spring have dealt blows to Israel's carefully cultivated public relations image as a "progressive," "democratic," and "nonracist" society.

The U.S. imperialists stand firmly behind all these reactionary goals. They have always viewed the defense of Israel's oppression of the Palestinians as a key part of protecting U.S. control over the economic and strategic resources of the Middle East.

The struggle in Lebanon demonstrates the basic character of the Palestinian movement. Although many leaders have sought to forge firm alliances with capitalist regimes in the Arab world, and some have even expressed their willingness to compromise with Israel at the expense of the Palestinian people, these efforts have always proved unavailing. In the decisive battles, the Palestinian people have been in the forefront of the struggle of the exploited and oppressed of the Arab world. This fact has been clearly shown in the firm alliance between the Palestinians and the workers, peasants, and unemployed of Lebanon.

While taking pleasure from the rightist gains in Lebanon, thoughtful imperialist representatives are cautious about the future. The *New York Times* said in an August 16 editorial, "Those in Israel and elsewhere who gloat over the collapse of the [Palestine Liberation Organization] are short-sighted. If their leadership has faltered, the Palestinians still exist—as a people. No one can anticipate a

stable Arab-Israeli peace until this disaffected element is integrated into the political evolution of the region."

For twenty-eight years, since the Zionist expulsion of more than a million Arabs from Palestine and the reduction of the rest to less than second-class citizens in the Zionist state, the issue of Palestine has been the cutting edge of the Arab struggle against imperialism.

Before the June 1967 war, this issue continually unsettled efforts of the Arab ruling classes to control and restrict the nationalist and anticapitalist struggles of the Arab peoples and to establish stable alliances with imperialism.

Resurging after the 1967 defeat, the Palestinian struggle has provided an example of massive organization of the oppressed— independent and fundamentally opposed to the bourgeois rulers. This is an experience that the Palestinian and Arab masses will not forget, even if the present Palestinian organizations are defeated in Lebanon—an outcome that still hangs in the balance.

Imperialist strategists like those for whom the *New York Times* speaks hope that the Palestinian issue can be made to disappear if the refugees are packed like sardines into a phony "mini-state" under Israeli, Jordanian, or Syrian military tutelage. Such a hope is in vain. For decades the Palestinian people, in the face of many defeats, have struggled doggedly for full and unconditional liberation of Palestine, as expressed in their slogan for a democratic, secular Palestine. It can be safely predicted that they will settle for nothing less.

## FBI in Disarray

Shaken by exposures of continuing FBI harassment of socialists and other dissenters, FBI Director Clarence Kelley claims to be reorganizing the secret police outfit. A few top officials have been shown the gate. "Internal security investigations" have been shifted to the section of the FBI that investigates federal crimes in an effort to give the appearance of an end to political spying.

Kelley's frantic attempts to give the FBI a face-lift are the government's response to a major shift in public opinion. During the 1950s, the government won some acceptance of the use of police-state tactics by claiming that socialists and radicals were criminals, conspirators, terrorists, and enemies of democracy. As a result of the information revealed by the Socialist Workers party's suit against the government and other revelations, millions of people now know that the U.S. government employs a swarm of cops, professional assassins, burglars, and spies to trample on its own laws, conspire against law-abiding citizens, use terrorist tactics against critics, and undermine basic democratic rights.

Why was the Socialist Workers party, a relatively small organization, able to deal such a telling blow to the witch-hunting apparatus painstakingly built up over decades by the ruling class?

The Vietnam War, and the lies that were told in an effort to gull the American people into tolerating it, deeply undermined the credibility of the American rulers. Many began to suspect for the first time that the government persistently lies on vital questions. The struggles of Blacks, women, and other oppressed groups for full equality made working

people increasingly sensitive to moves to restrict their democratic rights. Then Watergate began to reveal the full extent of the politicians' use of underhanded and illegal means to head off opposition.

Under these circumstances, the SWP judged that a suit against the government could begin to reveal the full scope of its antidemocratic activities and win wide popular support for the defense of civil liberties. The appeal of the suit was enhanced by the SWP's record of consistently defending democratic rights not only for its supporters but for everyone, including its most bitter opponents.

Furthermore, the SWP is a working-class party that is completely independent of the capitalist parties and the capitalist government. Unlike Republican and Democratic congressional investigators, who opposed probing too deeply into the FBI's activities for fear of what might be revealed, the SWP had no need or desire to hide the truth.

The SWP relied on support from the American working people to uphold its rights, rather than placing its trust in "progressive" capitalist politicians, or attempting to combat repression through militant actions by a handful.

Working with the Political Rights Defense Fund, the socialists have won endorsement of the suit by hundreds of prominent individuals and organizations. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been raised not only to pay the legal fees but also to print literature that has reached far and wide with the truth about illegal government harassment.

The ability of the SWP to put the top cops on the defensive has some lessons for the trade-union and civil rights movements. The ruling-class attack on civil liberties is part of a broader reactionary drive that includes attempts to chip away at the gains won by Blacks and other minorities and to worsen the living standards and job conditions of working people.

The trade unions and Black organizations, far more massive and influential today than the SWP, have been hamstrung by their policy of supporting the Democratic and Republican parties. These parties are controlled from top to bottom by racist enemies of working people. Because of this policy, the labor and civil rights movements have given up some important ground in the face of racist and antilabor assaults.

Many labor and Black leaders fear to denounce capitalist politicians too strongly, for they have to bring out the vote for them in November. Leaders of public employee unions hail New York Mayor Beame as he carries out massive layoffs, while some Black leaders paint up a bitter foe like Jimmy Carter as a reliable ally.

These leaders hesitate to fully mobilize their rank and file for action against the ruling-class attacks, since such independent mobilization would strain their alliances with the Democrats. They rely instead on lobbying among millionaire members of Congress and paying court to presidential hopefuls.

The disarray of the FBI in the face of a challenge to its antidemocratic activities by a small but determinedly independent workers party like the SWP is only an indication of the victories that labor and all the oppressed can win with an adequate mobilization of their forces and a readiness to call things—including smiling politicians—by their proper names.

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# ...Rebel in a Chinese Girls School

Continued from page ISR/1

from 1949, when the CCP took power, until last year when he died at the age of ninety.) Ch'en T'an-ch'iu, a graduate of the Wuchong State Teachers College, was the chief secretary to the Wuhan CCP from 1921 to 1926. However, it was Li Han-chün who held the most prominent position and therefore made the greatest impact on the movement. Li, a graduate of the Japanese Imperial University, which had the highest prestige among all universities in Japan, wrote many articles in the then famous *Shanghai Weekly Review* in the period of the May Fourth Movement. He was also one of the founders of the CCP section in Shanghai, and the best known theoretician at that time. After returning to Wuhan in the early autumn of 1921, he toured all the schools there making speeches, while becoming the chief editor of the *Wuhan Weekly Review*. In short, he played a tremendous role in the Wuhan communist movement.

Afterward, Li Han-chün, together with the others, planned the workers', students', and women's movements in Wuhan. In preparing to organize the women's movement, Li visited the principal of the Hupeh Girls Normal School, the school I was attending. Since Li was a renowned scholar, the principal was very pleased to have him make a speech at our school.

The Girls Normal School was the only provincial girls' school in Hupeh. It had a few hundred students who were selected from every hsien (county). It also had an annex, the Elementary School for Girls, whose graduates were qualified to take the entrance examination for the Girls Normal School.

After announcing the title of his speech, "Women's Position in Society," Li went on to describe the different positions of women in different societies, beginning with the primitive communist society, through feudal society, capitalist society, and coming finally to the future socialist society. His conclusion was: if women wanted equality with men, they must first have economic independence, and the prerequisite for achieving complete liberation was a change in the social system. Only after the proletariat had been freed would women have their liberation. His speech affected me greatly. Later I found his speech was a condensation of *Women and Society* by August Bebel. I read the Chinese translation of this book three or four times. (At that time the Chinese translation by Li Han-chün, was from the Japanese condensed edition, *The Past and the Future of Women*, translated by the famous Japanese socialist Shunchingwun. The Chinese translation from the original text did not appear until a few years later.) My first socialist ideas came from this book. Later I read the Chinese translation of *Women and Society* from the original text, therefore I was particularly interested when Bebel was mentioned by Mary-Alice Waters.

## Antifeudal Bombshell

Li's speech was like throwing a bomb against a feudal bulwark: the Girls Normal School. Following this, he introduced Liu Sze-tung, a founder of the Wuhan Communist section, who was to teach Chinese to our class. Accompanying Liu were the new ideas of the May Fourth Movement. In order to promote the greatest achievement of the May Fourth Movement—the reformation of the archaic Chinese literary style\*—he vigorously attacked

the literary idioms of the ancient language, and promoted *pai-hua* (plain talk or spoken language). The texts in our school were all in the classical literary idiom.

Meanwhile, he selected and mimeographed essays and literature from progressive magazines and special editions of newspapers for our texts. In addition, he used his own salary to buy magazines, books, and newspapers that expressed new ideas for our reading materials outside the curriculum.

Thus, in only a few months, there was a significant increase in the number of students accepting his ideas. (At first, only I and one other student, named Yung, out of fifty in our class accepted his ideas.) We first organized a Chinese Study Club for the whole school. Owing to the eloquence of Liu, some students in other classes also embraced his ideas. Like a fresh breeze, the new ideas were opening our minds—the equality of man and woman, open socialization between sexes, coeducation, freedom in marriage, etc.

We organized meetings and symposiums cen-



CHEN PI-LAN

tering on the new ideas. We always won arguments with the opposition because we had read many articles and were fully equipped theoretically. Besides this, we organized a Women's Study Club for women outside the school. We rented a house and collected some books for our library. The instructors were Li Han-chün, Liu Sze-tung, Ch'en T'an-ch'iu; of course, the main one was Li. We learned a lot from this Women's Study Club. We not only constantly discussed women's problems, we also read books on social sciences and socialism, such as *Historical Materialism*, the *Origin of Species* by Darwin, *The Past and Future of Women*, *The Communist Manifesto*, and the biographies of Lenin, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg.

In that school term we were very active, especially in the organization of a Student Governing Committee, which presented a series of demands and proposals to the school. The principal and the old-fashioned teachers who taught Chinese in the classical literary idiom were alarmed. They thought all of our activities were instigated and led by our Chinese teacher, Liu, and they decided to get rid of him at the end of the term.

At the beginning of 1922, when the winter holiday came to an end and the school reopened, the news of the firing of our Chinese teacher was announced. Our whole class was angered (except a few who were related to the principal and were reactionary). We convened an emergency meeting, passed a resolution to retain our Chinese teacher, and sent representatives to the school authority demanding the reinstatement of Liu.

However, the school authority ignored our demand, so we announced that our class had gone on strike, because we were extremely upset. This was the first protest of the Hupeh Girls Normal School since its founding. The bomb of the May Fourth ideology had exploded against this feudal fortress.

Taking advantage of our innocence and inexperience in social struggle (this was our first), the crafty principal, old-fashioned teachers, and the administration staff succeeded in breaking the strike through intimidation and the collection of signatures. As a result only twelve out of fifty in our class signed up to continue the strike. Our Chinese teacher stayed fired, and our strike was defeated. Feeling that we were betrayed by our schoolmates, we were miserable.

After consideration of the reasons for the strike's failure, we believed that although our numbers were small, we could, with an appropriate opportunity, still influence class thought. Therefore, the will to continue the struggle was revived. From this first struggle, we learned a lesson: victory was conditional upon preventing the enemy from breaking our unity. Thus, we were later able by our united efforts to get rid of quite a few incompetent teachers during that term. Meanwhile, a few of us radicals wrote articles for sympathetic newspapers, exposing the irrational regulations in our school, such as the censorship of students' mail, the prohibition of freedom of movement, the nepotism present in the hiring practices, and the feudal sermons of the principal.

In addition, we participated in the activities among progressive organizations—the Wuhan Women's Study Club, Wuhan Students Alliance, Marxism Study Club, etc. (Five among us had joined the Young Socialist League, the youth group in agreement with the Communist party.) We were also involved in socialist activities, such as attending various meetings in the Hankow workers' district—the March 8 International Women's Day rally, the memorial meeting for Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, etc. Especially during the period of the textile mills strike, we went to the workers' district to make speeches, encouraging them to continue the struggle until victory was won, because there were many women workers there.

On May 1, Labor Day, of 1922, five of us, members of the Young Socialist League, got together with sympathizers and under the leadership of the party organized a huge memorial meeting held at the auditorium of the YMCA. This was an unprecedented event in Hupeh, and the meeting lasted the whole afternoon. With the exception of a speech given by an inconspicuous male comrade sent by the party, the programs, speeches, dramas, music, dancing (group dances) were all performed by the students of our school. The militant words of the May Day song were written by us, and the melody was by our new music teacher. (We had gotten rid of the old one.) This new teacher played the music and we sang. The new teacher was a graduate from Peking University, majoring in music. A former overseas student, he was at that time a professor of Wuchong State Teachers College. Coming from the tradition of May Fourth, he was friendly with us five and sympathized with our ideas.

## Student Movement Emerges

The Wuhan party at that time developed rapidly in every aspect—student movement, workers' movement and women's movement. The student movement was the first to emerge. In the spring of 1922, the headquarters of the National Students Alliance in Peking sent three delegates to Wuhan to get in touch with the students there in order to organize the Hupeh Provincial Students Alliance. This showed that some schools already had student associations. These three delegates were members of the CCP. Two of them, Li Chün and Chu Wu-shan, were male. The other was Mao P'ei-ying, a student of Peking Teachers College and the only active woman comrade at that time. They held discussions with the five of us several times. Mao later became my intimate friend.

\*The May Fourth Movement of 1919 began with student protests against concessions of Chinese territorial rights to Japan under the Versailles treaty that ended World War I. Under the slogans "science" and "democracy" it became a nationwide cultural movement aimed at the reactionary ideology of Confucianism.

At that time written Chinese used a classical vocabulary and style as far removed from actual daily speech as Latin is from modern European languages. The intellectual leaders of the May Fourth Movement demonstratively wrote and published newspapers and magazines in the vernacular tongue, *pai-hua*, using common slang and a highly restricted number of characters. This made the written language accessible to millions of people who had been unable to read the classical style of books and periodicals used up to that time.—ISR



The special emphasis put on the workers' and women's movements by the CCP was the result of a resolution of the Comintern Third World Congress in 1921. (The International representative, Gregory Voitinsky, came to Huhai after the congress.) Hence the workers' and women's movements surged rapidly ahead of the student movement.

In 1922, as the summer holiday drew near, we did not go home for vacation, as we planned to continue our struggle. In the name of the Women's Study Club, we organized a summer school, which was located at Wuhan High School, whose principal was Tung Pi-wu mentioned above. (At that time, we had not knowledge that he was a member of the CCP: as a famous principal he thought it wisest not to acknowledge his membership.) Although the principal of our school (Girls Normal School) tried very hard to break up our summer school, urging parents not to send their daughters to it, we still had eighty-nine students. In addition to Li Han-chün, all teachers in our summer school had a progressive ideology. They were students or professors from Peking University. During these months we progressed considerably in ideology as well as academic knowledge. The most fruitful result was the embracing of our ideology by a group of students who had come from all classes of our school. Thus, a solid foundation was laid for the next stage of struggle with the school authority.

A few days before the reopening of our school in the fall, the parents of five of us received notices stating, "Student so-and-so has frequently indulged in inciting turmoil, thus breaking school discipline. Please send her to another school, because we cannot be held responsible for her conduct. . . ."

The five of us who had been dismissed went to school together on the opening day. We tried to establish a place for ourselves, since the school had made no reservations for us. First, we occupied a bedroom and fixed up our beds, then went to all the other facilities. We also planned to enter the classroom together. However, this frightened the principal badly, because the rejection of his notice was tantamount to a challenge of his authority. So he had no alternative but to cancel the whole class. We had the right to be in the class, for the notices had not mentioned the dismissal, but had advised our parents to send us to other schools. This stalemate lasted about two months, during which time we stayed in school, reading books and magazines every day. Unlike the last term, we had become more prudent in manner, so the number of students in accord with us grew, and they covertly engaged in activities on our behalf. On the other hand, as our class was to be graduated the following year, the parents were very anxious, and wrote letters to the school expressing their dissatisfaction with the principal for holding up the whole class for five students. This disturbed the principal greatly, and led him to change his tactics.

First he talked with us individually. He cajoled me by saying that I was very intelligent, and since there was room in Peking Girls Teacher College, he would like to recommend me there with all my expenses paid by our school. He also told me that in the past he had sent some honored students there, and at present there was still one there.

I answered him: "Thank you for your kindness, but I have to consult with my friends." He understood I would not fall into his trap, and said no more.

Later, we found that the principal's talks with all of us were basically the same—he tried to beguile us one by one, and we decided to stand firm.

After the failure of his first maneuver, he invited some prominent people—the commissioner of the Hupeh Board of Education and the presidents of colleges—to negotiate with us. We were each assured a place in Wuchong State Teachers College (the board of education had recently granted coed status to the WSTC) by the president of the WSTC and the president of the Chinese College, Ch'en Shih. They also promised employment for the famous scholar Li Han-chün. Ch'en Shih was my second uncle. (He later wanted me to take refuge in his house to avoid arrest.)

We immediately declined their offer, but thanked them. The reason we gave was that we were still one year from graduation, and so far



there had not been any class this term. Even if we could pass the entrance exam, we could not possibly catch up with the courses there. In fact, we sacrificed our individual interests for the struggle, and were reluctant to see the only national girls school mismanaged by persons with feudal ideas.

We were five persons altogether. The question arose: Why did the principal have to use such elaborate efforts to send us to Peking Girls Teacher College?

First, if the principal did not settle the dispute, there could be no class. Second, he knew that we were very determined and courageous. We not only had our hair cut, but also wrote articles under pseudonyms in *Kiang Sing Daily* of Hankow exposing his irrational practices in our school.

#### Views on Marriage

I myself had used my real name to write a short novel describing the breakup of a parent-arranged engagement by a conscientious girl student, because I knew my so-called fiancé was in Hankow. He would, therefore, understand my views on marriage and, hopefully, this would lead to the dissolution of our engagement. His reaction upon reading my article was to cancel the engagement, a very dramatic affair, which I describe in the third chapter of my memoir, and I will not repeat it here. However, my article caused a small disturbance in our school. All the Chinese teachers in class criticized me as too radical, saying that China was not ready for freedom in marriage, etc. All these criticisms were repeated to me by the students.

The worst part was that the school assumed that all the past articles in the newspapers criticizing the school had been written by me. This increased the mounting resentment toward me by the principal. (In fact, not all; but most of the articles were written by me.) Particularly for this reason, Liu Sze-tung and Ch'en T'an-ch'iu had a talk with me saying in a lightly critical manner but with an accusing tone: "In the past you always used pseudonyms for your articles. Why do you use your real name this time? It is unnecessary to be so ostentatious as to induce more hatred toward yourself from the principal."

I answered them: "There have been too many incidents that provoke his resentment against me. The most bitter one was when he was explaining to all the invited parents of our class in the meeting room why he could not have a class for us, and Shek Che-chang and I suddenly went in with leaflets. While Shek distributed the leaflets to the parents, I said, 'I urge you to read the leaflets signed by five of us carefully, and not just listen to the one-sided story of the principal.'"

Then we left.

"The next day, the principal told the whole school in our early morning meeting: 'It is a mutiny! I—the principal—invited the parents to have a talk yesterday, and somebody dared to interrupt it by distributing leaflets and making a speech. It is really outrageous!' Since you have already known of this episode and approved of it, you can understand that the principal's resentment of me has already reached a breaking point. It really doesn't matter if one more item is added."

Then I went on explaining to them the purpose of my using my real name this time. After listening to all this, they did not say another word but only looked at me with approving smiles.

Third, the school was not only annoyed but also threatened by our audacious activities. Therefore, they tried very hard to kick us out of the school. Since the education commissioners, the presidents of colleges, and even the military governor and provincial governor all had the same interest as our principal, who was their friend, they were all threatened by the students' revolt, particularly the affiliation of the students' and workers' movements. At the beginning of 1922, the workers' movement had been developing at unprecedented speed, especially among the Kinghan (from Peking to Hankow) Railroad workers and Urn Yuen mine workers. The authorities and the school knew that we had gone to the meetings in the workers' district, Sze Chai Pang in Hankow, making speeches at their strikes, and had gotten in touch with the student associations in other schools and distributed countless leaflets to schools, newspapers, associations, unions, etc. They thus tried to bribe us with the rare maximum benefits that were generally hoped for by all the graduates in our school.

After all these schemes met with our rejections, the school asked the Hupeh general to send armed soldiers to arrest the five of us. Ch'en Shih, my second uncle (the president of the Chinese University), got this news first from Sze Shao-nan, the military governor. Before the armed soldiers arrived at the school, I had personally had a big fight. All but a few of the Ch'en clan were big landlords whose descendants in general had a very strong sense of traditional feudal ideology, and they tried to separate me from the other four students in our group, luring me out of the school so I could stay in Ch'en Shih's house to avoid the arrest.

#### Battle with Relatives

They succeeded by lying to me, saying that my father had sent some money for me to my second

cousin, Ya Chiao. As I had just run out of money, I immediately informed the school superintendent and ran to Ya Chiao's house, which was a short distance from our school. Three of them, Ya Chiao and his wife and sister (all teachers), had waited impatiently for me there. They said in unison, "Uncle Shih asked us to lie to you, otherwise you would not come out. He got news that five of you are going to be arrested, and he wanted you to immediately take refuge in his house."

I answered, "Under no circumstance will I go to his house. We five will stick together. To hide from danger is cowardly and immoral. I am not afraid of arrest."

"Not afraid of arrest?" Ya Chiao screamed furiously, "You are a fool! I don't blame them for saying you are the most stupid one among the five. You have done what the others dare not do. We mean good to you, and so does your second uncle!"

"I know you mean the best for me," I said with determination, "but I will not agree to take such a step!"

"Muddlehead!" Ya Chiao upbraided, "Our Ch'en family has included distinguished people from generation to generation. Your grandfather and father ranked honorably under the old examination system. At present, our Ch'en family has the highest prestige in the educational field here in Hupeh. Your second uncle and we too will not allow you to ruin our reputation. It is not decent for a girl student to be arrested by soldiers."

"Rubbish! You have *your* Ch'en, and I have *my* Ch'en! At the most I don't want to be named Ch'en. Why do you have to interfere with my activities? Even my father leaves me alone," I angrily retorted.

"Your father is too feeble-minded. He doesn't care. We care. We will never let you lose our Ch'en family's face," Ya Chiao said staunchly.

I raised my voice and said indignantly, "Nonsense! What do you mean by losing face? What I have done is open and right. To be arrested because of striving against the old forces and feudal ideology will be the glory of the Ch'en family. It would be a great disgrace to run away from such a battle. I would rather be killed than be a traitor!"

Following this altercation was a savage fight among us. They closed the outside door. Three of them got hold of me and pushed me down on a sofa. As they tried to tie me up with a rope, I was furious. Like a wild animal, I punched and kicked. Finally getting rid of them, I ran to the gate, broke it open with all my might, and ran to the school, crying all the way. I could not have conceived that I would have had such strength as to break down the huge and solid gate, which was high, strong, and well built. After I reached my bedroom, my head whirled and I was dazzled. After throwing up a mouthful of blood, I fell down on my bed and could not move. My four comrades surrounded me by my bed and cried when I told them my story. They declared that they would not leave the school until our goal had been achieved. Other sympathetic schoolmates also came to visit me. They were all moved when they heard my story.

Soon after, my second uncle came to visit me. Of course, he wanted to win me over to his side. Nonetheless, I refused to see him by making a pretext that I was ill. Before I embraced a progressive ideology, he had been the most respectful man to me, and had always liked me. My respect for him also gradually altered. I considered him an enlightened president of a university that tolerated all schools of thought, and hence the Chinese University had the largest number of CCP members in its student body. But after all, he belonged to a group of bureaucrats and politicians.

My father, on the other hand, was a comparatively open-minded man. He was at that time a small landlord. The land had been distributed among many sons in my grandfather's generation. In addition, as a student in Japan, he had been strongly influenced by Western ideology, and he had a reformist tendency. When I was active in the student movement, I sent him a long letter explaining my reasons. He understood me. He not only approved of what I did, but also showed my letter to some of his friends.

One influential sympathizer told me that my father was very astonished after reading my letter. He said, "Before, I thought this girl was

reckless, but this letter shows that she has a good head." Thus, unlike the other eleven schoolmates' parents, who had locked their daughters home for a year, after the defeat of our class strike for reinstatement of our Chinese teacher, my father let me continue my covert activities in school.

This influential sympathizer was Lan Shu-wun, one of my schoolmates. She played a great role in the victorious student struggle in our school. When the Northern Expedition Army occupied Wuhan, she joined the CCP and became active in the Wuhan Women's Association.

### Weapons to Oppress Women

As to why my second uncle and second cousins so stubbornly tried to interfere with my activities, it was owing to the influence of the long tradition of feudal-clan ideology, as the Ch'en family was the most distinguished in my native village. From generation to generation we had been big landlords, and under the former examination system some of us had been graduates of the First Degree (equivalent to BA), Second Degree (equivalent to MA), and Third Degree (equivalent to Ph.D.). The progenitors of big landlords usually had a very strong feudal ideology, and particularly adhered to old rituals. These so-called rituals and morals were the ideological weapons to oppress women.

The collective interference with my activities did not mean they cared for me, but cared for the protection of the long feudal tradition of the Ch'en family. For example, all the progeny of the Ch'en family as well as their relatives stopped talking with me as soon as I became involved in the struggle. This shows how powerfully that feudal tradition and ideology controlled the society at that period, especially in their control of women. If I had not desperately and adamantly fought my way out of my cousin's house, our struggle would have been crippled and might have ended. The elimination of the staunchest one among us not only would have demoralized the rest, but also would have put the rest in the same boat. From this episode, we easily understood that in the critical moment, intransigence and courage are the qualities most needed in a struggle. This had really been a profound lesson to us.

Since we got the news that the authorities wanted to arrest us, we distributed leaflets in the name of us five, to schools, associations, and newspapers, exposing the high-handed dismissal of us by the principal, and his despicable methods of intimidation and beguilement. We sent delegates to all student associations asking for assistance. The Wuhan Provincial Students Federation immediately called a meeting, in which a resolution was passed: if we five were arrested, a general student strike would take place. As soon as the authorities heard this, they withdrew the order for arrest. This demonstrates that a reform movement in one school cannot be isolated, but must unite with the whole student movement. The help of the Provincial Students Federation, which we contacted at the beginning of our struggle, saved us from arrest.

After both soft and hard measures failed to bring the desired result, the school used its last resort—our dismissal. When we discovered the wooden plaque for dismissal hanging on the door of the auditorium at 7:00 in the morning, we ran to the principal's office and caught him at the door just as he was trying to dash out to avoid the confrontation. We questioned him about our dismissal. At that time he was very arrogant, saying, "Since you have already been dismissed, you are not entitled to speak to me." However, we would not leave. As he had had enough of us—the harassment and sufferings that we had brought to him during the past year—he sat down and tried to argue with us. He considered that five dismissed students would not be a big deal and could not do too much harm.

But he did not expect that at this time a few hundred students were attending a morning meeting in the yard, and a few of our sympathizers took this opportunity of making emotional appeals to them, severely attacking our high-handed dismissal by the principal, and his other odious regulations, etc. As a result, the majority of the students (who were drawn from every class in our school) were all seething with indignation. They marched to the auditorium like an angry wave, and took down the wooden plaque for our dismissal. They then swarmed to the principal's

office with the plaque held by Li Che-sheh, a student, walking in front. They threw the plaque in front of him and stomped on it with their feet. At that time the mass was hysterical: yelling, screaming, and cursing. Some of them were for striking the principal, who was terrified into a stupor, his face ashen, his body trembling like a leaf, and incapable of uttering a single word. He was finally escorted by several women staff members to his office and locked up there for protection. A score of us then staged a sit-in outside his office demanding his resignation.

### Miniature of a Revolution

The situation at that time was like a miniature of a revolution. On the gate outside the school was hanging horizontally a long white flag on which was written in dark ink, "Remove the Criminal Educator, Wang Sek-yuk!" In addition, several tall and husky students were on guard. They permitted no free movement to those who were not on our side. We also controlled the phones. Fearing that they might be beaten, some male teachers stealthily climbed up the outside wall and fled. (In fact, our decision was not to strike anyone, for it would hurt our cause.) Since we were a defiant majority, those students who were for the principal shunned us.

The turmoil lasted from 7:00 in the morning till 7:00 in the evening. First, two officials were sent by the board of education to negotiate with us. They asked what we wanted. We demanded that the principal should resign and take all the blame upon himself. As they could not make any headway against our stubborn attitude, they left. Then came the former negotiators, the eminent educators: Li Lin-feng, president of Wuchong Teachers College, Ch'en Shih, president of Chinese University, and Li Han-chün, distinguished scholar. We rejected the offer of the annulment of dismissal and the retention of the principal. We maintained that the principal should resign and take the blame himself in his letter of resignation. So the situation was deadlocked: After a consultation among themselves, they sent Li Han-chün to ask the surrender of the principal, who reluctantly agreed, as there was no other alternative for him. Amid our victorious smiles, the principal dejectedly came out of his office.

In short, our courageous and intransigent struggle against the traditional feudal ideology and irrational system shocked the Wuhan area and the whole country. Despite many adverse turns and despicable bullyings, we, inspired by the new ideology, finally won an unprecedented and astonishing victory. The *Guide*, a CCP newspaper, mentioned the significance of this struggle, saying that it opened up the women's movement, developed the new ideology, and gave impetus to the socialist movement. In April 1922 we five, in the midst of our struggle, joined the Young Socialist League; and in October the same year we joined the CCP. After this struggle, the students in Girls Normal School continued to be the forerunners in the women's movement and many of them became members of the CCP.

One of the main reasons for this victory was the adoption by the CCP of the 1921 resolution of the Third International.\* The International delegate, Gregory Voitinsky, came to Wuhan after the First CCP Congress in the autumn of 1921. He discussed the Wuhan revolutionary work with the party leaders and cadres who then accelerated the development of the workers' and students' movements. After the crushing of its feudal citadel, the Girls Normal School became the most militant and powerful force in the

\*In July 1922 the CCP Second Congress passed a "Resolution on the Women's Movement." There were three main points in this resolution, the gist of which is as follows:

(1) Under capitalism, women could not achieve equality with men and freedom economically, politically, educationally, or occupationally. These goals could be realized only after a victorious socialist revolution.

(2) Under the then existing system, the CCP, in addition to the fight for equal pay for men and women, and special labor legislation for women and children, was also fighting for the emancipation of all oppressed women.

(3) The Third Congress of the Third International decided that the CP in each country should form a special bureau to lead the women's movement. A comrade should be assigned to each section of these special bureaus. The CCP decided to adopt this plan as soon as possible. (Pp. 65-66, *The Draft History of the CCP* by Wang Chun-min.)

ensuing struggle. Of course, the political background and objective conditions for our victory were the growing of the Wuhan revolutionary movement at that time and the CCP's leadership. Especially valuable to us were three members, Li Han-chün, Liu Sze-tang, and Ch'en T'an-ch'iu, who constantly kept an eye on us and gave us advice and direction. From this, we learned a lesson: for victorious revolutionary struggle a correct party leadership is necessary as well as the solidarity of the movement as a whole through the alliance between the student and workers' movements.

This episode was one of the most prolonged and widespread struggles for women's emancipation in China. It proved the correctness of Mary-Alice Waters's study of the Comintern's history, and it also marked the beginning of my revolutionary career.

In addition, in the early part of the following year, after the end of our struggle, the Third International Women's Section published a letter, "To Chinese Students," in the CCP's newspaper, the *Guide*, May 9, 1923. From this letter I select several paragraphs concerning our struggle, as follows:

"Dear Chinese Student Comrades:

"The persecution of the Chinese revolutionary

students by the Chinese warlords under their foreign commanders provoked your struggle for democracy and independence. We sympathize with your difficult struggle and give you our heartfelt approval.

"We saw that you actively participated in the latest railroad workers' struggle. We grieve at the peremptory killings of the workers by the treacherous warlords whose sole purpose was to please the English and French imperialists.

"The warlords as well as the foreign capitalists resented you deeply. They ordered the prohibition of your propaganda and gunned down your workers. At the beginning they forced the removal of your respected college president\*\* and made up all kinds of rumors in the foreign press.\*\*\* All these harassments are enough to demonstrate the significance of your movement which frightens the internal and external reactionaries. Now we know that Chinese students

\*\* Really a Chinese teacher, Liu Sze-tung, not the college president.

\*\*\*I and other schoolmates had received a Chinese newspaper full of rumors concerning our struggle in the fall of 1922, after returning to Girls Normal School from summer vacation.

are the great motivating force for the workers' and the national revolutionary movements. Lately you have had the most heroic strikes; in the future you will remove the occupation by imperialists.

"However, this struggle even at its inception, if without the participation of the women workers, will not have a complete victory.

"The lack of organization and political consciousness among women workers will make them easily deceived. At the critical moment, they might not be able to unite and join the struggle against the oppressors. Therefore, the great responsibility falls on the Chinese revolutionary students—to organize millions of women workers to struggle against the capitalists and imperialists. They should realize that their struggle is closely related to the workers' and students' movements. Only through the victory of the workers over the external oppressor can the exploited women of China be emancipated. . . ."

—From the Comintern Women's Secretariat, Eastern Section

# Farrell Dobbs Answers the FBI

**Socialist Workers party veteran and former Teamsters union leader charges four decades of spying and disruption against the labor and socialist movements.**

## Introduction

The following are excerpts from the testimony of Farrell Dobbs under questioning by government lawyer Robert Mosley. The testimony, given on June 15, 1976, was part of the pretrial proceedings in the suit by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance against government spying and disruption.

Dobbs's testimony was recorded by a court reporter. It has been edited to eliminate repetition and to correct garbled phrases.

The SWP and YSA suit was originally filed in July 1973. The socialists charged that government persecution of them extended at least as far back as 1948, when President Harry Truman created the attorney general's list of so-called subversive organizations.

In May of this year the socialists expanded the scope of the suit, charging that government attacks on the SWP went back at least to 1938. In that year FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover submitted to President Franklin Roosevelt a plan for expansion of FBI activities against what they considered "subversive" organizations.

The plan was approved by Roosevelt, and one of the first targets of the FBI was the Teamsters union in the north-central states. The Teamsters

were engaged in a major organizing drive, which was headed by Farrell Dobbs. Dobbs had been a central leader of the victorious 1934 Teamster strikes in Minneapolis, and he was also a leader of the Socialist Workers party.

The FBI helped carry out a series of frame-ups of Teamster union militants in the Midwest (described in Farrell Dobbs's book *Teamster Politics*, available for \$2.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014). This disruption campaign culminated in the 1941 conviction in Minneapolis of Dobbs and seventeen other militants from the Teamsters union and the SWP under the notorious Smith Act, which outlawed the advocacy of certain ideas.

In the May 1976 version of the socialists' suit, Dobbs was added as a plaintiff in the case. The SWP is demanding to see all the FBI's files on Dobbs, including those covering his years as a leader of the Teamsters union. If the socialists succeed in forcing the release of these documents, this could begin to uncover a whole area of FBI operations that has not yet come sufficiently to public attention: FBI attempts at disruption of the labor movement.

Question. State your name for the record, please.

Answer. Farrell Dobbs.

Q. Okay. Where were you born, Mr. Dobbs?

A. Queen City, Missouri.

Q. Where is that?

A. It's in the northern quadrant of Missouri.

Q. And what was the date of your birth?

A. July 25, 1907.

Q. Okay. Do you recall where you went to high school, Mr. Dobbs?

A. North High School in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Q. And did you graduate from high school?

A. I did.

Q. And did you go to college after that?

A. No, that's the sum total of my formal education.

Q. Okay. Could you tell us when you first joined the Socialist Workers party?

A. I was one of the founding members of the Socialist Workers party in 1938. I first joined the Trotskyist movement in 1934.

Q. Would you tell us what offices you have held in the Socialist Workers party?

A. Yes, the first office I held was that of national labor secretary. You want the times?

Q. Roughly—the best of your recollection. I assume that was in 1940?

A. Toward the end of 1943 I was designated editor of the *Militant*; and then in the early winter of 1949 I was designated national chairman of the Socialist Workers party. In the early summer of 1953, I was designated national secretary of the party; and I remained in that

post until spring of—I believe it was 1972.

Q. Are you presently a member of the Socialist Workers party?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you occupy or hold any office?

A. No. I've been retired from all organization activity for some years.

Q. Would you characterize yourself as an elder statesman of the Socialist Workers party?

A. No, I wouldn't do that.

Q. Would your views on policy matters be accorded a certain respect in view of your experience in the party?

A. A more accurate way to put it is that my views would be given open-minded consideration.

Q. Would they be entitled to greater weight than someone who did not have your experience or background?

A. No, I don't think so. If someone did not have much experience, they might think, well, he's had quite a little experience; therefore, they might give me the benefit of the doubt. But in our movement nobody tells other people what to think. Anyone who becomes a member of a movement like ours is a person who thinks for themselves or they wouldn't be there.

Q. On the other hand, aren't members bound, ultimately, by the decision of highest bodies of the party?

A. Basically, the procedure in the party is that decisions are made by majority vote if we are discussing a matter that is going to be carried to action. After a decision has been made, the procedure is that the minority abides by the majority decision. The minority is not asked to give up its views. The difference of opinion is subjected to the further test of events, and the minority is also free the next time the question comes up for deliberation to restate its views.

Q. But during that interim period, the minority is bound by the decision which the majority has reached?

A. Yes.

Q. It is sometimes characterized as the policy



of democratic centralism, isn't it?

A. Well, that's one of the fundamental principles of democracy as such. The principle of majority rule.

Q. But it has been summarized in your movement, hasn't it, as a policy of democratic centralism?

A. It is an aspect of the policy of democratic centralism, that's correct.

Q. What would be the other policies of democratic centralism?

A. The second aspect of democratic centralism is the one I was describing to you before. That after a decision is made everyone loyally carries out the decision of the majority.

Q. Do you recall the Declaration of Principles adopted at the 1937-38 founding convention of Socialist Workers party?

A. I recall that such a declaration was adopted.

Q. Do you recall what happened to that declaration?

A. Yes, it was revoked in December of 1940.

Q. Could you tell us the reason for it being revoked?

A. It was revoked following the passage of the Voorhis Act earlier in 1940.

Q. And was it revoked to reflect the fact that the Socialist Workers party would no longer be a member of the Fourth International?

A. That's correct. In December of 1940, a special conference was held at which a decision was made to disaffiliate from the Fourth International and to revoke the Declaration of Principles. Our object was to comply with the law. I should say, by the way, that we did that under protest. We considered the law itself a violation of the rights of American citizens under the Bill of Rights. Nevertheless, the law was passed, and we undertook to comply with it.

Q. Wasn't it true, Mr. Dobbs, that the Socialist Workers party continued to sell the Declaration of Principles as a propaganda document, up through and including almost the time of the trial of 1941?

A. There was never another reprint of this document that I can recollect. You see, once a document is published, it has a life of its own. It becomes a piece of—so to speak—public property.

The same would be true of a book, such as the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848. But the document [the Declaration of Principles] to my best knowledge and belief was never republished by the party, and insofar as it had any status at all, it was simply that of a historic document that reflected a particular expression made by the party at a particular time.

Q. And to the best of your knowledge, it was not sold as a propaganda document at any point subsequent?

A. I do not believe so. I know it was available in party headquarters as a document [because of an incident]. An FBI man led a raid that was conducted on our headquarters in Minneapolis, prior to the 1941 trial. I happen to remember his name, after all these years; the FBI man's name was Perrin.

Q. By raid, you mean a seizure pursuant to a warrant?

A. I'm not a lawyer. All I know is, he led a raid. He came in there with a handful of U.S. marshals, and they grabbed up some 2,000-odd pieces of literature. Then, during the trial, this FBI agent was put on the stand, and he testified that he found the copy of the Declaration of Principles there among other things; but, he also admitted that he found that along with a copy of the *Communist Manifesto*, and a copy of Lenin's *State and Revolution*, and [Leon Trotsky's] *History of the Russian Revolution*.

Q. Okay.

A. It [the declaration] was a piece of literature that no longer had anything more than historic standing.

Q. Getting back to those fundamental formulations, and what you testified to earlier about the existence of a ruling class in the United States,

would the Socialist Workers party express to the effect that the United States is a capitalist dictatorship?

A. Dictatorship is the word I think that you're stressing, is it not?

## What Is a Ruling Class

Q. Would you use the term capitalist dictatorship?

A. All depends on how you use it. Dictatorship can be used in two different ways. Fundamentally, the term dictatorship is used to signify that a particular class within society holds governing control, and therefore is in a position to dictate the conditions of life for society as a whole. That's the concept as Marx and Engels first developed it.

The second half is that in modern popular political parlance, the term dictatorship has taken on the connotation of a rule like that of Hitler, or like that of Stalin.

Q. So, the term capitalistic dictatorship would, in your view, or as it's used by the party, denote where that class dictated to all the other classes?

A. The capitalist class is in a position to dictate the general manner in which the social order operates. Now, the capitalist class in this country is not a dictatorial class in the sense that the capitalist class under Hitler became dictatorial in Germany. There is still a form of bourgeois democracy. Formally, I say, because a great deal of the content of bourgeois democracy that was infused in the founding Constitution of this country through the Bill of Rights has been gravely eroded, and in no small amount, by organizations like the FBI and CIA.

Q. Given the definition which you have furnished us, is it fair to say that the Socialist Workers party aims at a dictatorship of the proletariat?

A. In the sense that the working class—which constitutes the actual majority of humanity in contemporary capitalist society—would be the ruling class. In other words, it would be majority rule, and the ruling or working class would determine the conditions of life for everybody in the sense that the capitalist class today determines conditions of life for everybody. Therefore the expression dictatorship of the proletariat means the reversal of the present order of things. The minority capitalist class today determines the conditions of life for everyone, including the majority of the population. That ought to be reversed. History shows there's a danger that that capitalist class will try, by force and violence, to prevent a socialist-minded majority from making any fundamental change in the social order.

## Smith Act Trial

Q. You were a defendant at the 1941 Minneapolis trial?

A. Yes.

Q. And had you ever been arrested for any charge prior to that time?

A. No. That was the one and only time I have ever been arrested.

Q. Do you recall what the charges were at that trial?

A. Well, I don't remember. I'm not a lawyer. I'll tell you what my understanding was. It was an indictment that had two segments. One segment of the indictment was based on a statute that had been enacted during the Civil War back in 1861, and the second segment was based on the statute called the Smith Act. We were accused of conspiring to overthrow the government of the United States by armed revolution when there was an appropriate opportunity. In other words, as quickly as possible.

Second, we were accused—and I think it was under that 1861 law—of seeking to foment disaffection in the armed forces of the government. And third, under the second segment we were accused of advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence. That's my best understanding of the essence of what was involved.

Q. And were you convicted of conspiracy to

advocate overthrow of the government with force and violence?

A. They found eighteen of us guilty under the Smith Act count.\*

Q. Did you serve a prison sentence as a result of that?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. How long was that?

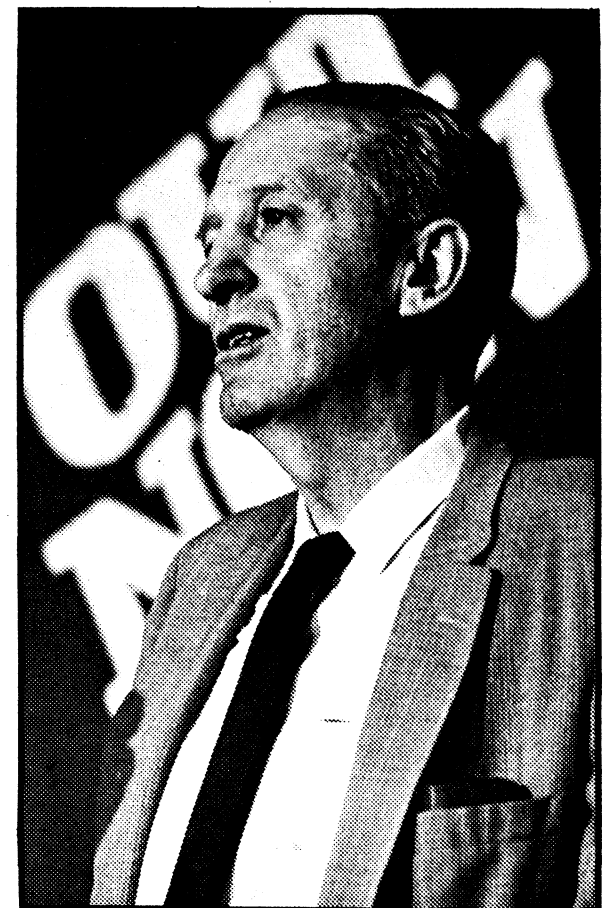
A. Sixteen months, with time off for good behavior. Served about thirteen months as I recall.

Q. Okay. Mr. Dobbs, what is the basis for your belief that you were framed up, to use your term?

A. Well, one of the pieces of evidence against us was the *Communist Manifesto*. That's going pretty far—holding you responsible for something written long before you were born.

Q. Anything else?

A. They tried to quote Lenin's *State and Revolution* against us, and Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*. They took this Declara-



Howard Petrick

FARRELL DOBBS

tion of Principles and twisted words around—it was all on the basis of literature. In other words, we thought we were convicted for what we thought and that's a frame-up under the Bill of Rights, in any book.

Q. Okay. Anything else?

A. That's enough, I think.

Q. That's all you base your contention of a frame-up on?

A. Yes. I consider it sufficient.

Q. Mr. Dobbs, you're a plaintiff in this action, aren't you?

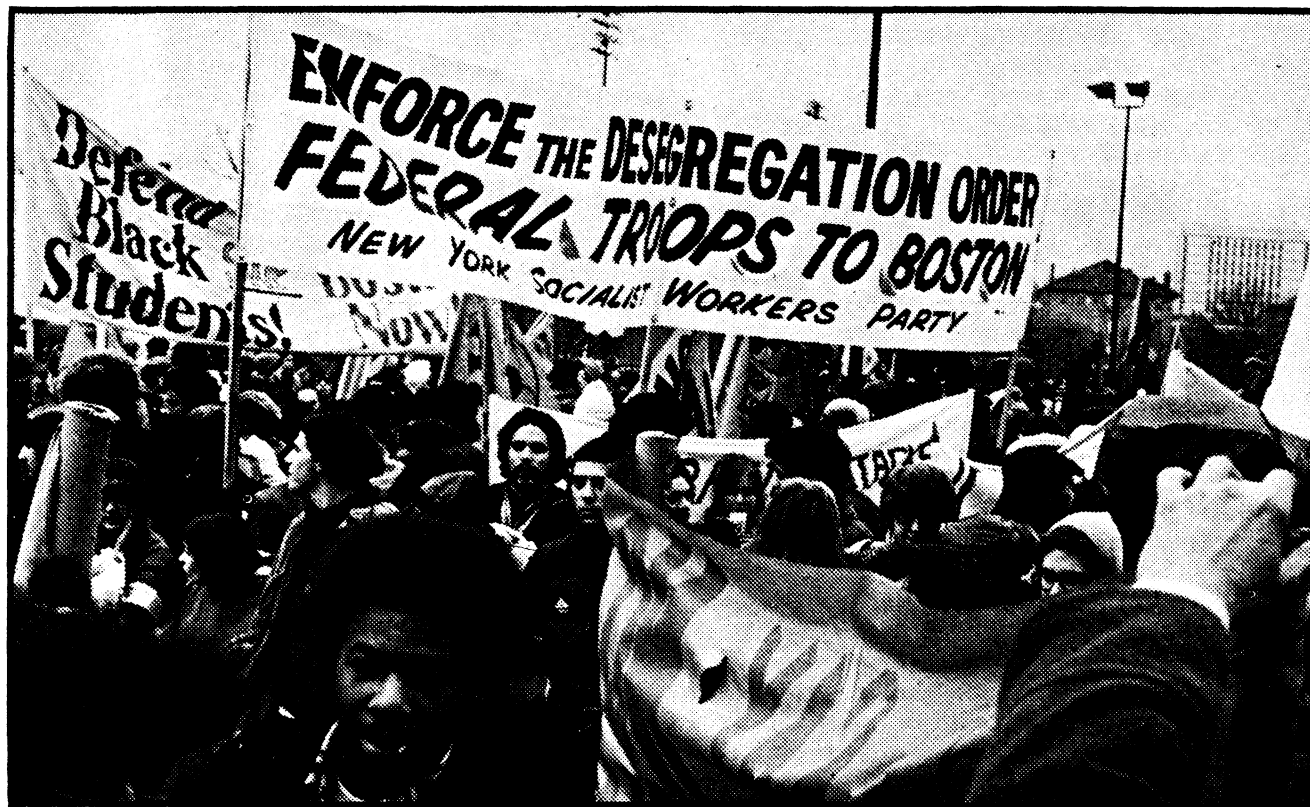
A. Yes.

Q. And, generally speaking, you're familiar with the subject matter of the action?

A. Yes, in a broad sense.

Q. A letter that your counsel has supplied us indicates that you will be testifying as to the nineteenth paragraph of the complaint. I'll read the nineteenth paragraph into the record. That is that "during or about the year 1938 and continuously thereafter, the defendant Government agencies and their predecessor agreed, expressly and by adherence to a common design, to cause agents of the United States to engage in a systematic campaign of excessive interrogation, employment discrimination and other discrimination against the SWP, the YSA, their

\* The U.S. Supreme Court has subsequently ruled unconstitutional the interpretation of the Smith Act that was the legal basis for the 1941 convictions of the Minneapolis SWP and Teamster militants. —ISR



Flax Hermes

'We use the term combat party to mean that we act as a unit after a decision has been made by a majority. We discuss in order to decide; we decide in order to act.'

members, candidates and supporters, and to spy upon them systematically by means of warrantless electronic surveillance, unauthorized opening and monitoring of mail, burglary, secret government agents, and by other similar means." Now, Mr. Dobbs, did you supply information for the drafting of this allegation?

A. I merely quoted the general nature of my direct experiences in that connection, first in the capacity of a union leader who was a member of the party up to 1940, and a party leader after that.

## FBI Versus Teamsters

Q. Now, what are your direct experiences?

A. I'll attempt to give you a chronological picture of the pattern of development as I observed it and experienced it.

The process of change began after the 1936 presidential election. During his first term in office, President Roosevelt had placed the main policy emphasis of his administration upon the reforms that were put through under what was then generally termed the New Deal. After the 1936 election, a perceptible shift began toward orientation to participation in the Second World War. This resulted in a shift toward intervention by the FBI first into the activity of Trotskyists in the trade unions, and [then,] in the name of attacking alleged Trotskyists, it began to apply to [trade union] militants generally.

The first act of the kind in my direct experience was in connection with a strike that took place in Sioux City, Iowa, in 1938. At that time, I was a secretary, and in that capacity, principal executive officer of a committee within the International Brotherhood of Teamsters known as the over the road committee. That committee was in charge of the organization of truck drivers who operated equipment that transported freight on the highways, and it functioned in eleven states in the upper Mississippi Valley, all the way across from the Alleghenies to the Rockies. Sioux City was within the territory to which I was assigned. Later, in the spring of 1939, I was made a general organizer for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

In a strike that occurred in Sioux City, in 1938—it was a strike of wholesale bakeries—a truck was alleged to have been burned on a highway right at the Minnesota-Iowa border. The union denied any responsibility for it. The accusations, then, were made only in the press by employers' statements. The union expressed the view that it probably was an effort by some employer who was trying to win public sympathy against the union.

In any event, the strike that centered in Sioux City, miles away from this alleged episode with the truck, was settled without any big hassle, and everybody thought the incident was forgotten.

About a year later, the FBI conducted a surprise raid about four o'clock in the morning at the homes of officers of local unions of the

Teamsters in Omaha, Nebraska, and Des Moines and Sioux City, Iowa, and arrested them; they had been indicted. I think the key charge was the act of transporting stolen vehicles across state lines. Then they added other charges: that the union leaders burned bakery goods, confiscated bakery goods, and interfered with private property. Then in the trial, FBI agents were put on the stand, and they testified that they had gone to the scene where [the crime] was supposed to have happened, and had surveyed the road. Apparently, there was a right-angle bend in the road, right at the border. They alleged, on the basis of their survey, that the truck supposedly had been stopped on one side of the road, then moved over to the other road, making them go across the state line. On that basis they sought to establish federal jurisdiction to prosecute seven officers in these three unions. And they did.

My first point is this: evidence came out that the FBI was, among other things, spending a lot of taxpayers' money digging up alleged evidence of this kind.

Second, they brought in people as witnesses who purported to identify the defendants. Each of the defendants was able to show in a defense rebuttal that they had been somewhere other than that place at that time; but, in any event, they were convicted and sentenced to two years in prison.

The thing that could not escape the attention of all the thinking members in the Teamsters union at that time was that what was alleged was the stopping of one truck, and it was alleged that a total of seven officers in three different local unions, quite some miles apart, had conspired to go way up there in the sticks and stop one truck. It had all the marks of a frame-up in every respect.

That was followed shortly thereafter [in July 1939] by the WPA\* strike in Minneapolis. In this strike, the first thing we observed that gave a clear indication of the FBI's role in the thing was that there was a picket line in front of a WPA sewing project. I don't know if you are familiar with this, but many of the WPA projects were what were called make-work projects. The government would deliberately send men out with shovels to move a pile of dirt from here to there. One of the things they did with women was to reduce garment-making operations way back to the level of the earlier stages of the Industrial Revolution and have them sew garments by hand.

There was a picket line in front of one of these WPA sewing projects, and the police sought to break up the picket line. They just moved in and attacked it—opened with a tear-gas barrage on the picket line and then proceeded to drive the pickets and everybody else away. One of the

workers was killed by a police bullet in the course of that attack. We noticed that it was reported in a Minneapolis paper—if I remember rightly, the paper was the *Tribune*. It said, in effect, that the FBI was in a good position in what went on, because a number of the operatives of the FBI had been present at the scene and dressed in clothing ordinarily worn by workers; they mingled with the pickets and the onlookers. So this was another clear indication of FBI interference in the exercise of the workers' democratic rights to picket—to strike and to picket. And, again, in that trial, FBI agents were brought in to give testimony accordingly.

In the fall of 1940 I was still a member of the union in Minneapolis, but I was now the national labor secretary of the Socialist Workers party, and headquartered in New York. I was no longer resident in Minneapolis. But I became directly involved before long, because of this brief sequence of events.

An opposition developed inside the union called the Committee of One Hundred. It became openly active in about January of 1941. Now, we did not know exactly what was happening at the time, but we learned of it in the trial that took place in 1941. Members of this committee appeared as witnesses against us in the trial, and among other things it was brought out in cross-examination that the FBI had made surreptitious contact with this committee behind the backs of the union officers. It was testified by members of this Committee of One Hundred, who appeared in court as government witnesses, that [an FBI agent named Perrin] had made contact with them and that he had attended at least one meeting of this committee with no one other than the central leader of the committee knowing who he was.

The next thing we discovered that came out in the trial [was this:] We knew that, in the spring of 1941, members of this committee had sent a series of affidavits to Daniel J. Tobin, the general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, naming the officers and organizers of the union and claiming they were all members of the Socialist Workers party and that they were manipulating the union for subversive reasons.

All we knew at that time was that these affidavits were filed with Tobin by the members of this committee. It came out in the trial that this same FBI agent Perrin had consulted with the members of the committee in the preparation of those affidavits.

Q. Now, based upon your direct experience, Mr. Dobbs, do you have anything else to add with respect to this paragraph?

A. I'll try to sum it up this way. My direct experience, as I sought to describe to you earlier in our discussion, was one of a cumulative indication that the FBI was moving toward harassment of the party, sympathizers of the party, or people who had indicated an interest in the party. One thing added to another. For

\* WPA—Works Progress Administration, later redesignated Works Projects Administration, was established by Roosevelt as a public works program to provide federal jobs for the unemployed. —ISR

instance, we would receive accounts of FBI men going to our members and saying that this party—that you're having something to do with what has been declared subversive by the attorney general, and so on. As I mentioned before, the [FBI's] visiting of employers, landlords, members, and so on—a developing pattern of harassment.

*Q. Going back to the incidents that you talked about, Mr. Dobbs, concerning what transpired in Sioux City, Iowa; were you present at the trial of that case?*

A. I was there for some of it; not all of it.

*Q. You weren't a defendant, I take it?*

A. No, I was not a defendant, but I was the officer of the Teamsters union made directly responsible by the general president of the union for arranging the defense, and looking to the needs of these officers of the union who were on trial.

*Q. You did attend some portion of the trial?*

A. I did, yes.

*Q. Now, I believe from what you've testified to, you—it's your contention the FBI fabricated evidence for that trial?*

A. For the reasons that I stated to you. That is the very distinct impression that we all had. Everybody in the union councils had that view.

*Q. And would you tell us what, based upon your personal knowledge, led you to believe that the FBI had fabricated evidence?*

A. I told you, their testimony.

*Q. The testimony of the FBI?*

A. At the trial itself. That's what it's based on.

*Q. That's the basis of your knowledge. Now, with respect to the incident concerning the WPA picket line and the individual you indicated was killed in that incident, would you tell me, again, where that took place?*

A. In Minneapolis.

*Q. Did you observe that incident?*

A. I wasn't there at the moment of the shooting.

*Q. Okay. Now, did you testify that the FBI was in some way involved in that?*

A. I told you what I knew about it—the newspaper reported they were there, and that FBI agents took the stand during the trial of the WPA that took place later, and testified as to what they observed.

*Q. Did you attend that trial?*

A. I attended some sessions; not all of them. Same as the other one.

*Q. And your knowledge of FBI involvement, and your allegations about that involvement, are based upon your hearing their testimony in this trial?*

A. What I've told you. Testimony and what appeared in the Minneapolis paper, which was never denied by the FBI, by the way.

*Q. Okay. So, again, as with the Sioux City activity, you did not personally observe any FBI—what you would consider wrongdoing?*

A. As I told you before, they're very sneaky people, and anyone who saw them on that picket line at the sewing project would have thought they were other workers.

*Q. Okay. Now, Mr. Dobbs, you testified as to FBI agents informing employers, landlords, et cetera, of members of the Socialist Workers party, that the organization was on the attorney general's list and, accordingly, it was considered subversive. Did you ever observe any FBI agent do that?*

A. No.

*Q. Did you have any personal knowledge of that at all?*

A. No, I wasn't a direct witness to any such thing.

*Q. Your knowledge of that would be based upon—*

A. Cumulative experiences across many years of this general pattern of harassment.

*Q. In other words, your knowledge of this is based solely upon what other members of the party told you?*

A. Yes, you could put it that way.

*Q. Now, with respect to this informing of landlords, and employers, did that ever occur to you personally?*

A. Well, I can tell you—no FBI agent told me. I had an experience, once when I lived on West Eleventh Street in New York, that is an indication of how sometimes you can get a trace of such information.

We had noticed that the neighborhood we lived in was primarily Irish, who worked as longshoremen on the waterfront, and were rather clannish. We had moved in there, and the neighborhood was indifferent toward us. Not cool, just indifferent. And we noticed that at a certain point, they became more friendly. We were really puzzled by it, and welcomed it. One day I overheard a conversation in a store that the FBI had been around inquiring about us in the neighborhood, and one of the people in the store said, "Well, if the cops are after them like that, they can't be all that bad a people."

I've cited that just to give an illustration of how some of this information comes to us.

*Q. Certainly that wasn't just your normal good nature having an impact?*

A. I heard what I told you.

*Q. Okay. Who told you that?*

A. I don't know the person's name. It was a group of people in the store. They didn't know who I was.

*Q. Do you recall when that occurred?*

A. Well, it would be in—around 1955. In the fifties.

## 'Subversive' List

*Q. Now, Mr. Dobbs, you referred, I believe, to the attorney general's list. Do you recall, approximately, what time the Socialist Workers party was put on that list?*

A. At the outset—I think it was first promulgated toward the end of 1947, wasn't it?

*Q. Now, as I believe you testified earlier this morning, you were national secretary from '53 to '72?*

A. That's right.

*Q. Okay. During that period, did the Socialist Workers party consider taking legal action to have its name removed from the attorney general's list?*

A. We protested in every way that we could, and we made an attempt to take a step that we thought was being made available by Eisenhower. Shortly after Eisenhower took office we read it in the newspapers that anybody that was on the list could file an application for a hearing and try to have themselves removed. So we made such a formal request, and we got back a reply that our request was invalid, because it had been made after a deadline date that was set for such request. We discovered that the deadline date was not based on the general dissemination of the knowledge, but on a provision that was printed in some kind of government publication in Washington.

*Q. The Federal Register?*

A. That's it. And we were supposed to know because it appeared there. We didn't even know the Federal Register existed.

*Q. And after that had transpired, did you contemplate taking any legal action—court action to have your name removed from the attorney general's list?*

A. Well, we talked with various lawyers about it, and the general advice we got was that there was nothing that realistically could be done.

*Q. Do you recall the law counsels that you contacted?*

A. The American Civil Liberties Union, the Workers Defense League—I think you're familiar with them.

*Q. At any subsequent time at the end of the McCarthy era, did you attempt to take legal*

*action to have the party removed from the attorney general's list?*

A. The conditions that I described to you appeared to prevail for a considerable period of time. But we sought to take action when it finally appeared, and we got a consensus among lawyers whom we respected, that there was a possibility of taking some meaningful action. Then we sought to act right away.

*Q. Did you ever travel to Cuba?*

A. Yes.

*Q. When?*

A. Spring of 1960.

*Q. Did you report back to the Socialist Workers party about your visit to Cuba?*

A. I did more than that. I made a tour of the country as a presidential candidate, and spoke to people wherever I could get an audience, and wherever possible raised the subject in interviews, on television, radio, and interviews with newspaper reporters.

*Q. Did you participate in the organization Fair Play For Cuba?*

A. No.

*Q. Were you a member of that organization?*

A. No. I was not a direct participant, but I was sympathetic with its view.

*Q. The party encouraged participation?*

A. Yes. We believed in its objective, which was to get fair play for Cuba.

## Revolutionary Leadership

*Q. Would you tell us the reasons why you stepped down as national secretary?*

A. Yes. I was born on July 25, 1907. Do you need any more?

*Q. Okay. Was there a mandatory retirement age?*

A. No. I might add a point. One of things that I noticed, as a worker and trade unionist, is how so many of these old fogeys sit on top of the unions until they become so doddering and so senile that they virtually have to be carried around from meeting to meeting. They just cling to the end. And where maybe they did something at one time that was an asset to the organization, they become a liability because they no longer communicate fully with the times, and they certainly don't reflect the spirit in the thinking of the young.

I watched this—and this is personal, but you've asked me a personal question. It's the only way I know how to answer it. I made a very conscious decision: I wasn't going to be that kind of a person. I believe that the future belongs to the young, and I believe that a time comes in the life of every individual, no matter what you may or may not have accomplished in your own best years, when you stand aside and give the youth its day, and just help as much as you can.

I've recognized also in this connection that part of the process of learning is to have the right to make mistakes. And it inhibits the ability of younger people to become good at their chosen profession if they aren't given a chance to make a few mistakes in the course of practice in carrying out their development.

And, therefore, I took the initiative. What I'm trying to tell you is that it was the opposite of it being mandatory. I took initiative in trying to play a constructive role in effecting the transition in the leadership of the Socialist Workers party.

There's another reason for it. If a transition is carried forth in a conscious way, there is a better chance to maintain continuity of basic views, a continuity of the basic practices, and to minimize the danger of an internal explosion developing if an old-timer just hangs on—sits there and keeps crawling to the last minute, and one day the grim reaper comes and gets you anyway. Then there's nothing you can do about it; and, if you haven't made some effort for a transition in this respect, it makes the change that much harder, in addition to the fact that if you delay in doing that, you cheat the young people out of something they're entitled to. And there's a right to go through the most complete possible learning



process while they're still young enough and vigorous enough, and have got long enough life expectancy that they have a good chance of doing something constructive for the rest of their lives.

*Q. Did you make any efforts to secure that transition through recommending a successor?*

A. No. I don't believe in that for one minute. Not for one minute. I believe in an organization of individuals. I believe in a natural process of selection by the members involved. All I ever did in this respect as a central officer who was nearing retirement was to lend myself, as best I could, to giving this, and that, and the other individual who appeared to have some leadership talent, an opportunity to demonstrate it to the party. So that the party would have a chance to make up its own mind about who did and who didn't have the desirable leadership qualifications. To me, that's a democratic principle.

*Q. Did you submit any reports to anybody about those individuals who did have some leadership potential to succeed you?*

A. I didn't name specific individuals.

*Q. Jack Barnes is your successor; is that correct?*

A. That's correct.

*Q. Were there any other people in the party who were considered for the position of national secretary? Do you recall any?*

A. No.

*Q. Mr. Barnes was the only one considered?*

A. No, I didn't say that. I tried to describe to you that the consideration was a process. It wasn't like a Democratic or Republican party convention, where all of a sudden you have a lot of candidates step forward and each one condemns and God damns the other until one of them gets elected. And then everyone says that the one who gets elected is the finest person to ever come down the pike.

When I speak of a process, I mean that for all individuals who showed leadership talent, hopefully—and to my best ability—I sought to facilitate the process of giving them a chance to prove themselves before the party. The process of choice is a cumulative pattern of performance in one or another capacity. This enables other members of the party to size them up and decide whether they have sufficient qualifications to be in the position. That is, whether they showed intelligence, initiative, perception; whether they had energy; whether they showed personal integrity; qualities of that general nature that I consider important in relations between leadership and membership.

*Q. Mr. Dobbs, during your many years in the Socialist Workers party, have you ever restrained your activities in any way as a result of your perception of what Government action might be taken against you?*

A. No. One thing I'm not is a coward.

*Q. And would you say that your experiences compared to the rest of the membership of the Socialist Workers party?*

A. None in the party are cowards.

*Q. A term pops up in the literature of the Socialist Workers party which I'm sure you are familiar with. It is the term revolutionary combat party. Are you familiar with that term?*

A. Yes.

*Q. Can you tell me what that term means?*

A. Revolutionary—we've discussed—

*Q. Go on.*

A. Combat—there are certain forms of combat. Combat does not necessarily mean action by force of arms. Any kind of a confrontation, any kind of a contention is combat, and there is something fundamental in that respect that is capsulized, we think, in the word combat. We use the phrase because we think that it serves that purpose. That is, that whatever you're going to try to do, do in a united way. That is what I was talking about when I said we want 100 percent loyalty. We proceed on the basis of democratic centralism, which is the operation of majority rule.

Now, how are you going to have majority rule?

There's only one way you can have majority rule, and have loyalty and discipline. Any voluntary organization, which we are, has to have relative homogeneity, and that can come only from one thing: similarity in basic thought. Now, that's what we mean by loyalty. Sufficient agreement with the fundamental concepts of the party so that one is able to function loyally as a member of the party, and not in any way be an opponent of, or a detractor of the party.

Now, combat in the sense we used it within that framework means that anything you do, you do on the basis of majority rule. You stand together on it. You discuss in order to decide; you decide in order to act. You act as an entity after you've gone through the democratic process of discussion and decision and arrived at a determination of a course of action.

Take, for instance, the SWP's current presidential campaign. The party expects each and every member of the party to be loyal and constructive in activity in supporting to the best of each individual's ability the party's campaign—speaking for the candidates that have been selected by a democratic decision of the party, and advocating the platform that has been decided by majority vote. We don't want somebody going out and saying, "Well, this person over here would be a better candidate," or, "It would be better if that proposal wasn't in the platform," because a majority has decided this should be the candidate, and that should be the platform.

We act as a combat unit in the sense that we are acting as one after a decision has been made by a majority, and that we don't discuss and make a decision in order to go out in a thousand directions, or even two different directions in action.

*Q. Another term which has popped up occasionally in your literature, actually not infrequently, is the term armed struggle. Does that have a particular meaning you would give that?*

A. Armed struggle—well, armed struggle is armed struggle, period.

*Q. That has no particular meaning, then?*

A. No. Struggle takes many different forms. Armed struggle is one form of many, many facets of the more abstract concept of struggle.

*Q. Does the term terrorism, as it's discussed in the writings of Lenin or Trotsky, have a meaning that is special or different from the meaning that an ordinary individual would give to the term?*

A. Terrorism, in political terminology, is a reference to an attempt by individuals to substitute themselves for the masses, in order to effect a change. Of course, the individual act that is contemplated to effect a very basic change has to be a drastic one, so it takes the form of what? Assassination, planting bombs, one thing and another. And it's in that sense that it gets the general connotation terrorism.

And Trotsky, about whom you asked, was an opponent of terrorism, as was Lenin. Lenin had reason from a point of view of his family. He had a brother who was executed by the tsarist regime on charges of terrorism. Lenin was a pretty thoroughgoing man. He made an exhaustive study of the whole thing, and he arrived at the conclusion that it was a false road.

So, the Marxist and the Leninist view—the Trotskyist view—is that from the point of view of effecting social change, terrorism is self-defeating. It has several adverse effects.

For one thing, if you proceed on the basis of acts by isolated individuals trying to substitute themselves for the masses, it creates the impression or at least goes on the premise that the masses of people can stand aside, can take a spectator's view, and see how things come out.

Now, that's self-defeating, because you can't change society until you convince the majority of the masses in society that the change is necessary.

Now, second, when acts of terrorism are conducted, it gives an opening to repressive police forces to take actions that contravene the democratic rights of the masses in the name of acting against terrorists, which is self-defeating any way that you look at it.

For that reason, we are against it.

# Free Mustafa Dzhemilev!

On June 24 a meeting was held in New York City to demand the release of Mustafa Dzhemilev from a Soviet prison. Dzhemilev was incarcerated for his activities in defense of the rights of the Crimean Tatar people. The Crimean Tatars, forcibly deported to Central Asia by Stalin in 1944, are demanding the right to return to their homeland. The more than 100 persons who attended the meeting heard a wide range of speakers support Dzhemilev. Among them were the exiled Soviet dissident Pavel Litvinov and Martin Sostre, a veteran militant in the struggle for Black and Puerto Rican liberation. Their speeches, slightly edited, are reprinted below.

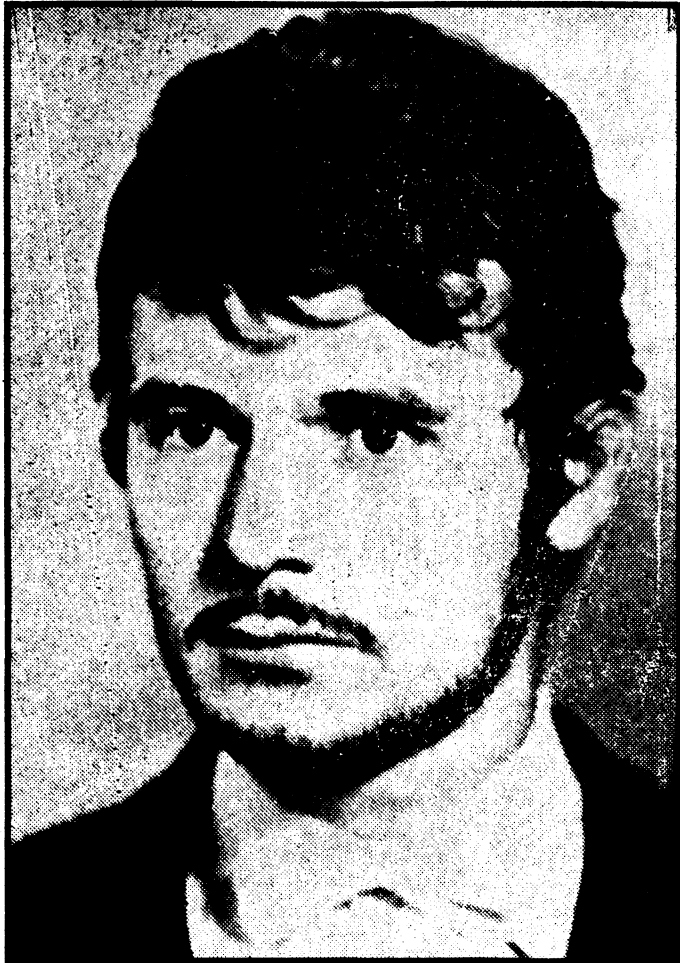
Litvinov was a leader of the human rights movement that emerged in the Soviet Union in the 1960s. He worked closely with such noted critics of the Stalinist regime as Andrei Sakharov, Pyotr Grigorenko, and the late Alexei Kosterin. A personal friend of Dzhemilev, Litvinov has defended the cause of the Crimean Tatars for many years.

In August 1968 Litvinov was arrested for demonstrating in Red Square against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. For this "crime" he was imprisoned until November 1972. When he refused to cease his activities in support of democratic rights, Litvinov was detained by the KGB on December 5, 1973, and told to choose between exile and imprisonment in a labor camp. In April 1974 Litvinov arrived in the United States where he has continued his work in support of the struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union.

Sostre became politically active while serving a twelve-year prison sentence during the 1950s. His fight for the religious rights of Muslim prisoners and his challenge to the legality of all-white parole boards led prison officials to place him in solitary confinement for five years.

After his release he opened a bookstore in Buffalo, New York, that carried literature on the Black liberation struggle. When Buffalo's Black community exploded in 1967, Sostre became the target of police reprisals. He was arrested in July 1967 on frame-up charges of selling \$15 worth of heroin and sentenced to a term of thirty to forty-one years in prison. The chief prosecution witness subsequently recanted his testimony, but Sostre's sentence was upheld. While in prison, Sostre resumed his work on behalf of prisoners' rights, for which he was punished by another three years of solitary confinement.

Sostre was adopted as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International. Andrei Sakharov issued a call for his release. Under such pressure, Gov. Hugh Carey ordered Sostre's release in 1976, after nearly nine years' imprisonment.



MUSTAFA DZHEMILEV

## Pavel Litvinov:

**'Dzhemilev sympathized not only with the Crimean Tatar cause, but with the whole problem of human rights, with the rights of nationalities like the Ukrainians, and many others. . . .'**

The year 1944, the 18th of May, Crimea. Crimean Tatars lived in the steppe of the Crimea in small villages, where they worked as collective farmers and peasants.

On that day, suddenly Soviet soldiers came to every house, opened the doors, and said to the people—who were old people, children, and women, because all men were in the Red Army fighting against Hitler—"You have twenty minutes to gather everything you have, whatever you can carry. . . ."

Then all of these people—children, women, and old people—were put into cattle cars and this train, traveling almost two months, brought them to Central Asia and Siberia. During this time of transportation—almost without food, sometimes without water—and during the first several months of exile, in what was really a desert, deprived of any possibility to make their living, 46 percent of the population of the Crimean Tatars perished.

Crimean Tatars were not alone in this fate. There were other nationalities—Kalmucks, Greeks, Chechens, Bulgars, earlier it was Germans. Fourteen nationalities had the same fate; they were all accused of being traitors, of betraying their homeland. Everybody—children and even unborn children.

Everyone was sent into exile, and many perished during the forced journey. It was one of the many crimes of Stalin's regime.

What does it mean that they were accused of treason? What does it mean that they were called a "nationality of traitors"?

During the Second World War, when most people of the Soviet Union fought against Hitler, there were some among the many peoples of the Soviet multinational state who for one reason or another cooperated with the German army. I'm sure all of you have heard about the one-million-man Vlasov army, and about the various Ukrainian movements. It is a very complicated question why these people did what they did. I don't want to justify it, but I cannot condemn

them. Many of them suffered terribly because of the forceful collectivization, because of the 1930s and so on. But that is not the point. Of course there were such people among all the nationalities and among the Crimean Tatars. But this does not justify the condemnation and genocide of the whole people, the whole nationality.

Anyway, among these so-called traitors was a baby named Mustafa Dzhemilev. He was born six months before this forceful deportation. And he grew up with the knowledge that the people in Central Asia among whom he lived considered him a representative of a traitor nation.

In 1956, when he was twelve years old, he started to participate in a small organization of children who wanted to know who they were, what their nationality was, and why this had happened to them. When he was sixteen, Mustafa, together with other young people, founded the Youth League of Crimean Tatars. After this, the persecution started.

He was arrested several times. He lost his job. He was framed for draft evasion.

I will not enumerate all the ways he was persecuted, but he was one of the first, and one of the most active participants in the Crimean Tatars' national human rights movement, the movement to return to Crimea, to return to their homeland.

Even after 1956, after the 20th Congress of the Communist party, when most but not all of the forcibly exiled peoples were allowed to return to their homelands, the Crimean Tatars were still not allowed to do so. And in the beginning of the 1960s their movement, a peaceful movement, began.

I want to stress that their movement was always peaceful; they never used any violence or had the idea of violence. They wanted to attract attention to their cause in whatever way they could. They wrote letters, they organized demonstrations.

Nobody really knew about the Crimean Tatars' movement in the 1960s when it began. I heard that there were some people who were collaborators with Hitler because several books slandering them were published in the Soviet Union.

But really I didn't know and I didn't care, and the same was true with most people in the Soviet Union.

In 1967 I was one of the first activists of the human rights movement, which started after the arrests of several writers—of Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuly Daniel, Alexander Ginzburg, Yuri Galanskov, and many, many others. I got in touch with two remarkable people, one of whom died in 1968. He was the late writer Alexei Kosterin, an old Bolshevik who spent eighteen years in Stalin's labor camps and then was rehabilitated. He became a member of the Writers Union, and in 1966 he, as well as all other members of the Writers Union, received a letter from Crimean Tatars, about whom he

really knew nothing. But he was a man of great conscience and he decided to learn what had happened. He was the first, and then his friend Major General Pyotr Grigorenko joined him. They began writing letters in defense of the Crimean Tatars.

In 1967-68 I was an assistant professor of physics at the Moscow Chemical Institute when I started my activity and became a friend of Grigorenko and Kosterin. I first met representatives of the Crimean Tatars in Moscow. Among them was Mustafa Dzhemilev.

I remember my first impression: He looked like a boy, very small and he had a smooth boyish face. An eastern kind of face, very handsome and very small. I liked him from the start. I felt that this man was spiritually akin to me. We met several times in 1968. At that time the Crimean Tatars had many problems with persecution by the KGB [Soviet secret police], and the Soviet authorities.

Dzhemilev was one of the Crimean Tatars who sympathized not only with the cause of the Crimean Tatars but with the whole problem of human rights, with the rights of minority groups, of nationalities like the Ukrainians, and many others.

Dzhemilev was different from many others in this period who felt it would be better to be absolutely loyal to the Soviet regime—the attitude of "We'll support the Soviet regime in all cases, and we'll politely ask the Soviet authorities to allow us to return." They thought this strategy would help. But it didn't help, and now fewer and fewer Crimean Tatars think this way.

They also didn't want their cause to be publicized abroad. They didn't want human rights activists like myself, Grigorenko, or others to speak about Crimean Tatars because they thought that it would be harmful.

They were wrong, but Mustafa Dzhemilev was one of the first who understood the whole problem of human rights.

He couldn't get a real higher education but he educated himself. He was a very strong Moslem believer. Once he told me about the various directions of Moslem development and history. I was struck by how well educated he was, how well he knew the whole subject.

I didn't hear much at that time, for example, about the Palestinian cause. He was the first who told me about the real problem. I can say that I was very skeptical in that period as to what the whole story was in the Middle East, but he really knew.

In 1968 I participated in a demonstration against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and was arrested. The Crimean Tatar movement continued and Mustafa Dzhemilev, together with a friend of mine, the poet and Jew Ilya Gabai, who later died, were both arrested and were sentenced to three years of labor camp for so-called anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

Dzhemilev, I should add, is an advocate of nonviolent protest against injustice, and the Crimean Tatars have always used peaceful methods in their struggle. This is something that the human rights movement and the Crimean Tatars have in common.

In 1972 I returned to Moscow and at this time Mustafa's sentence finished but he lived in Uzbekistan in Central Asia and I didn't meet him. The last time I met him was several weeks before my departure from Russia. He came from Tashkent and one of the purposes was to say farewell to me. We spent the night talking about the whole problem of the human rights struggle.

Before this period [in 1969], he had become one of the participants in the Initiative Group in Defense of Human Rights. It was one of the reasons for his arrest in 1969.

Mustafa felt keenly all problems of human rights. When I met him after this break of almost five years at the end of 1973 or the beginning of 1974, he was much older. He had lost a lot of his hair in the labor camp and he was not such a young man any more. He didn't look like a boy as he did at our first meeting. But he was absolutely the same; he didn't become bitter from the persecution. And very soon after I came to this country, I learned about his new arrest, his hunger strike, his diseases that were discovered after his hunger strike, and the new persecutions and new frame-up against him.

I want to say that Mustafa Dzhemilev is my personal friend and he is a symbol of a pure and remarkable movement, the Crimean Tatar move-



Militant/Lou Howort

PAVEL LITVINOV

ment. It is the only movement in the Soviet Union in which everyone—from children to old women and men—are all participants. It is the only movement that is so united.

This movement is very important, not only as a cause against genocide, a cause against persecution of innocent people, and an innocent nationality, but as a cause which is important in the turn of the whole Soviet society toward something human that I hope can happen in the future. And the contribution of the Crimean Tatars in this necessary turn of Soviet society to a more human society is and will be very great.

And really, all the different nationalities in the Soviet Union—Russians, Jews, Ukrainians, Crimean Tatars—the best people from all these nationalities now work together for the cause of human rights in the Soviet Union, in the country that calls itself socialist.

I am sure that support from people who suffered in Ireland, from those who want to help the people who suffer in Chile, and so on—such international support of the human rights of suppressed people and nationalities, is one of the key factors.

We should be all together in support of the human rights of those who suffer under repressive regimes throughout the world.

## Martin Sostre:

**'Even the most repressive state can be forced to disgorge its political prisoners. They were forced to release me because of pressure. That is the only thing that repressive governments understand. Massive pressure, using all means necessary. . . .'**

It is a great pleasure to be here, after being in prison for nine years. I was the victim of a frame-up because I fought for human rights and because I had the only bookstore in Buffalo, New York, that was disseminating socialist and political literature—literature dealing with the struggle for Black liberation here in this country, the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, literature against the war in Vietnam, and all progressive literature. That bookstore in Buffalo became a center for persons of conscience, for

youths who were seeking guidance, for college students.

Naturally, the power structure did not like this, and as a result I was framed. And this is what happened in all of the Black ghettos, especially during the 1960s, and is still happening now.

As a political prisoner and a person of conscience, I suffered eleven beatings in solitary confinement. After one of those beatings I was framed by the same guards who assaulted me. They claimed I was the one who jumped the goon squad of seven that assaulted me. This resulted in another conviction and another four years to run consecutively with the savage sentence I was already serving.

This is how they operate in this country. They make everything legal. That's how this country can claim that there aren't any political prisoners, because they use the law to repress. I don't have to tell you about all of the scandals. It is in the press even today about the FBI agents who are burglars, the CIA agents who are murderers. All the disclosures show that this whole country—from the chief executive in the White House down to the little corrupt cop on the beat who shakes down drug peddlers and frames them when they don't pay—this entire system is corrupt, racist, and repressive.

As a former political prisoner, I consider Mustafa as well as other political prisoners throughout the world my brothers because I can really identify with political frame-up and repression of persons of conscience who fought for human rights and dignity. And I oppose all regimes who oppress and silence the opposition.

But the very fact that I am here now, after being given forty-one years and then four consecutive years on top of that, is proof positive that even the most repressive state can be forced to disgorge its political prisoners and victims of its oppression.

Why did they release me after giving me forty-one years and then four years? Certainly they didn't have a change of heart all of a sudden.

My case is the classic case of what can be done to free a political prisoner. The only reason they released me, or were forced to release me, was because of pressure. That is the only thing that repressive governments understand. Massive pressure, using all means necessary.

There were about eight defense committees throughout this country that were formed in my behalf. In addition to that, many political groups and individuals joined with my defense committees in picketing and demonstrations, sit-ins, letter-writing campaigns, and petitions. We flooded them with thousands upon thousands of letters.

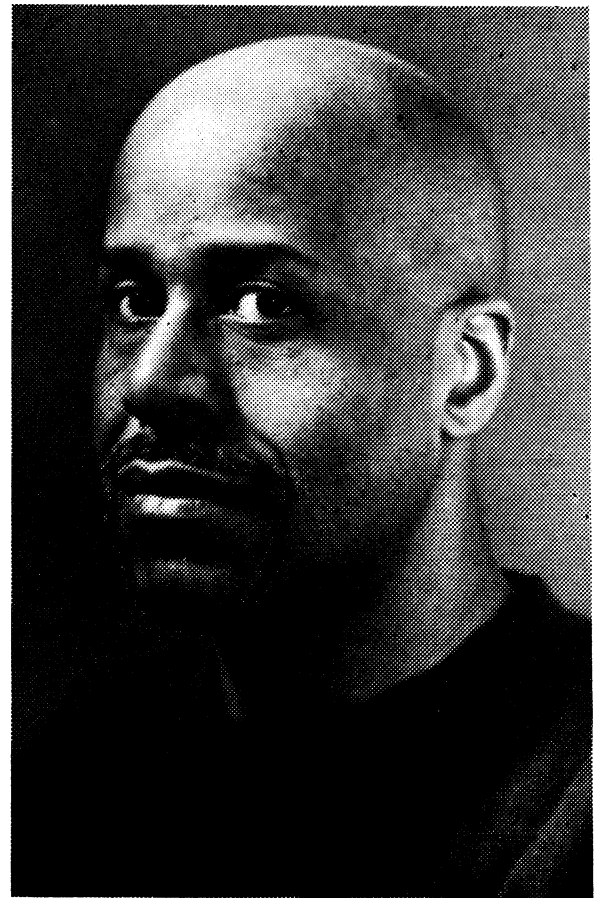
My defense committee went to Albany and picketed Governor Rockefeller right at the state office building. We gave him no rest. Father Dan Berrigan and his crew sat in at [New York] Governor Carey's office and forced him to have a meeting with them.

Amnesty International in Germany, which was the group that adopted my case in that country, sent contingents to the American ambassador demanding my release. In Holland also, the American ambassador was confronted by delegations of persons from Amnesty International demanding that they release Martin Sostre.

Placards, posters, that's the only language they understand. You have to put a fire to their butts.

My being here is a victory of the people. Of course, I served nine years, but I had forty-one years and four years consecutive. So actually I'm not supposed to be here. When they gave me that forty-one years I was not a kid; I was forty-four years old then. That sentence meant that I would never see daylight again. It was the equivalent of a death sentence. And yet here I am in the struggle, and they know that they have a staunch revolutionary against them because they never succeeded in breaking my spirit despite the eleven beatings, despite the years in solitary confinement, despite the tear gassings, despite being taken out-of-doors in subfreezing weather buck naked to try to destroy my health. And they will do everything in order to break spirits and obtain complete obedience to their repression. That I could never submit to. Not even the threat of death could force me to do that.

As a matter of fact in the combined eight years that I spent in solitary confinement I have lost that fear of death. Because I have been through



MARTIN SOSTRE

hell and I know how to fight the devil.

So these are the tactics that we have to use to release Mustafa and all other political prisoners.

This is the most repressive country in the world, oppressive on a world scale. It is a colonialist country that still has colonies like Puerto Rico, a country that, along with South Africa, is one of the most racist regimes in the world. It is a country whose very foundations are on slavery and genocide. The slaughter of the Indians, the enslavement and importation of Blacks, who at this very moment are still maintained in segregated communities. And our president has proclaimed that he will try to do everything possible in order to continue the forced segregation of schoolchildren.

This country claims to celebrate a bicentennial based on liberty. And yet the very founding fathers—George Washington and the rest of them—were slaveowners. The only liberty they were talking about was the liberty to oppress and exploit their slaves and not share the profits with the British.

So if victory can be achieved here, as repressive and hypocritical as this country is, it can be achieved elsewhere too.

I was a person with no funds. No celebrities came to my help, except at the very end. Only when [Andrei] Sakharov spoke from Russia in my behalf did I get any widespread publicity. And yet it was groups like this one, of persons of conscience in many parts of this country, small but determined groups, not only in this country but in Germany, in Japan, in Holland, and other places where there are Amnesty International branches. It was a cumulative effort of all of these people of conscience, thousands all over the world that have won my freedom, and I am living proof of it.

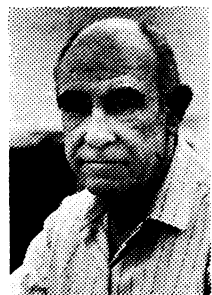
And this is what we are going to do for all political prisoners. All we have to do is to follow the same principles that have won my freedom. Put on the pressure and embarrass repressive regimes that try to pass themselves off as being democratic. By giving them the lie, they will be forced to release the political prisoners in order to maintain the image of a civilized country.

So I urge you to intensify your efforts in every way, physically and financially, because it costs money, leaflets have to be printed, halls have to be rented, telephone bills have to be paid. Put your body on the line when picketing is needed. Help to send letters and petitions. Use all means necessary.

The balance of power in this world is on our side. We *will* have the egalitarian society that we all seek, a society where we will be able to enjoy all of our human rights and dignities and where we can all share the wealth of this world—and there is plenty here for everyone. The greedy ruling class who monopolizes the wealth must be replaced by humanity, who will share the wealth in common.



Frank Lovell



## Proposal from a teacher

[The following guest column was written by Ron Jameson, who tries to make a living as a teacher in Detroit.]

DETROIT—When it comes to jobs, Detroit is as bad off as any place. One out of every six Detroiters is unemployed. One out of every three teen-agers and thousands of college graduates are looking for work.

No jobs, sixty cents a gallon for gas, alleyways filled with garbage, boarded-up houses—these define the mood of the city. Whatever you read about new car sales, the depression still sits heavy on Detroit. People dress poorly, cars are old and rundown, fear and tension are found on every corner and in every home.

In the suburbs, it takes two people working to pay a family's bills. In the city, so many people sleep in parks you can't tell if they are sunning themselves or if they passed out from hunger or exhaustion. Even people thought of as "middle class" are suffering. Wages have fallen behind prices for years. Insecurity haunts every aspect of life.

A 1972 Chevy would be a big purchase for a college teacher. While for hundreds of college teachers without full-time jobs, a '70 VW or '68 Ford is the best they can afford. For them paying the rent and living from day to day means scrambling all over town looking for part-time work.

These people are a reserve of permanently unem-

ployed teachers. The only jobs they get are leftover classes at community colleges and universities. A lot of people think that they teach part-time because they have other jobs. The fact is, many teach part-time on a full-time basis because they do not have a real job at all. They work a twelve-month year, teach more classes and students than full-timers, and spend incredible amounts of time and money driving from one job to another. For all this they get about \$5,000 a year and no benefits.

Many of these teachers are young. They have had five or six years of college and several years of teaching experience. They wander from place to place looking for work while everyone knows that the schools are in trouble. For all they have to offer, the system has turned them into penniless nomads. Their mood is increasingly bitter.

In their student years many of them took part in the antiwar movement, women's liberation groups, and radical politics. There was hope for the future. Life and experiences took them far beyond the sterile classrooms. But while the aims of those earlier struggles may have sometimes seemed distant, the teachers know what they are seeing now is the real thing.

They are aware of being ripped off. They are ready to do something about it. A move to organize them would benefit all teachers. Everyone would gain. The gates are wide open, and it's time for action in their own behalf.

## Women in Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



## Women at Kansas City

With the band blaring "California, Here I Come" in one ear and the "Michigan Fight Song" in the other, the Republican convention was not exactly the best place to discuss political issues. Nevertheless, one political question—women's rights—did create a stir in Kansas City.

Normally a national gathering of Republicans would be one of the last places you'd look for a discussion of the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion. Yet these two questions stood out as virtually the only political issues talked about during the entire GOP convention.

There was the debate between STOP ERA commander-in-chief Phyllis Schlafly and Rep. Millie Fenwick of New Jersey. "In the Middle Ages,"



STOP ERA's Schlafly at Republican convention

observed Fenwick, "men spent hours debating whether women had souls. And here we are, debating whether women still have souls."

Then there was Betty Ford, a supporter of the ERA, calling on Nancy Reagan to stop capitulating to her husband Ronald and come out for the amendment too.

And—in self-defense—there was the eleventh-hour interview daughter Maureen Reagan gave to the *New York Daily News*, titled "Dad's No Male Chauvinist."

Now, you know that when Ronald Reagan starts posing as a defender of women's liberation, feminist ideas have had a deep impact indeed!

Not just Reagan, but the whole Republican party is feeling the pressure of the growing identification of women in this country with the women's liberation

movement. As the convention showed, even some within the ranks of the GOP have been affected.

At the same time, the convention also indicated the deep inroads scored by the right-wing offensive against women's equality.

The Republicans have supported the ERA for the last thirty-six years—on paper, that is. But this year, under pressure from anti-ERA delegates, the platform committee initially voted to remove the pro-ERA plank and to say nothing about the amendment at all.

Schlafly wanted the party to come out against the ERA, of course. She predicted that by doing so the Republicans could win over "religious and family-oriented Americans" turned off by Betty Ford's remarks "tolerating fornication and illegal pot-smoking."

The final outcome of the battle was that the pro-ERA plank got back into the platform. Efforts to quash the anti-abortion plank failed, however. That plank and an antibusing plank both wound up in the platform.

Commenting on the ERA fight in Kansas City, Karen DeCrow, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), told the *New York Daily News*:

"On the one hand, it's a great victory. On the other hand, you're still treading water. If a convention is thinking of taking the ERA out of its platform, well, you're not even back to grade one, you're back to nursery school."

"At the Democratic convention," she continued, "the big fight was 50-50 representation between men and women. And that (50-50 representation) is like first grade. As far as organized political parties in this country, women are not anywhere."

I couldn't agree with her more, as far as how little progress women have made within the two capitalist parties.

Unfortunately, though, DeCrow and many other leaders of NOW haven't recommended that women take the next logical step: get out of this dead-end two-party system. In fact, NOW leaders have encouraged women to work within the system, particularly within the Democratic party.

For women to stay in the Democratic and Republican parties makes about as much sense as staying married to a man who beats you every night and robs you every payday. You need a divorce, not a marriage.

There is an alternative for women in the 1976 elections. That's supporting the ticket of Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president, the two candidates of the Socialist Workers party.

Continued from page 10

established by the Soviet government under the leadership of the Bolshevik party and Lenin in October 1921.

Since Stalin's death, not only have his heirs refused to reestablish this republic as the Crimean Tatars demand, but the decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in September 1967, which finally officially dropped the charges Stalin had fabricated against the entire Crimean Tatar population, referred to the Crimean Tatars as "citizens of the Tatar nationality formerly resident in the Crimea."

However, the Crimean Tatars, by their persistent struggle for the right to return to the Crimea, waged over the past two decades, have unmistakably demonstrated to the Kremlin bureaucrats and to the world their existence as a distinct national group, and they have done so at the cost of great suffering.

It is only right, then, that we who defend them should call them by their proper name: Crimean Tatars.

Marilyn Vogt

Brooklyn, New York

### Found in library

I've recently begun to read the *Militant* in a local library, and want to learn more. Please enroll me for a six-month subscription for \$4.

F.B.

Madison, New Jersey

### A racist progressive?

In an article I wrote for the July 30 *Militant* on the "Communist party and the 1976 elections," I included one bit of information that must now be changed in light of later developments.

In commenting on the Democratic party politicians endorsed by the CP-backed Committee on Independent Political Action at its June conference in New York City, I wrote, "One endorsement that conference participants apparently couldn't stomach was the proposal to back incumbent Democrat Frank Barbero . . . CP spokesperson Amadeo Richardson urged the CIPA to support Barbero. But other participants . . . pointed out that Barbero had distributed antibusing material in his district."

"Barbero's name did not appear on the list of endorsements printed in the *Daily World*."

Later issues of the *Daily World*, however, have listed Barbero as a CIPA endorsee. Whether his name was simply omitted by accident by the *Daily World* from its report on the conference, or Barbero's endorsement was approved by some CIPA committee at a later date, I do not know.

Either way, he has now joined the CP's gallery of "independent" Democrats and—I suppose—"progressive" racists.

Steve Clark

New York, New York

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 Great Society

Harry Ring



**Friends of the flat earth**—The Rensselaer, Indiana, *Republican* reports that a parent committee is searching, unsuccessfully, for a science textbook that skips evolution and “leaves out controversial items such as: human beings are animals; the use of pesticides by farmers; the bad effects of the Alaska pipeline; the use of phosphates; the bad effects of DDT; and the new idea that land is not just private property, but a natural resource in which all people have an interest.”

**The high cost of living**—Columnist George Wills reports the findings of Conrad Taeber, a researcher for the Population Center of the Kennedy Institute. Taeber has

established that if people did not die of cancer they would die of other causes. He notes that “health cost” would not necessarily be reduced by a cancer cure since people would fall victim to other, sometimes more costly ailments such as incapacitating strokes. Or paralysis of the brain.

**Food for thought**—Buried among supermarket ads in the weekly food section of the *Los Angeles Times* was this item: “CHICAGO (UPI)—A nationwide consumer survey indicates American consumers are less sure than they were in the past that the United States profit system is working to their advantage.” The headline writer put it more plainly: “U.S. Consumers Express Doubts About Capitalism.”



**Inflationary note**—The cost of living isn't going up? Consider this: Truffles, which a few short years ago were available for \$40 a pound, are now \$200. By any standard that's no small truffle.

**Like the good old days**—“Today status [among those with servants] is not that you have help, but who you have. In some circles, Chinese couples (the old-fashioned ones who call their employers Missy and Master) represent the pinnacle of success. But . . . anyone who has been trained or worked abroad—or in the Deep South—is at a premium.”—A *Los Angeles Times* overview of the current servant problem.

## iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



### The Hayes-Morales case

[The following guest column is by staff writer José G. Pérez.]

On September 14, 1975, Frank Hayes kidnapped Richard Morales, took him to a deserted road, put the barrel of a sawed-off twelve-gauge shotgun under Morales's left armpit, and pulled the trigger.

“I have killed me a Mexican before,” said Hayes moments before the execution, “and I am getting ready to kill me another.” Undisputed testimony of all the witnesses led to one conclusion: It was cold-blooded, premeditated murder.

In Texas, the law says if you do that you get the chair. Seven to twelve amperes of current at 500 to 2,000 volts push through your body for two minutes in a scientifically determined pattern guaranteed to kill.

It's not necessarily the electric shock that kills you. Death is caused by frying. Six seconds after the juice begins to flow the temperature inside your brain has risen to 140 degrees. Burning at the electric stake.

I didn't make the Texas law that says you fry if you kill someone. I don't agree with it. I think it is

barbaric.

But by Texas law, one day the prison barber should have been paying Frank Hayes a visit to shave his head. Then guards would take him and strap him to the chair, put electrodes on his body, throw the switch. Then you'd hear the crackling, see the wisps of yellow smoke begin to rise, smell the odor of burning flesh. Just like Auschwitz.

But Hayes isn't going to get the electric oven treatment. Not because the system has become more humane and just. But because it remains inhumane and unjust.

Frank Hayes was chief of police of Castroville, a town near San Antonio. Richard Morales was a young Chicano worker. When the jury returned its verdict on the Hayes case last July, they found Hayes guilty of “aggravated assault”—the least possible charge.

The jury was dominated by racist Anglos. Such juries don't often send cops to be fried for gunning down Chicanos.

If it had been the other way around, with Morales shooting Hayes, the verdict would have been different. Never mind the circumstances—self-

defense or whatever—the odds are they would have sent that young Chicano to the chair.

The Supreme Court upheld Texas's death penalty law just a few days before the jury in the Hayes case returned its verdict. The state prison director hailed the decision, saying he was just itching to “put my convictions into practice.”

The warden of the prison that houses death row in Texas made clear what these “convictions” are. He told the *Militant* that there are forty-one people on death row, including five “Mexican-Americans” and eighteen “niggers.”

Those are also the “convictions” of the jury in the Hayes trial. Their only difference with the police chief was *how* Blacks and Chicanos should be killed. The least-possible-charge verdict told Texas cops that when they're “getting ready to kill me another,” they should do it legally.

The case of Hayes and Morales is not closed, however. Community protests have forced the U.S. Justice Department to reopen its investigation. Chicanos are demanding that Hayes be brought up on federal civil rights charges, which carry a maximum sentence of life imprisonment.

## The American Way of Life

### Note from a 'Militant' indexer

For more than a year, several volunteers have been busy compiling an index of old volumes of the *Militant*.

They are starting at the beginning—the November 1928 issue—and are indexing all forty-three volumes to 1970. The paper has been indexed annually since 1971.

This project will make a rich history accessible to activists and students of revolutionary socialism.

I'm the *Militant's* staff member in charge of working with readers who volunteered for the project. I've never met most of them personally—they live in all parts of the country. But through our correspondence, I've struck up some new and valuable friendships.

One example is Phyllis Roa. She lives in Joliet, Illinois. A while back she sent me a note about an incident that happened where she lives. She suggested we print something on it.

Phyllis indexed the 1931 volume. She had to retype a part of the index that was lost or destroyed by the U.S. Postal Service—possibly it fell victim to a Chicago “sorting” machine that ripped up tens of thousands of dollars in books and packages this

year.

She writes:

“Well, here are the authors. I really enjoyed the experience, in spite of having to do some of the work over again. So my only regret is your having to wait so long.

“Something very tragic happened in Joliet recently, which is a perfect example of the inhumane attitude the police have toward the less fortunate. A fifty-four-year-old World War II veteran named Louie Wilson was struck and killed by a car Saturday night, May 22. He was far outside the city limits and was trying to flag down the car that killed him.”

“Louie became an alcoholic because he never readjusted after the war. He lived either at the Morning Star Mission or at the Will County Jail. People who knew him wondered how he got so far outside of town. It was gradually revealed that the city police had picked him up and dumped him out there, and that they often did the same with other persons. The cops usually put them into the trunk so the squad car wasn't ‘dirtyed up.’ They would move them to other police zones, to other municipal-

ities, or into rural areas.

“They finally charged the two police officers who did it, but Police Chief Fred Breen defended them by saying that they thought they were ‘doing the right thing.’ [The charges against the two cops were dropped.]

“I often saw Louie Wilson at the Joliet Public Library, and however ‘useless’ he may have been to society, he was still a human being and certainly deserved a better fate.

“Anyhow, I'm sending the news clippings about the incident. In no way is it a ‘big story’, but it was such a cruel way to have treated people, I wanted to share it with someone.

“This is the last week of school for my children so it will mean a different life-style for the summer.

“I have volunteered to collect signatures in Will County to get the Socialist Workers party candidates on the Illinois ballot. That will be a new experience for me. As I understand it, in Illinois a certain number must be obtained in each county.

“Hopefully everything will reach you this time, and you can cross 1931 off your list.”

—Mary Jo Hendrickson



La Voz del Pueblo

SHERIFF EMILIO NARANJO: Democratic party boss runs Rio Arriba County like personal domain.



La Voz del Pueblo

MOISES MORALES: RUP candidate for sheriff returned home one day to find his home burned to the ground.

## Raza Unida in New Mexico

## Sheriff's reign of terror

By Arnold Weissberg

ESPAÑOLA, N. Mex.—Visitors to northern New Mexico's high country cannot help but be struck by the great natural beauty of the place.

But the realities of life for the Chicanos who live a hand-to-mouth existence in these rural areas stand in sharp opposition to the beauty of the landscape.

Unemployment in Española, in Rio Arriba County, runs as high as 40 percent. Virtually the only nonagricultural employers are the county, state, and federal governments.

Most people here work on the farms and ranches.

*This is one of several articles written by Arnold Weissberg during a trip he and Harry Ring made to New Mexico for the Militant Southwest Bureau.*

Agricultural life is hard. Anglos have systematically stolen the land of the Chicano descendants of the earliest settlers. Many families barely squeeze out an existence on tiny plots.

### Naranjo's domain

The poverty of Rio Arriba County is compounded by the twenty-four-year reign of Emilio Naranjo, sheriff and chairperson of the county Democratic party. Naranjo has run the county as a personal domain since his installation as party head in 1952. But now, Naranjo faces a serious challenge. The Rio Arriba Raza Unida party has fielded a slate of candidates to take on Naranjo and his machine in the November elections.

A clash with Naranjo is no small political squabble. Naranjo's cops have arrested, beaten, and shot at RUP activists.

Moises Morales, Raza Unida candidate for sheriff, recently found his house burned to the ground. Food from the refrigerator was strewn around beyond the ashes, making clear the fire was the work of arsonists.

The sheriff's machine is firmly entrenched, and Naranjo has established a cozy relationship between his private business and the county.

The sheriff department's Española offices are located in the Emilio Naranjo Building, where Naranjo the landlord rents office space to Naranjo the sheriff for \$350 a month. The same building houses the county Democratic party headquarters.

A nearby restaurant provides the meals for prisoners in the county jail. The restaurant's owner? Emilio Naranjo.

The good sheriff has held other jobs over the

years. President John Kennedy appointed him a U.S. marshal after Naranjo loyally delivered a bloc of votes in 1960.

Naranjo's county jobs remained in good hands, however. His son stepped in both as sheriff and county Democratic chairperson.

Naranjo became sheriff again in 1972.

"It's common knowledge that he has everything sewn up," Antonio De Vargas, Rio Arriba County RUP cochairperson, told the *Militant*.

Naranjo's unchallenged sway got its first jolt in the late 1960s. The land-grant movement challenged the centuries of exploitation of Chicanos. Wholesale swindling and brute force had left nearly all the land in Anglo hands.

The local powers—the bankers, landowners, and politicians—fought the movement. Naranjo, as U.S. marshal, played a central role in the reactionary counterattack.

But the land-grant movement, initially led by Reies López Tijerina, persevered despite the repression. Movement people organized a clinic for the poor at Tierra Amarilla. They also set up an economic development cooperative.

### Airport struggle

In 1975, the Rio Arriba County commissioners announced plans to build an airport on the Tierra Amarilla land grant, site of the famed 1967 courthouse raid led by Tijerina.

The movement was quick to protest.

After a series of local actions, Chicanos planned a September march from Tierra Amarilla to Santa Fe, the state capital.

Española was located along the march route. At a rally there RUP speakers denounced Naranjo's department for its brutality. The marchers hanged the sheriff in effigy.

Naranjo struck back.

Using the bombing of a bar owned by a deputy as a pretext, the sheriff launched a reign of terror against RUP activists and members of the land-grant movement.

### Political arrests

Sheriff's deputies pulled Andrés Valdez out of his car on November 3. They held him for several days. The cops claimed that Valdez, Rio Arriba County RUP cochairperson, was linked to the bombing.

But the political character of the arrest was clear. Naranjo and his men were far more interested in Valdez's RUP activities than anything else.

On the same day, cops picked up Moises Morales

on a fraudulent charge of drunken driving. While Morales was in custody, cops planted marijuana in his truck and charged him with possession.

The cops also impounded his truck. When Morales's attorney told the cops that charges of possession of marijuana weren't sufficient grounds for holding the truck, they changed the charge to distributing marijuana.

Although cops released Morales the next day and dropped the charges, they kept the truck.

### Raids on homes

Cops turned up at Andrés Valdez's home November 8 with a warrant to search for twenty sticks of dynamite and some marijuana seeds. Although the deputies found neither after a complete search of the house, they hauled Valdez in anyway.

Cops raided several other homes of movement activists the same day. Unable to find anything illegal, the sheriff's men had to content themselves with seizing various household items, such as a vacuum cleaner.

On November 9, cops broke into offices at the Tierra Amarilla clinic, allegedly looking for guns. They found none.

On November 11, cops arrested Moises Morales again, this time without a warrant.

The November raids were not the first run-ins the RUP had with Naranjo. In May 1975 cops arrested Floyd Valdez, an RUP activist, and his two brothers on fabricated charges of marijuana possession.

In May 1976 a jury acquitted the three brothers. It was the first time one of Naranjo's political frame-ups had failed.

### Raza Unida victory

The Valdez acquittals were a significant victory for the RUP. The jury's willingness to believe the brothers rather than the cops indicates widespread discontent with Naranjo.

Two weeks after the trial, a sheriff lieutenant and a deputy opened fire on Floyd Valdez and two companions, wounding one of them.

All three were arrested. The cops claimed that the three had opened fire on them from a moving car while they stood in front of a cafe. The cops' story was that they chased the three and returned the shots.

However, witnesses at the cafe said they had heard no shots.

Charges against all three were dropped within days. It was a virtual admission by the cops that they had started the shooting.

### Challenge Naranjo

Living conditions in the county are bad. Antonio De Vargas says the area is one of the poorest in the country. Under Naranjo's regime, they aren't going to get any better, so Raza Unida decided to make dumping Naranjo their top political priority.

De Vargas said Raza Unida is campaigning against Naranjo on the issues of police brutality and general corruption.

De Vargas has also been a victim of Naranjo's "justice." Cops arrested him April 21 and charged him with possession of heroin and marijuana, with intent to distribute it.

Cops later changed the charges to possession and intent to distribute forty-five grams of methamphetamine. Conviction could mean two to ten years.

The RUP began campaigning in Rio Arriba in 1973, and at one point elected two school board members.

The *partido* has fielded a slate of six candidates for the county offices. "Last year, when we first started talking about it, we felt that just getting the party on the ballot would be a major victory," De Vargas said. He and the other RUP activists are confident that the party will appear on the November ballot.

De Vargas said that their job isn't going to be easy. He explained that many Chicanos didn't yet understand Naranjo's role as a front for Anglo interests.

### 'We're colonized'

"We're a colonized state. Our politicians are bought and paid for," De Vargas said.

Despite the repression, Raza Unida has gained broad support. A university political science class conducted a poll that showed 43 percent of the voters would consider voting for a qualified RUP candidate, while only 39 percent wouldn't.

De Vargas and other party activists feel they are making slow but steady progress. But they are without illusions about a quick, easy victory.

I asked De Vargas if he ever gets discouraged.

"I get discouraged sometimes, but it doesn't last long. They'll have to keep us in jail in order to stop us."



# In Review

## Women's suffrage fight



The documentary *How We Got the Vote* recounts the massive struggle in the early 1900s for women's right to vote. Narrated by Jean Stapleton, the film was originally produced for television. It weaves historical commentary, contemporary interviews with veteran suffrage leaders, and dramatic photographs of the suffrage movement together into an inspiring political account of the century-long battle to win the vote.

The film tells the truth about the obstacles that stood in women's way, in particular the Democratic and Republican parties. For years, both Congress and successive presidents blocked the federal amendment to enfranchise women, despite the rising

### Film

tide of pro-suffrage sentiment in the country. *How We Got the Vote* makes it clear that suffrage won only because women decided to build their own movement, independent of the two capitalist parties, and because they refused to subordinate the demand for the vote to the needs of those parties, despite pressures and harsh repression from the government.

The film focuses on the more militant wing of the suffrage movement, led by Alice Paul. She saw the necessity of bringing the power of a national movement to bear on the fight for a federal suffrage amendment, rather than dividing up women's forces through a state-by-state ratification approach.

We see the photographs of the determined thousands who marched for the vote the day before the inauguration of Democratic President Woodrow Wilson in 1913. When Wilson arrived at the Washington, D.C., train station, only to face empty streets, he inquired where all the people were. He was told that everyone was over watching the suffrage parade.

This show of strength by suffrage supporters was not enough to convince Wilson. He continued to oppose suf-

frage, under the cover of a "hands off" policy.

When the United States entered World War I, Alice Paul's forces, organized into the National Woman's party, refused to subordinate their protests to "patriotic needs." Instead, they organized to expose Wilson's claim that this was a war "for democracy," pointing out that women in his own country were still denied the vote.

We see pictures of the famous "watch fires" lit outside the White House gates by suffragists who burned Wilson's hypocritical speeches in protest. The film also shows the picket line maintained outside the White House for a year and a half by suffragists. The National Organization for Women (NOW) modeled this summer's White House vigil for the Equal Rights Amendment after the 1917 protest.

Embarrassed nationally and internationally, Wilson chose to respond by having the suffrage pickets beaten by police, arrested, and imprisoned. When the jailed women then conducted a hunger strike to publicize the conditions inside the prison, they were brutally force-fed.

Wilson's strategy of repression backfired, however. Upon their release from prison, the women hopped aboard the "Jailbird Special"—a train that traveled across the country spreading the suffrage message and scandalizing the Democratic administration.

Women finally won the right to vote on August 26, 1920. This film emphasizes that victory was due to a strategy that did not depend on politicians to give women their rights. Instead, the suffragists set out to expose the lies of the Democrats and Republicans and draw masses of people into action in support of suffrage. When Wilson himself had to reverse his stand and call for women's enfranchisement, it was not out of a change of heart, but because the suffrage movement had forced him to do so through its power and its numbers.

*How We Got the Vote* ends with the merging of suffrage demonstrations and the August 26, 1970, demonstrations that dramatized the rebirth of feminism in this country. As the film suggests, today's women's movement stands on the shoulders of the suffrage struggle. The lessons of that struggle have particular relevance to the fight today for the ERA, introduced into Congress in 1923 as an outgrowth of the suffrage victory.

*How We Got the Vote* has already become popular among activists in the ERA movement. It is a valuable educational and inspirational tool that should be used wherever possible—for feminist gatherings, on campuses, before unions, and at community meetings.

To rent the film, contact Lucerne Films, c/o Lucille Feldman, 200 Winston Drive #1415, Cliffside Park, New Jersey 07010. The fee is \$35.

—Dianne Feeley

New Edition

## Why Women Need the Equal Rights Amendment

By Dianne Feeley

Includes "The Case for the Equal Rights Amendment" and "How to Win the ERA." 24 pp., 35 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

## Militant' sets fall goal: 20,000 new readers

By Harvey McArthur

"The most vital thing about this world [labor] movement is its educational propaganda—its capacity and power to shed light in the brain of the working class, arouse them from their torpor, develop their faculties for thinking, teach them their economic class interests, effect their solidarity, and imbue them with the spirit of the impending social revolution. . . .

"Labor must have a press as formidable as the great movement of the working class requires, to worthily represent its dignity and fearlessly and uncompromisingly advocate its principles."

The great American socialist and labor leader Eugene V. Debs wrote these lines more than seventy years ago.

The *Militant* follows in the tradition of Debs and is today trying to meet his challenge. And as part of that effort, we are launching a campaign this fall to win 20,000 new subscribers.

Debs is best known as the presidential candidate of the Socialist party. However, he was also a regular contributor to the socialist press of his day.

He denounced the brutality of the employing class with its wars and violent attacks upon peaceful strikers; he championed women's rights and equality for Black people; and he called upon working people to support a party of their own, not to rely upon the Democrats and Republicans with their wealthy backers and rulers.

Debs saw the socialist press as a way to educate millions and to win them to the socialist movement of his day.

This fall as we approach election day, the *Militant* will be telling the truth about Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford. It will also cover the campaigns of this year's socialist presidential slate of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. You will also be able to follow the Raza Unida party campaigns in the *Militant*.

While the Democrats and Republicans and the major news media pretend that the only important issue is the choice between Ford and Carter, the *Militant* will cover the real issues that affect the lives of working people.

Working people face cutbacks and layoffs ordered by the Democratic and Republican politicians and the bankers who control government and private spending. The *Militant* will report on developments in New York, Philadelphia, and other cities hard hit by the economic crisis. *Militant* writers will

discuss the causes of inflation, unemployment, and international economic trends and their impact on working people.

The economic crisis poses a serious new threat to the union movement. The Steelworkers Fight Back campaign led by Ed Sadlowski is a promising new development. The *Militant* will report on this and on labor actions such as the recent miners' strike.

Revelations of secret and illegal FBI harassment continue. Much of this information is a result of the landmark suit brought by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance. You can read about all this in your daily paper these days. But you still need the *Militant* to get the whole story.

Desegregation and the fight against racist attacks in Boston and Chicago, student protests against cutbacks, the campaign for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment—these are a few of the important issues that the *Militant* will feature in the next few months.

However, the best paper in the world will do no good if it doesn't get into the hands of the people who need it. That's where the *Militant* subscription campaign comes in.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers candidates plan to make the subscription campaign a major part of their fall activities.

At the recent SWP national convention, activists discussed taking the *Militant* with them as they canvass door-to-door for the socialist candidates. Others plan to sell subscriptions to co-workers on the job and to people they work with in the National Organization for Women, the NAACP, and other groups. Members of the Young Socialist Alliance have made plans to sell subscriptions on hundreds of college and high school campuses.

Many of them plan to zero in on the weekend of September 11 as a time to go all-out canvassing for socialist candidates and selling subs to the paper. New readers will be able to receive the *Militant* for the two months remaining in the presidential election campaign.

You can get involved in this campaign: sell subscriptions to friends, co-workers, and others; talk about the Socialist Workers candidates with them. Contact the nearest branch of the Socialist Workers party or chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance by checking the Socialist Directory printed on page 31. Or write directly to the *Militant* and order free subscription blanks and copies of a new *Militant* subscription poster.



Militant/Susan Ellis

## Pittsburgh conference

# Black women discuss issues in feminist mov't

By Cathy Sedwick

PITTSBURGH—The growing interest in the women's liberation struggle among Black women was reflected in a Black feminist conference held here July 31 to August 1. Black women in the Pennsylvania National Organization for Women (NOW) sponsored the event.

Conference organizers reported that fifty-five women registered, most of them from the Pittsburgh area. For many of the women, it was their first contact with NOW. Some were members of the NAACP, National Council of Negro Women, or National Alliance of Black Feminists.

The main discussion at the conference took place in workshops on "What NOW has to offer Black women"; "Consciousness-raising"; and "NOW's distorted image." In these workshops Black women discussed the problems and questions that they encounter in

the women's movement.

All agreed on the importance of the feminist movement and women's organizations addressing themselves to the basic survival issues facing Black women. Many spoke on the special problems Black women face because of their triple oppression as Blacks, as women, and as workers in the areas of job discrimination, child care, education, health care, and a range of other issues.

The workshops also took up how best to involve more Black women in struggles for their rights. Some thought Black women should concentrate on building Black feminist organizations to deal with their oppression. Others stressed the importance of Black women joining and working in NOW to help make it more responsive to the needs of Black women. Some pointed to the need for Black women



Militant/Anne Teesdale

organized independently to work jointly with groups like NOW on common issues.

Pat Callair, a member of the national board of NOW, gave a special presentation on the Equal Rights Amendment. Callair said that the ERA struggle is an important one for Black women. She also discussed the problems in reaching out to and mobilizing Black women around this issue. One group that has been formed in South Carolina to involve Black women, she said, is Black Citizens United for the ERA.

Callair reported on plans under discussion by Black women for pro-ERA activities in South Carolina next January, when the state legislature reopens. South Carolina has not yet ratified the ERA. She urged Black women from across the country to support their sisters in these protests.

## Sparked by deportation raid

# Chicano coalition fights 'la migra' harassment

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Significant opposition to victimization of undocumented workers has developed in Santa Ana, an Orange County city some thirty miles south of Los Angeles.

A coalition has developed around the issue. It includes moderate community groups not usually involved in the antideportation movement.

A July 31 protest march and rally sponsored by the coalition drew 300 people. Organizers rightly regarded the march, probably one of the first actions of its kind in ultraconservative Orange County, as a very good beginning.

A massive deportation raid June 24 sparked the protest movement. Accompanied by local police, Immigration and Naturalization Service officials swept through a single block of the barrio. They rounded up 120 "illegal aliens" and held them for deportation.

In response to the community protest that quickly followed, local police asserted they had not participated in the raid and had been present merely to "keep the peace."

The agents of *la migra* made the sweep in response to pressure from local slumlords.

A couple of months previously, José Avila, a community activist who lived on the block where the raid later occurred, demanded city action against the terrible housing conditions there.

The slumlords received warning notices about some of the conditions officials found.

Soon after, Avila and his family were evicted. The massive raid followed.

The police became the target of outrage because they have a history of harassment of the Chicano community in general, and undocumented *mexicano* workers in particular.

Police have tried to fan racist sentiment against the community by exaggerating the number of undocumented workers living there and trying to depict them as responsible for crime, low wages, and other problems that plague the city.

Other officials have joined in. The local school board recently adopted a resolution calculated to fan white

sentiment for kicking the children of undocumented workers out of the schools.

In response to Chicano community pressure, the police have drafted eight different versions of a policy statement on their role in relation to undocumented workers. But each has been angrily attacked for evading the key demand: that the cops stop acting as agents for *la migra*.

Officials have apparently been given second thoughts by the range of groups supporting these demands.

Among the groups in the July 31 coalition are: GI Forum; Adelante, an organization of Orange County Chicano municipal employees; the Chicano Student Association at Cal State-Fullerton; the Faculty Forum at the same campus; Mexican Women's Federation; the Chicano student organization MEChA; and others.

The Mexican-American Lawyers Club, which initially did not oppose the various police position papers, now vigorously assails them.

In addition to the July 31 demonstration, the coalition has turned out large

delegations for subsequent meetings of the city's Human Rights Commission where the issue has been discussed.

The coalition intends to continue its work, focusing on three key community problems: jobs, education, and police harassment.

Demonstrators on July 31 gave a particularly warm reception to Bert Corona, veteran antideportation leader. Corona told the rally there must be immediate amnesty for all undocumented workers.

He called for a "charter of rights" for immigrant workers that would give "equal rights and treatment for everybody across the board." These, he said, should include the right to vote, medical care, and unemployment benefits.

Corona drew especially strong applause when he declared that the purpose of U.S. immigration policy is to drive down wages and working conditions. "That is why an attack on immigrants is an attack on all workers," Corona said, "and why we must have solidarity of all those who are exploited."

# Raza Unida party names candidates in S. Calif.

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—La Raza Unida party is conducting a drive to place four candidates on the ballot in the greater Los Angeles area.

The San Fernando chapter of the RUP has nominated two of its leading activists for office. Abel Mendoza, a teacher at Cal State Northridge, is running for U.S. Congress in the Twenty-first District. Andrés Torres, state chairperson of the party, is running for the state assembly in the Thirty-ninth Assembly District.

In Norwalk the party is running José Gonzales, an auto worker, for assembly in the 63rd A.D. Richard Pérez of Montebello, a bus driver, is the nominee in the 59th A.D.

To qualify for the ballot each of the assembly candidates must obtain the signatures of more than 3,000 registered voters in the district. More than 6,000 must be obtained for Mendoza, the congressional candidate.

This is a huge job. Petitioners must determine that the person signing actually resides within the border of the district. For La Raza Unida party the task is made more difficult because



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

RUP candidate Andrés Torres. A step in fight to democratize election laws.

many Chicanos, to whom they are making their main appeal, are not registered to vote.

But party activists are determined to make it. Two weeks before the September 3 filing deadline, they had already secured the minimum number of signatures required for their candidates. The party is now concentrating on obtaining the surplus necessary to assure that they have sufficient valid signatures.

At a news conference announcing the campaign, Andrés Torres stressed that the decision to field candidates was an important step in the party's fight to democratize California's stringent election laws. He said the campaign could have a bearing on court action to change the law.

Along with the Socialist Workers party and others, La Raza Unida has participated in a lawsuit being conducted by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

Recently the state legislature reduced the requirement for putting an independent candidate—without party designation—on the statewide ballot. Instead of more than 300,000 as

previously required, the number now is just under 100,000, still a huge amount.

But a new party still must either obtain 650,000 signatures or register 65,000 voters as party members to get its name on the ballot.

And a party must qualify statewide before its name can go on the ballot in any district. This means a party with strength in one or several districts could elect a candidate to Congress, for example, and still not qualify for the state ballot or even have its name on the district ballot.

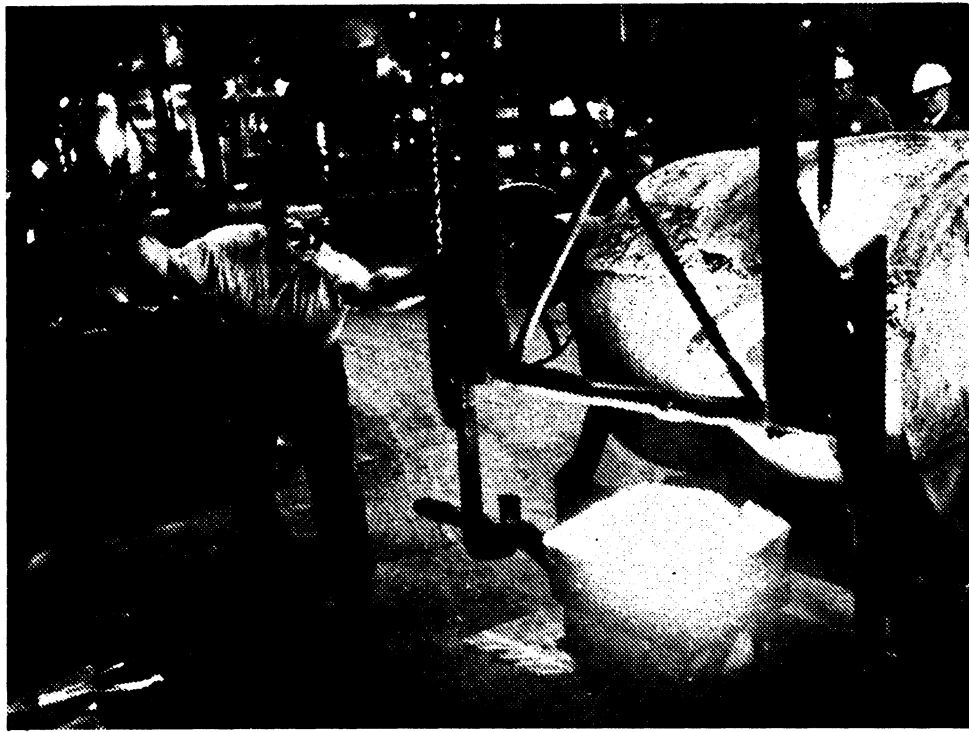
This is a provision of the law La Raza Unida is particularly determined to get scrapped. Branding it totally undemocratic, Torres declared, "We should be allowed to qualify by district, not only statewide."

In addition to democratizing the election laws, Torres said the party would focus on other issues of particular concern to Chicanos—such as jobs and education.

The petition drive has indicated that the party can win even broader support. Torres said petitioners are finding a good response among Blacks and working-class whites in their areas.



# Profit drive threatens jobs & safety of steelworkers



By Andy Rose

You must have seen the ads. They've been in newspapers and magazines all over the place. Complete with cute little cartoons like the one on this page.

Bethlehem Steel and United States Steel have launched an advertising crusade to convince us that higher profits for them are the answer to all our problems.

One U.S. Steel ad quotes Irving Shapiro, chairman of the giant DuPont chemical company. "In my view," Shapiro says, "Americans should establish the making of jobs as a top national goal."

The reason there is so much unemployment, Shapiro explains, is that "the rate of profits in industry is too low." For lack of profits, "plants are not being built" and "many thousands

of jobs are not being created."

The solution is to lower taxes on corporate profits.

Bethlehem's ad offers another modest proposal. Stop the "headlong rush" to clean up our air and water.

Pollution controls cut into their profits, you see. Therefore they don't have enough money to do what they really want to do: create more jobs.

That's the Madison Avenue hype.

## Profits vs. people

The truth is that the steel companies are in business for one reason and one reason only. To make the greatest possible profit for their owners—multibillionaire families like the Morgans, Mellons, and Rockefellers.

The steel companies profit from keeping wages as low as possible.

They profit from discriminating against Black, Chicano, and women workers.

They profit from speedup.

They profit from new technology that increases productivity, replacing workers with machines.

They don't profit from health and safety regulations.

They don't profit from pollution controls.

That's how the capitalist system works. Profit is the name of the game.

But in the past few years, we all realize, things have gotten a lot tougher. Inflation. Energy crisis. Unemployment.

Behind this crisis lie big shifts in the world economy. In the middle and late 1960s, U.S. capitalists found themselves losing ground in the world market to rival capitalists in Western Europe and Japan. To counter this competition, the U.S. capitalists—acting through their control of the government—launched a *world trade offensive* in 1971.

Nixon called it the "New Economic Policy." Washington froze the wages of workers at home, slapped restrictions on imports, and devalued the dollar to make exports cheaper.

The employers also began a long-term offensive to raise productivity, roll back pollution and safety standards, cut social spending, lower corporate taxes, and weaken the unions.

## Scapegoats

A key part of this offensive is *scapegoatism*. That is, convince those workers who are relatively better off that their problems are caused—not by the profit system—but by other workers.

By Blacks, or women, or "aliens."

By those who are suffering the most from the economic crisis.

The movements against busing and the Equal Rights Amendment, the hysterical campaign to deport "aliens"—these are all part of the antilabor offensive.

A lower standard of living. Fewer social services. More restrictions on democratic rights. More racism. More discrimination. That is the future that Bethlehem and U.S. Steel—and the rest of their class—really have in store for us.

Unfortunately, many union leaders seem to have bought the company propaganda that "what's good for the boss is good for the worker."

I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, boasts of the "close teamwork" and "spirit of cooperation" between steel management and top USWA officials.

Back in 1971—the same year Washington launched its world trade offensive—a new clause was added to the union contract in basic steel. It pledged that labor and management

to newer plants elsewhere.

Despite the EPA exemption, the *Wall Street Journal* noted July 27, "the steel companies haven't given the local residents any assurances that ultimately the plants won't close down anyway."

The Mahoning Valley steelworkers would stand a better chance of saving their jobs if they looked to an alliance with the environmentalists rather than the polluters.

It's not just a question of a few fish. The health of thousands of people in Ohio and Pennsylvania is endangered by the filth from these plants.

If the steelworkers union led the way, these people could be rallied to demand that U.S. Steel, Republic, and Youngstown Sheet & Tube do whatever is necessary to modernize and upgrade steelmaking in the valley so that it is safe and clean. The technol-



Steel company propaganda. Some union leaders seem to have fallen for it.

would "work cooperatively to achieve significantly higher productivity trends." Abel pressed for setting up joint labor-management committees in every steel mill to boost productivity.

Another area of "cooperation" has been lobbying for restrictions on foreign steel imports to protect "our industries" and "our national economy."

The culmination of Abel's "teamwork" with the steel barons is the 1973 "Experimental Negotiating Agreement." The ENA—which was never voted on by the union membership—gives up the right to strike in the basic steel industry.

Abel argued as follows: Steelworkers face periodic unemployment because the companies stockpile steel in anticipation of a strike. Then they lay off workers until the excessive stocks are sold. If the companies are assured of no strikes, steelworkers' jobs will be more secure.

So Abel promised. What was the result?

## 100,000 jobs wiped out

The no-strike pledge did exactly nothing to protect steelworkers when depression hit the industry in 1975. Tens of thousands were thrown out of work.

The present economic upturn has brought some rehiring. But the key fact is this: *more steel is being produced by fewer workers.*

The financial magazine *Business Week* pointed in its May 24 issue to "a dramatic and permanent reduction in the steel work force." By early April, the magazine reported, steel production was only 10 percent below the pre-depression peak. Employment, however, was 17 percent lower.

*Business Week* explained: "More than 100,000 steelworkers' jobs have

# Jobs vs. clean water: must union choose?

Every day, 300 tons of metal particles, oil, grease, cyanide, ammonia, and other waste products are dumped into Ohio's Mahoning River by eight steel plants in the Youngstown-Warren-Niles area.

The banks of the river are slimy black muck. The only surviving animal life is sludge worms.

Last spring the steel industry scored a major victory in its war against pollution controls. The federal Environmental Protection Agency exempted the eight plants in the Mahoning Valley—owned by United States Steel, Republic Steel, and Youngstown Sheet & Tube—from complying with EPA clean-water standards.

The companies had said it would cost too much to install pollution controls. They threatened to shut down the plants—throwing more than 25,000 workers out of jobs.

When the EPA caved in to this blackmail, industrial polluters across the country took heart. If they threatened to fire enough workers, maybe they too could win an exemption.

Local officials of the United Steel Workers of America, following the Abel line of "teamwork" with the corporations, chimed in to endorse the polluters' demands.

"What the hell good is a clean river if the people have no place to earn a dollar?" said USWA District 26 Director Frank Leseganich. Steelworkers were organized to picket EPA hearings with signs: "We want jobs, not fish."

The union's course is, at best, shortsighted. The reason the steel companies are unwilling to spend money upgrading these eight plants is that they are outmoded and inefficient.

As many as 10,000 jobs have already been lost because of production shifts

ogy already exists to do this.

The companies, who have profited from destruction of our environment for decades, should bear the cost. If they plead poverty, their books should be opened up for inspection by the union and community and environmental organizations.

If they try to close down rather than clean up, the steel plants should be taken over by the government—nationalized—and a committee of unionists put in charge.

"That's unrealistic," union officials of the narrow-minded, Abel variety will insist.

A difficult fight, yes. But not beyond the power of the union and its potential allies.

What is unrealistic—in fact, futile and self-defeating—is to tie the fate of the workers to protecting the profitability of the corporations. —A.R.



vanished over the last two decades as steelmakers introduced faster, more efficient methods of producing steel. This trend will continue."

The director of the Institute for Iron & Steel Studies predicts "continual investments in equipment for reducing man-hours." He forecasts that by 1985 the industry will be able to produce as much steel as in the boom year of 1973—with 40 percent fewer workers.

The massive destruction of steelworkers' jobs is not caused by imports. Not by strikes. Not by pollution controls. Not by "illegal aliens." It is caused by the industry's drive to make production of U.S. steel cheaper and more competitive than steel produced abroad.

The jobs, wages, and safety of steelworkers are the central targets of this profit drive.

Far from saving jobs, Abel's strategy of "teamwork" and "cooperation" with the companies points the union in exactly the wrong direction.

### New policy needed

The steelworkers union needs a new policy, a policy of defending the needs of the workers regardless of the consequences for profits or the profit system. This would include:

- Defending jobs through action for a shorter workweek with no loss in weekly pay.
- Protecting wages through unlimited cost-of-living escalators based on the real rise in prices as determined by the unions, not rigged government statistics.
- Throwing the power of the union into defense of busing and the Equal Rights Amendment.
- Promoting real equality on the job through strong affirmative-action programs, and amending seniority systems that are used to carry out discriminatory layoffs.
- Defending the strictest possible measures for job safety and a clean environment.

Dumping the ENA and all other no-strike deals is an urgent necessity.

In this period of sharpening conflict and an offensive by the employers, workers need their basic union rights more than ever. And the most fundamental right is the right to withhold their labor—the right to strike.

It is no accident that one of U.S. Steel's big advertisements was devoted to a statement by George Meany praising the ENA as "an alternative to the strike." The employers would like to see the no-strike pact extended to other industries as well. The ENA is a threat to the entire labor movement.

### 'Worker against banker'

Ed Sadlowski, who is campaigning for internal democracy within the USWA, also talks about the need for some basic changes in policy.

"It's a struggle between worker and employer," Sadlowski says, "a struggle between worker and banker. Worker and banker are not compatible. Union and chamber of commerce are not compatible.

"That's an old concept but it's never really been instilled in our minds. The worker in this country is no dummy. He knows he's getting screwed, but I think he finds himself in a position that he can't do anything about it, and that's the tragedy.

"I'm not a poll taker, but I would guess that a lot of guys knew that their sons were dying in Southeast Asia to protect Standard Oil or Chase Manhattan. Contrary to what some people say, they realized that, but they didn't know how to get out of that bind. . . . They still don't."

Steelworkers and other unionists can find a way out of that bind, but not unless they can run their own unions and put into action policies to meet their own needs.

That is why the campaign for union democracy in steel deserves support from everyone who wants to see the labor movement fighting against—not cooperating with—the profit drive of U.S. capitalism.

## Ohio local demands:

# 'Give us back our union'

By Chris Rayson

CLEVELAND—"Give us back our union" is the rallying cry that has mobilized the ranks of Local 1157, United Steelworkers of America. The local is based at the big Republic Steel plant here.

More than 1,000 of the local's 1,800 members have signed petitions stating: "The membership of Local 1157 feels the local should be put back into the hands of the elected leadership and any investigation should be carried out through the constitutional process."

Last May 17, USWA International President I.W. Abel "relieved" Local 1157's elected officials of their duties and placed the local under an appoint-

*CLEVELAND—Since this article was written, Local 1157 has won its fight against receivership. The United Steelworkers of America International Executive Board sent a letter to local President Al Forney returning the local to its elected leadership. No charges were made against any local officer, but the letter advised the local to rewrite its bylaws regarding certain financial procedures.*

ed administrator. This action was taken on the recommendation of Joseph Kender, District 28 director.

The district and international offices have made allegations of financial irregularities by Local 1157's leaders—in plain language, stealing. But even after three months of "investigation," no formal charges had been filed.

The real reasons for the suspension appear to be political and racial.

Local President Al Forney and a majority of the elected local leaders are Black. Forney has maintained his independence from Kender's district office. He has also been known to criticize the policies of the top USWA officialdom.

In local elections last April, Forney

and his entire slate were swept into office by a two-to-one margin. Forney is in a strong position to challenge Kender in next February's election.

Forney told the *Militant* that the investigation of his local is undemocratic. "When you do something wrong, you're supposed to be charged. But I haven't been. It's like a policeman who says he has caught a thief—but has no idea what the thief stole.

"They just wanted that cloud there," Forney said. "Now if I decide to run for district director it will take me twenty-five minutes just to prove I didn't take anything."

Others who crossed Kender's path have received similar treatment. William Richardson, president of Local 2981 at Valley Mold Foundry, supported Kender's opponent in the last district election. After the election Local 2981 was placed under an appointed administrator.

Four months after the administrator recommended returning that local to its elected leadership, the international still has not acted.

When Local 1157 was placed in receivership, the international appointed two commissioners to study the local records. Both commissioners are on Kender's staff. That doesn't enhance their credibility in the eyes of the local.

At a June 2 public hearing at the district office, the commissioners still had no formal charges to present. But the receivership was not lifted. More than 100 local members packed into that meeting to protest.

An appeals hearing before the international executive board—originally scheduled for July but then canceled—was finally held August 3.

Forty local members made the trip to Pittsburgh to attend the hearing, testify, and present the signed petitions from their local. Many others contributed funds to charter a Greyhound bus for the delegation.

Arriving in Pittsburgh, they found the international offices jammed with

representatives from other locals, also waiting for their appeals to be heard.

Literature supporting Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign for union democracy was "all over the place" and being read by those waiting for hearings, according to one Local 1157 member.

Walter Burke, USWA international secretary-treasurer, presided over the hearing. He said the Local 1157 delegation was the largest he had seen at such a hearing in many years.

The international's commissioners again had no charges to bring against the local leadership. But they recommended the local remain in receivership until an independent auditing firm completed its report on the local's books. The firm had already been auditing the books for two months and reported no wrongdoing.

Al Forney and many other local members addressed the hearing. All stressed the theme of preserving union democracy and protecting the right of members to elect their own leaders.

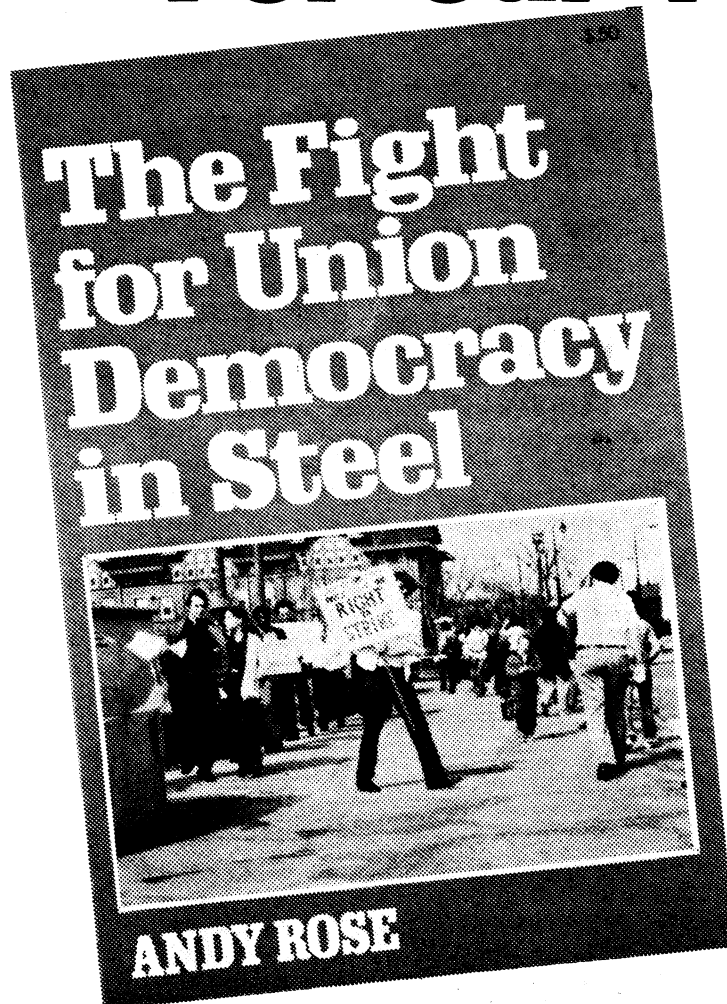
Burke promised a decision before the USWA convention, which begins August 30 in Las Vegas. But Local 1157 has already been cheated out of full representation at the convention. Local members were allowed to elect only three of the four delegates they are entitled to. The appointed administrator was automatically given the fourth position.

Through their own fight for union democracy, Forney and other Local 1157 members have become supporters of Steelworkers Fight Back and Ed Sadlowski's campaign.

When a traveling team of Fight Back organizers came through Cleveland this summer, Forney helped them distribute leaflets at Republic Steel's gates.

The team found a warm response among Local 1157 members to their leaflets calling for the right of all members to vote on their contracts, and for union dues to be based on straight-time pay only.

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# N.Y. city hospital workers strike against layoffs, Medicaid cutbacks

By José G. Pérez

NEW YORK—Striking municipal hospital workers here returned to work August 8 under a settlement that provides no real gains for the workers.

Eighteen thousand members of Local 420 of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, struck the city's sixteen public hospitals August 4.

The workers demanded an end to layoffs and the rehiring of 1,350 workers recently fired.

To end the strike, the city agreed to rehire the 1,350 and promised no more layoffs—until January.

In exchange for this four-month reprieve, the union leadership gave up all cost-of-living increases due the workers this year under the union contract—\$10 million in all, or about \$450 per worker.

Three thousand hospital workers were laid off in 1975. The union took no action.

Then last May, the city announced 3,150 more layoffs. The union leadership agreed to 832 of these firings. The remainder were submitted by Local 420 and the hospitals to a fact-finding panel.

The strike was triggered when this panel recommended at the end of July that 1,350 be laid off immediately, and warned that up to 4,000 workers might be fired as a result of expected cutbacks in Medicaid.

The reaction of hospital workers was angry. "We'll fight," said Gloria Bailey, who served as a picket captain at Bellevue Hospital.

"We built this city and all we want is a fair share," she said. "I refused welfare. I want to work. We're not bums, we're working people."

This was the first strike against layoffs by any unit of District Council 37 since the city crisis began. The union leadership—agreeing that the city has no money and its budget must be cut—has argued that any such militant action is futile.

Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37, and other municipal union officials have followed a twofold strategy:

First, give up wage increases, benefits, and working conditions to "save money" for the city.

Second, collaborate with the budget-cutting Democratic and Republican politicians in the hope that they will put the greatest burden of layoffs on somebody else.



"I dare you to cross this line!"

The militancy of public hospital workers, however, was spurred by the relative success of the July strike by 40,000 workers in the voluntary (private "nonprofit") hospitals.

District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, had struck to maintain union recognition and a city-wide contract. After a bitter eleven-day strike, the voluntary hospitals saw they could not dismember District 1199, and they backed down on the key issue.

Inspired by this partial victory by District 1199, Local 420 members showed that the ranks of the city's labor movement are willing and able to fight, despite the long string of capitulations by Gotbaum and other union officials.

A strike to stop layoffs was a frontal challenge to the social service cutbacks decreed by the Democratic and Republican politicians on behalf of Wall Street.

*Business Week* magazine observed

June 14 that "city leaders are finally being brought to see the need to trim the city's service base radically. . . . 'The tuition thing [at City University] is coming around,' says one man, 'and the hospitals will be next.'"

Shortly before the strike Gotbaum declared, "They are out to destroy the hospital system. It's not just 4,000 jobs. Through incompetence and ineptness, they're out to do it."

"They" are indeed out to destroy the hospital system.

But it is not through incompetence. It is not through ineptness.

It is a deliberate, conscious political policy—the policy of the same Democratic party politicians Gotbaum helped put into office.

To halt this destruction of health care, Local 420 would have to mobilize powerful social forces beyond its own membership.

This would mean appealing to other unions, the Black and Puerto Rican communities, and all working people

in New York to unite to save health care.

It would require mass demonstrations demanding that the money now going to the federal war budget, and to the banks for interest on city bonds, be used instead for social services.

Instead, the union leadership saw the strike solely as a bargaining chip in their maneuvers with the Democratic politicians. News reports a few days before the strike speculated that Gotbaum hoped to pressure his "friend," Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey, into setting higher Medicaid reimbursement rates.

But, on the day after the strike began, the state announced further reductions in the Medicaid reimbursement rates. These reductions would mean thousands of new layoffs.

Once the union agreed to give up \$10 million in wage increases, the city and state "found" money to defer the impact of the Medicaid cutback until January.

"I don't mind working with no raise," was the reaction of Louis Vázquez, an elevator service worker at Bellevue for twenty-five years. "The raise was never the reason we came out here. It was the layoffs—the people need the jobs, people with families."

Treacherously playing upon these sentiments of solidarity among hospital workers, Gotbaum won approval for his deal.

But what happens in January?

What will Gotbaum ask the workers to sacrifice then?

Take a wage cut?

Accept "only" a few hundred layoffs?

A few thousand?

For now, AFSCME leaders are insisting that funds should come from payments to voluntary hospitals that have affiliation agreements with city hospitals. In other words, put the burden of cutbacks on District 1199 members rather than AFSCME members.

This is the same narrow-minded "lay off somebody else" strategy that has brought about defeat after defeat for the working people of this city.

The two strikes this summer demonstrated the militancy and determination of New York City hospital workers.

Thousands of other New Yorkers have already marched and rallied against hospital closings and cutbacks. They would eagerly join in a campaign of mass action, spearheaded by the unions, to save the only health-care facilities available to poor and working people in this city.

United action by AFSCME Local 420 and District 1199 demanding no cutbacks and no layoffs would be a vital first step toward such a campaign.

## 1199 strike—who are the real killers?

By James Kendrick

NEWARK—I recently read that an investigation has been launched by New York City's health commissioner, Lowell Bellin, to "hunt strike-related hospital deaths." Such deaths are allegedly the result of the eleven-day strike by District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

As a member of District 1199 in Newark, I am disgusted by this attempt to witch-hunt and

### AS I SEE IT

scapegoat our New York members. I would like to raise a few matters of moral obligation that this pompous political appointee might more properly concern himself with.

First, Lowell Bellin is part of the same Democratic party-controlled city government that is threatening to close a major part of the municipal hospital system. He made no protest over the deaths these cutbacks will cause among thousands of workers, primarily Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Bellin did not oppose Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey's freeze on Medicare and Medicaid pay-

ments. Curtailment of city and state health programs will shorten the lives of working people, cause lost workdays as a result of sickness, and assure added misery for our elderly. A conscientious "health commissioner" would have been outraged by these moves!

Nor was Bellin heard from as thousands of New York workers were fired by Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame. These fired workers lost all medical benefits. They are liable to suffer mental and emotional stress, depression, and a sense of being socially useless as they struggle to provide for their children and keep up their end of the family budget. There was no declaration of a "health emergency" by Bellin when this social disaster struck.

The good commissioner is using our tax money to conduct a "study" only of patient deaths that supposedly resulted from a strike forced on District 1199 by management.

Instead he ought to be studying the number of union members injured, beaten, possibly maimed for life by police attacks on peaceful picket lines.

Bellin should also study the reality of patient care in our hospitals. He could begin by taking testimony from our 40,000 New York members, who witness every day the systematic neglect, irresponsibility, and inhumanity administered

by the hospital bosses.

Our members could tell about, for example, the overmedicated heart patient who died unnecessarily from heart failure.

We saw the seventy-eight-year-old Puerto Rican farm worker—leg amputated, fingers horribly contorted by arthritis—who almost drowned in his own spittle because they couldn't find room for him in an intensive-care unit with more nurses.

We saw the fears of Portuguese and Puerto Rican workers facing open-heart surgery without a full explanation of the procedure because "they should have learned to speak English."

Yes, Lowell Bellin should conduct a study. I call on him to conduct a mass tribunal with testimony from hospital employees and other workers who are the victims of industrially caused illness and hospital management abuse.

Thousands of workers would come forward and point their fingers at the corrupt hospital bosses, the budget-slashing Democratic and Republican politicians, and the whole gang of corporate profiteers who daily violate our physical and mental well-being through factory speedup, job insecurity, hazardous working conditions, and poisoning of our air and water.

These are the real killers.

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# THE MILITANT

## Texas unionists speak out

# Condemn shooting of steel activist

By Jean Starbuck

HOUSTON—The attempted murder of steel union activist Ben Corum has been strongly condemned by a number of union leaders here.

United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 16000 in Pasadena, Texas, has adopted a resolution calling for a full investigation (see box on this page).

Corum, fifty-two years old, is a steelworker from Illinois and an activist in the Steelworkers Fight Back movement for union democracy led by Ed Sadlowski, director of USWA District 31. He and two other Sadlowski supporters from District 31 had been traveling through the South organizing for Steelworkers Fight Back.

Corum was handing out leaflets July 26 at the gates of Hughes Tool Company here when he was shot from behind with a .22- or .25-caliber rifle. Doctors say that the bullet, which struck Corum in the neck, came within a fraction of an inch of killing him or paralyzing him for life.

Fabian Greenwell, president of Local 16000, said he hoped the resolution passed by his local "will serve as one step to keep down any further violence."

Greenwell noted that Houston police have failed to launch a serious investigation of the attempted murder. "They didn't seem to have much spirit when it came down to finding out who did it," Greenwell told the *Militant*.

Also speaking out against the shooting is Wesley Wilson, past president of USWA Local 2126 at American Can Company. "My membership was very disturbed by this," Wilson said. "We think people have the right to challenge. This is a free country."

The officers of International Typographical Union Local 87 wrote in their union's newsletter that they



SADLOWSKI: Calls on Abel to condemn violence and 'put full resources of union behind efforts to punish the perpetrators.'

"strongly condemn this and any acts of violence connected with trade union activity."

"Honest criticism is always constructive to the best interests of the working people and of the nation," the ITU officers wrote.

Unfortunately, this response has not been unanimous. A resolution condemning the shooting was defeated at the August 22 meeting of USWA Local 1742 at Hughes Tool.

As soon as the shooting took place, opposition leader Ed Sadlowski called on USWA President I.W. Abel "to join me in condemning this violence and to put the full resources of the international union behind efforts to punish



ABEL: Acknowledges right of free speech, but warns of 'outsiders' with 'extreme, unpatriotic or dangerous' views.

the perpetrators and prevent any recurrence of these heinous crimes."

Abel has fallen far short of taking such a stand. In a memo to local unions, district directors, and staff, Abel did acknowledge that "every member of this Union has a right to express his and her views irrespective of how unpopular, distasteful or antagonistic these views may seem."

At the same time, Abel insinuated that those seeking reform in the union are responsible for the violence. He warned of "outsiders" who "may seek to provoke incidents in order to obtain publicity and focus attention on their cause."

Abel weakly admonished steel-

## 'Violence is tactic of the employer'

[The following resolution was adopted by United Steelworkers Local 16000 shortly after the shooting of Steelworkers Fight Back activist Ben Corum.]

Whereas: The attempted murder Monday morning, July 26, represents an intolerable act against the entire union movement. Such attacks can only weaken the union movement and strengthen the employers if they are allowed to continue.

Whereas: Texas is a right-to-work [open shop] law state and antiunion elements use such incidents to label the union movement as violent.

Whereas: Violence is a tactic of the employer and not of the union.

Be it resolved that Local Union 16000, District 37, USWA:

1) Publicly condemn the July 26 shooting and all other acts of terrorism against unionists and the union movement, and

2) Demand a full investigation by the authorities and prosecution of the criminals involved.

workers that "no matter how extreme, unpatriotic, or dangerous you may find the views of these outsiders to be, please do not interfere with their efforts to circulate such views at the plant gates, or at other public places."

Meanwhile, a red-baiting letter from two Pittsburgh-area USWA local presidents is being circulated in the Texas-area District 37. The letter, from James Comer of Local 1272 and John Defazio of Local 1843, tries to link Sadlowski to the Communist party.

It calls for a constitutional amendment that "gives the power to any member to bring charges under the section of our Constitution which bars Communists, fascists and Klansmen from holding union office."

Neither violence nor red-baiting has succeeded in intimidating Houston steelworkers who are interested in Sadlowski's proposals for the upcoming USWA convention.

"I don't know Mr. Sadlowski, but I read his pamphlet that Corum was handing out," said Wesley Wilson of Local 2126. "I do know that the idea of democracy in our union is something I would fight for."

"Another thing I agree with is that the membership wants a right to vote on their contract. I haven't had a say on a union contract since I was a local president a year and a half ago."

"These are some important issues and this certainly should be an interesting convention."

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