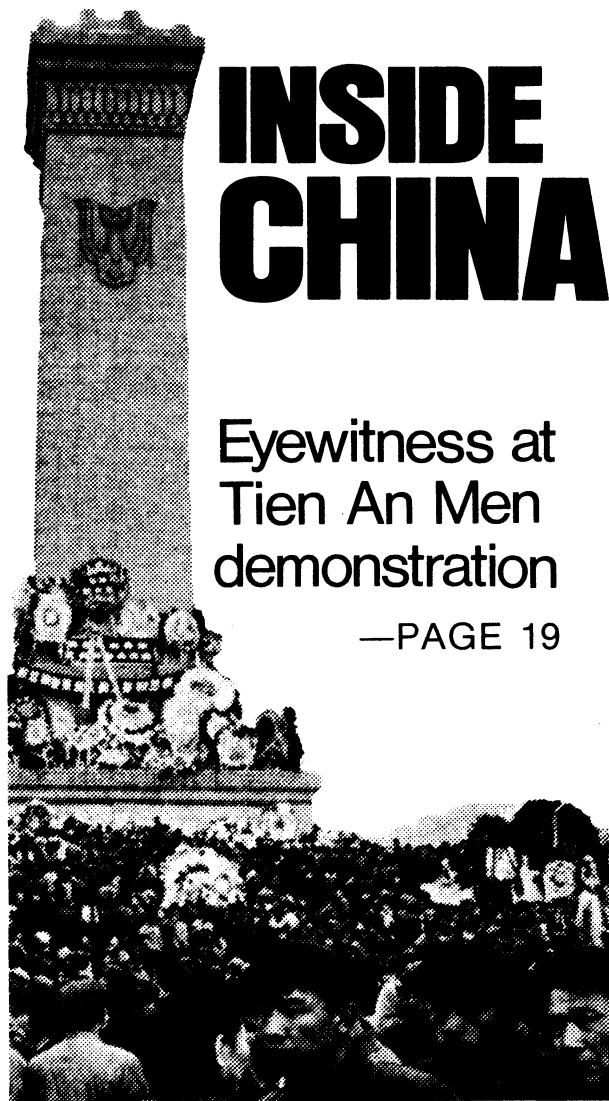


THE MILITANT

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



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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: NELSON BLACKSTOCK
Business Manager: HARVEY McARTHUR
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING
Washington Bureau: NANCY COLE

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BOSTON JUDGE RULES AGAINST BLACK VOTERS: On October 6, U.S. District Judge Joseph Tauro ruled that the at-large system of electing the Boston School Committee is constitutional. The ruling, which is a setback for Boston's Black voters, resulted from a suit filed in March 1975 by the Harvard Center for Law and Education on behalf of ten Black voters.

The suit sought to have the school committee elected by geographical district, thus increasing the possibility of Black representation on that body. In its seventy-year history, the school committee has never had a Black member.

Although Blacks comprise less than 20 percent of the population in Boston, Judge Tauro's ruling blamed Black voters themselves for the failure to elect a Black representative, citing "relatively low registration and voting rates" among Blacks. The judge's ruling ignored the role played by the school committee over decades in segregating the Boston schools and its responsibility for organizing racist opposition to court-ordered desegregation. The plaintiffs plan to appeal the ruling.

DE ANTONIO, ZINN ENDORSE CAMEJO-REID: Boston University professor Howard Zinn and noted film maker Emile de Antonio (*Point of Order*, *Milhouse*) have added their names to the growing list of endorsers of Socialist Workers 1976 presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. Other new endorsers include Beverly Stewart, co-president of the First Pittsburgh chapter of the National Organization for Women; and Ann Cirkensa, a national executive board member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

You can add your name to the list of endorsers of the SWP presidential ticket. Write to Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

VOTE AGAINST 'RIGHT-TO-WORK' IN ARKANSAS: Arkansas's AFL-CIO, Teamsters, Mine Workers, and Auto Workers unions have launched a united campaign to convince voters to reject the state's right-to-work law in a referendum November 2.

The right-to-work law, which bans compulsory union shops, has meant that Arkansas wages run \$1.18 an hour behind the national average. The unions point out: "That works out to \$2,400 LESS a year, the difference between a decent life and a life of poverty."

Backing the united labor effort are the presidents of the State Council of Churches, the NAACP, and the National Farmers Union.

The unions expect Arkansas big business to spend at least two million dollars trying to defeat them. "We can expose our opposition," the unions say, "as essentially old men who have grown rich by underpaying those who work for them."

NEW CARTER-ARTIS TRIAL BEGINS: The racist frame-up murder trial of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis opened October 12. Carter and Artis, both Black, are charged with the June 16, 1966, shooting of three whites in a Paterson, New Jersey, tavern.

Both men were convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment, but a major national defense campaign got their convictions overturned by the New Jersey Supreme Court. Since that ruling, the two have been free on bail pending the outcome of a second trial.

The new trial was ordered moved from Paterson to Jersey City because of prejudicial pretrial publicity. Opening statements to the jury and the presentation of evidence have been scheduled to begin October 25.

SOUTH AFRICA FORUM IN OAKLAND: Some ninety people packed the Militant Forum in Oakland, California, on October 8 to hear Robert Chrisman, publisher of the *Black Scholar*; Oba T'Shaka, chairperson of the Pan African People's Organization; Leonard Modavanu, treasurer of the Carribean and North America for the Zimbabwe African National Union; and Sandy Porter from the Socialist Workers party speak on "The Black Revolt in South Africa." Half the audience came from Oakland's Black community. The event received wide coverage in the Black media.

GAYS AND THE '76 ELECTIONS: That was the subject of New York's Gay Activists Alliance forum on October 3. Speakers included Steve Ault of the July 4 Coalition, Jim Brinning of the Socialist Labor party, Libertarian party senatorial candidate Marty Nixon, national Gays for Carter coordinator Robert Rygor, and Michael Maggi of the Socialist Workers party.

Maggi contrasted the SWP's support of gay rights to Carter's hypocrisy. Reading from the March issue of *Advocate*, Maggi quoted Carter: "I have never favored total equality. . . . I have not made up my mind" on whether or not to support the gay rights bill before Congress.

BUYCENTENNIAL BLUES: Have you checked out "The American Economic System . . . and your part in it"? It's a twenty-four-page red, white, and blue pamphlet that's the biggest project in the thirty-four-year history of the Advertising Council. "Your part" is illustrated with Peanuts cartoons. It claims to be an impartial explanation of the "free enterprise" system. The pamphlet was funded in part by a \$239,000 Commerce Department grant from money earmarked for help to minority businesses and the unemployed.

Critics have blasted the pamphlet as heavily biased. People's Bicentennial Commission head Jeremy Rifkin calls it a "Dick and Jane reader with a big-business, corporate perspective."

The National Education Association, the country's largest teachers union, has also launched a campaign against the pamphlet, calling it "one-sided and simple-minded propaganda designed to serve major corporations."

'NEW YORK TIMES' CALLS FOR BLANKET AMNESTY FOR ATTICA DEFENDANTS: Five years ago an army of New York State cops assaulted the penitentiary at Attica during a prisoner rebellion. Not one state trooper was charged in the slaughter that resulted in forty-three people being killed during the brutal retaking of the prison. But sixty-two inmates were charged in forty-two indictments with 1,289 separate offenses.

An editorial in the October 11 *New York Times* called for "a blanket amnesty for all Attica offenses."

"The record of unequal law enforcement," it said, "was so gross as to taint each and every indictment brought in the wake of the rebellion."

SUIT STOPS LOUISIANA ANTI-ABORTION LAW: On September 29, a U.S. district judge ruled Louisiana's new anti-abortion statute unconstitutional. The law, scheduled to go into effect October 2, was passed last July with only one dissenting vote. The challenge to the new statute was filed by the Louisiana American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of Dr. Calvin Jackson, medical director of the Orleans Women's Clinic.

PSP CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR OF PUERTO RICO TO ADDRESS NEW YORK RALLY: Puerto Rican Socialist party leader Juan Mari Brás will speak in New York October 15 about the party's electoral campaign on the island. Also addressing the rally will be José Alberto Alvarez, first secretary of the U.S. branch of the PSP.

The rally will be held at 7:30 p.m. at Washington Irving High School, 40 Irving Place.

The Trotskyists of the Internationalist Workers League in Puerto Rico are urging a vote for the PSP candidates as the only working-class alternative. —Peter Seidman

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↑

Where
we are

Joint Militant-socialist campaign effort set

By Larry Seigle

Socialists all across the country—from Miami to Seattle and from San Diego to Boston—are planning for an all-out mobilization in the final week and a half of the election campaign.

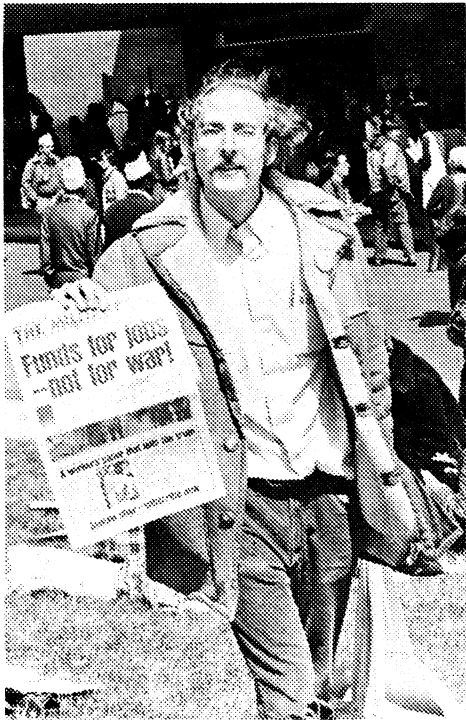
The massive effort has a twofold goal: to make a big leap forward in the drive to sign up 20,000 new subscribers to the *Militant*, and to get out the word as widely as we can on the Socialist Workers party in the November elections.

Next week's *Militant* will be an election issue prepared especially for this nationwide effort. It will feature articles on the socialist candidates across the country and other election news.

The drive will begin the weekend of October 23, when the special issue rolls off the press. It will continue right up until election eve.

"Our aim is to get out on the streets, going door to door in the communities and saturating the campuses," said

Harvey McArthur, *Militant* business manager. "With consistent work and full participation from all members, this will be a chance for SWP branches and Young Socialist Alliance chapters to catch up and, in some areas, get ahead of schedule in the subscription drive."



The subscription efforts will be combined with the final push to distribute SWP campaign literature and involve people in the socialist campaign.

"Supporters of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid and of the SWP candidates for state offices across the country will be holding street rallies, plant-gate distributions, campaign meetings, and other activities," said Andrea Morell, the Camejo-Reid campaign manager.

"Our candidates will be reaching millions of people on radio and television during this final week and a half," she added. "Our supporters will be knocking on doors in housing

projects and campus dormitories, canvassing for socialism. Everyone we talk to will be urged to vote socialist on November 2 and to sign up for an introductory subscription to the best newspaper around, the *Militant*."

A new "Vote Socialist Workers" poster has been prepared for the final push. Printed in both English and Spanish, it is designed for widespread paste-ups. The poster can be ordered from the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014, for only two and one-half cents per copy.

The Los Angeles SWP branches have ordered almost 30,000 copies of the SWP 1976 platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," to use in the final days of the campaign. Other branches are planning similar extra efforts to reach thousands of potential supporters.

The Young Socialist Alliance is also throwing itself into the preelection

drive. Rick Berman, YSA national organizational secretary, reports that YSA chapters "will be blanketing the campuses with the *Militant* and the socialist campaign."

"We will have tables up throughout the special drive, and we'll be selling subscriptions every day. YSA members will be working with other socialist campaign supporters in last-minute



Militant Brian Shannon



Militant/Lou Howort



Militant/Herman Kirsch

posting and literature distribution, and many will be holding rallies for the SWP candidates."

To make sure that enough copies of next week's special election issue of the *Militant* are on hand for the extra subscription sales being planned, the cost of bundles has been reduced to fifteen cents a copy.

If you would like to participate in this drive, contact the SWP or YSA in your city (see Socialist Directory on page 31) or get in touch with the national campaign committee by phone at (212) 675-3820.

Response to subscription offer is 'great'

By Harvey McArthur

Members of the Socialist Workers party branch in the Roxbury section of Boston braved cold and rainy weather last Saturday to sell twenty-seven subscriptions door to door in the Black community in Mattapan, an area bordering Roxbury.

"Two were sold to high school students we met, and one to a Black trade unionist who is especially interested in Frank Lovell's weekly column, 'National Picket Line'" reported Reba Williams, Roxbury subscription director. "This is a great way to campaign for Mac Warren, our candidate for Congress, and meet people here in the community."

Roxbury has sold 50 percent of their goal of 210 subscriptions—90 percent of that through door-to-door sales in Mattapan. "We have really worked to get everyone in the branch out selling," Williams says. "We go out on Saturday and on weeknights and then again on Sunday when most people are home."

Socialists in Richmond, Virginia, who raised their goal just two weeks ago, are raising it again—this time to 125. They've sold 65 so far, mostly through community canvassing. They report getting "a great response" in the community.

Portland, Oregon, also raised their goal two weeks ago—from 250 to 350. But even with the higher goal, they are still ahead of schedule at 56.3 percent.

Toledo recently sent in ten subscriptions, saying: "These sales represent

only one hour's worth of selling by eight of our members. We are having such positive results in our door-to-door visits and spend so much time in discussions about socialism, our election campaign, and the party, that each person only has time to visit about five homes per hour.

"We found an overwhelming response to the *Militant's* coverage of defense cases and South Africa in one low-income housing project last week. One woman told us she would be willing to arrange a meeting room for us. She wanted to help with our election campaign."

"Many times we are invited back for a second visit. These frequently result in sales of subscriptions to people who bought only one copy the first time."

College campuses continue to be a good place to sell *Militant* subscriptions. The two members of the campaign team traveling through New Mexico sold eighty-two subscriptions in little more than a week, mostly at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.

The California team, on its first week out, sold fifty subscriptions in Santa Barbara.

Some areas are lagging behind, however. We have received only 7,063 of the 8,000 subscriptions that should be in by now. The drive is 5 percent behind schedule overall, and thirty-eight out of fifty-eight cities have fallen behind. (Bold-face type on the scoreboard indicates those cities that are on schedule.)

Subscription scoreboard

	Goal	Sent in	%				
Kent, Ohio	30	22	73.3	Lexington, Ky.	50	17	34.0
Champaign, Ill.	25	17	68.0	San Jose	350	117	33.4
Ithaca, N.Y.	50	31	62.0	Indianapolis	100	33	33.0
Dallas	150	92	61.3	San Diego	400	131	32.8
Louisville	150	88	58.7	Seattle	475	155	32.6
Toledo	100	58	58.0	Milwaukee	650	207	31.8
Newark	400	225	56.3	Los Angeles	1,000	305	30.5
Portland, Ore.	350	197	56.3	Salt Lake City	50	15	30
Buffalo, N.Y.	25	14	56.0	Washington, D.C., Area	700	199	28.4
Kansas City	125	68	54.4	Detroit	800	208	26.0
Baltimore	300	159	53.0	Miami	50	13	26.0
Richmond, Va.	125	65	52.0	Chicago	900	231	25.7
Madison, Wis.	100	51	51.0	San Francisco	800	163	20.4
Allentown, Pa.	20	10	50.0	Edinboro, Pa.	30	5	16.7
Oakland, Calif.	350	170	48.6	State College, Pa.	30	5	16.7
Cincinnati	150	69	46.0	Phoenix	50	7	14.0
Bloomington, Ind.	50	23	46.0	Albany, N.Y.	40	5	12.5
Tacoma, Wash.	100	45	45.0	Knoxville, Tenn.	10	1	10.0
Pittsburgh	450	188	41.8	Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	0	0.0
Boulder, Colo.	20	8	40.0	Arlington, Tex.	30	0	0.0
Minneapolis	700	279	39.9	Columbus, Ohio	25	0	0.0
Philadelphia	650	257	39.5	Sarasota, Fla.	25	0	0.0
Berkeley	400	151	37.8	Kingston, R.I.		11	
Denver	600	224	37.3	Tallahassee, Fla.		10	
St. Paul	175	64	36.6	Tucson, Ariz.		4	
San Antonio	175	64	36.6	Campaign teams:			
Boston	800	286	35.8	New Mexico	85	82	96.5
New York	2,000	714	35.7	Ohio	400	102	25.5
New Orleans	225	80	35.6	Michigan-Indiana	400	51	12.8
St. Louis	425	149	35.1	Rocky Mountain	215	15	7.0
Atlanta	600	209	34.8	Northeast	400	21	5.3
Houston	900	307	34.1	General		413	
Cleveland	450	153	34.0	Total:	20,000	7,063	35.3
				Should be:		8,000	40.0

Georgia protest against death penalty set

By Bill Boyd

ATLANTA—In response to the October 4 Supreme Court ruling giving the go-ahead to executions, the Georgia Committee Against the Death Penalty is planning a speak-out to be held here October 23.

In a statement released the day of the ruling, the committee stated: "The Supreme Court cited the fact that thirty state legislatures had reinstated the death penalty, and therefore the American people do not consider capital punishment either cruel or unusual punishment."

"We don't believe the American people have heard the case against the death penalty," the committee said. "We intend to take our case to them with this rally."

The speak-out will feature Rubin "Hurricane" Carter; State Rep. David Scott; Atlanta City Council member Arthur Langford; Rev. Joe Ingle of the Southern Coalition on Jails and Pri-

sons; and relatives of death row prisoners.

On October 3, the night before the Supreme Court decision, relatives of death row prisoners and the Georgia Committee Against the Death Penalty held a vigil in Atlanta.

One hundred people gathered on the steps of the capitol to protest reinstitution of the death penalty and to demand that no executions take place.

The vigil was addressed by Vernon Bellecourt, national field director of the American Indian Movement; Gene Guerrero, state director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Rev. Joe Boone of the Metro-Summit Leadership Conference, a civil rights group; Rev. Austin Ford of Emmaus House, a church-related community center; Mary Hogland of the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons; and Mrs. Bobby Lane, mother of a death row inmate.

Bellecourt said the criminal justice system is racist. He cited the disproportionate numbers of Indian people in jails and prisons. He also said that neither capital punishment nor prisons are inevitable—Indian societies had gotten along fine without them for thousands of years before Europeans came to this continent.

Reverend Ford urged people to publicize and attend the October 23 speak-out. He said it was an excellent opportunity to take the issues involved in the death penalty debate to the people of Georgia.

As Bobby Lane was speaking, she started to cry and was barely able to finish her remarks. She explained that her twenty-four-year-old son is on death row. She urged people "to do something to abolish the death penalty and make sure they don't go through with this execution."

The Georgia affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union initiated the

Georgia Committee Against the Death Penalty a few days after last July's Supreme Court decision approving capital punishment.

Among the groups that participate in the committee are the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons; Metro-Summit Leadership Conference; Student Coalition Against Racism; Socialist Workers party; and Workers World party.

In addition to the October 23 rally, the committee is also organizing a petitioning campaign. One petition, addressed to the U.S. Supreme Court, asks the court to abolish the death penalty. Another, addressed to the state pardon and parole board, asks that sentences for all people facing the death penalty in Georgia be commuted.

Sixty people have been condemned to death in Georgia. More than half are Black.

Paul X Moody: victim of racist frame-up

By John Gaige

TOLEDO—On October 1 an all-white jury in Bowling Green, Ohio, convicted Paul X Moody on frame-up charges of "attempted rape." Moody is a member of the Nation of Islam and a leader of the Black Student Union and Board of Black Cultural Activities at Bowling Green State University. He is now out on bond and will file a motion for a new trial.

The frame-up against Moody began April 20 when he was arrested by campus police. A white woman had been sexually assaulted on campus two days earlier. Moody was initially charged with "gross sexual imposition," but a grand jury later indicted him for attempted rape.

More than 100 of Moody's supporters filled the courtroom during his trial, which began September 28. The facts presented by Moody's attorney, Shel-

don Wittenberg, clearly exposed the racist frame-up engineered by Assistant County Prosecutor Gary Kuns:

- The victim of the sexual assault described her attacker as being at least five feet six inches tall and weighing 150 pounds. Paul X Moody is five feet three inches tall and weighs 115 pounds.

- Defense witnesses, including Moody's roommate and a friend Moody had phoned the night of the assault, testified that he was at home at the time of the attack.

- The woman said she had inflicted scratch and bite marks on her attacker. But a physician testified that he had examined Moody on April 19—the day after the assault—and had seen no scratches or bites on his body.

- The picture of Moody shown by police to the assault victim for identification was taken in such a way that

the height chart in the background showed him as being five feet seven inches tall. All the other pictures were of suspects whose heights measured more than six feet.

The fact that Moody was convicted on such flimsy evidence is proof enough of the racist nature of the case against him. The treatment dealt Moody by campus cops when he was arrested provides further evidence. He was held by campus police for seven hours before being allowed a phone call. He was not read his rights by the cops until forty minutes after his arrest.

The twenty-two-year-old Black student leader was not judged by a jury of his peers. Every member of the all-white jury was over forty. Among the jurors was a retired county commissioner.

Judge Gale Williamson denied a number of defense motions, including a request for a change of trial site, motions concerning the suppression of evidence, and a motion for a mistrial.

These attempts to railroad Paul X Moody to prison for a crime he did not commit have not gone unopposed.

On September 24, 100 Moody supporters attended a BSU-sponsored rally at Bowling Green State University.

Paul X Moody urged people to attend his trial. Backing him were Defense Fund spokesperson Elnor X Stubbs; Toni Kates of the Board of Black Cultural Activities; and Toby Williams and Ken Chambers of the BSU.

Al Duncan of the Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism also spoke. Duncan linked the frame-up of Moody

Continued on page 30

Arab upsurge on Israeli-held West Bank

[The following is from the news analysis section of Intercontinental Press.]

By David Frankel

For almost a year now, the Palestinians on the Israeli-occupied West Bank have been demonstrating for their rights. Although Israeli repression has forced temporary halts to the Palestinian protests, it has failed to break the upsurge and intimidate the Arab population into giving up its struggle.

On October 3 a new series of protests began in Hebron and spread to other West Bank towns, including Nablus, Tulkarm, Jenin, and Ramallah. These protests were particularly noteworthy because they put a spotlight on the development of Zionist vigilante groups and the increasingly prominent role of ultrarightist forces in Israeli politics.

In addition to the dozens of Palestinians beaten and arrested by Israeli occupation troops during the October 3 protests, seven youths, all from the village of Halhoul, were shot by a Jewish civilian wearing a skullcap and riding with some companions in a pickup truck. Two of those shot were hospitalized in critical condition.

The Israeli government has said it will investigate the vigilante attacks and punish whoever was responsible for them. But the truth is that the government itself has set the stage for such murderous assaults by shooting down unarmed Palestinian protesters both inside Israel and in the occupied territories. The government's responsi-

bility is particularly clear in relation to the ultraright fanatics of the Gush Emunim (Bloc of Believers) who provoked the latest Palestinian protests.

Gush Emunim appeals to biblical authority as justification for annexing occupied Arab land and populating it with Jewish settlements. One such settlement, Kiryat Arba, has been set up by Gush Emunim outside Hebron. Although technically illegal, Kiryat Arba was granted government funds for construction.



Israeli cop beats Arab: 'Moving toward regime as repressive as one in South Africa.'

Under the protection of the Israeli army, the racist settlers have embarked on a series of calculated provocations. When protests against the Israeli occupation took place this spring, the settlers were urged by their leader, Rabbi Moshe Levinger, to "shoot to hit" if they were stoned by Arabs. On March 17, three Palestinians from Hebron were beaten with chains and bitten by dogs after being captured by the Kiryat Arba settlers.

For the last three months, the Kiryat Arba settlers have been holding armed demonstrations in the Hebron market place. "The fact must be acknowledged," the *Jerusalem Post* admitted in an October 6 editorial, "that tension has been building up between Arab and Jew in Hebron for over a month now and that it was largely due to what Defense Minister Shimon Peres himself termed 'outright provocation' on the part of the Kiryat Arba settlers. . . ."

Of course, the Israeli regime has taken no action against the vigilantes. Gush Emunim has supporters within the Israeli cabinet itself, and it is simply carrying out the government's own policy, although in an embarrassingly frank way.

On October 6, while Hebron's 60,000 Arabs remained locked in their houses under an Israeli military curfew and loudspeakers broadcast Hebrew prayers over the town, the government staged a state funeral for Jewish religious relics allegedly damaged by Muslims protesting similar treatment

accorded the Koran by Kiryat Arba settlers.

After the "burial," Levinger shouted, "Hebron is ours, Nablus is ours, Jericho is ours." Meanwhile, leaflets circulating in the crowd argued that the only solution to the problems besetting Israel was the expulsion of the Arabs.

This chauvinist frenzy is a glimpse of things to come in Israel. The task of maintaining a colonial-settler state is pushing the Zionists inexorably toward a regime as repressive as the one in South Africa.



N.Y. Times

Map shows some of new settlements aimed at tightening Zionist grip on occupied territories.

Addressed to Crusade leader in Colo.

Protest grows against violence in movement

By Miguel Pendás

DENVER—More community leaders and movement activists are adding their names to a "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement" (see box for text) addressed to Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, a leader of the Denver Crusade for Justice.

The drafting of the declaration was made necessary when members of the Crusade for Justice assaulted Fred Halstead and Steve Chainey of the Socialist Workers party without provocation.

The statement is being circulated among community and movement activists in the hope that any repeated incidents of violence can be prevented.

The assault on Halstead and Chainey took place October 1, when they went to the headquarters of the Crusade to discuss the problem of threats leveled by Ernesto Vigil, the second leading figure in the Crusade, against Elfege Baca, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Baca is also the chairperson of the Metro State College MEChA in Denver.

Halstead and Chainey had hoped that the problem could be ironed out by a calm and friendly discussion.

Vigil's response was to begin punching Halstead while another man beat Chainey. Halstead required hospital treatment for a broken nose. Cuts on

his face required stitches.

Halstead and Chainey did not try to defend themselves. They merely tried to get out of the building.

Gonzales has yet to make a public statement regarding the threat against Baca or the assault on Halstead and Chainey.

At a meeting of the Metro State College MEChA October 6, Vigil spoke on the subject of the threat against Baca and the beating of Halstead and

Chainey.

Rather than repudiate the use of violence, or denying the threat against Baca, he instead tried to justify both. He reiterated that his dispute with Baca was merely a "personal" one. He implied that violence was justified against anyone that he considers to be a "snitch" or "doing the work of the man."

In addition to the signers of the "Declaration Against Violence in the

Movement" reported in last week's issue of the *Militant*, other signers include: Phillip Berrigan; Joe Barros, West Side Action Center, Denver; Lamberto Armijo, Chicano studies, Community College, North Campus, Denver; Albert Valdivia, former teacher, Escuela Tlatelolco; Pat Fair, East Side Action Center, Denver; Robert Allen, editor, the *Black Scholar*; and Luis Fuentes, former superintendent, New York City School District One.

Statement: 'respect democratic rights'

Disturbing reports of the use of physical violence by members of the Crusade for Justice have come to our attention. This underlines the urgent need for decisive action to deescalate tensions in the movement and to ensure that physical intimidation does not interfere with the free exchange of political views.

Recent public revelations about the FBI have shown that fomenting violent conflicts within the movement is one of the government's favorite disruptive tactics. This is all the more reason for us to

work to bring such incidents to an end.

We hope you will take a stand in favor of the simple democratic right to express a point of view without fear of physical reprisal from anyone, including those who may disagree within the movement. Taking such a stand certainly does not mean repudiating the right of self-defense against violent attacks. It means making clear that differences among those fighting for social justice cannot be resolved by fists or other weapons.

Any attempt to do so simply provides openings for police and other enemies of the movement to tear us apart.

Further, it certainly does not help us oppose the government's use of violence against us if some of us use it against people who may not agree with our point of view.

The forces opposing progressive social change in the United States are very powerful. The unity necessary to overcome these forces can only be achieved if we respect each other's democratic rights.

Denver 'Bill of Rights' meeting rallies support

By Ruth Getts

DENVER—"A Meeting to Defend Democratic Rights" scheduled for October 23 here is drawing wide support from community leaders and civil liberties organizations.

Sponsored by the Political Rights

Defense Fund, the meeting will demand an end to illegal FBI activities against political dissidents.

Extensive media attention has been focused on FBI harassment of the Socialist Workers party since it came to light that paid FBI informer Ti-

mothy Redfearn burglarized the SWP campaign headquarters here last July.

Speakers at the meeting will include: James Reynolds, director of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission; Fred Halstead of the SWP; James Joy, Colorado director of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement.

José Angel Gutiérrez of the Texas Raza Unida party will also be a featured speaker. A special effort is being made to build the meeting in the Chicano community here, which has long been a target of government attacks. The Texas RUP is in the forefront of those fighting against harassment of the Chicano movement. At its last convention, the party voted to sue the government for violating its democratic rights.

Cosponsors of the meeting include: U.S. Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.); the Denver Federation of Teachers; the National Organization for Women, Denver chapter; Everett Chavez and Josephine Pérez of Concerned Citizens for Equal Education; and Adolfo Gómez, director of the Auraria Community Center.

In all, the list of sponsors includes more than thirty community leaders and organizations.

Several organizations have publicized the event in their newsletters. Articles have also appeared in local newspapers such as the *University of Colorado Daily* and the *Colorado Democrat*, the statewide newspaper of the Democratic party. FBI attacks and the public meeting being planned as a response to them will be part of the focus of a special news interview on KMGH-TV on October 12.

The meeting will be held at 8:00 p.m. at the Denver University Law School Auditorium at Fourteenth and Bannock.

No action has been taken against Denver FBI officials for their part in the July burglary. A grand jury indicted Redfearn for second-degree burglary but let the FBI off with a slap on the wrist.

Meanwhile, FBI burglar Redfearn was recently caught plying his trade



JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ: Raza Unida founder will speak at October 23 protest.

for his own profit. Police arrested Redfearn October 9 in connection with a burglary that had taken place the night before.

After his arrest Redfearn led police to an apartment containing more than \$12,000 in loot taken during the October 8 robbery. At the apartment police reportedly turned up another estimated \$500,000 in stolen property.

Earlier, Redfearn's FBI superiors had rated his performance for the bureau as "very good."

Right-wing organizations have taken the FBI's performance as a green light to step up their activities.

In August the SWP campaign headquarters was spray painted with red swastikas. Since then the campaign offices have been steadily receiving racist hate mail from the National Socialist [Nazi] White People's party.

On September 28, a white man shot and killed a Black man in a Denver theater because he was with a white woman. When police searched the killer's apartment later, they found it decorated with Nazi symbols and flags and full of Nazi literature. And, just this past week, the Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, Jerry Dutton, was in Denver conducting a recruitment drive. His visit was preceded by large newspaper ads soliciting support for the white-supremacist Klan.

'A felony in name of liberty'?

DENVER—It is clear that the FBI is beginning to feel the pressure from supporters of democratic rights that is building in this city.

On August 9, Special Agent in Charge Theodore Rosack wrote a letter to the *Denver Post* complaining of its decision to print the cartoon below. This points out, Rosack said, a concerted press effort to reduce FBI personnel "to the category of second-class citizens."

In the October 3 *Rocky Mountain News* Rosack felt compelled to write another letter trying to defend the FBI. He cites grand jury inaction as proof that the FBI is guiltless. He also implies that if Denverites only knew the "truth" about the SWP they would understand why such "investigations" are necessary.

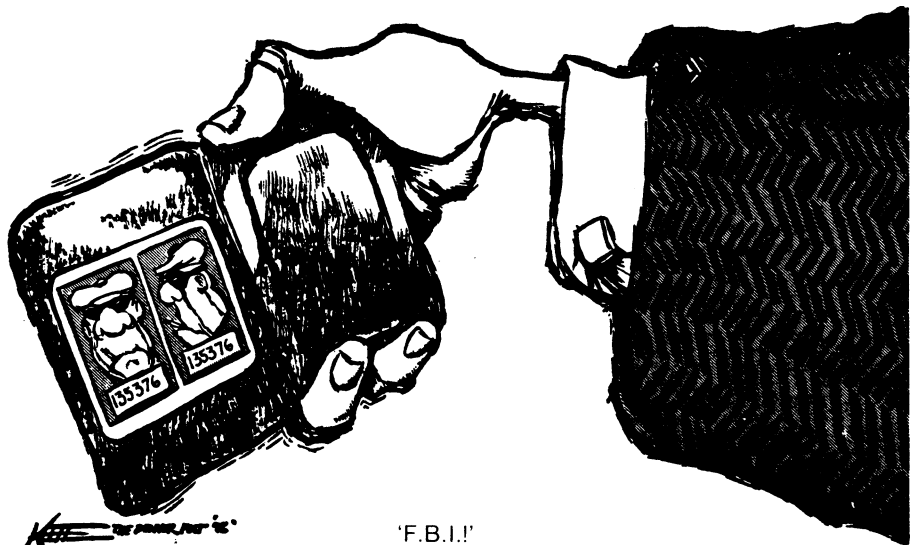
Rocky Mountain News editors

disagreed. The following are excerpts from their response:

"For reasons known to itself, the Denver Grand Jury indicted no one but the informant.

"He is welcome to view the grand jury action as a clean bill of health for his office. We call it a close shave.

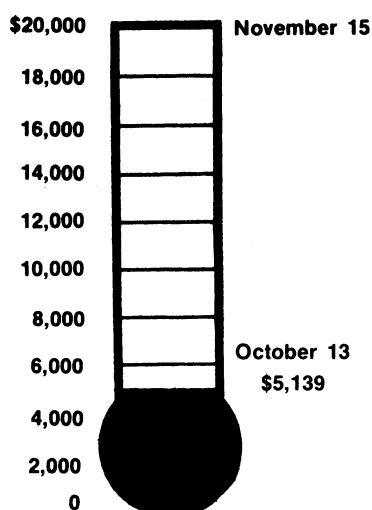
"One final point: We hope Mr. Rosack's second paragraph above isn't suggesting that the history of the Socialist Workers Party somehow justifies the FBI's systematic, nationwide harassment and burglary of that political group. That would indeed sell short the thousands of honest FBI employees he cites. Since they are honest, they presumably repudiate both the pattern of burglaries and their employer's underlying premise: That a felony in the name of liberty is no vice."



\$20,000 Camejo & Reid campaign fund

So far 155 viewers of Peter Camejo's half-hour TV interview on the Public Broadcasting Service's 'Black Perspective on the News' have written for literature and further information about the socialist campaign. They express what audiences for Camejo and Willie Mae Reid across the country also express, whether at colleges, at city-wide rallies, at trade-union meetings: a thirst for knowledge about alternative politics to the Democrats and Republicans. We don't set any limits on how far we are willing to go to get this information out. But it takes your financial help. The time remaining in the 1976 campaign is short. The need for funds is urgent. Any amount will be appreciated.

How we're doing



Make checks payable to the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.
☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____.

☐ Please send me more information on the SWP campaign.

Name _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Occupation _____
Business address _____

A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson, Linda Jenness; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

Reid meets activists in five-state tour

By Barbara Mutnick

NEW ORLEANS—In a little more than a week, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid has swept through six cities in five states. From Wisconsin she swung south to Maryland, Virginia, Texas, and Louisiana.

Each of the stops on this leg of Reid's tour is an area where the socialist movement has expanded since the beginning of the presidential campaign, where new socialist campaign headquarters are opening. Reid met activists in the labor, women's, and Black movements everywhere she visited.

In Milwaukee, where supporters have been campaigning since the Peter Camejo-Willie Mae Reid ticket was first announced in December 1974, Reid was the featured speaker at the opening of a new campaign headquarters. Among those joining her on the speakers platform was Tyrone Hooper of the United Black Community Council. The UBCC is putting up candidates for the Milwaukee City Council as independent alternatives to the Democratic and Republican parties.

The next day, Reid spoke to an enthusiastic crowd of 150 students at the University of Wisconsin campus at Madison.

In Baltimore, Reid spoke at a city-wide rally at the First Unitarian Church, where she was welcomed by a broad range of individuals, including Prof. Jesse McDade of Morgan State University and Rick Ehrman, an organizer for District 1199E of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

Ehrman's union is on strike against the Lafayette Square Nursing Center in Bolton Hill, Maryland. The nursing center is trying to crush the union. Several strikers attended the rally along with Ehrman and appealed to the crowd to join their twenty-four-hour picket line of the nursing home.

Reid met with a similar response in Richmond, Virginia, where leaders of the Women's Political Caucus, the National Black Feminist Organization, and the National Organization for Women, in addition to representatives of community groups, joined the socialist campaign in organizing a reception for Reid.

While in Richmond, Reid visited the headquarters of Local 1220 of the Amalgamated Transit Union, which that morning struck the Old Dominion Transit Company, shutting down bus



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

WILLIE MAE REID

transportation in the city.

Archie Iddings, president of the local, told Reid that the 400 members of the union were striking for better wages and hours. "We feel we were pushed out," Iddings said. "There was nowhere else for us to go but to strike." He told Reid that this was the first time the union had gone on strike since it was organized in 1942.

Strikers walking picket lines and in the union office readily accepted literature from Reid supporters and welcomed her support for their strike.

The next stop was Dallas, where yet another headquarters opened with a spirited rally. Reid also spoke at El Centro Community College to more than 150 students. Two major TV network affiliates covered the meeting.

Reid then went to New Orleans, where she spoke to nearly 175 students at two campuses.

Reid also addressed a New Orleans city-wide rally, along with Juanita Tyler, mother of Gary Tyler, who is in jail at St. James Parish now facing a possible death sentence. Tyler was convicted of a murder he did not commit. Mrs. Tyler said that as of that night Gary had been in jail two years. She called upon the audience to join activities in defense of her son on November 10, when arguments will be heard to determine whether the state should hold Tyler in prison. "He's just not my son now," she said. For those who believe in justice "he is everyone's son and we must all defend him."

L.A. sets big Camejo rally

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The Socialist Workers party is building a major campaign rally here for Peter Camejo Saturday, October 23.

Sharing the platform with the socialist presidential nominee will be Juan José Peña, chairperson of the Raza Unida party of New Mexico. At its state convention last spring, the New Mexico *partido* voted to endorse Camejo's campaign.

Campaign supporters are mounting a major drive to build the rally, which will be held at 8:00 p.m. in the Regency Ballroom of the Sheraton West Hotel, at 2961 Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles. Admission is free.

To publicize the event, Socialist Workers campaigners are distributing 50,000 bilingual leaflets. One side of the leaflet announces the rally, and the other lists key planks in the Socialist Workers party platform.

Members of the six Los Angeles-area SWP branches are distributing these leaflets in the various communities where they are active.

In addition, 3,000 posters announcing the rally will be put up in key locations throughout the area.

The campaigners will also be distributing 25,000 copies of the SWP election platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

On Thursday evening, October 21, Camejo will speak in Spanish at a rally at East Los Angeles College. Here too Juan José Peña will share the platform with Camejo. The meeting will be held at 8:00 p.m. in the Student Lounge of the college, which is at 5357 E. Brooklyn Avenue, East Los Angeles.

Chicana socialist on tour

By Betsy Farley

NEW YORK—Silvia Zapata is touring Southern California for the Socialist Workers campaign. She is one of the nine Camejo and Reid youth coordinators touring campuses and high schools across the country.

Zapata's meetings have been sponsored by MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán) at Pasadena City College and by Mujeres Unidas, a Chicana feminist organization, at the University of Southern California.

At California State University Northridge, Zapata spoke on a panel with Andrés Torres, statewide chairperson of the Raza Unida party; Lew McCammon, of the Peace and Freedom party; and a representative of the McCarthy campaign.



SILVIA ZAPATA Militant/Henry Snipper

Heisler to speak on unions

Ed Heisler, Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee chairperson, is touring midwestern cities from October 12 to election day.

Heisler, who attended the recent United Mine Workers convention, will speak on new trends in the labor movement, the fight for union democracy, and prospects for independent labor political action.

Heisler's tour will feature plant-gate campaigning and discussions with trade-union supporters of the socialist campaign.

His tour will also help in the Socialist Workers party's drive to sell thousands of copies of *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*, a Pathfinder Press pamphlet that discusses Ed Sadlowski's campaign for president of the United Steelworkers.

For more information, contact the SWP branches in Milwaukee, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh. (See Socialist Directory on page 31.)

Rejects 'Great Debates' challenge

Supreme Court bars SWP equal-time suit

By Dick Roberts

The U.S. Supreme Court refused on October 12 to hear the Socialist Workers party suit demanding equal time with the Democrats and Republicans in the "Great Debates."

The court simultaneously refused to rule on a similar equal-time suit filed jointly by Black Democratic Rep. Shirley Chisholm and the National Organization for Women.

The reactionary decision of the government's highest judicial body is a severe blow to equal-time protection for independent candidates and parties.

"It further institutionalizes as official government policy the monopoly of air time by the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties," SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo declared. "This happens at the same time we find a more receptive audience to socialist ideas across the country—and a massive voter defection from the Democrats and Republicans."

Also commenting on the SWP and Chisholm rulings, Eugene McCarthy declared, "It is difficult to make a case to the American people if one is denied forums in which to do so. If politics remains the province of the two parties, no one should be surprised if interest and participation in the process declines."

Both the Chisholm and Camejo-Reid suits had previously been rejected by

the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington. By refusing to hear the two cases, the Supreme Court let the Washington appeals court ruling stand.

At issue is a 1975 interpretation by the Federal Communications Commission of the equal-time law that labels a debate staged outside of network studios and sponsored by an independent organization a "bona fide news event." Such events can be covered by the networks without their having to give equal time to other candidates and parties.

Thus the door is now wide open for the ruling capitalist parties to dominate air time. They can easily stage a debate at any time to avoid allowing alternative viewpoints to be heard.

The Camejo-Reid suit sought equal time for the working-class viewpoint from the networks, from the Federal Communications Commission, from two U.S. appeals courts, in New York and Washington, and from the Supreme Court itself.

The results underline that the media, the courts, and the government are conspiring to prevent any views but those of the ruling Democrats and Republicans from being given a fair hearing in this country.

The Democratic and Republican parties claim to speak for the people by preventing the people from speaking.

The *New York Times* declared in an editorial October 12: "The nation's cities are as much in need of rescue as American farms were in the 1930's. Inflation is still acute; unemployment still severe. Confidence in government still is in the post-Watergate depression. . . .

"There obviously is no dearth of serious issues to be resolved by the Presidential candidates and the voters.

Yet, the [Democratic and Republican] campaign has been so blatantly trivialized that the process of choosing the next President seems virtually unrelated to the nation's needs."

The solution to this contradiction—which the *New York Times* ignores—is to put before American voters the serious campaign that does address itself squarely to the needs of working people—namely the Socialist Workers campaign.

Socialist candidates on TV

Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, will be on "Meet the Press" Sunday, October 17. The NBC program, featuring a panel of independent party candidates, will appear one-half hour earlier than usual—at 11:30 a.m. in the East and 10:30 a.m. in the Midwest. For West Coast viewing times check your listings.

Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California, will appear in a debate on KPBS, the San Diego Public Broadcasting station. The other panelists include California Democrat John Tunney, Jack McCoy of the American Independent party, and Dave Wald of the Peace and Freedom party. The program will be taped October 14 but the time for airing has not been set.

Carol Henderson Evans, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts, will debate Democrat Edward Kennedy and other candidates for the Senate from Massachusetts on October 31 at 3:00 p.m. The live show will be broadcast by WTEZ, the ABC affiliate in New Bedford. Other ABC affiliates may broadcast this debate simultaneously. Check your TV listings.

Defend right to abortion

Protesters picket outside Ford-Carter debate

By Arnold Weissberg

SAN FRANCISCO—Four hundred spirited demonstrators demanding an end to government attacks on the right to abortion picketed outside the second Ford-Carter debate here October 6.

Both candidates' opposition to women's right to abortion has stirred anger across the country. At the first "Great Debate" in Philadelphia, 800 supporters of abortion rights demonstrated.

The San Francisco demonstration at the Palace of Fine Arts was the second recent action in defense of women's rights here. A September 22 picket line protested Congress's intention to shut off Medicaid funds for abortions.

The Coalition to Keep Abortion Legal and the National Organization for Women called both actions. The Palace of Fine Arts protest was widely endorsed and drew groups and individuals from throughout the Bay Area.

Chanting picketers included members of several NOW chapters; unionists from Service Employees International Union Local 400 and the Coalition of Labor Union Women; and members of the Young Socialist Alliance, Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, and New American Movement.

Noticeably absent were any Democratic or Republican party politicians or their representatives. However, Omari Musa, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate, and supporters of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates, participated in the women's rights action. They also demanded that Camejo and Reid be included in the debates.

Jayne Townsend, president of San Francisco NOW, addressed the crowd. She said she hoped everyone present would "keep on fighting."

Townsend turned the microphone over to Sylvia Weinstein, a well-known leader of the San Francisco child-care movement and currently the SWP candidate for board of education. "It is a crime that we have to spend our time demanding something that should be

our right," Weinstein declared. "I believe strongly in the right to choose when and whether to have children."

Several other demonstrations were held near the Palace of Fine Arts: nearly 400 members of the American Federation of Government Employees, most of them Black, demanded higher wages; 500 people protested United States intervention in southern Africa; and Iranian, Korean, and Indian students numbering about 150 demonstrated against United States foreign policy in the semicolonial countries.

There were picketers protesting the imprisonment of Chilean political prisoners and the assassination of former Chilean government official Orlando Letelier. Also, twenty supporters of the Communist party's presidential ticket carried placards urging a vote for Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner.

San Francisco NOW and the Coalition to Keep Abortion Legal are planning additional abortion rights actions as are groups in many cities.

On October 12 the National Abortion Rights Action League is holding a

picket line of opponents of Congress's bill cutting off Medicaid funds. The picket will be held outside the U.S. District Court building in Washington, D.C. Inside, arguments will be heard for placing a preliminary injunction on the funding ban.

At the University of Minnesota, an abortion rights teach-in is scheduled for October 13.

And on October 3 in Chicago, forty women picketed outside the Holy Name Cathedral. They were protesting the Catholic church hierarchy's anti-abortion "Respect Life Sunday."



Supporters of equal time for Camejo-Reid joined abortion rights picketers outside Ford-Carter debate

Militant/Howard Petrick

Levi order called 'hoax'

New evidence shows: FBI still after socialists

By Diane Rupp

Government documents obtained through the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against harassment show that the FBI is continuing its operations against the socialists. So charged Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate, on October 7.

Attorney General Edward Levi's announcement a month ago that he was ordering the FBI to stop its forty-year case against the SWP was "a publicity stunt without substance," Camejo said.

When Levi announced his order to the FBI on September 13, the SWP immediately challenged the government to put Levi's words into practice.

Specifically, the socialists demanded that the FBI hand over all eight million files gathered during the "investigation" of the SWP. The socialists also demanded that the FBI identify and remove the sixty-six informers the bureau admits having in the party.

The SWP also insisted that it be given copies of Levi's order to the FBI and copies of instructions that FBI chief Clarence Kelley sent to bureau field offices.

On October 4, Justice Department lawyers gave the socialists excerpts from two messages Kelley had sent to the field offices.

The released portions of Kelley's messages are scanty. The excerpts are not an actual copy of the full text of Kelley's orders. They do not tell FBI offices to refuse material from informers about the SWP. They do not tell FBI informers to get out of the party.

Instead, as some Justice Department officials admitted to the *Washington Post*, Kelley's instructions may be "a covert signal to continue pursuing the party."

The Justice Department officials "noted that there was strong opposition within the FBI to discontinuing the investigation and said that some forces in the bureau could be tempted



'Oh, him? . . . Well, heck, we only turn him loose when it's necessary.' Oliphant

to take Kelley's instructions as an excuse for footdragging in ending scrutiny of the party," the *Post* reported.

'Clarifications'

Kelley sent the field offices two sets of orders. One order went out the day of Levi's announcement. The other was sent ten days later—for public consumption—after a court hearing where socialists demanded to see the text of Kelley's message.

The first order said: "Each office should therefore discontinue your investigations of the SWP, The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA); their chapters; leaders and members; and any individuals or group being investigated because of his or its affiliation with the SWP."

But then the order continues: "Investigations, however, concerning an SWP/YSA member who has engaged in activities which indicate he is likely to use force or violence in violation of a Federal law should be continued and FBIHQ advised under each individual case caption in such instances."

Kelley's second message was sent out for "clarification" of the first. It said that investigations of SWP members "must be based on the Attorney General's guidelines."

Kelley's second order also says that while the offices should stop operations against the SWP, they should make "an exception for an SWP/YSA member who engaged in activities which indicate he is likely to use force or violence in violation of Federal law."

The FBI claims it will only keep watching violence-prone potential law-breakers. But who would these people be? A recent FBI list provides one answer.

Under fire from critics of its Cointelpro programs, the FBI set up an Administrative Index as proof of the bureau's new nonpolitical focus. This was supposed to list "only those individuals who pose a realistic, direct and current danger to national security."

But when this Administrative Index came to light in 1975, Peter Camejo and 109 other SWP members were included on it. Yet the only threat posed by Camejo and the other SWP members on that list was their role as active leaders and spokespersons for socialist ideas.

Kelley insisted this was the basis for continuing operations against individuals when he testified before the new Senate Select Committee on Intelligence on September 22. Kelley said

that the FBI had cut down its domestic security case load by "focusing our investigations on the activities of organizations and on individuals who are in a policy-making position in those organizations."

Other evidence

Other proof of the ongoing illegal FBI activity against SWP members is a legal brief submitted for the lawsuit by the Justice Department.

The new legal papers defend the FBI's right to have informers in the SWP because they provide "information about the intentions and capabilities of this Trotskyist group, which, by the very nature of its political ideology remains committed to the overthrow of the Government by force and violence."

The government brief goes on to explain that "the Attorney General's recent termination of that investigation constitutes a frank recognition that the Socialist Workers Party presently lacks the capacity to translate its revolutionary rhetoric into violent action."

The government brief adds, "That decision does not in any way constitute an admission that the FBI's prior investigation was illegal."

Attached to the brief is an affidavit by James Adams, deputy associate director of the FBI. Adams's affidavit is supposed to supply factual background about the FBI's use of informers to back the government's legal arguments.

Adams says that "only informant coverage will indicate whether the group under investigation possesses both the capability and the intention of moving from rhetoric to violence. The investigation of any organization ultimately dedicated to the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence is best and most effectively accomplished through informants."

This is a strangely circular and contradictory argument. The FBI is stopping its investigation of the SWP, it says, because it doesn't think the socialists can do anything violent. But to judge what the SWP can do the FBI claims it has to continue using informers!

Slanders about violence

The way the brief slanders socialists and tries to picture them as violent also makes it clear that the FBI plans to continue its activities.

Explaining why it refuses to release FBI files about nineteen informers as

demanded by the SWP, the government says:

"Informants in other investigations have been murdered, kidnapped and beaten after their identities were revealed. While physical retaliation occurs more frequently with criminal informants, it has occurred in respect to domestic security informants."

Adams's affidavit adds details. Adams points to cases where the fascistlike National Caucus of Labor Committees reportedly beat up suspected informers. "There is no reason to believe that SWP or YSA members would not engage in similar retaliation against these informants," he claims.

But there is no reason whatsoever to imagine the SWP or YSA would physically "punish" informers. Many informers have been identified and none have been harmed.

The FBI itself has admitted that in forty years of operations against the SWP it has never found the socialists guilty of criminal acts. The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence said that "the SWP has not committed any violent acts."

The FBI's informers and agents, on the other hand, helped set up the assassination of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, tried to shoot San Diego professor Peter Bohmer, plotted an assault on freedom riders in the 1960s that led to the severe beating of James Peck, and—according to a recent Justice Department probe—kidnapped antiwar activists and fire bombed their cars.

The government simply uses slanders about violence to lay a basis for its ongoing operation against SWP members.

Double-talk

An Associated Press reporter asked the Justice Department how the government could refute this evidence of continued FBI activity against SWP members.

All that Robert Havel, a Justice Department spokesperson, could answer was, "They're saying it's a sham on our part. I'm saying it's not a sham."

Yet, two weeks earlier, when a *Christian Science Monitor* reporter asked whether the FBI would get its informers out of the SWP, this same Havel answered, "It will be up to them [the informers] to decide."

And an FBI official, Homer Boynton, told the *Christian Science Monitor*, "We close cases all the time on groups, but if someone subsequently furnishes information on that group, we normally put it in the record . . ."

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the SWP lawsuit, commented: "The FBI is admitting it will keep collecting material about the SWP. The FBI claims the right to maintain informers in the party. The government claims it will end the so-called investigation against the SWP but will continue to 'investigate' SWP members. What kind of double-talk is that?"

"All the evidence points to the fact that the FBI simply plans to continue all of its illegal and unconstitutional political spying and harassment by 'investigating' SWP members instead of 'investigating' the SWP."

"Levi's order was a hoax," continued Stapleton. "We intend to prove this in court as part of our fight to stop the FBI's crimes."

Political Rights Defense Fund



The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance have sued the government for an end to spying and disruption. This lawsuit has exposed FBI and CIA attacks against democratic rights.

More than 400 notable supporters of civil liberties are sponsoring the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the lawsuit.

If you would like to be a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund, return this coupon to PRDF, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

☐ Please add my name as a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund.
☐ Enclosed is a contribution of

\$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Organization (for identification only) _____

Signature _____

Judge orders Kelley to testify in SWP suit

By Diane Rupp

NEW YORK—Attorneys for the Socialist Workers party will be able to question FBI chief Clarence Kelley under oath, U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa ruled October 8.

Kelley's testimony may explain why the FBI continues actions against SWP members while claiming to close its "investigation" of the SWP. His testimony will help unravel the various stories the FBI has recently used to disguise its attacks on democratic rights.

The socialists are able to take pretrial testimony, called a deposition, from Kelley because they are suing the FBI for spying and disruption.

William Brandt, a lawyer for the government, argued that questioning Kelley would only be "harassment" of the top cop.

Given what is known about the FBI campaign against the SWP—which included visits to socialists' employers, poison-pen letters, and the whole Cointelpro disruption operation—Brandt's argument did not seem convincing to courtroom observers.

The "harassment" claim did not persuade Griesa either. "I cannot say I would have permitted the plaintiffs to examine the head of the FBI two years ago," commented the judge. But now the issues in the lawsuit involve an increasingly wide network of FBI officials, Griesa said.

"During Mr. Kelley's tenure we've had at least one prominent incident—the burglary in Denver," explained Griesa.

An FBI informer, Timothy Redfearn, was recently indicted for burglarizing the Denver SWP offices last July. Griesa earlier ordered Redfearn's FBI files turned over to the socialists for the lawsuit. They show that Kelley knew of the burglary and wanted the Denver office to cover up Redfearn's FBI ties.

Brandt asked that he be allowed to submit a legal memorandum with his objections to what he called "the impropriety of taking depositions from agency heads."

But Griesa rejected the request, saying that the law is clear on this question. "I cannot conceive of not permitting a deposition of Kelley in

this case," he concluded. "I want it settled that there will be a deposition of Mr. Kelley."

The court hearing also took up other issues in the socialists' suit, including:



"I want it settled that there will be a deposition of Mr. Kelley," judge tells government lawyer. Courtroom scene by Militant artist Caryl Loeb.

CIA FILES: Griesa announced that he will go to the CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia, to examine top-secret files on the socialists.

In July, CIA Director George Bush, in an affidavit for the lawsuit, admitted that his spies had burglarized and bugged SWP members who traveled overseas. But he said the CIA files must be kept confidential as "state secrets."

Judge Griesa asked to examine the files before ruling on whether or not they had to be released. However, the CIA sent Griesa documents so filled with deletions that the judge found them incomprehensible.

Griesa then ordered the CIA to give him more complete records and to have someone explain the deletions. The CIA next insisted that the judge must

examine the more complete records at the CIA's Virginia headquarters.

Leonard Boudin, attorney for the socialists, objected to this requirement. "I don't know why this myth of executive secrecy and national security should be perpetuated," insisted Boudin.

Boudin compared the CIA maneuvers in the SWP lawsuit with his experiences as Daniel Ellsberg's lawyer in the Pentagon papers trial. Then, too, the government demanded elaborate procedures to guard a supposed national secret. But all that was being hidden were facts people had a right to know.

The government's claim to secrecy in the name of national security was "ludicrous" in the Ellsberg case, said Boudin. And now the government is

trying to cloak burglaries and buggings under executive secrecy, Boudin charged.

NYC RED SQUAD: In their lawsuit the socialists charge that the political police from federal agencies work with local red squads to harass the SWP. Griesa has ordered the New York Police Department to turn over its files about the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance for evidence.

A lawyer for the NYPD at the court hearing tried to get out of producing this evidence. He claimed that the red squad's files had been thrown into a storage room "in no order whatsoever with the purpose of never using them again."

A lawsuit by several anti-Vietnam War leaders and other individuals against the NYPD had forced the red squad to discontinue some of its files a few years ago, the lawyer explained. One million file cards were put into a storage room.

The lawyer complained that it would take at least five-and-a-half years to go through the one million file cards.

Griesa commented that he was "inclined to agree" with the socialists' attorney who pointed out that keeping files in order was the police department's responsibility. He ordered the red squad's lawyer to work with the socialists' attorneys to find a solution to the problem.

The police department's lawyer also said that the NYPD had found twenty-six documents about the SWP but wanted these kept secret. Griesa agreed to examine the material and rule whether it should be given to the socialists.

FORMER FBI AGENT: A lawyer for John Malone, one of the former FBI agents named in the socialists' suit, announced that he will move to have claims against Malone dismissed.

Malone was head of the New York City FBI office in the 1960s when G-men carried out ninety-two burglaries of the SWP's headquarters there. At the court hearing Malone's lawyer claimed that the burglaries were done behind Malone's back. The lawyer said he will file his arguments in the coming week.

'Militant' editor answers gov't



Militant/Susan Ellis
MARY-ALICE WATERS

[Following are excerpts from testimony by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the Militant, under questioning by John Siffert, a government attorney.]

[About a dozen Socialist Workers party members have been called by the government to give pretrial testimony, or depositions, in the socialists' suit against the FBI and other secret-police agencies.]

Q. Were you ever arrested?

A. Yes.

Q. When?

A. Well, my first arrest was when I was three months old, by the Japanese Occupation Forces in the Philippine Islands. [Waters's parents were medical missionaries in the Philippines when she was born.]

Q. And thereafter in the United States?

A. Thereafter, in the United States, I was arrested in San Francisco in 1964 [at civil rights demonstrations].

Q. How many times?

A. Three, to my recollection.

Q. What was the consequence of that first arrest?

A. I believe all charges were dropped.

Q. So you do believe that the use of physical force may be appropriate in

accomplishing your goals, right?

A. Our means for attaining our goals are to educate, to organize, to try to mobilize the overwhelming majority of the people in this country to bring about a socialist transformation of this society.

Q. One way that you believe to accomplish that educational function is to, on occasion, use physical force, right?

A. No, our goals are to oppose the use of violence. We're not in favor of violence or physical force.

Q. In light of your involvement in those demonstrations, would you say that you believe that the use of physical force was appropriate in accomplishing your political goals?

A. The only physical force that was involved in any of those demonstrations was the physical force that was used by the arresting officers. The whole purpose of the demonstrations was to enforce the law of this country, that is, the Constitution, the equal employment laws, and so forth—to call attention to the fact that those laws were being violated.

Q. Were you ever in France during the time of student uprisings in '68?

A. I was in France in May and June of '68.

Q. Did you believe that the things you saw with the workers and students in the streets gave you a tremendous sense of confidence in the working class and their ability to fight and with proper leadership take power?

A. May I see what you are quoting from?

Q. I am asking you a question. Do you remember ever saying that?

A. In my opinion the events that took place in France in May and June of 1968 were a tremendous inspiration, yes. The mass mobilization of the workers and students in France, the general strike of millions upon millions was a very inspiring thing. It was a demonstration of the confidence and power of the working class in France.

Q. Did you hope to institute a similar youth-worker revolt in the United States?

A. (Witness laughs) I am afraid the conditions in the United States and the conditions in France are quite different.

Q. So the answer is no?

A. We don't "institute" or instigate revolts. Revolts or demonstrations and massive actions of that kind aren't instigated by anybody. They arise out of the conditions that are created by capitalism itself as it did in France.

Wilmington Ten

"There should be no question in anyone's mind that the Wilmington Ten should have a new trial," said Imani Kazana, coordinator of the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee.

Kazana spoke to the *Militant* a few hours after lawyers for the ten had filed a sworn statement by the state's key witness. (See story on page 16.) The witness said the case was a frame-up from the word go.

Rev. Ben Chavis and nine other civil rights activists were convicted on arson and conspiracy charges after a February 1971 siege of the Wilmington, North Carolina, Black community. A motion for their release is now before the federal courts.

"The committee is planning a petition drive addressed to the judge, urging him to act immediately on this new information and immediately grant bail for the ten," Kazana said.

"It's going to be particularly important to have nationally coordinated efforts around the country," she added. "The ten haven't gotten any justice from the courts so far, and national attention will make sure they get it."

Kazana said the committee is also planning a conference in Washington, D.C., on November 6. Anyone interested in the case is invited to attend.

For further information on how you can help free the Wilmington Ten, please contact: 1851 Ninth Street NW, Room 104, Washington, D.C. 20001. Telephone: (202) 387-3313.

Endorse Camejo

You don't have to wait for the November 2 voting booth to make your choice known.

Caught in an election year marked by racist insults, flip-flops, and trivia, some voters have decided there is an alternative. They are backing Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid of the Socialist Workers party for president and vice-president.

And they are publicly urging others to do the same.

The SWP has recently launched a drive to get endorsements for Camejo and Reid. The results so far show that an unprecedented number of prominent activists are prepared to endorse the SWP slate.

Chicano leaders have been especially willing to endorse, saying a vote for the socialist ticket is a vote for the cause of *la raza*.

We urge *Militant* readers to endorse the SWP campaign. Contact activists you know and ask them to endorse Camejo and Reid.

Carter has the backing of George Wallace. Ford has Earl Butz. Camejo and Reid deserve the endorsement of everyone who wants an alternative on election day to the two parties of war, racism, and sexism.

Round II: we lose

On the eve of the second "Great Debate"—this one on foreign policy—a congressional committee released a study on the *Mayagüez* affair.

The *Mayagüez* was a U.S. cargo vessel with a crew of forty that was captured in May 1975 by Cambodians after it sailed into their waters. Forty-one American servicemen and an unknown number of Cambodians were killed when Ford arrogantly ordered a military "rescue" of the ship.

The episode happened shortly after U.S. forces had finally been pushed out of Indochina. Ford, smarting from the defeat, was looking for a chance to demonstrate U.S. readiness to use military force.

The congressional study was critical of Ford's handling of the affair. It said the administration ignored evidence that the ship was about to be released and that "the Cambodians might be working out a political solution."

Many Americans may have expected Jimmy Carter to try to score points on this issue. But he didn't.

Actually, Carter was in a poor position to criticize Ford, since he had voiced support for the administration at the time of the incident.

The debates in general, and this episode in particular, underscore the bipartisan character of U.S. foreign policy. It serves as a reminder that both ruling party candidates are prepared to engage in reckless adventures—including the risk of nuclear destruction—to ensure imperialist world domination.

What he said

You are my last hope to ever find out what words Earl Butz actually used during that plane flight. It appears that our two local rags as well as the local TV and radio stations look upon the public as Sunday school students who must not by all means become familiar with the harsh realities of life. A.S.

Cincinnati, Ohio

Covering their Butz

The October 15 *Militant* pointed out that most big-business-owned newspapers lent archbigot Earl Butz a helping hand by refusing to print in full his outrageous anti-Black slurs. I thought *Militant* readers would be interested in a short article about this press cover-up that appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*.

According to the article, the Associated Press sent out the full quotation, but only the Madison, Wisconsin, *Capital Times* picked it up. The managing editor of the *Capital Times* explained: "We think readers have the right to know exactly what Mr. Butz said . . . the paraphrasing we've seen doesn't carry off the same meaning as the actual words."

Two London papers also carried the entire racist insult.

The Washington *Post*, Washington *Star*, and Des Moines *Register* used the remark, in an edited fashion. The *Register* replaced two words with "obscenity" and "vulgarism," explaining that the former was a "sexual term" and the latter an "excretory" one.

Other newspapers gave even less of an idea what Butz really said. The *New York Times* simply noted that Butz had used "obscene, derogatory and scatological terms."

The Erie, Pennsylvania, *Morning News* and a Lubbock, Texas, newspaper each invited readers to come to their offices and read the full quote if they wished. According to the *Wall Street Journal* article, "More than 50 showed up in Erie and some 200 jammed into the offices of The Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, one farmer and his wife driving 70 miles to see it."

One paper not mentioned in the *Journal* account is the Communist party's *Daily World*. It too refused to print the remark, saying that it "cannot be printed in a family newspaper."

The Maoist *Guardian* also failed to print Butz's actual words.

For my part, I can't see why the press should cover up for Butz and other racist and sexist politicians. The American people have a right to know how these hucksters really feel about us. N.E.

Hoboken, New Jersey

Carter and Chicanos

A month ago it was announced that the "Viva Carter" campaign was to be put on ice. Carter felt confident that he had the Chicano vote in his hip pocket. He saw no need to make a special appeal to them.

But, considering the latest flop, Howdy Doody may have to flip his decision and take the "Viva Carter" out of the deep-freeze.

Expecting thousands more than actually showed up, Carter was disappointed and embarrassed when he spoke in a Latino community in Southern California on Sunday, September 26.

To correct the problem, Carter fired his Hispanic adviser, Alex Aguiar. He appointed another "vendido," Rich Hernández from Houston, to take his place.

But as Chicano Democrat Rich Hernández will soon find out, Jimmy Carter is hard to sell to our community.

How can anyone in their Brown mind and body agree with this gringo politician who favors the farm owners over the farm workers, who favors the deportation of undocumented Mexican workers, and who is opposed to independent political organizations like the Raza Unida party?

Fortunately, Chicanos and other working people will have an alternative in 1976. Most ballots throughout the country will carry the names of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers ticket.

These candidates and the party they represent stand for many of the things that Chicanos struggle for every day of their lives. The right to a job—guaranteed employment. Free education and health care. The right of oppressed minorities to control their communities. An end to the billions wasted on the Pentagon.

These proposals make sense and are not utopian. Chicanos who haven't done so should break with the Democrats and Republicans and vote Socialist Workers in November!

Pedro Vásquez
Houston, Texas

Unprincipled journalism?

Peter Seidman is an unprincipled journalistic prostitute—much like the Buckleys and mass media propagandists—but I need the *Militant*.

D.B.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Expose 'Clean Gene's' record

With the lack of enthusiasm generated by Ford and Carter, it seems that Eugene McCarthy's campaign is picking up support.

How about a full exposé of "Clean Gene's" record in politics? Also, while petitioning for Socialist Workers party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid many of us ran into petitioners for the candidates of the Libertarian party. Where did this group come from and what are its politics?

Dennis Brasky
Chicago, Illinois

Human Rights party

The Human Rights party, the Michigan affiliate of the People's party, has been considered by many radicals in this state to be a more viable alternative to the Republicans and Democrats than the Socialist Workers party. The HRP has gained this reputation in part because of its success over the past few years in winning elections to city council in Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti.

In the past the SWP has criticized the HRP for not representing a clear break with capitalist politics. The recent behavior of HRP leader Zolton Ferency confirms that analysis.

Ferency was at one time the chairman of the Michigan Democratic party. He broke with the Democrats over the question of the Vietnam War and helped found the HRP. In 1974 he

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Omens of change in UFT

[The following guest column was written by Lou Howort, a teacher at Grady High School in Brooklyn and a member of the United Federation of Teachers.]

NEW YORK—The United Federation of Teachers held a special Delegate Assembly September 29 to discuss the recent layoffs. Winds of change blew a fresh breeze through the meeting. A shift in the mood of the delegates was apparent from the higher than usual percentage of delegates who voted against motions backed by UFT President Albert Shanker. Although Shanker didn't lose on any vote of substance, one hotly debated procedural motion did go against him.

One Shankerite resolution called for the UFT to "work closely . . . to ensure the election of a Democratic President of the United States and a Democratic Senator from the State of New York." A delegate counterposed a resolution opposing reliance on Democratic party politicians and calling for independent political action.

It was not remarkable that the substitute motion lost. But the fact that delegates took it seriously showed that things had changed. They did not perceive it as an unrealistic radical pipe dream but as a possible alternative strategy. Longtime observers of the UFT could not remember anything like this.

Outside the meeting, fifty laid-off teachers demonstrated. They protested the union leadership's refusal to fight the layoffs.

The erosion of Shanker's support began last year. The latest round of 3,800 layoffs and further deterioration of working conditions have added fuel to the opposition.

A year ago, in September 1975, Shanker reluctantly called the teachers out on strike. It was the most solid strike in UFT history. The first noticeable erosion of support for Shanker came when he asked the Delegate Assembly to vote to end the strike. About 40 percent voted against him. A month later about one-third of the membership voted against accepting the contract.

For ten years preceding this strike the Shanker bureaucracy had grown strong, supported by teachers' belief that it could deliver for them. Shanker fostered the illusion that contractual gains were won because of his skill as a maneuverer with the politicians.

But then the period of relative economic prosperity ended. The corporations and banks, acting through their two political parties, decided to cut back on "luxuries" such as public education. And suddenly "Big Al" couldn't deliver the goods.

Fifteen thousand teachers have been laid off in New York City. The quality of education has plummeted. The school day has been cut. Class sizes are often higher than the contractual limit. Counseling and remedial help have been curtailed severely. Courses have been eliminated. And on and on and on.

More and more teachers are realizing that Shanker's policy of relying on Democratic and Republican party politicians is a dead-end strategy.

The formation of the first new opposition caucus in the UFT in many years was recently announced. If these teachers are able to democratically develop a program to defend the schools through united action of teachers and the Black and Puerto Rican communities, then the days of the Shanker bureaucracy are numbered.

In this light, the September 29 Delegate Assembly may be an omen of significant change in the UFT.

was the HRP candidate for governor. This year he was nominated by the HRP to run for state supreme court justice.

In August, the Democratic party held its state convention, and who should we find there wheeling and dealing with his former associates but Zolton Ferency! Ferency wanted the Democrats to nominate him for the supreme court, promising that if they did so he would drop his HRP candidacy and threatening that if they didn't he would split the vote in a three-way contest, thus throwing the election to the Republicans.

Although the Democratic party bosses did not go along with Ferency's strategy, Ferency exposed himself as an opportunist, ready to lead his followers back into the Democratic party to win a nice job for himself.

Ferency and some other HRP leaders see their party as a pressure group to force change within the Democratic party. Many rank-and-file HRP activists, however, consider themselves socialists and want to build a party that is truly independent of the capitalist parties. These activists should learn from this experience that the HRP is a diversion from their goal and, instead, consider joining the Socialist Workers party, the real alternative to capitalist politics.

Tim Craine
Detroit, Michigan

Dynamite

I think your paper is a dynamite publication and I'd like to say right on! A prisoner
Pennsylvania

'We do it all for you . . .'

Did you know that McDonalds throws out perfectly good meat every day? Their burgers are precooked and then allowed to sit on the shelf for just so long and, if they are not sold, they are disposed of.

You would think they might give these unwanted burgers away to the poor or to, perhaps, their own employees. Not on your life! Unlike most waiters and waitresses, McDonalds' employees *never* get a free snack. Full-time employees are allowed to buy burgers at half price *provided* they eat them there at the store. If they take them home, they have to pay full price, just like everyone else.

Well, not quite everyone. Los Angeles Police Department cops get their Big Macs *free*. Employees are instructed that they are only allowed one per customer. But if a cop wants to get another Big Mac for his buddy, employees are instructed to trust them because they are presumed honest.

Meanwhile, tight security exists to prevent employees from stealing any food for themselves. They actually have to exit by one particular door so they can be watched and, if they are caught with one Big Mac, it means *instant dismissal*.

Terry Kolb
Inglewood, California

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

The American Way of Life

Profits from a sick society

BERKELEY, Calif.—Few people in this country are surprised at the revelations of fraud being committed against Medicaid by the medical profession and all its ancillaries.

Medicaid is a federal, state, and local program to pay medical bills for the poor. It came into being in 1966 as Title XVIII of the Medicare Act. Under its umbrella provisions, the medical bills of that great middle level of Americans—those who could maintain their own living costs *except for medical care*—were to be taken care of if their earned income levels were low enough.

Through loopholes in Title XVIII, the welfare departments in most large cities were able to dump three-quarters of their welfare-medical costs into the program. After that they forgot these people, never bothering to see that they were receiving proper care.

The first year, 1966, there were 20 million low-income people eligible for care under the program. This figure apparently has remained more or less constant, but the costs have gone up from \$1.5 billion to more than \$15 billion!

Much of this tremendous increase in costs can be laid to outright fraud by doctors—bills for services not rendered, unnecessary laboratory work, and misdiagnoses of serious diseases to keep patients running back for "treatment" and more diagnoses.

"Medicaid mills," storefront clinics in poor neighborhoods, sprang up like mushrooms in damp soil. These mills are composed of various unrelated specialists who began the practice of "ping-ponging" each patient through the whole clinic no matter what the unwitting patient came in for. Whoever saw the patient first literally put him or her on a beltline.

One New York welfare mother of five took her small daughter into such a clinic because the child had a bad cold. Hours later all six of the family emerged—having been ping-ponged from a general practitioner to a podiatrist, thence to a chiropractor who "adjusted" each one's back, to an optometrist and finally to a dentist. The sick child was still sick. Medicaid paid \$100.

A methadone clinic doctor who also owned a Medicaid mill forced his patients to report to his other "clinic" for the whole works or lose their methadone for the day. He did this every three months, far too

frequently for anyone to be submitted to these diagnostic tests.

Sen. Frank Moss, head of the Senate Committee on Aging, conducted an investigation into these Medicaid mills. He and several of his aides presented themselves to different storefront clinics, posing as indigent patients. Before they began this project each participant was examined by a Capitol physician and declared to be in perfect health.

They came out of the ordeal with a plethora of serious, sometimes fatal disease diagnoses and "bushels full of prescriptions" with specific instructions where they should be filled. They were ping-ponged to neurologists, gynecologists, psychiatrists, podiatrists, dentists, ophthalmologists, and even *pediatricians*.

Moss's committee reported that many of these medical shysters make as much as \$100,000 a year. And this is after they pay the entrepreneurs who set up the clinics as much as 60 percent of their take. The actual owners rent office space and the use of medical equipment to the clinic "staff."

And this is also after they turn over their accounts-receivable to collection agencies for another high percentage.

One result of the Moss committee's report was an edict from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare September 4 forbidding Medicaid doctors from selling their accounts to collection agencies.

But the congressional exposés of Medicaid fraud have not been accompanied by legislation to guarantee free, high-quality medical care for the poor. On the contrary, austerity-minded capitalist politicians have tried to turn indignation against these abuses into popular support for cutbacks in funding.

This approach will, of course, penalize the sick and indigent, not the unscrupulous physicians. The easiest, surest way to end Medicaid fraud is to remove medical care from the private-profit system that breeds corruption.

Health care should be provided as a basic human right. That right can only be won through a fight for completely socialized medicine—as part of a political fight for a socialized economic system, a system under which control of all phases of social and economic life will be vested *in the people, for the people*.

—Marvel Scholl

Thirty-nine dead, hundreds wounded

Thai students brutalized in military coup

By Ernest Harsch

From Intercontinental Press

When the Thai military seized power October 6, their first move was to attempt to crush the student movement.

Thousands of students, led by the National Student Center of Thailand (NSCT), had occupied Thammasat University in Bangkok to protest the refusal of Prime Minister Seni Pramoj to expel or arrest former military dictator Thanom Kittikachorn.* Thammasat has long been the center of the Thai student movement.

The police claimed that they were fired on when they went to negotiate with the protesting students. The police then withdrew. *Washington Post* correspondent Lewis M. Simons reported in an October 6 dispatch from Bangkok that the police returned an hour later "having received clearance from Prime Minister Seni and, according to one informed source, 'Even higher.'"

What followed was a cold-blooded massacre. Units of airborne, border patrol, marine, riot, and other specialized police blanketed the campus with heavy automatic weapons fire for four hours. "At times," Simons reported, "it reached a deafening crescendo as policemen let off thousands of rounds."

One team of airborne police fired an eight-foot-long recoilless rifle, which is normally used as an antitank weapon, at a student-occupied building. Police sharpshooters armed with high-powered rifles and sniper scopes shot down individual students.

'Out for blood'

The police clearly had orders to kill. Simons quoted a photographer, who had spent four years in Vietnam, as commenting, "They were out for blood. It was the worst firefight I've ever seen."

The police were aided in their butchery by a crowd of several thousand rightists, who surrounded the university grounds. Armed with rifles, handguns, swords, and clubs, the rightists fired into the campus and attacked students trying to escape the bloodbath.

The October 7 New York Daily News



reported that two students "were hanged by rightists, who gouged out their eyes with sticks and cut their throats. Another victim was decapitated."

According to Simons, "Two escapees were snatched and beaten to near-death before being hanged from a tree on the edge of the Pramaine Grounds [next to Thammasat University]. Then they, along with two others who were badly beaten but still alive, were doused in gasoline and set aflame to the cheers and applause of the mob."

According to the official death toll, thirty-nine persons, most of them

*Thanom, who was ousted in October 1973 by the massive student and labor upsurge, had returned to Thailand two weeks earlier, allegedly to become a Buddhist monk.



COLD-BLOODED MASSACRE: Police units blasted Thammasat University in Bangkok with heavy automatic weapons fire for four hours.

students, were killed during the siege of the university. Hundreds were wounded.

After the police gunfire finally died down, the survivors were herded onto a soccer field in the center of the campus. Simons described what followed:

Swinging rifle butts and kicking with heavy, booted feet, the police forced the male students to strip to the waist and discard their shoes, watches, eyeglasses and religious medallions. "They're Communists," explained one sweating policeman. . . .

The students were forced to crawl on their bellies to the center of the field where they were ordered to lie face down, their hands locked behind their heads. Three white-coated doctors stood by for more than two hours and watched the wounded, many of them bleeding profusely as flies buzzed around them in the broiling sun. . . .

Finally, at about 1 p.m., as a torrential monsoon cloudburst hit, the last of the students were booted onto packed buses and shunted to a police training center on the outskirts of the capital for interrogation.

On October 8, heavily armed soldiers returned to Thammasat and forced out the last remaining students who had continued to hold out since the initial assault. According to an official announcement the same day, more than 3,000 persons, most of them students, were arrested at the university immediately after the police attack and throughout the city in the days that followed.

Eliminate opposition

Although the military was not directly involved in the assault on Thammasat University, the massacre was clearly the first step in the planned coup. Within a few hours a military junta, headed by Adm. Sa-ngad Chaloryu, had seized power and ousted the civilian regime of Seni Pramoj. The bloodbath at the university was designed to eliminate the most vocal source of opposition to the restoration of direct military rule.

The Thai student movement has been a continual critic of the civilian government and of the military hierarchy and has been a powerful political force in the country for nearly three years.

In October 1973, tens of thousands of university and high-school students held protests organized by the NSCT in defiance of the military regime of

Thanom Kittikachorn and Praphas Charusathien. They demanded the release of arrested student leaders and called for a new constitution. More than seventy students and youths died when troops attempted to crush the demonstrations.

Dictatorship toppled

The clashes ignited a massive popular upsurge in Bangkok, in which a million or more persons poured into the streets to express their hatred of the military regime. Within a few days the dictatorship was toppled, Thanom and Praphas fled the country, and a civilian regime was installed.

Although the new government still retained many officials from the old dictatorship and the military wielded considerable influence behind the scenes, the civilian regime was forced to make concessions in face of continued student mobilizations.

The students staged protests against corrupt officials, against CIA involvement in Thailand, and against a visit by Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka to Bangkok in January 1974. They helped organize trade unions and peasant associations and actively supported strikes. In August 1975, the NSCT forced the regime to release several arrested student and peasant leaders. And in March 1976, Thai students organized mass demonstrations demanding the withdrawal of the last 4,000 American troops from the

country. A few days later the premier ordered their withdrawal.

When the hated generals tried to come back to Thailand, the students again mobilized. Thanom attempted to return in December 1974, but was chased out after three days of demonstrations. A similar fate befell Praphas in August 1976. However, the student actions against Thanom's second effort to return were cut off by the coup.

The independent mass actions of the student groups, trade unions, and peasant associations that followed the October 1973 upsurge were a source of concern for the Thai ruling class, which did not let these mobilizations go unchecked.

Repression

Assassinations and terrorist attacks against political, labor, and peasant activists began about a year after the upsurge and reached a high point in the months preceding the coup. Dozens of persons were shot down in Bangkok and in the provinces. In February, Boonsanong Punyodyana, the general secretary of the Socialist party, became the most prominent victim of the terror squads. Two of the rightist paramilitary groups, the Red Gaurs and Navapol, have direct links with the military (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 29, 1976, p. 505).

Norman Peagam reported in the March 12 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "According to some observers these attacks, apparently aimed at all groups which stand for social and economic reform, could be designed to contribute to an atmosphere of chaos, instability and insecurity in order to serve as a pretext for military intervention."

By mid-1976, the Thai ruling class had apparently decided that it was time for the military to intervene openly. Simons reported from Bangkok July 23, "Most Thai businessmen would welcome the law and order of a military-supported government, if not an extreme return to the type of military dictatorships that ruled the country for 35 years."

Carefully planned

In an October 7 dispatch from Bangkok, *New York Times* reporter David A. Andelman confirmed that the coup had been carefully prepared months in advance: "Sources close to



Admiral Sa-ngad Chaloryu: led coup

the junta said tonight that the first nine major directives the body issued had been drafted in January."

Among those directives were the abolition of the constitution, the dismissal of all government ministers, the banning of all political parties, the outlawing of all political meetings of more than five persons, and the imposition of censorship of the press. Prime Minister Seni was briefly arrested and a midnight-to-dawn curfew was imposed for one night. Police swept through newsrooms collecting "subversive" literature.

A twenty-four-year-old anti-Communist law, which provides for the death penalty by court-martial, was reimposed. According to Andelman, it is expected that the students will be tried before military tribunals.

Trying to justify the coup, Sa-ngad declared October 6, "This is for the survival of the country and to prevent Thailand from falling into Communist imperialism." He said that "Vietnamese Communist terrorists" were involved in the student actions, and police claimed that several "Vietnamese-looking" youth were among those arrested.

Civilian cover

In face of widespread opposition to direct military rule, the generals have apparently decided to adopt a civilian cover. Sa-ngad announced late on October 8 that King Phumiphol Aduldet had appointed Thanin Kraivichien as the new prime minister. He said that Thanin would take office within two weeks after a full cabinet had been appointed and the situation in the country had been "stabilized."

According to Andelman, in an October 9 dispatch, Thanin stressed in his first speech that the new regime's priorities included the fight against "Communism" and an end to attempts to change the country's constitutional monarchy.

Andelman reported in the October 8 *New York Times* that it was thought



Seni Pramoj: ousted

that the generals "would lean far more closely to the West and particularly the United States than the ousted Government of Prime Minister Seni Pramoj. . . ."

U.S. role

That would not be surprising. The Thai generals were armed and trained by Washington.

During the height of the Vietnam War, more than 50,000 American troops were stationed in Thailand and many of the massive bombing raids over Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos were launched from the seven American air bases in the country. Although these forces were withdrawn from Thailand after the collapse of the U.S.-backed regimes in South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos in 1975, about 270 American advisers remain in the country. The Thai military is to receive \$54.1 million in American assistance this year.

Washington did not hesitate to signal its approval of the military coup. According to the October 7 *Daily News*, "A U.S. official in Bangkok said the U.S. would work toward good relations with the coup leaders. . . ."

Puerto Ricans in N.J. to discuss running independent candidates

By Richie Ariza

NEWARK—The October 23-24 convention of the Congreso Boricua de Nueva Jersey (Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey) will consider a resolution calling on Puerto Ricans to launch election campaigns independent of the major parties.

A September 18 preconvention meeting in Newark voted to put the resolution before the October gathering.

The Congreso Boricua is a statewide organization that coordinates

Richie Ariza is a member of the Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey. He works at La Casa de Don Pedro, a community center in Newark.

government-funded agencies serving Hispanics. The Congreso also directly serves Puerto Ricans in the areas of housing, education, and day care. It has intervened in legal actions on behalf of Puerto Ricans.

The Congreso receives funds from many sources, including the government. As a result the Congreso itself cannot endorse or support candidates for public office. But this would not prevent it from adopting the Newark resolution.

The effects of the economic crisis on Puerto Ricans in New Jersey and cutbacks in social services have led to widespread discussion about the role of Puerto Ricans in politics.

Many people once thought that the poverty agencies in the Puerto Rican community would bring about substantive change. But the limitations and inadequacies of these agencies are now obvious to many who have worked with them.

As a result, some of the more experienced agency functionaries and young Puerto Ricans who have been trying to change things through these agencies are now turning to politics.

These activists see the gross underrepresentation of Puerto Ricans at all levels of the New Jersey government as a major factor in the unresponsiveness of the government to their people's problems.

At least fifty-five Puerto Ricans plan to run for state government posts in 1977, according to the Congreso. In addition, Puerto Rican leaders in Hoboken and other municipalities are discussing campaigns for mayor and city council posts.

Many still see the Democratic party as the only vehicle through which Puerto Ricans can gain representation in government.

But the few Puerto Ricans who the Democrats have put in public office have not made any real difference. They have all ended up answering to the Democratic party for their actions rather than to the people in the community.

For example, these Democrats promoted and helped pass the new state income tax on the pretext that it would

avert more cutbacks. So, instead of cutting social services, they cut take-home pay.

The resolution passed by the Newark meeting points the way forward.

Puerto Ricans have made gains in New Jersey only when they have struggled for them. They fought for, and won, bilingual programs and Puerto Rican studies in the schools. These kinds of struggles, based on community organizations, should now be extended to the arena of the elections.

Puerto Rican candidates nominated by a coalition of community organizations could put forward demands and raise issues essential to the community. Such an election campaign could popularize these demands and organize the communities to demonstrate for them.

Whether the candidates win or lose, the community would be better organized and more politically aware.

Since the Congreso cannot run or support candidates, it will not be in a position to carry out what the resolution says must be done. But the Congreso can make a contribution by organizing more protests like the one held last April—some 2,000 Puerto Ricans demonstrated against cutbacks in Trenton, the state capital.

By supporting the idea of running independent candidates, the convention will help broaden the discussion around this concept and help popularize it.

San Antonio conference hits racist campaign against 'illegal aliens'

By David Salner

SAN ANTONIO—The immigration policies of the U.S. government are racist and must be challenged by organizing a movement in defense of workers without immigration visas—the so-called illegal aliens.

This theme emerged at a "Symposium on Immigration Issues and the Law," held here at Our Lady of the Lake University October 1-2. Seventy people attended the conference.

The symposium was initiated by the Nacho Pérez Defense Committee. (Pérez is one of two San Antonio activists who have been indicted for "shielding illegal aliens." Pérez is free on bond and no date has been set for his trial. The other activist, Mario Cantú, was sentenced September 27 to five years' probation and a \$3,000 fine.)

Other supporters of the event included: Mexican American Students Organization chapters at the University of Texas, San Antonio, and at St. Mary's University; Six Parish Coal-

ition, a Catholic church group; *Caracol* magazine; Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund; and American Civil Liberties Union.

Also, Bexar County Raza Unida party; San Antonio Socialist Workers party; San Antonio CASA; Mexican American Cultural Center; and Bishop Patrick Flores of the San Antonio Catholic Archdiocese.

The symposium began the evening of October 1 with the showing of *The Unwanted*, a film about undocumented workers.

Gilberto Cárdenas, director of the Mexican-American Studies Center at the University of Texas at Austin, spoke the following morning.

"We need to reevaluate public policies concerning immigration, economy, and basic human rights," Cárdenas declared.

"Mexican aliens are blamed for all social problems," he said. "And the INS is the major proponent for this attitude." The INS is the U.S. Immi-

gration and Naturalization Service.

Former Texas State Sen. Joe Bernal also spoke. He blasted the discriminatory enforcement of immigration laws.

"When the United States has a need for cheap labor, it pulls in immigrants," Bernal charged.

"But when the United States is in a recession—as it has been the past four or five years—it pushes them out."

Antonio Rodríguez, a national leader of CASA, also spoke. He pointed to examples of opposition to immigration cops by union members.

A statement by Pedro Vázquez, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate in Texas, also discussed the role of unions.

"We must help to turn our unions into organizations that fight in behalf of all working people—including those without documents," Vázquez said.

Vázquez and supporters of his campaign distributed the statement at the conference.

"Through picket lines, demonstrations, and conferences," Vázquez said, "we can begin to build an independent movement that can stop these racist attacks once and for all."

Participants attended workshops after the morning talks, then met again for a final plenary session.

Several proposals for organizing against the INS were discussed in workshops and approved by the general meeting.

Emilio Nicolás, general manager of TV station KWEX in San Antonio, was the last speaker at the conference.

He blasted the news media for slandering undocumented workers and those—like Mario Cantú and Nacho Pérez—who have come to the defense of the so-called illegals.

Nicolás said the campaign against these activists is aimed at all Chicanos and *mexicanos* and must be answered.



Militant/Miguel Pendás

400 rally for Mass. referendum

Activists set plans to turn out majority ERA vote

By Anne Teesdale

BOSTON—An enthusiastic rally of nearly 400 women's rights supporters took place at Boston University October 1. It was part of a campaign to organize a massive "yes" vote for Question 1 on the November ballot—an Equal Rights Amendment to the state constitution. The Action Coalition for the ERA and Boston University Student Union sponsored the rally and workshops the next day.

A poll in the September 26 Boston *Herald American* showed 87 percent of the voters supporting the ERA. Among Blacks, support shoots up to 97 percent.

We have to "turn that majority sentiment into a majority 'yes' vote on November 2," said Ellen Bobroff of the Action Coalition. She reminded the rally that polls taken in New York and New Jersey last year also showed overwhelming support for similar ERA referenda in those states. "But the amendments were defeated by a concerted eleventh-hour anti-ERA campaign," she warned.

A movement to stop the Massachusetts ERA is picking up steam. Phyllis Schlafly, national spokesperson for anti-ERA forces, has said, "A defeat in Massachusetts would sound the death knell to the federal amendment as well."

Bobroff told the crowd, "We have to get out hundreds of thousands of pieces of literature. We have to debate the issues with our opponents. Each of us has to get involved."

"The most ardent supporters of equal rights are young, Blacks, women, students—those most disillusioned with politics today. We have to convince them that this is a vote that really counts."

Robin Taylor, president of the Boston National Organization for Women (NOW), echoed this sentiment when she said, "A non-vote is really a 'no' vote for the ERA."

Brenda Eichelberger, executive director of the National Alliance of Black Feminists and keynote speaker, said, "There are some who say the Black woman is already liberated, so why do we need the ERA?"

The only kind of "liberation" for Black women, she explained, has been to work harder and "to earn less income than the white man, the Black man, and the white woman. . . .

"The Black woman needs the ERA," she continued. "Why? Because just as



Boston demonstrators determined to win ballot Question 1

Militant/Anne Teesdale

she needed an amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing her rights as a Black she needs an amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing her rights as a woman."

Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, stressed the importance of feminists and Black rights supporters uniting against a common enemy. He described a recent rally of 1,000 organized by ROAR, the chief antibusing group, that denounced "busing, abortion, and the ERA."

Dixon continued, "Another example that divides those for progress and those against it is the current upheaval in South Africa. . . . Now anyone with an ounce of humanity in their body should support the struggle of Blacks in South Africa. But Phyllis Schlafly has just recently announced her support to the apartheid regime and Prime Minister Vorster."

"Yes, we have common enemies," Dixon declared. "We should join to-

gether to defeat them."

Carol Henderson Evans, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate, urged activists to organize their own massive, united movement instead of relying on hypocritical politicians.

"Just yesterday," Evans said, "Democratic and Republican politicians in Congress—many who say they support the ERA—succeeded in dealing a devastating blow to our most fundamental right: the right to control our own bodies. They passed legislation that prohibits the use of Medicaid funds for abortions."

The struggles to preserve abortion rights and to ratify the ERA are tied together, Evans said. She cited the "so-called right-to-life groups" as the most vocal ERA opponents.

Other speakers at the rally included Diane Gallagher, Committee to Ratify the ERA; Peg McCarter, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; State Representatives Elaine

Noble, Lois Pines, and John Bussinger; Black attorney Theodore Landsmark, who was injured by an American-flag-wielding racist earlier this year; and Donna Ricci, "9 to 5" office workers organization. Jody Curran of the Action Coalition chaired the rally.

One hundred activists participated in the Saturday workshops on strategy for winning the ERA, organizing campus ERA committees, Black women and the ERA, gay women, affirmative action, organizing women in unions, protective legislation, and other topics.

The workshops planned for a week of activities October 28 through November 2 to help turn out a winning "yes" vote on Question 1. Suggestions for events included organizing pro-ERA forums and debates with ERA opponents, distributing fact sheets on the ERA, and helping NOW leaflet the polls on election day.

NYC District 2 board suspended

School boss cracks down on anticutback drive

By Charles Cummings

NEW YORK—On October 6, New York City Chancellor Irving Anker suspended the elected community school board of School District Two, the largest school district in Manhattan.

Anker was responding to a protest against cutbacks by the district board. The board had voted to close its schools October 18 to dramatize a "state of emergency in education."

Since 1974 the city government has slashed tens of millions of dollars from New York City's education budget. School authorities have eliminated 15,000 teaching positions.

Angry parents of public-school children have been protesting these massive cutbacks for more than a year, but the actions—while militant—have been uncoordinated and localized, and therefore with only limited impact.

This September, however, parent organizations in the city's School District Two initiated a well-planned course of action aimed at mobilizing

parents and teachers in a city-wide movement to fight the cuts.

District Two, one of thirty-two community school districts in New York City, includes twenty-eight schools with some 21,500 pupils. Militant parents from several of the schools began pressing a proposal to call on the district board to close the schools under its jurisdiction and keep them shut until the budget cuts are restored and the teachers rehired.

On September 16, at a stormy public meeting attended by 250 parents, the board voted to go along with the parents' plan. The board set the closing for October 18 as the parents had suggested. This was designed to allow time for a campaign to extend the shutdown movement to other districts.

District Two parents established a speakers bureau and notified the parent associations of nearly a thousand New York City public schools of their desire to address meetings, ex-

plain issues, and solicit involvement.

Requests for speakers began to roll in and District Two parent activists went to all parts of the city to speak. Several other district boards indicated sympathy with the action.

The momentum that was developing apparently frightened the city government. On October 6, Chancellor Anker ousted the District Two Community School Board members from office ("indefinite suspension"). He also over-turned their order for an October 18 school closing.

Anker's extreme action was a blow to the supposedly decentralized structure of New York City's schools. By brushing District Two's board aside with the wave of a hand, Anker has exposed the narrow limits of power at the local board level.

In response to Anker's suspension order, an organization representing twenty-eight of New York City's thirty-two community school boards went on record in favor of a one-day city-wide

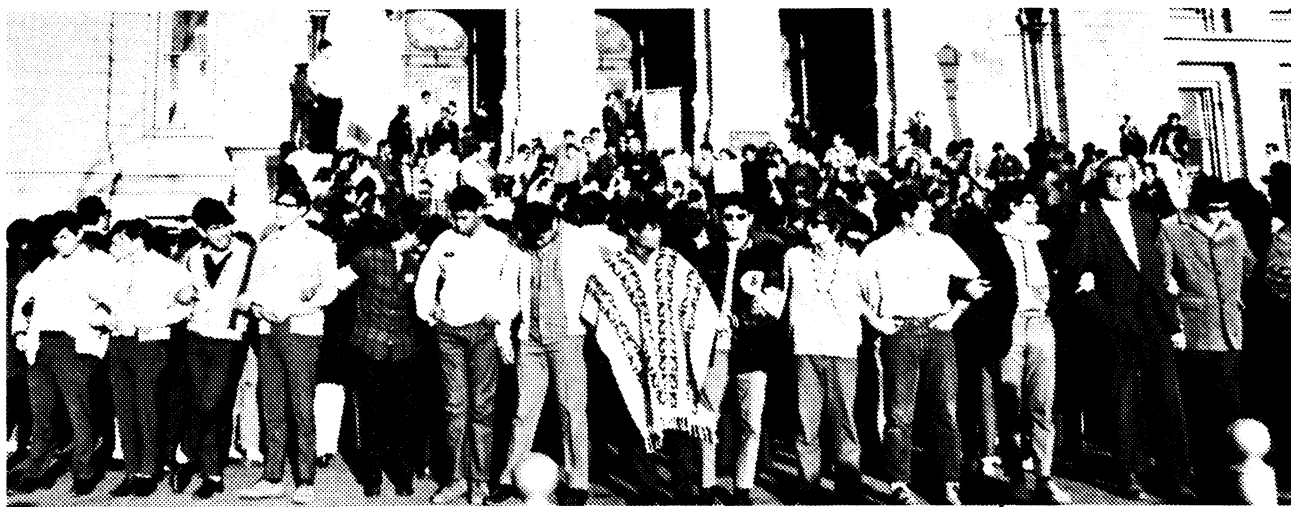
school shutdown on October 19.

District Two parent leaders welcomed this call. They see it as a focus for the effort to build a city-wide movement to close the schools—although they say they will keep pushing for an indefinite shutdown until demands are met, rather than a one-day protest.

On October 8, the District Two Parents' Coordinating Committee held a well-attended news conference.

Their statement called on "parents in all school districts of the city, whose children also attend seriously deficient public schools, to join with us in a broad-based, responsible, massive, and resolute force that can make its demands heard and restore to our children the quality of education that is rightfully theirs."

The statement urged "a united movement of parents, teachers, and school boards to restore quality education. We can fight 'city hall.' And for the sake of our children, we must."



Demonstration by Chicano Youth Liberation Conference outside Colorado state capitol in 1969 had big impact on Archuleta and other leaders of La Raza Unida party in New Mexico.

Raza Unida in New Mexico | Evolution of a Chicano leader

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—In the fall of 1969 New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas had a new student. His name was Manuel Archuleta. A fellow student, Juan José Peña, vividly recalls the first time he saw Archuleta on campus.

"He had a beard," Peña says, "and was wearing a beret and a long trench coat with a Che Guevara patch on the arm. I said to myself, 'Man, who is this?'"

Today Archuleta and Peña are close friends and active political collaborators. Peña, director of Chicano studies at Highlands, is chairperson of the

This interview by Harry Ring was conducted during a trip he and Arnold Weissberg made to New Mexico for the Militant Southwest Bureau.

New Mexico Raza Unida party. Archuleta is chairperson of the party for San Miguel County, of which Las Vegas is the seat.

I met Archuleta during a visit to New Mexico this spring. He seems quite different from Peña's first recollection of him. The beard and trench coat are gone. At home with his family he seems quite settled down.

But not really. Archuleta is no less radical than he was seven years ago. If anything his radicalism goes deeper because it's a lot more thought out.

Today he's convinced it will take a well-organized mass movement to win Chicano liberation. He is also convinced that full liberation cannot be achieved under capitalism and he's for socialism.

Archuleta grew up in Espanola, about ninety miles northwest of Las Vegas. In 1966 he moved to Los Angeles and got a job at Douglas aircraft.

He learned from the experience. Although he didn't become actively involved, he did attend union meetings.

Nation of Islam influence

And there was a Black man in his department who was a member of the Nation of Islam. He talked with Archuleta and did a lot to convince him that he should take pride in his Chicano identity and his *mestizo* ancestry.

A year in Vietnam deepened Archuleta's consciousness.

It was at Highlands, where he enrolled on the GI bill, that he got actively involved in the movement.

Archuleta was one of the initial group to establish the Raza Unida party in New Mexico.

"We would have turned out to be Democratic doorbell pushers," he said. "We used to hang out with them. They're good people, you know, as far as when you're in a bar. They joke with you, drink beer with you, even buy you beer. They like to keep you in their fold."

"But then we got involved with the *partido*," he continued, "and right away we saw the difference."

They went into the community to build the RUP. And that wasn't easy at first.

"We were really afraid of the community," he said. "It was a lot less risky at the university. We had more roots among the students."

"In the community you had to face having the influence of the church against you, having the influence of tradition against you. And the people you were fighting controlled the jobs."

But they set out anyway. They did an effective job of registering people and won modest votes in municipal elections.

Then they took a very important step forward. They decided it was not enough to build the Raza Unida party simply as a vehicle for contesting in elections. It was necessary to build it as a political movement that functioned on a year-round basis. They did that in Las Vegas and began organizing throughout the state on the same basis.

Political questions became more sharply posed.

"We started getting involved in issues that were directed against the institutions of this society," Archuleta said. "That separated us even more from the Democratic party."

"We made a lot of mistakes," Archuleta said. He recalled that some in the movement resorted to tactics that could be called violent. "Not a lot, but maybe five or ten."

"And," he continued, "we started labeling people. You were either on this side of the fence or the other. You either came out publicly for us, or we declared against you."



Manuel Archuleta

Denver youth conference

But meanwhile there was a lot going on in the Chicano movement. Perhaps most important for the New Mexico people were the two Chicano youth conferences sponsored by the Crusade for Justice in Denver in 1969 and 1970.

There was wide political debate at these conferences and a variety of radical literature available. The contingent from New Mexico drank it all in.

Archuleta began to realize that with all their rhetoric, and with the individual actions of some, they weren't really as radical as they thought they were. "What we used to think," he said, "was that we wanted a larger piece of the pie. That we wanted the same opportunity that other people—white people—had."

"But I was jarred out of that thinking," he continued. "I think the people in Denver influenced us a lot on that."

"We had a lot of debates about it. We saw that at the university we had gotten a Chicano president and how that didn't really accomplish anything. He did appoint a few more Chicano professors. But we started to see it had to go deeper than that."

"We began reading," he continued. "We had a

member of the Socialist Labor party here who influenced me a lot. He had a complete library of Marx and others and got me reading."

"I'm still refining my ideology," he continued. "It's been a long process, seeing the necessity for changing the whole social system if there's to be justice."

"We began thinking that if we were going to change this system, we wouldn't be able to do it alone. We'd have to get the masses of the people, the majority, to think like we did."

"And we realized," he continued, "that the only way we were going to do this was to convince them, through logic and through our actions, that we were working for their best interests."

"People started telling us what they thought. I'd talk to people on the street and get their feelings."

"We started to realize that if we wanted to organize a mass movement we had to get the people on our side by supporting them and the needs they have."

Macho problem

"That was a long process in itself," Archuleta commented. "Especially because we had a lot of people who were very macho, veterans who fought in Vietnam. They saw the system using violence and they figured it was going to be done that way."

Archuleta added, "The Socialist Workers party, the *Militant*, contributed a lot to people understanding why individual violence doesn't work."

"We spread the *Militant* around," he continued, "also Camejo's pamphlet on ultraleftism.* I could never explain it that well, so I pass it around. I send it to people."

He said that from following the political activity of the SWP he also learned a good deal about how revolutionaries could work to build broader movements without getting co-opted or becoming futile reformers. He said he was also influenced on this point by a book Huey Newton wrote while in prison.

"The Panthers had said, 'Pick up the gun,'" Archuleta explained. "In prison, Newton had a lot of time to reflect on this and how they had been isolated from the Black community. So he said you had to start from where people are and take them a step further, take them as far as they will go. But you have to start at the level they're at."

"That's what we try to do," he explained. "Start at the community's level of consciousness, their level of commitment, and try to convince them to go a little further."

The RUP relates to key issues such as education and job discrimination, he said. And those activists who are socialists like himself also try to explain the relationship between such struggles and the need to abolish capitalism.

"We try to explain why you can't have Chicano culture, Indian culture, Black culture in a capitalist society that's profit oriented."

"So," he continued, "the next question is, 'Are you a communist, a socialist?' I tell them I am. And I explain what that means to me, why it's a more humane system. If you take the trouble to explain it, it doesn't turn people off. It might be a crisis in their thinking. Here they've been taught the system works. It's the best you can get. You can't have a perfect system. It's human nature to be jealous, to be envious."

'Human nature is good'

"So we tell them that human nature is good, that it's almost perfect, that a baby doesn't have all these qualities, all these capitalistic characteristics. The society ingrains them. It teaches people to hate, to kill, to be calloused against things that are happening to everybody."

Another key thing in talking socialism, Archuleta stressed, is to be clear on the question of democracy.

"It took me a long time to deal with it," he said, "but I finally learned that one of the first things people will say is, 'What about Russia?'"

"Well, I tell them Russia has a bureaucratic elite. China has one. That's not what we want. And the system we can have here will be a hell of a lot better."

"I point out the advances that they've made in China, Cuba, and Russia," he continued. "But I don't try to defend these other things."

Archuleta indicated they have a lot of discussion with people who disagree with them from an ultraleft viewpoint. People who favor individual action, who oppose participation in elections as "reformist."

I got the impression he has patience for these discussions because he's been there. He seems to figure that he outgrew it and that others can too.

* *Liberalism, Ultraleftism, or Mass Action* by Peter Camejo. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. 16 pp., 35 cents.

Key witness in racist frame-up admits he lied

By José G. Pérez

The key witness against Rev. Ben Chavis and the rest of the Wilmington Ten has recanted his testimony, proving the prosecution of the civil rights activists was a politically motivated frame-up.

In an affidavit filed October 12 with the U.S. District Court in Raleigh, North Carolina, Alan Hall explained that he had been pressured into giving false testimony by state prosecutors and agents of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Treasury Department.

According to Irv Joyner, of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, Hall's sworn statement says that he was not a witness to the events he testified about; that as far as he knows none of the defendants committed any of the crimes he attributed to them; and that he did not even know most of the defendants before the trial.

Chavis and eight young Blacks—Marvin Patrick, Connie Tindall, Jerry Jacobs, Willie Vereen, Reginald Epps, James McKoy, William "Joe" Wright, and Wayne Moore—were convicted October 17, 1972, on state charges of arson and assault on police and firefighters.

Anne Sheppard—a white antipoverty worker who was the tenth codefendant—was convicted on charges of accessory to arson. The sentences totaled 282 years, ranging from up to 34 years for

Reverend Chavis to up to 10 years for Sheppard. The charges stemmed from a siege of the Black community in Wilmington, North Carolina, February 4, 1971.

In 1968, Wilmington schools began desegregating under court order. But instead of finding genuine desegregation, Black students were faced with new forms of discrimination, from unfair enforcement of discipline to segregated classroom seating.

In December 1970 and January 1971 there was a rash of incidents in the schools, leading Black students to formulate demands and threaten a school boycott.

When they received no response to their demands, more than a thousand Black students from several schools walked out.

As the Black students' protests mounted, Ku Klux Klan members poured into Wilmington from nearby strongholds. There was a flurry of threats against Blacks.

Blacks demanded that the mayor impose a curfew to prevent Klan night riding, and after the mayor refused, the students felt they had no alternative but self-defense.

During February 4-7, the Black community was under siege, with young Blacks fighting off repeated vigilante attacks. The cops either stood by doing nothing or joined the attackers. During those days, several mysterious fires took place.



On the third night of the siege, cops ambushed and killed a student leader. The next morning, a white vigilante was shot down as he tried to shoot at Blacks defending Gregory Congregational Church, the Black's headquarters.

EUGENE MCCARTHY Is he an alternative?



Richard Avedon

By Steve Clark

In 1968 thousands of anti-Vietnam War activists put marches and demonstrations aside to ring doorbells for Democratic party presidential contender Eugene McCarthy.

McCarthy hoped to capture the nomination by capitalizing on mounting opposition to incumbent President Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam policies. The antiwar movement, McCarthy figured, would provide his foot soldiers.

This year McCarthy is again making a bid for the White House. But not—as in 1968—as a Democrat.

"McCarthy believes that the two-party system is an idea whose time has gone," according to one of his 1976 campaign brochures. "He says that the Democratic and Republican parties 'are beginning to pay the penalty of incompetence. We have had a bipartisan war, bipartisan economic failures, and abuse of the Bill of Rights under both parties.'"

Socialists have long exposed the Democratic and Republican parties and the entire "two-party system." The real question here, however, is this: Does McCarthy offer an alternative to these parties and their policies?

Socialists say no. Why?

What is wrong with both the Democratic and Republican parties is that they are parties of big business, by big business, and for big business. They are capitalist parties.

That's why we have "bipartisan war, bipartisan economic failures, and abuse of the Bill of Rights under both parties." These policies flow from the subservience of the Democrats and Republicans to U.S. banks and corporations.

To keep their profits high, America's rulers need racism and discrimination against women. They need cutbacks in public spending on necessary social services. They need unemployment and price hikes. And they need reactionary regimes in southern Africa, Asia, and Latin America to protect U.S. overseas investments and military outposts.

While McCarthy is running independent of the Democrats and Republicans, he does not represent a break with their fundamental policies or with

the domination of American politics by the ruling rich.

Take a look at his program.

McCarthy supports the basic aims of Washington's imperialist foreign policy. In May 1975, for example, he told reporters that he backs the U.S. "commitment" to South Korea, including the American troops that bolster that country's repressive, right-wing dictatorship.

McCarthy's call for a \$20-\$30 billion cut in the Pentagon's \$115 billion war budget would maintain military spending at its level during the height of the war in Vietnam.

McCarthy's reputation as an opponent of the Vietnam War is undeserved. As a United States senator, McCarthy voted for every single appropriations bill for that war. He explicitly refused to call for an immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.

In fact, at the November 1967 news conference announcing his primary race, McCarthy expressed concern about Johnson's promise to withdraw troops within six months after negotiations began. "I think I would advise him against moving that fast," he said. "I would put the limit at five years."

McCarthy backs the Zionist state of Israel in its denial of self-determination to the Palestinian people. His campaign literature does not say a word about ending U.S. support to the white-supremacist regime in South Africa.

McCarthy echoes arguments used by both Ford and Carter to justify slashing social services, holding down wages, and giving more breaks to big business.

He proposes "tax incentives for industry" and "proven devices such as investment credit and accelerated depreciation" to spur the economy. In other words, more giveaways to the rich.

"We do not need a revolution of rising expectations," McCarthy says. "We need one of moderating expectations—and of responsible management of the economy." Translated, this means: Learn to live with lower wages, higher prices, fewer jobs, and



It was then the mayor finally decided to impose a curfew, and the national guard came in. Attacks on Blacks and school desegregation continued sporadically after the February 4-7 events.

The racist hysteria among many whites reached a high pitch. For example, District Court Judge John Walker commented during a March 1971 trial of two Blacks charged in connection with the incidents, "Maybe we should have brought in Lieutenant Calley to go in and clean the place up."

At the time, Lt. William Calley was being court-martialed for his role in the massacre of 522 people in the village of My Lai in Vietnam.

One of the central leaders of the Black community at the time of the February 4-7 battle was Rev. Ben Chavis, a young organizer of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ.

More than a year after the siege, a secret grand jury indicted Chavis. In addition to Chavis, student leaders and a white supporter were indicted. The specific accusations against Chavis included conspiracy to murder, arson, conspiracy to commit arson, assault on cops and fire fighters, and conspiracy to commit assault.

The trial began in Burgaw, North Carolina, in June 1972. Burgaw is a small town of 2,000 people only twenty miles away from Wilmington. The trial was held there because the defense had successfully argued that there had been unfair pretrial publicity in Wilmington. But Burgaw was no better, since residents of the town relied on newspapers and radio stations from Wilmington for their news.

Jury selection took one week, and a panel of ten Blacks and two whites was chosen. Then the prosecuting attorney became mysteriously ill and the state of North Carolina said it had no other lawyer that could handle the case.

Over strenuous defense objections, the judge declared a mistrial June 12.

The second trial began in September 1972. The

governor sent in a special judge to hear the case and the state attorney general sent in a special prosecutor.

When the defense tried to disqualify white prospective jurors who admitted they already thought the defendants were guilty, the special judge intervened. He urged the prospective jurors to "erase the opinion" from their minds and let them serve. On the other hand, the prosecution used peremptory challenges to dismiss Blacks in the jury pool. The new jury was ten whites, two Blacks.

The key witness against Chavis and nine codefendants was Alan Hall. He was the only one who said Chavis and the others had committed the crimes attributed to them.

The United Church of Christ posted \$400,000 bail. Lawyers filed appeals.

The North Carolina Court of Appeals upheld the verdict, and both the North Carolina and U.S. supreme courts refused to hear the case. This exhausted all the direct appeals, and the ten had to go to prison.

On January 30, 1976, lawyers for the ten filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus with the U.S. District Court in Raleigh, North Carolina. Strictly speaking, this is different from an appeal but, if granted, its effect would be the same.

Lawyers for the ten have now amended the motion to include Hall's affidavit, and the state has ten days to reply. How quickly the case will be resolved after that is up to the court.

In the meantime, the lawyers are asking that the ten now be free on bond. An earlier motion for bail before the same court was denied.

For further information on how you can help free the Wilmington Ten, please contact: 1851 Ninth Street NW, Room 104, Washington, D.C. 20001. Telephone: (202) 387-3313.

closed-down hospitals.

McCarthy advocates wage and "price" controls, while take-home pay is already lagging far behind living costs. Past experience proves that wage controls are strictly enforced, while prices and profits continue to climb.

McCarthy claims to support a shorter workweek with no loss in pay in order to create more jobs. However, when the United Auto Workers struck Ford Motor Company this fall to demand—among other things—a few more paid days off, McCarthy issued no statement backing the strikers.

This should come as no surprise. After all, one of McCarthy's top financial supporters and his initial running mate—William Clay Ford—is the brother of Ford Motor's President Henry Ford II. (William Clay Ford was eliminated from the ticket largely for ballot-related reasons.)

According to McCarthy's campaign headquarters, he opposes constitutional amendments to ban either abortion rights or busing. His literature advocates passage of the Equal Rights Amendment for women.

Nonetheless, McCarthy here, too, has taken a cue from his Democratic and Republican rivals. Like Ford, Carter, and the presidential hopefuls eliminated in the two-party primaries, McCarthy has preferred to keep quiet on these issues of vital concern to millions of Blacks and women.

Meanwhile, right-wing forces have taken the offensive, using the elections as a platform to attack gains won by women and minorities over the past several decades.

Recently, McCarthy provided proof positive of allegiance to capitalist politics. On October 9 he released his list of proposed cabinet appointees.

Boston's Mayor Kevin White is McCarthy's choice for attorney general. White has used his position in Boston to resist that city's court-ordered busing plan. What would be one of White's supposed duties as attorney general? To enforce court-ordered desegregation.

This sheds some light on McCarthy's devotion to educational equality for Blacks.

Also included in the would-be cabinet are two current Ford appointees; a former Nixon cabinet member; two corporation presidents; and Terry Sanford, former governor of North Carolina and an unsuccessful contender this year for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Also mentioned for high government office was former Arkansas Sen. William Fulbright. Last year Fulbright told a television interviewer he was "not too sure" Blacks should have been given the right to vote.

This crew of businessmen and Washington insiders, McCarthy promises, will make up his "independent" administration. No thanks!

McCarthy's campaign clearly does not represent the interests of America's working people and oppressed nationalities. It is basically no different from the Democratic and Republican campaigns—only smaller.

Why, then, is McCarthy bothering to run at all?

For much the same reason that he launched his 1968 campaign. "I am hopeful that this challenge . . ." he said back then, can "restore to many people a belief in the processes of American politics and of American government."

"That [on] the college campuses . . . and also among adult thoughtful Americans, that it may counter the growing sense of alienation from politics which I think is currently reflected in a tendency to withdraw from political action, to talk of nonparticipation, to become cynical and to make threats of support for third parties or fourth parties or other irregular political movements [clearly a reference to the antiwar movement]."

McCarthy had not changed his basic thinking. What has changed is this: McCarthy now believes the traditional two-party system has been mortally wounded by Vietnam, mounting economic woes, and the unraveling skein of FBI and CIA crimes during both Democratic and Republican administrations.

In order to "restore a belief in the processes of American government," McCarthy thinks, a seemingly independent alternative is necessary.

Almost none of America's wealthy rulers today agree. They fear anything that challenges the two-party monopoly, which has served them so well for decades.

Moreover, Democratic and Republican politicians are not eager to sacrifice the privileges, patronage, and payoffs of established machine politics.

Many Americans, however, will vote for McCarthy. Some studies show that McCarthy could get as much as 5-6 percent of the vote in some states.

McCarthy's support at the polls will come from those who are fed up with the Democrats and Republicans but still bother to vote. They will see theirs as a protest vote.

No matter how good the intentions of people who vote for McCarthy, they will not be casting their ballots for a real change. McCarthy offers no real

alternative to those who want to vote against war, against cutbacks, against unemployment, against racism, and against the oppression of women.

These problems are created by capitalism. And voting for a capitalist candidate—Democrat, Republican, or "independent"—is not a step toward solving them.

Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party candidates, do offer an alternative. Unlike McCarthy, Camejo *actually was* a leader of the movement that helped end the Vietnam War. Former California Gov. Ronald Reagan publicly complained that Camejo was "involved in every large-scale demonstration" in the state.

Camejo and Reid have marched to support school desegregation. They have used their campaign to speak out for abortion rights and passage of the

Continued on page 30

Civil liberties record

"Both government and private agencies have infringed upon Americans' personal and political rights by such practices as spying, wiretapping, bugging, and improper disclosure of personal records," Eugene McCarthy says in one of his major pieces of campaign literature.

"These practices must be ended; the Bill of Rights must be sustained."

The same brochure contains a review of McCarthy's "record of service" in Congress. Missing from this record, however, is the role McCarthy himself played in "infringing upon Americans' personal and political rights."

• During his years in the U.S. House of Representatives, McCarthy voted for every contempt of Congress citation brought by the witch-hunting House Un-American Activities Committee against witnesses who refused to testify.

• In 1954 McCarthy voted for a House bill to make membership in the Communist party a felony.

• That same year he voted for a

bill to make evidence gathered by wiretapping admissible in federal courts.

• In 1959 he voted for the Student Loyalty Oath Bill, which required a loyalty oath of all students applying to receive assistance under the National Defense Education Act.

McCarthy's apparent change of heart on these matters is welcome. He is an endorser of the Socialist Workers party's lawsuit against government harassment and spying and a member of the advisory board of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is coordinating support and publicity for that suit.

McCarthy has not, however, called on the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies to release all their secret files to the American people. SWP candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid have made this a central demand.

If McCarthy is serious in saying that "the Bill of Rights must be sustained," he should raise this demand during the final weeks of his campaign.

—S.C.

Ford pact: few gains for auto workers

By Frank Lovell

Tentative agreement on a new three-year contract was reached October 5, the twenty-first day of the Ford strike, between company negotiators and the United Auto Workers.

The union's international executive board unanimously approved the agreement and quickly passed it along to the 155-member UAW Ford Council, which also approved with few dissenting votes.

The United Auto Workers announced October 12 that striking Ford workers have voted to accept the proposed three-year contract. Skilled trades workers approved by a narrow 489 votes of the 17,425 cast. Production workers voted in favor 35,192 to 22,026. Roughly one-third of the affected bargaining units have not yet settled local issues. Workers there will stay on strike until local contracts have been reached and approved.

This set the stage for referendum voting by the 165,000 Ford strikers.

The first returns came from the skilled trades section of Ford Local 600, largest in the UAW, which rejected the contract. UAW officials said they were confident that a majority of the 25,000 skilled workers, most of them in other locals, would accept the contract, and that it would also be approved by production workers.

Even so, the Ford strike will not end until local grievances are resolved at the ninety-nine Ford plants covered by local UAW contracts. Settlements had been reached at thirty-seven locations when the national agreement was announced. Unsettled issues at some of the remaining plants include health risks and safety hazards.

Top officials at both company and union declined to spell out exactly what the new contract means in costs to the company and wage gains for the workers.

Their estimates, however, are that the total package amounts to about 10 percent for each year. This is not very different from what the increases would have been under an extension of the old contract.

The UAW leadership has tried to create the impression in full-page newspaper ads that important gains were won, especially in shorter hours of work. Additional days off with pay during the next three years are hailed as pointing toward the four-day work-week sometime in the future.

Auto workers in the Independent Skilled Trades Council dispute these claims. They say there is no "new money" in the contract and that the official claim of twelve additional days off includes five Christmas holidays already won in previous contracts.

The terms of the settlement appear to be as follows:

- **Shorter work time:** In addition to the present holidays, vacation time, and five "excused absence" days, the new contract provides for an additional twelve days off with pay. None of these come the first year. Five are included in the second year, seven in the third.

A worker must have one year seniority to qualify, and must put in the workdays before and after taking off.

An industry analyst in Detroit estimates that the shortened work time in the auto industry will be about 2 percent. That falls far short of the UAW's stated goal of reducing work time enough to create new jobs.

- **Wages:** Wages will increase 3 percent annually, plus twenty cents the first year. Skilled workers were given an additional twenty-five cents, spread over two years.

Under the old contract the guaranteed "annual improvement factor" was 3 percent. Thus the new settlement raises wages on top of that only twenty cents for unskilled and forty-five cents for skilled workers.

- **Cost-of-Living Allowance (COLA):** This remains unchanged. Wages are adjusted quarterly, up one cent an hour for each three-tenths of a point rise in the Consumer Price Index.

Under this formula wages have constantly slipped behind prices. A more accurate adjustment was demanded but not won.

A nine-cent COLA payment due from the previous quarter was not paid because the old contract had expired. This was apparently counted as part of the twenty-cent raise for the next three years.

- **Pensions:** To compensate for inflation, retirees will get a one-time payment of up to \$600, scaled downward according to years of service. This is reported to be paid for by deductions from COLA payments of employed workers.

- **Union concessions:** Workers will now pay the first three dollars toward prescriptions purchased under the health-care plan, instead of the two dollars previously paid. New workers must wait a month longer than before to be covered by the health plan. They will be paid fifty cents below the wage scale for their first three months on the job.

Teamster dissidents launch group

By Lysle Gordon and Chris Rayson

KENT, Ohio—Two hundred Teamsters from thirteen states attended the founding convention of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) September 18-19 at Kent State University here.

TDU is the outgrowth of Teamsters for a Decent Contract, which was formed by Teamster dissidents during negotiations earlier this year on the new national master freight contract.

TDU, though small, has attracted a number of Teamsters fed up with the corruption and business unionism of the Teamster officialdom.

TDU leader Pete Camarata was elected as a delegate to the international union convention in August from Local 299—President Frank Fitzsimmons's home local in Detroit.

Mel Packer from Local 249 in Pittsburgh gave the keynote address to the TDU convention. He said that Teamsters face increasing unemployment and attacks by the bosses on wages and working conditions. He criticized the failure of the Teamster leadership to wage a fight against these attacks.

Packer pointed to the bureaucratism and intimidation practiced by the union officialdom. He said that most Teamster members want to fight back but are afraid and confused about how to do so.

This is beginning to change, Packer said. As an example of Teamster militancy, he pointed to the strike of 18,000 United Parcel Service workers in the Eastern states.

Teamsters are coming to TDU, Packer said, "because it provides an alternative to the union, it has new methods of struggle, and it is building a new leadership from the bottom up."

The Teamster officialdom has reacted with near hysteria to any expres-

sion of dissidence within the union. Fitzsimmons set the official tone in his keynote speech to the international convention when he told those seeking reform in the union to "go to hell."

Teamsters Joint Council 41, which encompasses Ohio, took out two full-page ads this year in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* red-baiting TDU, calling it a front group for the International Socialists.

One TDU activist in Cleveland, Michael Knight, was physically attacked at a Local 407 union meeting.

Along with intimidating Teamster members, the red-baiting may be aimed at deflecting public attention from the current investigations of Teamster pension funds by federal agencies.

On September 18, some 125 Teamster members picketed the TDU convention with picket signs such as "Ohio Teamsters Want No Part of Socialist TDU" and "Who are TDU's Leaders? Left Wing Radicals."

The "demonstrators"—mostly retirees and minor union officials—came to Kent in six buses chartered by the union and were later taken to dinner at Teamster expense. Their leaflets called TDU members "student radicals, pinkos and other non-union types."

Inside the convention, Al Ferdnace from Local 299, a member of the TDU steering committee, responded to the red-baiting. He said that only Teamster members could belong to TDU and that TDU members held many different political views but all supported union democracy.

The entire attack, Ferdnace said, was "a cover for refusal by the bureaucracy to discuss the issues."

Most of the debate at the convention centered on TDU's future structure. A group called Teamsters for Democracy, based in Local 695 in south-central Wisconsin around Madison, advocated a decentralized structure. They also urged more attention to nontrucking crafts and industries in the union, such as food processing, taxi and transport, and public employees.

The formation of TDU reflects the widespread disenchantment among Teamsters with their official leadership. Many Teamsters are concerned about winning union democracy, which is crucial to regenerating not only the Teamsters but the entire labor movement.

Phila: fight bus layoffs

By John Connolly

PHILADELPHIA—The morning rush hour never got underway here October 4.

At 5:00 a.m., hundreds of bus and trolley drivers refused to cross picket lines called by a coalition of community groups to protest cutbacks in service to the Black community and the layoff of more than 300 workers.

Eighty pickets, representing the Coalition for Better Transit in the City, closed down the Allegheny and Luzerne depots for up to eleven hours.

The coalition is demanding rehiring of all laid-off workers, restoration of all canceled routes, no fare increase, union-controlled safety inspection of vehicles, and opening of the transit authority's books to union and community inspection.

"Since the union isn't doing this, you community people have to. I'm glad you're here," said one middle-aged driver.

The leadership of Transport Workers Union Local 234 has tried to curb the militancy of the ranks and avoid a fight against the layoffs.

Union leaders took no official stand on the community demonstrations. But the mood of the drivers was clear—not one crossed the picket lines.

"At some point the union and the

community have got to get together on this," a young Black woman driver said. "It's the only way we're going to win."

Baltimore 1199 strike

By Joe Bunkley

BALTIMORE—One hundred workers at Bolton Hill Nursing Home, most of them Blacks and women, have been walking the picket lines since August 11.

They were forced on strike when the new owner of the home refused to recognize the current contract or the existence of their union, District 1199E of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

Workers in the housekeeping, dietary, and laundry departments were told on August 10 that their jobs had been taken over by an outside contractor and that they must reapply in order to be considered for employment.

Workers with up to eleven years' seniority refused to reapply and were fired. They immediately set up a picket line that was recognized by all but a handful of the nursing home's employees.

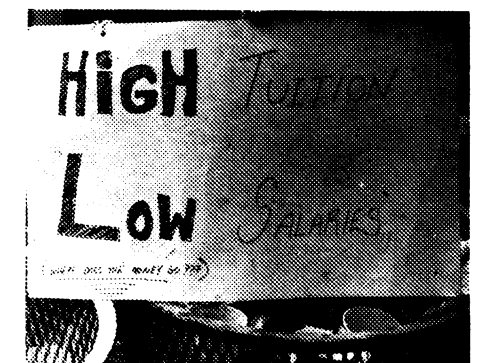
One hundred workers were fired and strikebreakers hired in their places.

"We can't go back without a contract," said one woman shop delegate on the picket line. "If we did, it wouldn't be a real job—only day labor, hired today, fired the next."

Columbia: 'iron fist'

By Robert Auld

NEW YORK—Maintenance workers and security guards at Columbia University went on strike September 27 against administration efforts to roll back contract gains.



Militant/Robert Auld

Columbia picket sign

The 630 employees are members of Transport Workers Union Local 241. The local's chief negotiator, John Hannaberry, told the *Militant* that the university is taking an "iron fist" approach.

The university wants to cut back on paid sick leave. It also rejects Local 241's proposal for a 5 percent wage increase with the lowest-paid workers getting the same amount as median-paid workers.

The university is threatening to raise tuition if the union's demands are met—an obvious ploy to set students against the workers.

A leaflet issued by the strikers declares: "If we give up what we have fought so hard for over the last 35 years, then there will be no need for a union or a contract. 'This we will never do' because in the long run this will also affect all other union and non-union workers who are employees of Columbia."

Campus workers organized by District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, have walked out on two successive days to show support for Local 241.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

OCTOBER 22, 1976

Mass protest and Maoist repression

An account of China's Tien An Men incident

By Hua Lin

[The following is the first in-depth report on the April 5 protest demonstration of 100,000 persons in Peking's Tien An Men Square. It first appeared in the May 1, 1976, issue of *Huang Ho* (Yellow River), a Chinese-language magazine published in Hong Kong by former Red Guards. The translation used here is based on the version in the June-July 1976 issue of *Minus 8*, an English-language magazine published in Hong Kong by members of the Seventies Front, a radical youth organization. Obvious errors of grammar or word choice have been corrected. The footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*. A note by the author accompanying the article states that it is based on data obtained from letters of eyewitnesses of the incident, dispatches by foreign correspondents, and the official Peking press. A number of incidents, such as the crushing of the demonstration the evening of April 5 and the subsequent witch-hunt of participants in the protest are reported here for the first time.]

[The account has been slightly abridged for reasons of space.]

* * *

For many days everyone in Peking had felt that the atmosphere was electrically charged, but no one knew exactly how it all began. Nevertheless, everybody noticed that on March 28 the Shanghai *Wen Wei Pao*¹ published an article that many people suspected was an attack on Premier Chou En-lai. From then on, people began to feel uneasy. Someone pasted big-character posters on the cars of the trains of the Sin-Pu route in answer to the *Wen Wei Pao*; and although these slogans were immediately removed by the authorities, the news quickly spread around Peking. Anxious and excited, people started discussing this with one another.

Four modernizations

But everyone was certain of one thing: the charged atmosphere flowed from deep feelings. For many years people had been longing for a change that would improve their lives and loosen the controls in the political and cultural spheres. When Premier Chou spoke of the "Four Modernizations"² at the Fourth National People's Congress, they felt the day they had been looking forward to had finally arrived.

1. The Shanghai daily *Wen Wei Pao* has the reputation of being a mouthpiece for the most factional and intolerant of the Maoist zealots.

There was a general elation, and Premier Chou came to symbolize the hope for change. Then, not long after Chou En-lai's death, the campaign was launched against the "Rightist deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts."³ As part of this campaign, the slogan of the "Four Modernizations" was attacked as a "revisionist plot" and the people were called on to strongly criticize it. As the campaign unfolded, it was not only Teng Hsiao-p'ing who was criticized, but it was also hinted that Chou En-lai was not above question. Wasn't this like telling the people that their last hope for some improvement had to be crushed? The situation became intolerable.

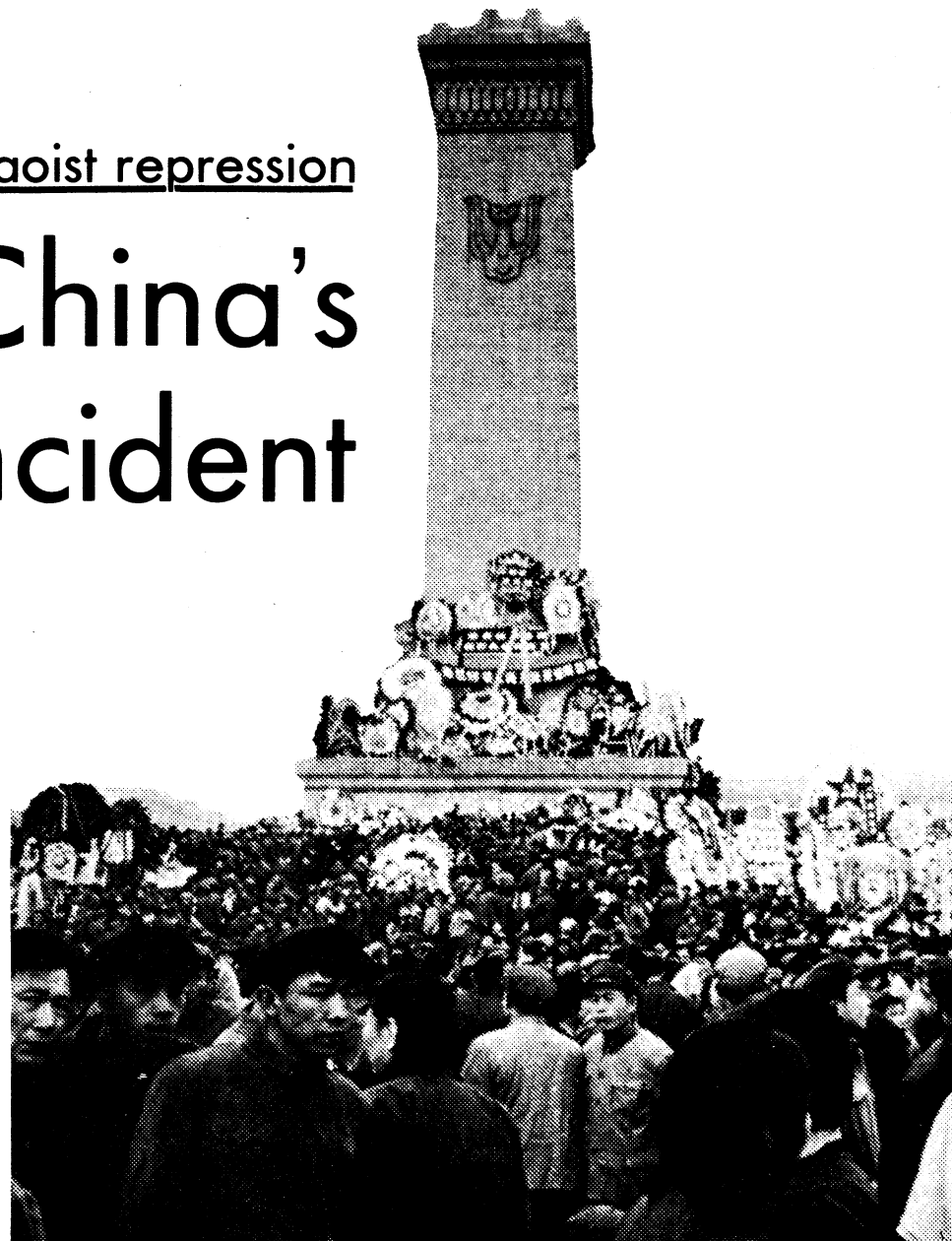
Wreaths for Chou En-lai

A week before the Ching Ming festival,⁴ wreaths commemorating Premier Chou started appearing in front of the Monument of the People's Heroes [in Peking's Tien An Men Square]. These wreaths were sent by some members of the headquarters staff of the Second Artillery, People's Liberation Army (PLA), and by cadres of the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Ministries of Machine Building of the State Council. The incident was thus initiated by these people. As for what was the meaning of their action, they

2. The "Four Modernizations" was a slogan put forward by Chou En-lai at the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975. It proposed industrial development through agricultural, industrial, defense, and scientific-technical modernization. This program was attacked in the March 1, 1976, issue of *Red Flag*, shortly after Chou's death, for allegedly underestimating the need for ideological control.

3. The campaign against the "Rightist deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts" was aimed primarily at Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Teng, a deputy prime minister, chief of staff of the armed forces, and a deputy chairman of the party, came under veiled attack shortly after Chou's death at the beginning of January. Without being mentioned by name, he was accused of rehabilitating cadres purged in the Cultural Revolution of 1965-69. He was also accused of advocating an economic policy modeled on that of the Soviet Union, stressing individual wage incentives and the meeting of production quotas, to which the Maoists counterposed a policy of mass, unpaid political and labor mobilizations under party control. Teng was never permitted to reply to the accusations and he was stripped of all party and government posts on April 7, following the Tien An Men demonstration.

4. The Ching Ming festival is held traditionally in China at the beginning of April to honor people's ancestors.



Demonstration at Tien An Men Square in Peking

would not say. But sending wreaths so early was itself a very unusual phenomenon. There was immediately a general feeling among the masses that they could use the wreaths to make a public statement.

The wreaths were sacred, undefilable. Who could refuse the aggrieved people this right?

On April 1, more and more wreaths piled up. Messages of condolence on the wreaths said: "Beloved and venerated Premier Chou, we think of you day and night." On the north side of the monument a black banner was hung, on which bold white characters declared: "Eternal glory to our beloved and venerated Premier Chou!"

This was an act in defense both of Chou En-lai and of the people's hopes.

On April 2, Tien An Men was flooded with people. The monument was already crowded with wreaths and with dozens of portraits of Chou En-lai. Messages of condolence inscribed on the wreaths read: "We will protect your heroic image and accomplish your glorious plans."

'Dowager Empress'

This was an open declaration of support for Chou's line and, what amounted to the same thing, a demonstration of disapproval of the campaign against the "Rightist deviationist attempts to reverse correct verdicts."

On April 3, wreaths appeared with slogans such as "Beware of conspirators inside the party. Down with all traitors who oppose Premier Chou." Hundreds of thousands of people

assembled in front of Tien An Men and the wreaths at the monument piled up to fifteen meters high. This was an assault on the initiators of the campaign against the "Rightist deviationist attempts to reverse correct verdicts."

On April 4, which was the day of the Ching Ming festival, slogans such as "Down with Dowager Empress,"⁵ "Down with Indira Gandhi," and "Down with all reactionaries who want to attack Premier Chou" were prominent. This directed the spearhead of the attack directly at Chiang Ch'ing, the inspirer of the campaign against the "Rightist deviationist attempts to reverse correct verdicts."

The incident gathered momentum according to its own internal logic, which expressed the feelings of the people. The wreaths became a kind of big-character poster, which people used to express their own views on their country's political life. The wreaths became a focus of popular concern; in turn, people were mobilized by the wreaths. The masses in front of Tien An Men, in a determined mood, copied the slogans from the wreaths and made speeches. People bringing new wreaths continued to stream into the square. For the first time in twenty-six years the people were standing up to speak for themselves.

Continued on next page

5. Critics of Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's wife, refer to her ironically as the "Dowager Empress," comparing her to the reactionary Tz'u Hsi (1835-1908), who was the de facto ruler of China from 1862 until her death.

Mass protest and Maoist repression...

Continued from preceding page

Needless to say, all this provoked the most profound unease yet seen at Chungnanhai.⁶ The "dictatorship of the proletariat" must have absolute power and authority.⁷ But the independence of the action in Tien An Men Square was in itself a defiance of the establishment, without even mentioning the boldness of the speeches and slogans. It occurred in the midst of the campaign against the "Rightist deviationist attempts to reverse correct verdicts," and took place on the doorstep of the "headquarters of the proletariat." Of all governments in the world, Chungnanhai is among the few that best understands the power of the masses, because it was the people who brought it to power. For twenty-six years it has never forgotten to claim that it represents the people. Yet today, the people have apparently become a threat to its rule. Could anything be more horrifying than that? It was decided immediately that the action in the square had to be stopped.

When it received this directive, the Peking Public Security Bureau acted swiftly. When the wreaths first appeared the various bureau branches mobilized the "Neighborhood Committees" to maintain law and order.⁸ All those who had previously been denounced as "class enemies" were kept under strict surveillance and were forbidden to go to Tien An Men Square. Groups of plainclothes policemen were dispatched to keep an eye out for violators.

At first the authorities were quite cautious, but they were overconfident. They thought the people would react the same way as in the past and that they could be silenced with a snap of the fingers. But the crowd grew larger and larger; the wreaths piled up higher and higher; and the speeches and slogans turned more and more radical. The presence of plainclothes police proved completely ineffectual; no one

6. Chungnanhai, just off Tien An Men Square, is the former residence of Mao Tsetung.

7. Last year, following the campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius, the regime opened a campaign to strengthen the "dictatorship of the proletariat" by the suppression of "counterrevolution in the realm of the superstructure," i.e., dissenting ideas.

8. Neighborhood committees, or street committees, are the governmental apparatus at the block level in major cities. Their membership is filled by election, but nominations are generally screened by the local party committee and can be vetoed by the next higher level of party and government units. They function under orders of the government or the police.

paid any attention to them. Moreover, since known "class enemies" had been officially banned from the area, people felt less inhibited about speaking out.

The authorities were hesitant. Solving the problem was not going to be as easy as it appeared at first. One thing was obvious: immediate suppression would not be a wise move. Persuasion was tried instead of brute force. Hence on the morning of April 3 the Public Security Bureau decided to "persuade" the crowd to disperse. Plainclothes police circulated through the crowd warning people, "Comrades, beware of being used by class enemies!"

'Class enemies'?

What? Was sending wreaths analogous to being used by class enemies? For years people had been angered at the use of those threadbare and hackneyed words to terrorize the masses. Now the police were using them to defile a sacred act of commemoration. And those in the crowd who dared to raise such charges, the plainclothes police, were themselves infamous for their unscrupulous acts. People shook their fists at the police and shouted angrily, "You are the class enemies!"

Many plainclothes police were given bloody noses. One of them even passed out and might have been killed if Yang Min-jui, Wang Pei-chin, and other militiamen from the Western District's Plastic Material Factory had not saved him.

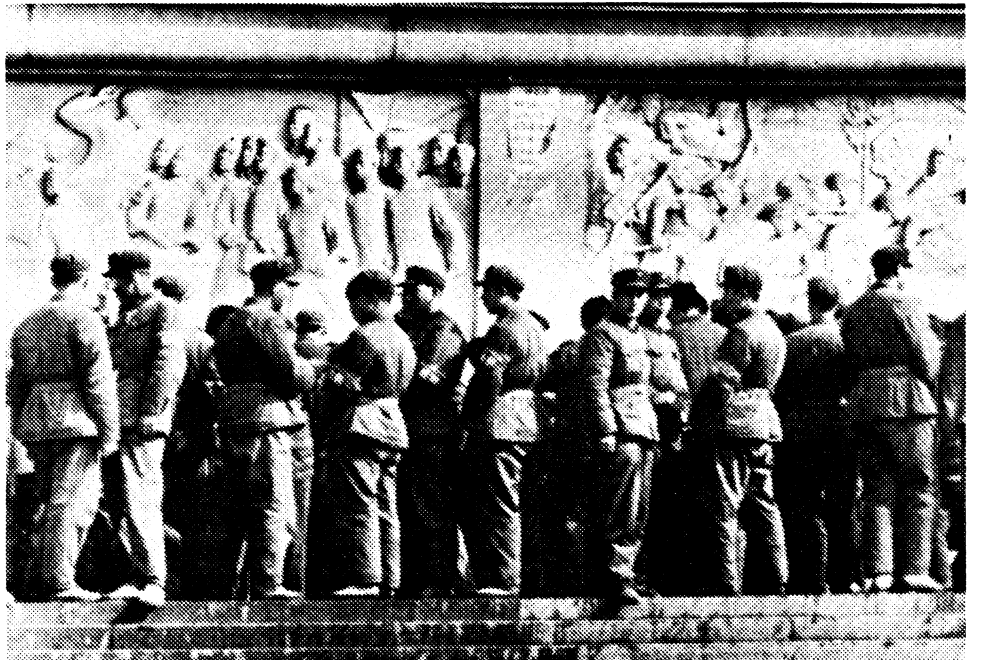
The authorities did not realize that the people, who had been silenced for so many years and who had just now got the chance to speak, would not stand even the slightest bit of provocation.

The cadres of the Chinese Science Academy put up a big-character poster, declaring: "Some people want to stop us from going to Tien An Men to mourn for the premier; but nothing can stop us from doing so!" This was applauded by the crowd: That's a good poster! Nothing can stop us!

The Public Security Bureau would have to use force now. They would have to capture the leaders and disperse the crowd.

On April 4, Tien Jiu-shan, a leading cadre of the Public Security Bureau, was one of several hundred of his colleagues who spread out among the crowd, waiting for an opportune moment to arrest the activists. A youth put up a small-character poster on the monument and shouted to the crowd, "Oppose all pseudo-Marxist-Leninists! We will defeat anyone who opposes Premier Chou!"

The masses, impressed by his bearing, immediately applauded. There were shouts, "Say that again! Say that again!"



Security forces at monument on April 4. 'Was sending wreaths analogous to being used by class enemies?'

Tien Jiu-shan quickly reported this to the bureau offices and received the order: "Arrest him!" "You have made counterrevolutionary speeches and have put up counterrevolutionary posters!" [Tien Jiu-shan announced to the young speaker at the square]. Tien Jiu-shan ran forward to grab at the youth, who managed to get away on his bicycle. Tien shouted: "Stop that scoundrel!"

Scoundrel

Such a cry was sure to rally help from the masses in the past. This time just the opposite happened. The crowd surrounded Tien and let the speaker escape. Tien shouted, "I am from the Public Security Bureau. He was making counterrevolutionary speeches!" "You are the scoundrel," Tien was told. After being punched by the crowd he stood for a moment, teetering back and forth, murmuring, "Arrest . . . arrest . . ." Then he slumped unconscious.

The masses felt united now. The unknown "leader" had become their hero. Moreover, it was one thing when no arrests had been made, but once the authorities started making arrests it became impossible to restore peace. The crowd's anger mounted rapidly and its attitude toward using violence changed too: this became a publicly approved and legitimate means. All the conditions for a riot were on hand, although it had not yet broken out.

During the events of April 4 the office of the Public Security Bureau was bustling with activity. The acting secretary of the party committee, Ma Yung-shun, was responsible for law and order at Tien An Men. He knew that the wreaths there had made some of the leading comrades in the center furious and unhappy. There was a simple way to settle this: if the wreaths were removed this would be an immediate indication of the attitude of the party center, and the will of the party center carried immense power in securing the obedience of the people. He believed that the masses would surely retreat the next day, just as the decisionmakers expected.

April 5: wreaths removed

Early in the morning, police guard Yuan Chi-feng, together with a group of policemen and militiamen, stood guard before the monument. Their mission was to protect the solemnity, orderliness, and cleanliness of the monument—and to forbid the placing of any more wreaths. Yuan Chi-feng, watching the approaching crowd, estimated that they already numbered 30,000 or more.

The masses shouted at the guards: "Where are our wreaths?" "Where have

they been taken?" Why are you removing our wreaths?" The guards didn't answer. They couldn't; nobody knew where the wreaths were.

Wasn't this a clear demand for people to denounce Premier Chou? Wasn't this an open demand for people to abandon their last hope? Everything was clear without a word being spoken. It surely couldn't have been some minor official who had ordered the removal of the wreaths. But who could it be? Whoever it had been, the wreaths had symbolized the will of all the people who had gathered there. What could be more important than that?

Give us back our wreaths!

For a brief moment, maybe only a few seconds, a shadow of fear descended over the crowd of thousands, but it quickly dissipated. This new obstruction led to a sudden awakening of the people's pride. This pride, which everyone there felt, made them suddenly aware of their own power and significance. They were not at all inferior to the power holders. They had the right to make decisions and they weren't afraid to do so. They were even prepared to risk their lives in a fight for the right to make decisions. It was a crucial historic moment.

Fuse

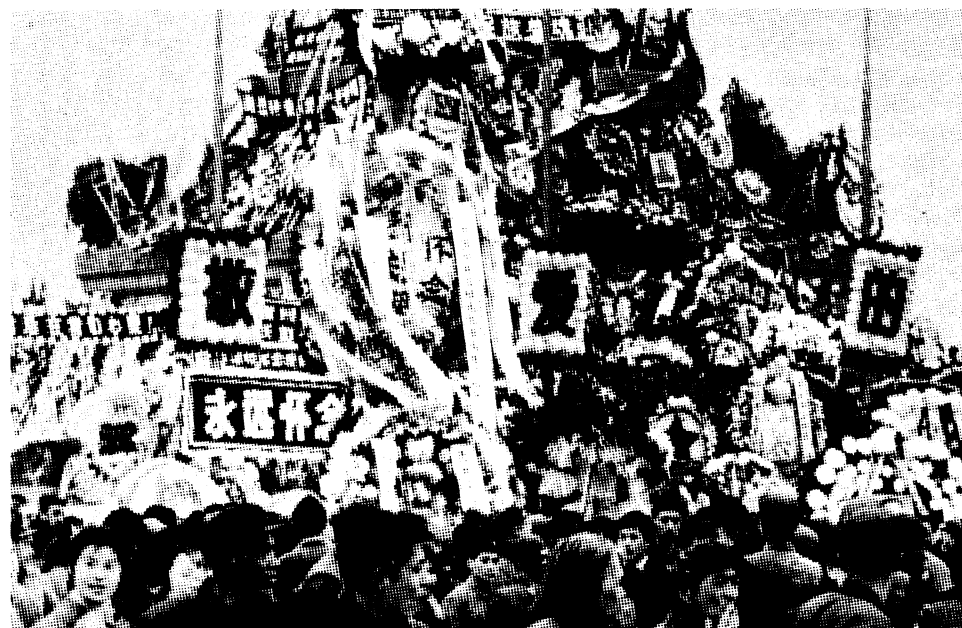
The decisions made by the authorities turned out to be completely wrong. They had lost sight of the fact that the masses were also human beings who should have their own dignity and rights, for which they ultimately were prepared to fight. And the power of the masses was immense. The authorities' decision to remove the wreaths was in fact the fuse that ignited the Tien An Men incident. The riot began!

At 7:30 a.m., a group of people, carrying a huge portrait of Chou En-lai, entered the square from West Cheng-an Street and rushed toward the monument. The crowd, very excited, made way for them, closing in behind the portrait. A wave of people formed and moved toward the monument.

The defense line of the militiamen was soon broken through. The portrait of Chou En-lai was put up on the north side of the monument, facing the portrait of Mao Tsetung across the square. The masses broke into applause and cheers.

A short while later, students of Peking's Secondary School Number 173 also came forward and presented their wreaths in the morning sun. There were encouraging shouts from the crowd.

By 7:45 a.m., more than 50,000 people had gathered on the square and



Wreaths commemorating Chou En-lai piled on Monument of the People's Heroes. Wreaths symbolized hope by Chinese workers for changes to improve their lives and loosen political and cultural controls.

...account of China's Tien An Men incident

traffic was obstructed on Chang-an Street.

At 8:00 a.m., the Public Security Bureau sent out a propaganda car to ask people to disperse, so as "not to obstruct traffic." When the car reached the eastern side of the Great Hall of the People, it was surrounded by the crowd. When they found their shouts and recriminations drowned by the noise of the loudspeaker, people pulled the driver out and climbed onto the car, jumping on it and striking at it. Then someone shouted, "Overturn the car!" And immediately the car was overturned. There were shouts of approval from the people in the square.

At 8:30 a.m. a big clash finally started between the masses and the guards at the monument. Seeing that the guards were removing the wreaths under their very noses, the masses surged forward to seize them back, resulting in a fight in which both sides suffered casualties.

'Open the door!'

Finally, someone in the crowd called out, "Workers, don't fight against workers!" and the fight gradually petered out. A discussion started in the crowd, and it was decided that they should try to find out who had ordered the removal of the wreaths. There was a big movement toward the Great Hall of the People, where it was thought those responsible for removing the wreaths would be found.

"Open the door!" "Come out! The officer-in-charge!" The Great Hall of the People was caught in a whirlpool. It was 9:00 in the morning.

At this very moment, the commander of the militia for Chiu Yang District and of one unit of Peking's Guard District received an order from the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee: "Enter the square at once empty-handed, to safeguard the Great Hall of the People."

Outside 'Great Hall'

Several hundred members of the armed forces from the Guard District were the first to enter the square. They laid down a line of defense in front of the flight of steps leading to the Great Hall, separating the masses at the gate from those on the square.

This immediately convinced the masses in the square that the wreaths were inside the Great Hall of the People. Shouting Chou En-lai's name, the crowd rushed toward the Great Hall, only to be halted by the army. People seized the soldiers' caps and insignia and threw them in the air. Soldier Hze Hsu-wua got into a fight with the crowd. He was dragged to the monument and was ordered to kneel down and confess his crime to the premier.

A short time after the army had

entered the square, Liu Tsin-lung, the vice-commander of the Chiu Yang District militia, led 600 militiamen to the rescue. They wanted to open an ambush in front of the Great Hall, but before they reached the main gate, they were broken up into sections. Another chaotic skirmish started, in which a hundred or more militiamen were injured, twelve of them seriously. There was no way to estimate the casualties among the demonstrators.

At 10:00 a.m., the crowd surrounding the Great Hall of the People numbered nearly 100,000. They demanded that the wreaths be returned to them and that they be given the right to commemorate Chou En-lai.

One man who called himself a student of Tsinghua University stood up and made a speech attacking Chou En-lai,⁹ claiming that Chou was the backstage supporter of the "right deviationist wind." The angry crowd called out for the man to be beaten and forced to kneel down and beg for forgiveness. Several plainclothes police in the crowd were also beaten.

At 11:00 a.m., thinking that those responsible for removing the wreaths might be in the Museum of Chinese History or in the army barracks at the southeastern corner of the square, the crowd divided and rushed both of these buildings.

The Museum of Chinese History was already packed with soldiers, so that the masses could not get close to it. The crowd did succeed, however, in breaking into the barracks of the PLA's Ninth Company at the eastern corner of the square. Several young people with crew cuts shouted in turn through a transistor megaphone (probably seized from the barracks): "The people have the right to commemorate the premier. It is right for them to claim back their wreaths!"

Committee

At noon, a group of people inaugurated the "Committee of the People of the Capital for Commemorating the Premier." This committee issued a decree, insisting that the authorities replace the wreaths. One youth, who wore glasses, announced that if the Public Security Bureau did not reply in ten minutes, the crowd would smash the bureau.

At 12:30 p.m., a large troop of PLA soldiers filed in to help guard the barracks. The masses shouted, "The People's Army should stand on the side of the people!" Paying no heed to

9. All Chinese universities were closed during the Cultural Revolution and did not reopen until 1972. Their much-reduced student bodies have since been made up of handpicked political loyalists of the Maoist regime. Tsinghua and Peking universities in the capital are notorious as strongholds of ultra-Maoist forces.



Troops of People's Liberation Army. PLA units launched attack on unarmed protesters.

the call of the people, the army started driving the crowd out of the barracks.

The masses, unable to find their wreaths and with their demands rejected without a word, became angrier and angrier. They overturned a cadre's car and set it on fire.

At 12:40 p.m., a fire engine that was driving from the front gate toward the site was stopped halfway by the crowd. Several youths pulled out the driver, while others slashed the tires with their knives and cut off the hose. Fireman Wang Ai-hsiu was dragged a considerable distance from the fire engine by the crowd, and when he was released he was warned, "Don't ever suppress the people!"

At 12:45 p.m., the police set out to put out the fire, only to be blocked by the demonstrators, who grabbed the policemen's caps and threw them on the ground.

The flames of the burning car symbolized the people's anger. No one could put it out. It continued to burn until the small sedan was reduced to ashes.

Watching the rolling black clouds of smoke, one could imagine the situation at Chungnanhai. Removing the wreaths had been thought a wise act, but instead it ignited a riot at Tien An Men Square. The authorities were both shocked and infuriated. This was the biggest "counterrevolutionary incident" in the regime's twenty-six-year history. No wonder it had to be suppressed.

The wreaths would have to be removed again!

A test of wills

At noon, because many people had gone home for lunch, the crowd in the square grew smaller and smaller. At the same time, the number of militiamen continued to grow, and they even set up a provisional militia command post.

At 2:30 p.m., when the crowd was smallest, the militiamen removed the wreaths and portraits.

Then the situation underwent a

sharp turn! The news that "they've taken the wreaths away again" spread at astonishing speed throughout Peking. The masses, who had been talking enthusiastically about their action of the morning, at once became dismayed. The fact that the authorities had repeatedly ignored the people's rights forced them to become "dangerous." They needed no summons to converge once again on Tien An Men Square.

At 3:00 p.m., three motor vehicles bringing water and food to the militiamen, and one police car, were burnt. The afternoon opened with a riot. Crowds of people were running to one place or another trying to find out who was responsible for removing the wreaths.

At 4:40 p.m., the masses surrounded the barracks, after discovering that the officer-in-charge of the militia was inside. At 5:00 p.m., the guards in front of the barracks were split up by the masses. The crowd besieged the barracks building, broke inside, and demanded a meeting with the officer-in-charge. Ma Hsiao-lu and the others did not dare show themselves. The crowd set the barracks on fire. One youth wearing glasses shouted, "Let's see if that brings them down!"

Chungnanhai did not want to show its weakness. Neither did the people. They had retaliated for the removal of the wreaths by setting a big fire. Both sides were stalemated in the afternoon, although the fire was burning the authority of Chungnanhai.

Nevertheless the situation was quietly changing with time. The militia guards at the monument were gradually discharged and the area around the monument was thus left empty. At the time, the masses were still in the area around the barracks, so no one took notice of this change, nor of its significance.

Chungnanhai mobilizes

At about 6:00 p.m., there were still 50,000 to 60,000 persons in the square watching the fire. Let it burn! It was furious and violent, but what other way was there to express their protest? Still, it was getting dark and it was time for dinner; many began to think of leaving.

The long-awaited opportunity had arrived at last!

At 6:15 p.m., Chungnanhai's order finally came down. The capital's militia headquarters was in telephone communication with the dozens of local units: "Bring your weapons and assemble to wait for further instructions."

At 6:30 p.m., Wu Te¹⁰ broadcast a speech directed to those in the square: "Today, there are bad elements carry-

Continued on next page



Great Hall of the People on Tien An Men Square. On the morning of April 5, 100,000 people surrounded this building demanding the right to demonstrate.

10. Wu Te is the acting mayor of Peking, a member of the CCP's Central Committee, and a reputed supporter of the "Chou-Teng faction."

...account of China's Tien An Men incident

Continued from preceding page

ing out disruption and disturbances and engaging in counterrevolutionary sabotage at Tien An Men Square. Revolutionary masses must leave the square at once and not be duped by them." The speech stressed that the Central Committee thought that the incident was overtly rallying support for Teng Hsiao-p'ing and that its spearhead was directed at Chairman Mao.

By now, after a day's struggle, the masses could plainly see that they would not be given the right to present wreaths to commemorate Premier Chou and to express their opinions. The authorities had made it clear that they would mobilize great repressive forces which the masses could not successfully resist. A feeling of utter helplessness spread among the crowd and many began to leave.

Internationale

But at 8:00 p.m. there were still 3,000 persons or more who insisted on staying, who gathered around the monument. They did not realize that the place was being set up for them by the authorities. They knew only that they were safeguarding the remaining wreaths. And for the sake of the struggle they were willing to make a momentous decision: they were willing to face whatever was to come. The night wind blew over them. Together they sang the *Internationale*, a song their revolutionary forebears had sung while fighting to the death for justice. "Tis the final conflict, let each stand in their place. . . ." The singers had the future in their minds. They had in mind also the long night they must go through before arriving at the tomorrow they hoped for. Their singing, loud and melancholy, deep and strong, could be heard for a great distance over the silent ground.

The massacre

After the Militia Command had ascertained the number of people around the monument, tens of thousands of militiamen were dispatched to the area around Tien An Men Square.

The appointed time grew nearer and nearer. The 5,000 militiamen of Peking's Twenty-sixth Machine Car Factory, who had been waiting in ambush outside the square, scanned their target attentively. The people remaining were nearly hidden by the darkness, but they continued their singing, a sound that touched the heart. Some of the militiamen were moved. Everyone in Peking knew that what these people were fighting for, even at the risk of their lives, was what the whole Chinese people hoped for.

At 9:30 p.m., Ma Yung-shun and Ma Hsiao-lu issued the order to the militia leaders at the various assembly points: GO!

Tens of thousands of militiamen, carrying long clubs, approached Tien An Men Square from ten different directions. They were followed by PLA soldiers with loaded guns, the police, and, finally, the prison vans of the Public Security Bureau.

The end was at hand. The dark shadows of the militiamen were getting closer and closer. The crowd raised their voices and sang louder and louder. In the last few seconds it was like the beginning of some great natural cataclysm.

The first to enter the square were the forty militiamen of Peking's Second Factory. As they came they lashed out at people's heads with their clubs, causing a lot of bloodshed. A youth writhed on the ground, unable to get up again. A second large group of militiamen arrived and in a moment



CULT OF PERSONALITY. April 5 showed growing inability of Maoist propaganda to intimidate opposition to bureaucratic rule.

the area around the monument was filled with the sound of clubs striking, of bodies falling, and of people groaning.

For each unarmed person there were ten club-wielding militiamen and armed soldiers. In the beginning the crowd joined hands, but soon they were split apart in the fight.

They were quickly driven back to the Old Palace by the clubs. Some youths in face of the clubs, took out their knives to resist. They were beaten to death under the blows of the clubs.

Another group who refused to enter the Old Palace were pushed into the prison vans. "Are you going or not? If not, you are transforming the contradiction!"¹¹ Those who refused to enter the prison vans were also beaten to

the Monument of People's Heroes to lay down their lives. It was also a day when people were killed at Tien An Men for its defense. Wreaths and blood. With these the Chinese people wrote their page on April 5.

Mass arrests

Ma Yung-shun was awake for a full seventy-two hours. After directing the suppression, he then studied the piles of data. His red eyes seemed to be saying, "I have to find and arrest them, even if I work my eyes blind."

In these few days many more were arrested in addition to those detained on the night of April 5. For several days in early April, neighborhood police headquarters issued orders to the cadres of the "Residents' Commit-

'April 5 marks the awakening of the consciousness of the Chinese people with regard to socialist democracy and the total bankruptcy of Mao Tsetung's "dictatorship of the proletariat." This is a revolutionary change for China's future fate. Although the April 5 action is now suppressed and slandered, it is indisputably the most important starting point for the process of struggle for the realization of a genuine socialism that is really democratic and free.'

death by the militiamen and the police.

As to how many were beaten to death, the *Renmin Ribao* [People's Daily] has given no truthful account. It has even avoided using the word "death," using instead a beautiful phrase, "duly punished." How hypocritical and fearful it was to have people beaten to death and then to fuss over the word! The weapons that they so luridly described turned out to be just small knives among the long clubs. And some who were beaten to death did not even have knives.

That was a day when people went to

tees" and members of the "Xiang-yang Yuan Managing Committee," instructing them to keep watch on the activities on their own street and report to the police immediately anyone who was discovered to have been at Tien An Men Square.

The police were very efficient in carrying out their roundup. During those few days virtually all of the twenty-six policemen from the Tien An Men Police Station spent their time searching among the population, leaving behind only three or four to staff the station.

In only a few day's time, the Tien An Men Police Station submitted hundreds of pages of reports to the Public Security Bureau, winning a public commendation from the Bureau which read: "[The Tien An Men Square police] have grasped the new tendency of class struggles in a timely way and have made an important contribution

in smashing the counterrevolutionary incident at Tien An Men Square."

The Tien An Men Police Station was only one among the hundreds of police stations in Peking.

Bragging

The various factories, hospitals, shops, sections of the PLA, departments, and streets received an order from the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee: "Depend on the masses. Mobilize the masses. Take advantage of the present victory to proceed farther. Thoroughly investigate the counterrevolution, disclose the conspiracy of counterrevolutionary elements and drag out the backstage director of the counterrevolutionary incident."

More than 100,000 persons carried out the interrogation. Those who had presented wreaths had to explain their motives clearly.

During this period, numerous criticism meetings were called. Everyone had to show unambiguously his or her attitude toward the "counterrevolutionary" incident. Mass processions were called all over the country. Not only were "counterrevolutionary elements" in Peking to be arrested, but in other places too—they had already been emerging in Cheng-chou, Kunming, Nanking, etc.

"Depend on the masses. Mobilize the masses." The regime was still bragging by using such slogans. The 100,000 people who depended on themselves and mobilized themselves were the real masses. The suppression before and after April 5 had exposed the regime's braggadocio in front of those 100,000 people and in front of the masses all over the country!

In fact both sides sensed that the situation in China had entered an unprecedented epoch. The society was quietly polarizing, and the rule of the present government could be maintained only by intensifying the dictatorship.

For twenty-six years, Mao Tsetung has been saying that the people enjoy the greatest freedom, a genuine freedom that is far better than that of capitalism. The dictatorship is only directed against class enemies.

Socialist democracy

Surely people were once very contented with that freedom, for which some even gratefully shed their tears. But especially in the ten years since the "Cultural Revolution," from the innumerable hypocritical, ludicrous, and farcical pronouncements which could be refuted simply with common sense, and from the unending repressive situation which was intolerable even in the eyes of those with only modest demands, the people gradually discovered what that freedom has finally brought them to. What sort of freedom is it? It is a sort of freedom that requires the people to accept totally a certain lot in life and that gives one person the right to exercise power without any constraint. Moreover, if they continue to accept it, this unbearable way of life will only deteriorate, and if they do not express their own opinions, there is in fact no freedom at all.

April 5 marks the awakening of the consciousness of the Chinese people with regard to socialist democracy and the total bankruptcy of Mao Tsetung's "dictatorship of the proletariat." This is a revolutionary change for China's future fate. Although the April 5 action is now suppressed and slandered, it is indisputably the most important starting point for the process of struggle for the realization of a genuine socialism that is really democratic and free.

Joe Kuhn: 'SWP is the road for Blacks'

By Carl Finamore

OAKLAND, Calif.—Joe Kuhn had a very determined look as he explained to me why he decided to join the

JOINING THE SWP

Socialist Workers party.

"I believe in action, not lip service," Joe said. "The SWP is struggling every day. It's the road for Black people."

Joe, thirty-four, is used to having to struggle for what he gets.

He was born and raised in the South. While still a teen-ager, Joe was arrested for defending himself against verbal and physical abuse by a racist cop.

While Joe was in the town jail, a gang of white thugs organized by the cops tried to drag him out of his cell to administer Jim Crow "justice." "They are going to kill Joe," other Black

inmates began shouting.

"This stopped them," Joe said with feeling. "And it probably saved my life."

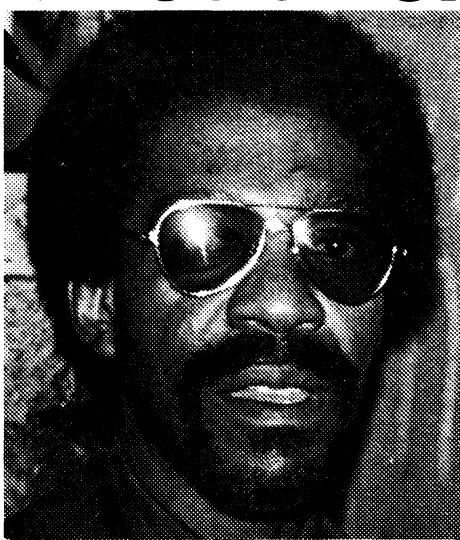
While in prison a second time years later, Joe filed and won a lawsuit allowing him to receive literature by Elijah Muhammad from the Nation of Islam.

"There was nothing to do in prison," Joe recalled. "So we read and discussed."

"We organized a study group on socialism. I read Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky. Every once in awhile a *Militant* would fall into my hands."

After being released from prison recently, Joe stopped by the Oakland branch of the SWP. He bought some books and talked to party members. He came back soon to have more discussions. These talks, he said, "confirmed by beliefs."

Spending three or four hours talking politics showed Joe that party members are concerned about involving new people. "More steps should be taken to spend time with people



JOE KUHN

interested in joining the party," he told me.

The democratic discussions and emphasis on teamwork inside the SWP have impressed Joe the most so far. "Every member is encouraged to

learn more and to assume leadership responsibilities," he said. "And the individual discussions, classes on socialism, and weekly branch meetings all help to raise a new member's political understanding."

Right now Joe is a provisional member of the Oakland branch. This three-month provisional period gives prospective members a chance to become better acquainted with the SWP before joining.

Joe is also involved in an organizing drive for a tenants union in a Black community housing project. The 800 tenants have staged several protests against the inhuman living conditions in the projects.

"To me," Joe said, "socialism means action. It means getting involved and fighting back."

"People want change. They hope Carter will relieve poverty and unemployment. But it won't happen."

"Change will come about when the masses of people are mobilized behind an action program in their interests."

"That is why I am in the SWP."

A talk with some longtime socialists

By Steve Ciark

This fall the Socialist Workers party is on a drive to win new members.

At the party's convention in August, the *Militant* spoke to several not-so-new members to find out their thoughts about the prospects facing the socialist movement today. Some of those interviewed have participated in that movement for four decades.

Everyone mentioned the impact of the feminist movement on the party. The SWP has always championed women's rights. But the growing feminist consciousness of the past decade has increased the self-confidence of socialist women and heightened their participation in all aspects of party work.

"One of the things that has struck me most at this convention," said Lillian Curtiss, "is the important role of women and their recognition as party leaders." Curtiss joined the Trotskyist movement in 1936 and was active in various socialist groups for ten years before that.

For Gustie Trainor of Boston, the emancipation of women has been at the center of her commitment to socialism ever since joining the movement forty years ago. As a teen-ager, Trainor read biographies of many leading figures in the women's suffrage movement. "And eight brothers conditioned me to be an independent woman," she said.

Trainor graduated from high school during the depression. "We considered ourselves a lost generation," she said. "There was nothing for us after high school. It was even worse than today—the disappointment."

Trainor's search for work took her to Boston. There she met Dr. Antoinette Konikow, a leader of the American Trotskyist movement. Konikow, a physician, was also a pioneer in providing women information about birth control.

Trainor took classes from Konikow, not only on socialist politics but also on women's health. "She always gave excellent classes that anyone could understand," Trainor recalled. "I learned so much from her about myself and my body and about being a woman."

Trainor later worked as an organizer for the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), organizing women and other workers into unions. She recalled how women were pulled into industry during World War II and then driven out again as soon as the war was over.

"After the war they even changed women's fashions. It was all done to drive women out, take away their economic independence, and tie them down to the household."

During the war, she said, the government paid for well-staffed day-care centers for the children of working women. These too were done away with after the war. "One of my main concerns today is government-funded, free day care," she said. "That's absolutely necessary for our way of life."

Clyde Cumming of San Francisco is impressed



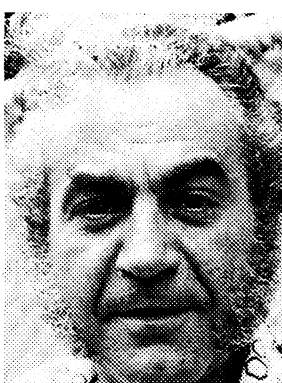
OSCAR COOVER



GUSTIE TRAINOR



CLYDE CUMMING



GEORGE CHOMALOU



LILLIAN CURTISS



PAUL COLVIN

by the growing number of Black activists in the party. "This is symptomatic of our theory on the Black struggle," she said. "We see it as an integral part of the revolution, not just an appendage to it."

The growing attraction of Black militants to socialist ideas, Cumming said, "reflects the new self-confidence bred by the Black nationalist movement." She predicts there will be many more Black women socialists as the impact of feminism continues to grow in the Black community.

Cumming first met the socialist movement in Philadelphia in 1946. SWP members were canvassing her housing project to sell *Militant* subscriptions, and Cumming struck up a conversation. Soon she was a socialist herself.

"We are moving into an exciting new period of history with all the flesh and blood we took on

during our participation in the anti-Vietnam War movement," Cumming said.

Paul Colvin, also of San Francisco, agreed. "The party's participation in the antiwar movement bore fruit," he said. "We showed that socialists knew how to do the right thing at the right time."

Colvin, who joined the party in 1949, is impressed by the party's developing team of young leaders. "There are not a couple of stars in this party," he said. "The leadership is like a good football bench, with depth in every position."

Californian Oscar Coover pointed out that each year SWP members are gaining experience in new situations—unions, community organizations, and women's groups. "At past conventions," he said, "the limit of the experience of many speakers was the antiwar movement. This year—as new opportunities are opening—the experiences are already much more varied."

"As revolutionists," Coover said, "our members are rounded in the best sense. They have a keen understanding of history, and they have a wealth of experience in struggles."

Wherever SWP members are active—now as in the past—they meet new people who are interested in socialism. And you can never predict exactly how that's going to happen.

Ruth Querio of Pittsburgh, for example, first met socialists in the 1930s when they came to the rescue of her family, which was being evicted from its house. SWP members were participating in the unemployed leagues in the area around her hometown.

"The party today is bolstered by the long continuity of its ideas, of its leaders, and of its members," said Charlie Scheer of Minneapolis. "Our members go back to union, Black, and other struggles over the decades. That experience is important."

"Even though the ranks of this party are now being filled by young people," said George Chomalou, "the respect shown for the older members who built the movement—and for their contributions—is quite evident."

Chomalou joined the SWP in 1947. He dropped out for personal reasons in 1963, but now both he and his wife are new members of the Cleveland SWP branch.

"I'm sure that there are many people in the forty-to-forty-seven age group like myself who would like to become active in politics again," he said.

"There is room in the party for everyone—all ages, all activists. Especially now, when the party is growing, it can put the knowledge and experience of these people to good use."

"When I hear some of my old acquaintances say, 'I gave the best years of my life to the party,' I get mad," Lillian Curtiss told me. "Because despite any hardships—and there are some—so much is repaid for. My years in the SWP have been the best years of my life."

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Earlier this year the *Los Angeles Times* ran a feature story about the city of San Antonio.

The author, Nicholas Chriss, waxed lyrical about the "charm" of the city. And, in addition to its charm, he said, San Antonio is prospering economically. Things are going so well in San Antonio that local businessmen have hired Bell & Stanton, a New York public relations firm, to tell the world the story.

Reading Mr. Chriss's story, I got the definite impression that he was one of the people Bell & Stanton talked to.

San Antonio is certainly the nicest city in Texas—at least for those so situated that they can enjoy it.

But the picture isn't altogether as the *Times* reporter or Bell & Stanton draws it.

For instance, the *Times* says that the huge Chicano barrio on the city's west side is doing very nicely.

"Some writers," Chriss concedes, "have called the city's west side one of the largest slums in the country. But that was mainly before urban renewal began to change it."

Disappearing movement

Chriss also assures us that "Brown power and the Chicano cause never really caught on here." The older, good Mexican-Americans, he explains, didn't like it and the "young radicals" were forced to leave town, moving down to Crystal City.

It is true that San Antonio Chicano activists did help organize the movement in Crystal City that led to the country's first Raza Unida party administration.

But they didn't leave San Antonio. (For that matter, neither did the west side slums.)

I recently spent some time in San Antonio. While I was there I talked with one of the "radicals" who didn't leave town.

Rosie Castro is a school teacher by profession. But mainly she's a political activist. She's been a leading figure in the Raza Unida party since its inception in 1971, and has run for public office several times on the RUP ticket, one of the first women to do so.

Rosie Castro has extensive, detailed knowledge of conditions in San Antonio.

There are still many slums in the west side, as anyone can see by simply driving through there. Among the worse of these, Castro said, are the products of "urban renewal." The bulk of it is city housing projects built in the 1940s. "They're just a bunch of cells," she said. Recreational facilities or social services are nonexistent in the projects.

Segregated housing

There was a proposal to break the segregated housing pattern by building a low-rent project in the Anglo area. But, Castro explained, the racists howled in protest and the project was



'Chicano Landscape'

El Calendario Chicano/Santos Gonzales-Martinez, Jr.

Two views of San Antonio

shunted aside.

Reporter Chriss asserts that although Chicanos constitute 52 percent of the city's population, they began to play a political role "only in the last few years." Consequently, he says, they only have two of the nine members on the city council.

Chicanos have been active politically in San Antonio for a good bit more than the past few years. But because it has been mainly within the Democratic party, the Anglo minority still runs the town.

Castro commented that back in 1964 the city council slate put forward by the powers-that-be included three Chicanos. In 1975 only two were on the slate.

Streets in the barrio are in a terrible state of disrepair. In the rainy season, children walk to school across streets that are heavily flooded.

At the big Mayberry housing project, she said, seven children have drowned.

With a population of three-quarters of a million, there are only two county hospitals in San Antonio.

They are distributed "equally," one on the Chicano west side, one on the Anglo north side. But the north side also has a Veterans Administration hospital and a cancer hospital.

The county hospital, Castro said, is the subject of a grim joke in the barrio. "By the time the ambulance gets you there, you're 'Dead on Arrival.'"

Both county hospitals have only a handful of Spanish-speaking doctors.

Some of the discrimination is really gross. The Edgewood district on the west side, 99 percent Chicano, has but one public library. The mostly Anglo north side has four.

Three new libraries are projected. None are for Chicanos.

Federal funds are also shared "equally." Castro described one Washington-supported drainage project. Half will go to the Anglo areas, half to the Chicano. The Anglos, however, need only a fraction of the drainage work on their streets that the Chicanos do.

Reporter Chriss to the contrary, there is significant unemployment in

San Antonio. The official rate for the city is 8 percent. Among Chicanos, Castro estimated, it's at least double. And for Chicanas it's even higher.

She told how Chicana welfare mothers were recruited to a "job training" program. As soon as they began work, they were cut off welfare and lost food stamps even though they were usually supporting several children on their new job that paid but \$400 a month.

And, as long as the federal government was paying, the bosses would keep the women on. But when the training money ran out, so did the jobs.

Reporter Chriss suggests Chicanos will do fine if they behave and stick with those good Anglos.

But Rosie Castro is convinced that the situation of San Antonio Chicanos won't change for the better until they succeed in building their own independent political power.

When they do, San Antonio will really be a charming city. And it won't need a Madison Avenue PR outfit and cooperative reporters to tell the story.

Why two Chicano leaders plan to vote socialist

By Steve Wattenmaker

Seeing that Ford and Carter "epitomize what their parties stand for, a lot of insensitivity and indifference to the people," was what persuaded Texas Chicano activist Mario Compeán to endorse Peter Camejo for president.

An impressive number of Chicano leaders and activists, including Compeán, have signed a statement endorsing the Socialist Workers party presidential ticket. The statement, which urges Chicanos to cast their votes for Camejo and Reid on November 2, is slated to appear as an advertisement.

Compeán, who helped found and later served as state chairperson of the Texas Raza Unida party, detects "no discernible difference" between the

Democratic and Republican candidates.

"The Republican and Democratic parties have tried to perpetuate more big business, more rip-offs, and nothing filtering down to the grass roots level," Compeán told the *Militant*.

Compeán's opinion of the two parties is shared by Oscar Treviño, co-coordinator of the Chicano Studies Library on the University of California's Berkeley campus.

"In the past," Treviño explained, "Chicanos have embraced Democratic or Republican candidates who seem to recognize some of the vital issues that face us. But we have been disillusioned by officeholders who only seek to pacify us with ineffective programs while, at the same time, serving their real corporate masters.

"Since they refuse to serve us properly," Treviño said, "we must show them that we can no longer tolerate their presence in public office."

Watching the Ford-Carter debates "just reconfirmed" Compeán's dim view of the Democrats and Republicans.

Compeán's alternative is the Socialist Workers ticket.

"Even given the realistic chances Camejo has, still in my own conscience I cannot vote for anybody else but Peter Camejo."

Treviño agrees. "Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are the only candidates who are not only responsive to our needs, but have the imagination and vision to set this country on the right road."

The Socialist Workers candidates need your endorsement too. Clip and mail the coupon below to: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

☐ I endorse the campaign of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, although I may not agree with all planks of the SWP platform

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Officers of the Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee: chairperson, Linda Jenness; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

The bizarre trial of Joseph Mazzola

By Nat Weinstein

SAN FRANCISCO—San Francisco Plumbers union chief Joseph Mazzola has been ousted from his appointed position on the San Francisco Airport Commission. This is the latest in a series of overt antilabor measures taken by the city's Democratic party administration in the wake of the defeated city craft workers' strike last spring.

The top union officials involved have already been convicted of violation of antistrike injunctions. All except Carpenters Business Agent Joe O'Sullivan have appealed their sentences. O'Sullivan did not appeal and has already served the four-day jail term.

Mazzola was charged by Democratic Mayor George Moscone with "conflict of interest" for his role at the head of the defeated strike.

Mazzola was first suspended, then two weeks later tried and convicted in a kangaroo court

forces between capital and labor in San Francisco.

A look at the somewhat bizarre trial will show how it served to twist the knife in the wounds dealt both labor and the labor bureaucracy.

Mazzola hinged his case against the conflict-of-interest charge upon the most self-defeating defense strategy possible. He denied the charge of favoring his union position over his management position on the grounds that the *contrary* was true—that he did all in his power to *prevent* the strike from affecting the airport!

The chief defense witness, Airport Director William Dwyer, testified that Mazzola had assured him on the first day of the strike that the airport would not be closed down. Dwyer couldn't be shaken under cross-examination. He stood by his testimony that Mazzola was a firm opponent of strike efforts directed against the airport.



Nat Weinstein

The effect of this shocking revelation on defeated rank-and-file strikers is indicated by the response of a municipal bus (Muni) driver who had played an active role on the picket lines. "So that's why we couldn't shut down the airport!" he said.

The airport, it should be recalled, was an obvious and strategic target in the effort to force the city into negotiations. Shutting it down in the 1974 city strike was no small factor in the victory of that strike.

Evidently, when the Democratic politicians put Mazzola on trial, they had weighed the effect that knowledge of his betrayal of the strike would have on the union ranks. The rulers decided that this would serve their interests.

It will spread demoralization and cynicism deeper into the working class, they hope.

Demonstrations of solidarity like that of the 2,000 Muni drivers who honored the picket lines for thirty-eight days in the strike will be harder to carry off. All strikes will now be more vulnerable to cynical denunciations and insinuations about the strikers' motives.

Mazzola's folly will also make him—and the other labor bureaucrats connected with "leadership" of the strike—more vulnerable to future victimizations. This does not bode well for the ranks, who are almost always the real targets.

In future confrontations the so-called labor leaders like Mazzola will become more timid—if you can imagine that—in the face of antistrike injunctions and other such threats.

But there is another side to the Mazzola confession. It proves with rare simplicity that class collaboration is class treason.

Maybe Mazzola's protection of business interests at the airport was not *conscious* treason. Maybe he hoped to get some of the bosses on his side and thus mitigate the ferocity of the antiunion assault. Even so, it is a glaring example of the futility of class collaboration.

The only "favor" they returned to poor Mazzola was to testify in his behalf that he did indeed sell out the strike.

Union leaders have no business sitting on these government boards in the first place. From the San Francisco Airport Commission up to the highest federal labor-management committees, their purpose is always to protect the interests of the employers.

It's time for labor to wake up to the criminal foolishness of depending on the bosses or their political agents in the Democratic and Republican parties to win labor's battles. It's time to break free and form an independent party of labor based on the unions.

Nat Weinstein is a member of Painters union Local 4 in San Francisco and a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers party.

AS I SEE IT

proceeding by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. An "official misconduct" guilty verdict was voted ten-to-one by the supervisors, who acted as prosecutor, judge, and jury. Mayor Moscone, the official indicter, was also the chief witness for the prosecution.

The farcical "trial" was televised in its entirety throughout its week-long duration. The verdict came after a one-hour "deliberation" by the "jury" on September 22.

The formal effect of the conviction is slight. Besides removal from the nonsalaried post, Mazzola is stripped of the right to ever again hold appointive or elective office in San Francisco government.

The real effect of the trial and ouster is political. The spectacle of the defeated strike "leader" being punished by the victors is intended to drive home the new relationship of

Role of women debated

Federal workers convention: a new militancy

By Steve Beck

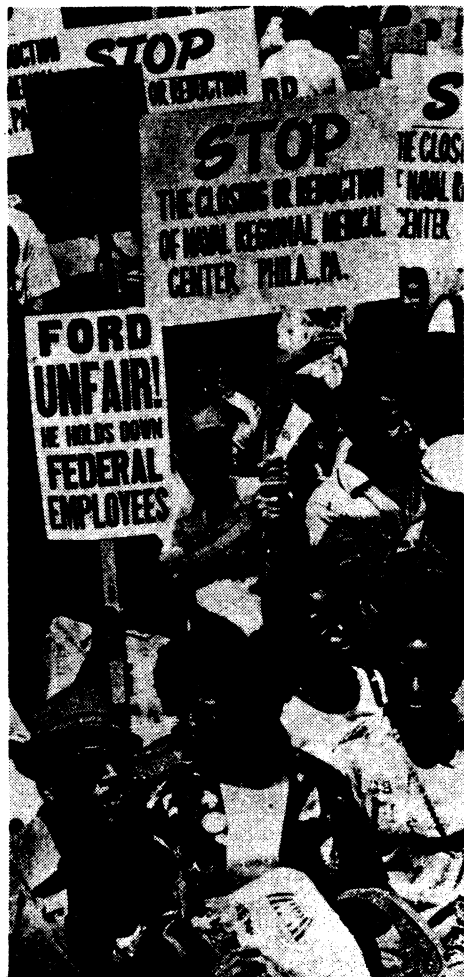
and Kathy Sledge-Lovgren

LAS VEGAS, Nev.—Employees of the federal government are denied the right to strike, to bargain collectively over wages and hours, or even to campaign for public office.

For decades their unions have meekly accepted this. But the American Federation of Government Employees, largest of the federal workers unions, took some steps in a new direction at

ed 45-55 percent of AFGE's members are women.

Outraged at the elimination of women from the executive committee, the women delegates caucused. Other resolutions were soon to be considered that would cripple or abolish the newly won Women's Department.



Members of American Federation of Government Employees demonstrate on Capitol steps last summer.

Steve Beck and Kathy Sledge-Lovgren were both delegates to the AFGE convention, Beck from Local 3369 in New York City and Sledge-Lovgren from Local 3197 in Seattle.

its convention, held here September 20-23.

Delegates representing the AFGE's 235,000 members voted to create a strike fund, authorized the leadership to call job actions, and took steps toward unionizing military personnel.

All three newly elected executive officers pledged themselves to fight for the right to strike. "I would be prepared to spend a good portion of my term in Leavenworth," said Executive Vice-president Joe Gleason.

The role of women in the labor movement was a major issue at the convention. The old pretext of "discrimination in reverse" was used on the second day of the convention to reverse a 1974 constitutional amendment making the women's affairs director a member of the National Executive Committee.

A man from Los Angeles even appealed to "the men here," saying that "the women are not ready." The delegates booed him down. An estimat-

A group of women delegates picketed the entrance to the convention hall at the gaudy MGM Grand Hotel. Their signs read: "AFGE is unfair to women" and "Our wish is to stand together—Our demand is equality!"

Local 1812 distributed a leaflet calling on women to vote and speak for resolutions to strengthen the women's programs. A caucus was also held with the new officers after their election.

The convention adopted a compromise measure that retained and funded the Women's Department and provided funds for elected representatives in each of the union's fifteen districts.

Although the National Executive Committee post was lost, the women fought for and won the right to make the women's affairs director an elected post rather than an easily manipulated appointee. The women's caucus itself was allowed to choose the director at this convention. Louise Smothers, the incumbent director, was reelected.

Despite Hatch Act restrictions, the convention endorsed candidates for the first time in the AFGE's history. The delegates backed Democrats Carter and Mondale with only a few dissenting votes, after first being primed with an anti-Ford film prepared by the AFL-CIO officialdom.

Ford's perfunctory telegram to the convention was "vetoed" and sent back to him by unanimous vote. But a resolution demanding an explanation of Carter's vague blasts at "bureaucrats" was also passed by the convention.

Outgoing President Clyde Webber had proposed unionizing the military. The AFGE did not openly launch a drive to carry through on Webber's challenge at this convention. But the constitution was modified to make it

possible in the future.

"We don't say we want to organize the military now but we sure want to create that doubt," said incoming President Kenneth Blaylock.

The leadership sees the move as a tactic to aid its civilian defense workers, whose jobs are threatened by nonunion, non-civil-service private contractors. But if numerous GIs approach civilian AFGE members and show enthusiasm for having a union, it could bolster the resolve of the present membership.

NEW YORK—On September 30 AFGE President Kenneth Blaylock announced the union's response to Ford's approval of an inadequate pay raise: a "Federal Employees Work for Democracy Month" aimed at voter registration, and "persistent encouragement to the entire federal work force to show up at the polls on Election Day."

The campaign is being coordinated with the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education and is clearly aimed at electing Democrat Jimmy Carter.

The action falls far short of that proposed at the AFGE convention. There delegates voted to authorize the new leadership "to do everything possible including a strike" to get a better increase. There was serious discussion of a work slowdown.

The disputed pay raise will average only 4.83 percent for the 3.4 million federal workers affected. A "weighting" formula introduced this year means the increase will vary from 4.24 percent for the lower-paid clerical and secretarial workers to 7.92 percent for better-paid professional and managerial employees.

—S.B.

Convention 'too democratic'?

Miners vote strong safety fight

By Nancy Cole

CINCINNATI—"I never said it was going to be easy to chair this convention, and it hasn't been," said a weary Arnold Miller on the eighth day of the United Mine Workers convention.

Miller is president of the 277,000-member union, which met here September 23-October 2.

There were 2,000 delegates. Sixty percent were attending their first UMW convention. They weren't all experts on parliamentary procedure. But they had been sent by their locals to do a job, and they took that responsibility seriously.

What really made chairing the convention a herculean task was the right-wing opposition, which was determined to discredit Miller's reform leadership by disrupting the proceedings.

It was a stormy gathering. But every delegate had a chance to speak, and they set the course of the union.

Some would write history otherwise. According to an October 4 *Washington Post* story, "some union officials" attributed the convention's "turbulence" to "an overabundance of democracy at its permissive worst."

Post writer James Branscome continued, "Reporters who have covered the four-year-old reform struggle wonder whether they—in their excitement over a resurgence of trade unionism—overplayed the reform movement, which succeeded in ousting president W.A. (Tony) Boyle."

Before these fair-weather friends of union democracy set out to bury the UMW reform movement, they should take a look at what the convention

accomplished for the union membership.

Convention committees considered thousands of resolutions submitted by UMW locals. The committees then reported to the convention with a series of recommendations. At any point, a delegate could request that a resolution not discussed yet be brought onto the floor. If 30 percent of the delegates agreed, the committee was required to report it out.

The convention voted to send recommendations back to committee if they were too weak or ambiguous.

The topic that received the most detailed discussion was health and safety. This is the pivotal issue around which the union and coal operators do battle.

Nick DeVince, chairperson of the convention's health and safety committee, announced that since the last convention in 1973, 395 miners had died on the job. Two more were killed in the coalfields during the first two days of this convention.

The delegates approved a sweeping series of health and safety demands for the next contract negotiations. They included as a "top priority" securing full-time health and safety committeepersons at each mine, paid by the company but responsible solely to the union. They would have the power to shut down any unsafe mine.

The convention heard guest speaker Robert Barrett, head of the federal Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration. Barrett claims to be a friend of the UMW, a proponent of "people before profits, safety before production."

MESA is responsible for enforcing

the mine safety law through fines for those companies found in violation. But while the courts are quick to act against striking miners, the wheels of justice grind slowly and softly when it comes to penalizing mineowners.

"If your mine is not a safe place to work, it's up to you to help make it safe," Barrett told the delegates.

Usually guest speakers at union conventions conclude their remarks and disappear through the stage curtains. But when Barrett finished, a delegate jumped to a floor microphone and appealed for a point of information.

"You stand up there and talk about safety, but what are you going to do?" he demanded of Barrett. "You put a fine against the coal company for these violations, but are any of them ever collected, I would like to know?"

Barrett was forced to try to answer.

Then another delegate got up. "There's a banner back here that says 'Safety or Else.' We all know what safety is, we know what we want in safety."

"The only problem is we don't understand what the hell the 'or else' is. Every time we've used the 'or else,' we've been fined thousands of dollars through the courts."

"It's about time this convention spells out what they mean by the 'or else,' right in the contract, and I move that we get on with that right now."

Later in the convention, a motion was passed to dispense with other scheduled guest speakers so that the delegates' work wouldn't be interrupted.

The convention produced a list of

Continued on page 30

Steel pamphlet sales off to good start

By Karen Melville

Initial plant-gate and union meeting sales of *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel* were organized in several cities last week.

This pamphlet by *Militant* staff writer Andy Rose discusses Ed Sadowski's campaign for president of the United Steelworkers, the issues in steel today, and historical background to this struggle.

Ruth Robinett of the Pittsburgh Socialist Workers party sold at Sadowski rallies in Homestead and Beaver County, Pennsylvania, October 10 and 11.

"We really underestimated the number of copies we would be able to sell at the Homestead meeting," she reports. "I only brought six copies of the pamphlet. I sold them all within ten minutes, along with the ten copies of the *Militant* I had."

"We didn't make the same mistake the next night. We brought plenty of pamphlets and I sold twenty-five in about half an hour. Steelworkers were very interested in the pamphlet and they were easy to sell."

Pittsburgh ordered another 100 copies to be shipped "the fastest possible way, since we only have seven copies left in the bookstore." Their first order was for 60 copies.

In Houston, pamphlet sales were organized at two plants, Hughes and Hydrio, where regular *Militant* sales are already carried out.

Three copies were sold at Hughes and seven at Hydrio during just one shift change. "We plan to sell many more copies at both plants," said SWP organizer Stu Singer.

The Socialist Workers party is launching a national drive to get thousands of copies of *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel* into the hands of steelworkers and other unionists.

To help get pamphlet and *Militant* sales off the ground at new plants and factories, Pathfinder Press and the *Militant* have prepared a leaflet that can be handed out—by itself or with a sample *Militant*—to let workers know what the pamphlet and the paper are all about. Copies, suitable for reproduction locally, are available from either Pathfinder or the *Militant*.

Militant readers can join in this campaign to spread the word about the important new developments in steel and their significance for all labor.

Use the coupon below to order a bundle of five or more pamphlets at the discount rate of 30 cents each (single copies, 50 cents). Or contact the SWP branch in your area—see the Socialist Directory on page 31.

Send me: 5 copies (\$1.50)
10 copies (\$3.00)
25 copies (\$7.50)
50 copies (\$15.00)

Enclosed is \$ _____

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Mail order to: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York, 10014.

'Now we're a sisterhood too'



UMW Journal/Earl Dotter

CINCINNATI—"We've been a brotherhood for 87 years. Now we're a sisterhood too," says the officers' report distributed to delegates at the United Mine Workers convention. Women are joining the mining work force—not in large numbers yet, but steadily. The convention here showed a few signs that this is having an impact on the union.

The collective bargaining committee recommended that the next contract include, for the first time, a maternity leave provision. A woman delegate—the only one I noticed, although there may have been one or two others—argued for clarification of the guaranteed job return clause included in that provision. "I don't want a job," she said. "I want my job back."

The convention also approved a resolution on women's activities: "In view of the increasing number of women

members and the continuing participation and support of our wives and mothers . . . the International Union shall institute a women's activities program to recognize their special problems and further develop that support."

It's a beginning. But all convention participants were still referred to, without exception, as "brothers." The invocations asked God to make us "better men."

During the health and safety discussion, a delegate asked if the "lovely young lady" sitting on the stage was a coal miner. President Arnold Miller answered that she wasn't, that she was a staff researcher.

"I'm glad she isn't a miner," the delegate said. "And she and other lovely young things like her should stay out of the mines, because they're not safe for them."

A sizable number of delegates scattered throughout the hall booed his remarks.

—N.C.

Insurgent slate named in steel union race

By Pat Douglas

PITTSBURGH—The fight for union democracy in the United Steelworkers of America took another step forward with the announcement of a full slate of candidates to run with Ed Sadlowski for international union office.

At a news conference here October 11, just a block from USWA international headquarters, Sadlowski introduced his running mates to an enthusiastic crowd of rank-and-file steelworkers and news reporters.

Calling his slate "tough, talented, and respected by the members they serve," Sadlowski predicted "an across-the-board sweep in February." The newly announced candidates are:

Ignacio "Nash" Rodríguez for secretary. Rodríguez, the only Chicano candidate for international office, has worked in the mines and mills since the age of seventeen.

He has held elected office in his union—Local 549 at American Can Company in Los Angeles—since 1958, serving as local president since 1973.

Andrew Kmec for treasurer. Kmec has been a union organizer for more than forty years. "I have represented literally tens of thousands of workers across Pennsylvania," he said, "and believe me, they want a breath of fresh air. They want change."

"I am running because I believe this slate represents that change. It's time to get tough with the companies, to listen to the members and represent what *they* want and not what *we* think they need."

Marvin Weinstock for vice-president, administration. Weinstock, an



STEELWORKERS FIGHT BACK SLATE: from left, Nash Rodríguez, Marvin Weinstock, Ed Sadlowski, Andrew Kmec, Oliver Montgomery.

active unionist for more than thirty years, was elected to five consecutive terms as president of Local 1330 in Youngstown, Ohio. He has been a USWA staff representative since 1968.

"The real source of the workers' frustration," Weinstock said, "is that they have no sense that they can communicate with their international union, get it to back them up, and use its muscle on their behalf."

"In fact, they feel that the buddy-buddy attitude toward management at the top of the union encourages corporate arrogance on the shop floor."

Oliver Montgomery for vice-president, human affairs. Montgomery, the son and grandson of steelworkers, started work at Youngstown Sheet and Tube in 1948 and served in various local union offices there.

On the international union staff in Pittsburgh since 1969, he has three times been elected vice-president of Local 3657, the union representing staff workers.

Montgomery was a founder of the Ad Hoc Committee, the first Black rank-and-file group in the steel union. He is on the national executive board of the

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and a member of the NAACP.

The Sadlowski team knows that they have pitted against them the enormous financial resources and organizational muscle of the Abel bureaucracy. To counter this machine they must rely on the workers in the mills, who hunger for change and new direction in their union.

As Nash Rodríguez said in ending the news conference, "We should borrow a slogan from our UFW [United Farm Workers] brothers: *¡Sí se puede!* It can be done!"

How to answer the witch-hunters

Red-baiting & fight for union democracy

By Ed Heisler

Fighters for a democratic and militant labor movement are now locked in combat with the conservative, bureaucratic forces in two of this country's powerful industrial unions.

In the United Mine Workers, reformers under the banner of Miners for Democracy succeeded in 1972 in ousting corrupt dictator W.A. "Tony" Boyle and electing Arnold Miller as president. But the Boyle elements retain a majority on the union's International Executive Board. They aim to stage a comeback in the election of international officers next June.

In the United Steelworkers of Ameri-

Ed Heisler was a railroad worker for ten years in Chicago. As a member of the United Transportation Union, he was a central leader of a struggle from 1969-72 for the right of railroad workers to vote on union contracts. He served as national secretary of the UTU Right to Vote Committee. He is currently a chairperson of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee.

ca, President I.W. Abel and his hand-picked successor Lloyd McBride are determined to keep power within the grip of the self-styled "official family." They face a challenge from Ed Sadlowski, insurgent candidate for USWA president in that union's election on February 8.

Sadlowski calls for democratizing the union, guaranteeing members the right to vote on contracts, and ending the no-strike agreement and all other procompany policies of Abel's "business unionism."

Red-baiting has emerged as a central issue in both of these campaigns, a weapon of the entrenched bureaucrats against those seeking change. How the reform forces answer the charge that

their ranks are infested with "radicals" and "communists" will be a decisive factor in the struggles ahead.

As a correspondent for the *Militant* at the UMW convention, I saw firsthand—and was one of the victims of—the red-baiting hysteria whipped up there. Vice-president Mike Trbovich launched the witch-hunt with a speech charging that radicals on Arnold Miller's staff have "practically destroyed the union."

Trbovich's speech, seen by many delegates as divisive and antiunion, got a poor reception to say the least. The delegates booed and heckled him. Some even walked out.

At a news conference later, Trbovich was asked what proof he had that any staff people were "radicals."

"What they advocate is of the socialistic, revolutionary type," he replied. "They believe everything should belong to the people. They don't believe in the free enterprise system."

As a railroad worker and union activist for many years myself, I found his comment both ludicrous and revealing. Since when, I asked myself, is belief in the "free enterprise system" a requirement for being a good union member?

And hasn't one of the most fundamental goals of the labor movement always been to get a greater share of the wealth and power for working people?

Aren't Trbovich's accusations precisely the sort of charges that the bosses have always leveled against the unions?

Well, nobody asked those questions on the floor of the convention, and the next day the red-baiters carried a vote to revoke press credentials for the *Call*, a Maoist paper. Nancy Cole and I from the *Militant*, along with some other reporters were "strongly advised" to leave by UMW staffers. We returned two days later and covered the rest of the convention without interference.

During the debate on strip-mining I was again struck by how red-baiting and procompany propaganda seemed to dovetail.

Right-wingers succeeded in overturning the UMW's previous stand for strong federal environmental controls over strip-mining, substituting support for weaker state laws. These delegates echoed the mine profiteers' line that they will go broke if forced to restore land ravaged by strip-mining.

"Environmentalists are trying to put the strip-miners out of business," declared one delegate. "I hope every man in this delegation knows what federal standard land-use law is before he will vote for this. Every communist organization in the country is backing this."

The red-baiting campaigns in the mine and steel unions are closely related. They may well be directed by the same people. One anti-Sadlowski leaflet being circulated by the Abel machine quotes the following statement allegedly made by Mike Trbovich:

"The problem in the coal mines is that outside radical forces have taken control of our Union. The same groups and many of the same people are now trying to take over the Steelworkers Union. These elements are really interested in shutting down the economy of America."

How do you answer this kind of smear? First of all, it's necessary to point out exactly where red-baiting comes from. It is a time-honored tactic of the employers and antilabor politicians to discredit unions and break strikes.

Especially in the years before and during the organization of the CIO, hardly a strike took place that wasn't branded a "communistic plot." Strike-breakers were mobilized under the banner of "100 percent Americanism."

Red-baiting was a key part of the drive to housebreak and weaken the

CIO unions after World War II.

The antilabor Taft-Hartley Bill passed in 1947—which authorized open-shop "right-to-work" laws and antistrike injunctions—also required anticommunist "loyalty oaths" from all officers of local, national, and international unions.

The McCarthyite red scare helped to consolidate the grip of the conservative, narrow-minded bureaucracy over the unions. The bureaucrats stood for peaceful collaboration with the bosses—but war to the death against the "reds."

Then as now their real aim was not just to get rid of socialists or communists. They were out to silence and intimidate anyone who disagreed with cold-war foreign policy or class collaboration at home. Thousands upon thousands of the best union activists were victimized, blacklisted, hounded out of the labor movement.

Red-baiting played a big role in bringing about the very conditions that the Miller and Sadlowski forces are fighting against today.

Any movement for union democracy, if it is to be successful and true to its own principles, must unequivocally reject red-baiting in all its forms.

Red-baiting is not just a "fake issue" or a "diversion"—although it certainly is a diversion from the real problems facing workers. It is the *opposite* of union democracy.

Unfortunately, the Miller forces at the UMW convention took a different approach. Miller told the red-baiting delegates, "If you do have proof, you're absolutely right, the constitution is clear [on barring communists]."

His staff, some of whom privately deplored the witch-hunt, nevertheless took part in excluding reporters alleged to be "communists."

This marked a turning point in the convention. Trbovich had thoroughly discredited himself the day before. If

Continued on page 30

In Review

'Freedom Struggle in South Africa'

The Freedom Struggle in South Africa by Tony Thomas. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York, 1976. 24 pp. \$.35.

The sharpening freedom struggle in southern Africa is an inspiration to all those who hate the scourge of racial oppression. But it has also posed major responsibilities to working people, students, and America's Black communities.

The U.S. government has difficulty justifying to an outraged world its proapartheid policies. But Washington has not given up its efforts to preserve those key props of imperialist exploitation in Africa, the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

As part of a massive political,

Pamphlets

economic, and military campaign to shore up its interests in southern Africa, Washington has sought to camouflage its role.

Activists who want to oppose this maneuver need to be armed with the facts. And they need them in a popular, hard-hitting form that can be widely understood.

An educational campaign—best symbolized by the teach-ins—set the stage for the mass movement against the Vietnam War. Such a campaign is needed today to get out the truth about the U.S. role in Africa.

Pathfinder Press has now performed a major service by publishing a timely pamphlet that can contribute greatly to this campaign.

The U.S. government claims it has a totally new Africa policy. Supposedly, it will smooth a peaceful transition to majority rule. What's behind all this?

The whole rotten structure of white minority rule in Africa is directly tied up with huge investment by U.S. corporations. These corporations reap giant superprofits from the exploitation of Black people.

The hypocrisy of Washington's "new" policy is most dramatically exposed in South Africa. Thomas points out that in 1967, the average rate of profit for all U.S. investments in South Africa was about 19.2 percent. This is double the average of other U.S. foreign investments.



SOUTH AFRICA

This exploitation and the resulting superprofits are made possible only by the apartheid system.

Flowing from this, Thomas explains, "Neither the United States nor any of the other big imperialist powers—not to speak of South African imperialism itself—will ever allow the fundamental features of apartheid to be abolished."

Of course, the rise of a massive freedom struggle confronts Washington with new problems in preserving South Africa's apartheid system and its racist sister regime in Rhodesia.

In Washington's eyes, domestic opposition would make any direct U.S. military intervention in support of these racist regimes too politically costly. Therefore, Kissinger has resorted to "shuttle diplomacy."

He is seeking to defeat the freedom struggle by using the immense military and economic power of the United States to orchestrate those forces in Africa that can be persuaded to place narrow factional or procapitalist interests ahead of the demands of the masses. This includes jockeying with the Black capitalist African regimes as well as with middle-class nationalist forces.

But the growth of a powerful Black working class—particularly in South Africa—and a deepening nationalist consciousness among wide layers of the masses work against the success of all schemes to subvert the freedom struggle.

Thomas explains why the logic of South Africa's freedom struggle takes it in an anticapitalist direction. "Because apartheid is an overall system that touches every aspect of the lives of South Africa's twenty million Blacks," he explains, "the struggle around any specific national, democratic, or economic question can easily and quickly trigger an explosion directed against the totality of the apartheid system itself."

"Such struggles can pose the question of national and class political power and the need to overturn the system of capitalism itself."

Thomas writes that events in South Africa confirm that "the combination of the proletarian and national struggles" is "the essence of the South African revolution."

In discussing the problems facing African revolutionists, Thomas notes the "urgent need of independence from the neocolonial African regimes. While at times the liberation struggle can try to pressure these regimes, no reliance can be placed upon them." Freedom fighters, he says, should "see as their main and only real ally in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, and Botswana, not the governments or the ruling petty-bourgeois cliques, but the worker, student, and peasant masses who can be mobilized against those governments for both national and social demands."

As for supporters of African freedom in this country, they should not rely on the good intentions of Kissinger, Ford, or Carter. Rather, they should aim toward educating and mobilizing the American working people and communities of the oppressed nationalities. A statement by Socialist Workers party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid concludes the pamphlet with some concrete suggestions as to how this job can be started.

Certainly the wide distribution of this pamphlet will be a good first step.

—Peter Seidman

Stalinist candidate hostile to gay rights

[The following interview with Communist party vice-presidential candidate Jarvis Tyner originally appeared in the June 5 Gay Community News, a Boston paper. The Militant is reprinting it here as a revealing picture of the Stalinist stand on the issue of gay rights.]

[The CP has a similarly reactionary position on the Equal Rights Amendment. In opposing the ERA, Gus Hall, the CP's presidential candidate, and running mate Tyner find themselves to the right of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, both on record in favor of the amendment.]

[Behind Tyner's comments is the official CP attitude toward homosexuality. Party leader Carmen Ristic wrote in the January 1971 Political Affairs that gays are "a product of a decaying capitalism which confuses and corrupts the minds of people."]



CP's Jarvis Tyner doesn't support gay rights bill

[As on other issues, the American Stalinists take their lead from Moscow where the 1971 edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia states that Soviet penal statutes "provide for the punishment of homosexuality," which it defines as "a sexual perversion."]

[In contrast to the CP, the Socialist Workers party rejects the antigay prejudices spawned by capitalism and echoed by Stalinists. The "Bill of Rights for Working People," the SWP's campaign platform, calls for democratic rights for gays. More than 750,000 copies of the brochure have been distributed. The party's presidential candidates, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, have stated their support for the Abzug bill referred to below.]

[In an interview printed in the October 2 Gay Community News, Carol Henderson Evans, SWP candidate for Senate from Massachusetts, voiced her party's firm support for gay rights.]

[The Tyner interview was conducted by Eric Gordon and it is reprinted with the permission of Gay Community News.]

GCN: Mr. Tyner, in your campaign literature there is no mention of support for full civil rights to gay people. Does the Communist Party support the Abzug bill now in the House of Representatives that would protect gay people from discrimination?

Tyner: I didn't know about that bill.

GCN: Would the Communist Party support such a bill?

T: The Party does not believe that it is right to politicize people's sexuality,

so I don't think we would support such a bill.

GCN: The Communist Party newspaper, the Daily World, did not support the passage of the gay rights bill before the New York City Council, although the bill was being attacked on every conservative front: the Church, the firemen's union, the orthodox rabbis. Don't you think if the paper had urged its readers to phone, write and demonstrate about that bill, the bill might have passed?

T: I don't know. It's hard to think it would have made any difference.

GCN: People in this country know that gay people are not very well off in the Soviet Union. They are imprisoned, sent to mental asylums and so forth.

T: Yes, well, that's the historical experience there. By the way, the

Cubans have also determined the same policy.

GCN: Is their policy the same as the Communist Party's here?

T: Well, each country has its own historical experience. We have another in this country.

GCN: Don't you think it's fairly safe to say that unless the Communist Party comes out with a specific statement about gay rights in this country, gay people will naturally assume that the CP's position is the same as the Soviet Union's?

T: I don't know. I can't say what people should assume.

GCN: So why should gay people vote for the Communist Party in 1976?

T: Our position on every issue would stand to benefit gay people along with everyone else. We just don't believe in making an issue of people's private sexual lives.

GCN: Did you know that all of the old Czarist laws against homosexuality were thrown out by the Bolshevik government in December 1917, that is within a month after the Revolution?

T: They were?

GCN: Yes. The oppression of gay people only started up again when Stalin was trying to consolidate his power, beginning in the late twenties and on into the thirties.

T: Well, I didn't know about that. But I'm sorry, I have another appearance to make now. It's been great talking to you.

Jewish neighborhoods machine-gunned

Argentina: anti-Semitic terror growing

By Judy White
From Intercontinental Press

Growing evidence of the Argentine government's direct involvement in the escalating right-wing violence was the subject of Congressional hearings that began in Washington September 28.

A particular focus was the ominous threat the campaign of terror represents for Argentina's 500,000 Jews, who are coming under increasing attack.

There is "an organized campaign," designed to "discredit and intimidate" Argentine Jews, Burton Levinson testified the opening day. Levinson is chairman of the Latin American Affairs Committee of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

This campaign has involved "a massive propaganda effort" and physical attacks, he said.

"Last month, the Jewish Quarter, 'Barrio Once,' was attacked. Unidentified thugs drove through predominantly-Jewish neighborhoods and strafed Jewish-owned shops with machine guns and placed bombs in synagogues and Jewish schools and cultural institutions."

In the period from August 1 to September 21 eleven bombs were directed at such targets.

Levinson also reported the June 4 kidnapping and murder of Dr. Salvador Akermann. His killers asserted that he had been involved in the capture of Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann.

'Jews and leftists'

A fact sheet distributed by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA)* cited other cases of kidnappings and murders of Argentine Jews:

- Among the thirty murder victims whose bodies were discovered August 20 in a suburb of Buenos Aires there were "a number of young Jews."

- The son and daughter of a leading exiled Jewish Argentine poet, Juan Gelman, along with his son's pregnant wife, were recently kidnapped in Buenos Aires. Gelman's wife was told that the kidnappings were a reprisal against her husband.

- The San Fernando home and office of a Jewish doctor, Max Krawczyk, were raided on March 27 and May 16. In the first raid the assailants—dressed in military uniform—left a message on the wall: "Jews and Leftists, We Shall Return." On May 16, Krawczyk's wife was kidnapped and his eight-year-old daughter was questioned at gunpoint for an extended period of time.

In addition, twenty-five Latin Ameri-



Right-wing Argentine goons like these have carried out increasing number of anti-Semitic terrorist attacks.

can political refugees who were kidnapped and later released in Buenos Aires reported that their captors sang Nazi songs and shouted slogans against the Jews.

USLA protest

USLA organized a delegation of prominent individuals to protest this anti-Semitism. On September 24 the delegation visited the Argentine ambassador to the United Nations, Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, and the director of the Human Rights Division of the United Nations Secretariat, Marc Schreiber.

Ortiz de Rozas denied that the Argentine government had an official or unofficial policy tolerating the terrorist attacks. He did not explain what steps were being taken to apprehend those responsible.

Schreiber asked the delegation to submit a brief detailing the situation so that inquiries could be made.

USLA has announced plans to continue documenting and exposing anti-Semitic terror in Argentina as part of its general campaign against the political repression under the Videla regime.

A second witness who appeared before the congressional committee was Rev. James Weeks of the La-Salette Mission Society. Weeks had lived in Argentina for eleven years

until he was expelled from the country following his August 3 arrest.

"On the afternoon of August 3rd, eight armed men broke into our house, claiming to be police, but dressed as civilians," he said. "From about five o'clock until about 10:30 p.m., they proceeded to harass and threaten us with torture and death."

When Weeks and the five seminar-ians he shared the house with were finally taken to police headquarters, two other persons were left in the house with instructions to wait three hours and then tell the press that the clergymen had been kidnapped by Montoneros, one of the main guerrilla groups in Argentina.

Weeks pointed out that what happened to him was part of "a persecution of the whole Church, not only of the more progressive members of the hierarchy. . . . The reporting of these cases to the police is of no consequence. None of the cases are ever investigated nor is anyone punished."

Tortured brutally

Weeks read the committee the testimony of some other victims of the repression:

Those who attacked my husband appeared to be savages. After beating him ferociously with their fists, they dragged him to the bed and began to beat him with a wet towel, all the while threatening him

with death as they questioned him about his political beliefs. They insisted that he had leftist leanings and began to ask him about people and things he knew nothing about. He could not give them the information they were looking for. So they grabbed me and told him if he didn't talk they would kill me. . . .

The couple was taken to a detention center.

I was then taken to a building where I heard my husband's voice. . . . When he heard mine, he called me by name, so they hit him and told him it was forbidden to talk. Immediately afterwards they brought him into the next room and began to torture him. His screams of despair reached my ears, mingled with the laughs of these monsters. One of them hit me on the head and told me that I would be sure to confess when my turn came. . . .

My husband was tortured brutally and savagely every day. According to the doctor, his bronchial and genital areas were affected. They tortured him with electric shocks and water and hit him with clubs. His chest and abdomen were filled with burns, his mouth all swollen up, and his genital area infected. . . .

The torturers would gloat and complain about the high cost of the batteries they needed for their torture equipment. . . .

Weeks ended his testimony by citing a number of features common to the experience of the victims he had talked to. Among them were the following:

The kidnappers were invariably police or military men, although they never presented identification or search warrants.

Those abducted were taken to pre-detention centers, or to police or military headquarters.

The conversation and behavior of the kidnappers showed anti-Semitic and pro-fascist sympathies.

Although no formal legal charges were brought against the victims, they were generally accused of alleged leftist or Marxist leanings.

All were subjected to torture.



General Videla

*For copies of these materials, write to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.



Argentina

Defend human rights in Argentina

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners is fighting to defend the victims of the new military dictatorship in Argentina.

WHAT USLA IS DOING:

- Defending trade-union leaders, like the well-known auto workers' leader José Francisco Páez, imprisoned for exercising their right to organize fellow workers to win a better standard of living.
- Working to insure the safety of the thousands of political refugees from other Latin American countries

now trapped in Argentina.

- Publicizing the responsibility of the Videla regime for the right-wing terror that has claimed the lives of hundreds of innocent victims.

- Mounting, together with other organizations, a campaign to denounce the persecution of Jews, like the recent bombing of synagogues and the kidnaping of relatives of prominent Argentine Jews.

- Providing material and moral support to the refugees and others whose lives are in danger.

- Mobilizing public opinion to de-



mand the release of all the political prisoners and the restoration of democratic and human rights.

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

- USLA has established a special Argentine Solidarity Fund to aid the families of political prisoners, the refugees, and other victims of political

persecution and to continue this campaign. Please send a contribution today! (Make checks payable to the Argentine Solidarity Fund, c/o USLA.)

- Help spread the truth about Argentina by holding meetings and circulating materials on your campus, or in your trade union or other organization. Contact USLA and we'll help you get started.

- Volunteer to work on the Argentine campaign by contacting USLA.

Clip and mail to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003.

____ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ ____ for the Argentine Solidarity Fund.

____ Send me more information on USLA's Argentine campaign and how I can help.

____ I would like to arrange a meeting on Argentina. Please inform me about available speakers.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Telephone _____

...baiting

Continued from page 27

the Miller forces had faced the issue squarely and condemned the red-baiting for what it was—a right-wing disruption aimed at rolling back gains the union ranks have won—I am certain they could have won widespread support among the delegates and dealt the right-wingers a blow.

That opportunity was lost. The red-baiters had free rein for the rest of the convention.

In the steelworkers campaign, Ed Sadlowski has often stated that red-baiting is “the bosses’ game” and that a provision barring communists “doesn’t belong in a labor union constitution.”

At times, however, he has fallen into the trap set by the red-baiters. At the United Steelworkers convention in Las Vegas last September, under a barrage of slanders from the Abel machine, Sadlowski challenged his accusers to “stand up and start naming names of who these subversive people are. Who are these thousands of ‘communists?’”

I do not doubt that Sadlowski’s intention was to expose and discredit the red-baiters. But to even suggest that the reform movement will start policing its own ranks if the right-wingers “name names” is a dangerous concession.

Suppose they do “name names.” What then? Where does it stop? The next thing you know, you’re letting the enemies of union democracy dictate who can and who cannot be in a movement for union democracy.

I believe that the movement for union democracy should welcome the participation of all union members—be they socialists, Republicans, communists, Democrats, or whatever—who support its goals.

But won’t that cost us support, some may ask? Isn’t it better to just deny the charges and keep the radicals and socialists at arm’s length, so we aren’t vulnerable to criticism? I don’t think so.

To be sure, conservatism, prejudice, and anticommunism still exist within the unions and in society at large. But the growing sentiment in the ranks—probably the prevailing sentiment—is for the right of everyone to express their ideas, and for those ideas to be judged on how well they advance the union cause and the needs of the workers.

In the upcoming campaigns in the mine and steel union, *there will be red-baiting*. The bureaucrats will see to that. It can’t be ducked. It can’t be evaded. It can’t be dodged.

Fighters for union democracy have a basic question to decide: Is the problem the “reds,” or is the problem the red-baiters?

So long as we remember that we’re fighting for a labor movement where everyone can speak their mind without fear of intimidation, I don’t think we’ll have any problem answering that question, or meeting the red-baiters head-on.

...UMW

Continued from page 26

tough provisions that the miners insist be in their next contract.

That wouldn’t have happened at one of dictator Boyle’s less “permissive” meetings.

There’s no question that the coal operators didn’t celebrate the outcome of this year’s UMW convention.

As one delegate said early in the convention when he complained about the few who had come to disrupt, “Let’s quit pussyfooting around. We have work to do in fighting these dirty coal companies.”

...Moody

Continued from page 4

to other attacks on Black rights, from Boston to South Africa. He urged those at the rally to reach out and mobilize the more than 900 Black students on campus to join the struggle in defense of Moody.

Other speakers included John Gaige of the Toledo Socialist Workers party and Rev. Gene Keil of the United Christian Fellowship.

The Paul X Moody Defense Fund held an emergency meeting October 2 to project future activities. To find out how you can participate, contact: Paul X Moody Defense Fund, c/o Sister Elnor X Stubbs, 803 Eighth Street, Apartment 6, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

...election

Continued from page 17

Equal Rights Amendment. They joined the picket lines of striking auto workers this fall. They are mobilizing opposition to Washington’s support to South Africa’s apartheid regime.

Not all the protest vote next month will land in McCarthy’s column. Both McCarthy and the SWP candidates are on the ballot in roughly thirty states. Some voters will decide this year to vote socialist.

As America’s rulers step up their assault on the rights and living standards of working people, more and more voters will begin to consider the socialist alternative. Many who voted for McCarthy this year will vote socialist in years to come.

But why wait? If you were thinking about voting for McCarthy this fall, think twice.

And when you shut the curtain behind you on the voting booth next month, cast your ballot for the real independents. Vote for Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

Calendar

BALTIMORE

HOW TO FIGHT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, THE CIA, THE FBI, CITY HALL AND WIN. Speakers: Richard Hill, plaintiff in SWP lawsuit against the government; William Zinman, ACLU Board of Governors; others. Fri., Oct. 22, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

BOSTON

WHAT SOCIALISTS THINK ABOUT THE ELECTION ISSUES. Speaker: Mac Warren, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 9th C.D. Fri., Oct. 22, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., Fourth Floor (Kenmore Square). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Boston Socialist Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

BROOKLYN

SWP CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Pat Wright, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 14th C.D.; representative from National Coordinating Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists; representative from Junior Kettle Defense Committee; Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 18th C.D. Sat., Oct. 23, 7:30 p.m. Place to be announced. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 387-5771 or 773-0250.

INDIANAPOLIS

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate. Tues., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. IUPUI Aud. A Bldg. 1201 E. 38th St. (across from fairgrounds). Ausp: Indiana Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (317) 631-6523.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate. Sat., Oct. 23, 7 p.m., reception; 8 p.m. rally. Regency Ballroom, Sheraton West Hotel, 2961 Wilshire Blvd. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 California Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 735-4235.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

PROPOSITION 14 (FARM WORKERS INITIATIVE)—WHAT’S AT STAKE? A panel discussion: representatives from UFW, San Fernando RUP, and Socialist Workers campaign. Fri., Oct. 22, 8 p.m. 4040 W. Washington Blvd. (across from Ralph’s). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

MILWAUKEE

WHICH WAY FOR LABOR IN ’76? Speaker: Ed Heisler, cochairperson, SWP 1976 National Campaign Committee. Fri., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 442-8170.

NEW ORLEANS

SOUTHERN AFRICA IN REVOLT. Fri., Oct. 22, 8 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

NEW YORK

FREE MUSTAFA DZHEMILEV. Let the Crimean Tatars return to Crimea. Picket the Soviet airline offices. Mon., Oct. 18, 11:30 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., 45th St. and 5th Ave. Ausp: Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee. For more information call (212) 533-9238.

NEW YORK: CHELSEA

OPEN HOUSE AND RALLY. Speaker: Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for Senate. Sat., Oct. 23, 5:30 p.m., buffet; 7:00 p.m., rally; party to follow. 200½ W. 24th St. (near 7th Ave.). Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Chelsea Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

PHOENIX

WHY SOCIALISTS PROPOSE A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR WORKING PEOPLE. Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate. Tues., Oct. 19, 1 p.m., Ariz. State Univ., Memorial Union; 7 p.m., St. Anthony Church, 909 S. 1st Ave. Ausp: Arizona Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (602) 956-1181.

PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. A discussion series. “Why we need socialism.” Sat., Oct. 23, 3 p.m. 7302 Forest Rd. #301, Landover, Md. Ausp: Prince Georges County SWP. For more information call (301) 864-4867.

QUEENS

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Keith Jones, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 7th C.D.; Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate; Kipp Dawson, PRDF. Sat., Oct. 24, 6:30 p.m., happy hour; 8:00 p.m., rally; party to follow. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

ROXBURY

BUFFET AND RECEPTION FOR WILLIE MAE REID. SWP vice-presidential candidate. Guest speakers: Mac Warren, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 9th C.D.; Carol Henderson Evans, SWP candidate for Senate. Sun., Oct. 24, 3:30 p.m. Roxbury YMCA, 401 Warren St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 445-7799.

ST. LOUIS

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate. Fri., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. Wohl Community Center, 1515 North Kings Hwy. Donation: \$1.50. Missouri ’76 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

Hear Camejo and Reid

Socialist campaign rallies



PETER CAMEJO will be the featured speaker at rallies in:

AUSTIN—Monday, October 18, 7:30 p.m., Geology 100, University of Texas
PHOENIX—Tuesday, October 19, 7 p.m., St. Anthony Church, 909 S. First Ave.
SAN FRANCISCO—Wednesday, October 20, 8 p.m., Drove Hall, 3543 18th St.
EAST LOS ANGELES—Thursday, October 21, 8 p.m., Student Lounge, East Los Angeles College, Brooklyn Ave. (in Spanish)
SAN DIEGO—Friday, October 22, 8 p.m., San Diego Civic Center, Copper Room, 2nd and B Streets
LOS ANGELES—Saturday, October 23, 8 p.m., Regency Ballroom, Sheraton West Hotel, 2961 Wilshire Blvd.

WILLIE MAE REID will speak in:

CINCINNATI—Monday, October 18, 12 noon, TUC Room 414, University of Cincinnati
INDIANAPOLIS—Tuesday, October 19, 8 p.m., Auditorium, A Bldg., IUPUI, 1201 E. 38th St.
KANSAS CITY—Wednesday, October 20, 7:30 p.m., Room ST-103, Science Technology Bldg., Penn Valley Community College
ST. LOUIS—Friday, October 22, 7:30 p.m., Wohl Community Center, 1515 N. Kings-highway

To help build the socialist campaign and rallies see the Socialist Directory on page 31 for the campaign headquarters nearest you.

Officers of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee: Chairperson, Linda Jenness; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

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Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

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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

LOS ANGELES

Socialist campaign rally

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23. Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate. Reception, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. Regency Ballroom, Sheraton West Hotel, 2961 Wilshire Blvd. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 California Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 735-4235.

NEW YORK: CHELSEA

Socialist campaign open house

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23. Speaker: Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Buffet, 5:30 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m.; party to follow. 200½ W. 24th St. (near Seventh Avenue). Donation: \$2.50. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

Ausp: Chelsea Socialist Workers Campaign. Chairperson: Marilyn Markus; treasurer: Kendall Green.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, P.O. Box 10772, Phoenix, Ariz. 85064. Tel: (602) 956-1181.

Tempe: YSA, Box 1344, Tempe, Ariz. 85281. Tel: (602) 277-9453.

Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156.

East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

Long Beach: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3322 Anaheim St., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.

Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11, Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8197.

Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210

Pasadena: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 226 N. El Molino, Pasadena, Calif. 91106. Tel: (213) 793-3468.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1053 15th St., San Diego, Calif. 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630.

San Fernando Valley: SWP, P.O. Box 4456, Panorama City, Calif. 91412. Tel: (213) 894-2081.

San Francisco: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110. Tel: (415) 285-4686.

San Francisco, Ingleside: SWP, 1441 Ocean Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94112. Tel: (415) 333-6261.

San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992.

San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 2762A Pine St., San Francisco, Calif. 94115. Tel: (415) 931-0621.

San Jose: SWP, YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

East San Jose: SWP, 1192 E. Santa Clara, San Jose, Calif. 95116. Tel: (408) 295-2618.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

Santa Cruz: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Redwood Bldg., UCSC, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95064.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, Room 175, University Memorial Center, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 492-7679.

Denver: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1379-81 Kalamath, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825.

Fort Collins: YSA, Student Center Cave, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, Colo. 80521.

FLORIDA: Miami: YSA, Box 431096, South Miami, Fla. 33143.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Suzanne Welch, 765 El Rancho St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 224-9632.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040, Atlanta, Ga. 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280.

Chicago, North Side: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1870 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811.

Chicago, South Chicago: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 9139 S. Commercial, Room 205, Chicago, Ill. 60617. Tel: (312) 734-7644.

Chicago, South Side: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1515 E. 52nd Pl., 3rd Floor North, Chicago, Ill. 60615. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

Chicago, Uptown-Rogers Park: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1105 W. Lawrence, Room 312, Chicago, Ill. 60640. Tel: (312) 728-4151.

Chicago, West Side: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 5967 W. Madison, Second Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

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THE MILITANT

Student conference to plan 'U.S. out of Africa' drive

"Whether we want to be or not, we are caught in a great moment in history. . . . The vast majority of the people of the world are colored. . . . Up until four or five years ago, most of the one and one-quarter billion colored peoples were exploited by empires of the West. . . . Today many are free. . . . And the rest are on the road. We are part of that great movement."—Martin Luther King

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The great Black civil rights leader said those profound words more than two decades ago, during a rise in the African revolution against colonialism. The first sparks of another fight had begun to fly—the fight against the racist Jim Crow system in the South.

Today Jim Crow-style legal segregation is dead. But a racist offensive now threatens to take back many of the equal rights gains made by Blacks.

At the same time the long road to the liberation of the Black masses in Africa has led to sustained and at times explosive struggles in Rhodesia and South Africa.

This in turn has prompted a sharp upturn in diplomatic and economic activity by Washington aimed at preserving U.S. interests in Africa. And with this comes the increased danger of direct U.S. military intervention.

These factors have shaped a major decision by the National Student Coalition Against Racism to make the theme of its third National Student Conference Against Racism (November 19-21 at Boston University) the struggle against racism in the United States and southern Africa.

International struggle

NSCAR Coordinator Maceo Dixon described the thinking of the antiracist coalition in launching such a campaign in solidarity with the Black struggle against white minority rule in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia, and South Africa.

"The struggle against racism is international," Dixon said. "African struggles in the past have had a big impact on the consciousness of Black Americans. Today, that is truer than ever.

"The wave of African rebellion against colonialism that broke out after World War II had an effect both on the government and Black people in America," Dixon said. "The government feared that the Jim Crow system would isolate the United States internationally by exposing its racist character. In this context, the struggle here against segregation in the South became an immense pressure.

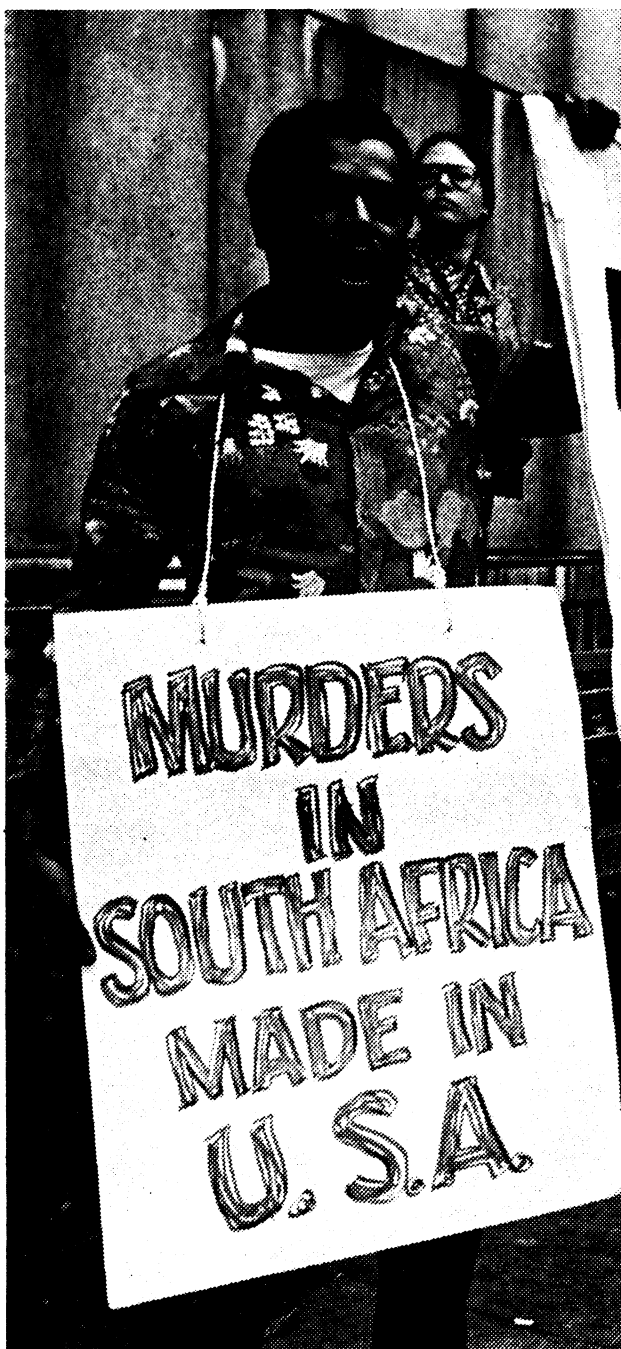
"This ultimately forced the U.S. Supreme Court to declare that the segregationist doctrine of 'separate but equal' was unconstitutional in the famous *Brown v. Board of Education* suit. But it took more than a decade of struggle by the Black community above and below the Mason-Dixon line to force the government to implement that ruling."

At the same time, Dixon continued, those African struggles against colonialism inspired Black America.

Today, the natural solidarity between the freedom struggles in Africa and here in the United States can once again play an important role.

U.S. claims to be for Black majority rule in southern Africa, Dixon explained, are false. "More than 300 American corporations operate in South Africa—with the government's blessings. They support apartheid. They have racist rules and restrictions. These corporations make immense profits because Black labor under apartheid is so terribly exploited. That is why they will never give up what they have without a fight."

"To try to preserve this system, Kissinger has hit the trail of 'shuttle diplomacy' once again. What he's trying to do is buy time for Vorster and the



Militant/Lou Howort

racist regimes. Kissinger wants to slow down, disrupt, block, and stop the struggle for freedom because of the stakes of the American corporations and the American government in apartheid.

"But defenders of Black rights in this country shouldn't be fooled by Kissinger's capers," Dixon explained. "The defeat of apartheid and white minority rule in southern Africa would be a spectacular defeat for the most racist regimes in the world, freeing Black men, women, and children from inhuman bondage.

"It would be a big blow to the heart and brain of international racism: the American government.

"It would inspire the Black community to step up our fight for rights here."

Thus NSCAR's campaign in solidarity with the struggles in southern Africa, Dixon said, reflects "a burning need of the Black community, the need to fight racism wherever it rears its head. In America today the focus of the racist offensive is around busing.

"That's why what happens in Boston is so important. But the attacks on our rights also mean increasing victimization of those who struggle against racism, the increasing number of political prisoners. These attacks mean cutbacks and layoffs that hit Blacks and Puerto Ricans and Chicanos the hardest. We see efforts to roll back affirmative action. And reintroduce the death penalty. Also the hysteria against 'illegal aliens.' NSCAR takes up all those issues. They must be part of our agenda.

"But," Dixon said, "the same corporations and

banks that discriminate against Blacks, that redline us into the ghetto are part of investment operations in southern Africa. The American government supported South Africa's invasion of Angola. It supported Portuguese colonialism in Africa with millions of dollars in military and economic aid. And we know the CIA and Pentagon are in cahoots with the racist regime today."

Demand 'U.S. Out!'

"So part of NSCAR's antiracist responsibilities is the need to help build a movement that demands that the United States get out and stay out of southern Africa," Dixon said. "We have to rally support for the political prisoners of the regimes, demanding they be freed. We have to say 'No' to apartheid and to any schemes that postpone and deny self-determination to the Black African masses."

What about the specifics of the NSCAR campaign? "We are talking about coalitions, unity with as many groups and individuals and organizations as possible," he answered. "We want to have teach-ins, rallies, protests, demonstrations on campuses, in streets, in front of federal buildings across the country. We want one huge, loud voice that says, 'Washington, the corporations, the CIA must get out of southern Africa now!'

Picket White House

In response to an international call from the Organization of African Unity for public protests against apartheid in South Africa, a picket line at the White House has been set for October 25 to demand "self-determination for South Africa." Demonstrators will also be demanding home rule for the District of Columbia, whose largely Black population is denied full representation in Congress.

The picket line has been called by the June 16 Coalition, a D.C. group organized around opposition to the U.S. role in southern Africa. The D.C. Student Coalition Against Racism is among the participating organizations.

The picket will occur one day prior to the enactment of a phony scheme of South African Prime Minister Vorster that allegedly grants independence to the Transkei. This is to be the first of ten tribal homelands that are to be given "independent" status in order to disguise the oppression of Blacks in South Africa. Protest organizers want to convince the American people that this scheme is a sham.

The picket will take place in front of the White House, across from Lafayette Park, beginning at noon. For more information, contact Jimmy Garrett at (202) 636-6920.

"How we can help organize this national campaign," Dixon explained, "will be a major discussion at our next national conference. We intend to have a major focus of our Friday night preconference rally be an educational talk on southern Africa. There will also be workshops on this topic.

"We have invited all organizations and individuals active in opposing U.S. involvement in southern Africa to come and help educate, discuss, and plan future activities."

Dixon's sense of urgency and enthusiasm is reflected in a new rallying cry beginning to make the rounds in NSCAR's seventy affiliates across the country:

"No to racism, from South Africa to Boston!"

To find out more about the antiracist conference contact: NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone: (617) 288-6200.