

THE MILITANT

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

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'GUARDIAN' NEWSPAPER IS UNDECIDED ON PURGE. PAGE 8.

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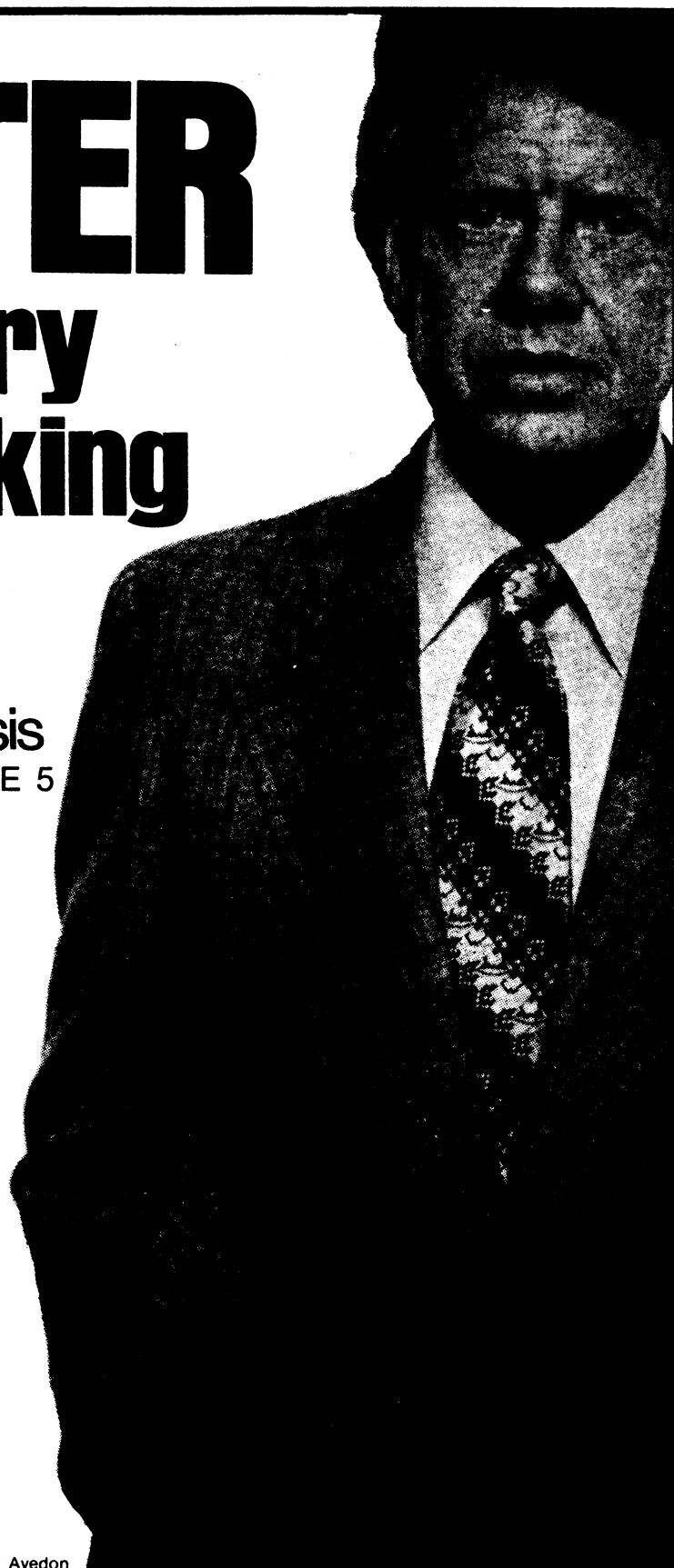
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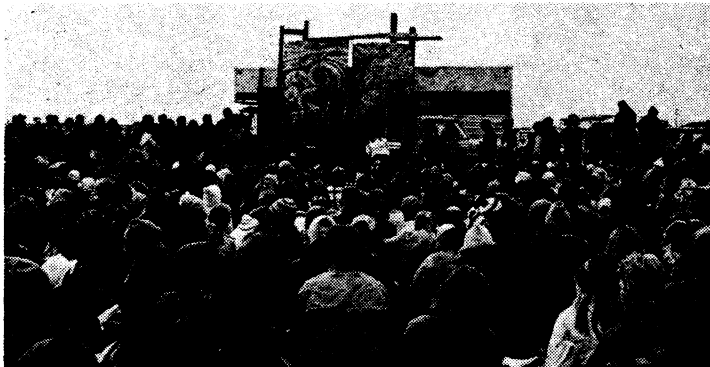
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In Brief

PSP MEMBER RELEASED FROM JAIL: Two hundred fifty supporters greeted Lureida Torres, a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, upon her release from a New York jail October 28 after completing a four-month sentence.

Torres was imprisoned June 26 for exercising her constitutional right to remain silent during a grand jury fishing expedition into the PSP.

Nuclear power protest



Demonstrators at October 23 rally

Militant/Anne Teasdale

'STOP THE NUKE': Militant correspondent Douglas Smith reports that this was the theme of an "alternative energy fair" and rally October 23 in Hampton, New Hampshire. The event was organized by the Clamshell Alliance, a coalition of fifteen New England groups opposed to nuclear power plants.

The rally of 2,000 was held to protest plans to build twin atomic reactors in nearby Seabrook.

Gov. Meldrim Thompson has okayed construction, despite his promise to honor a referendum that rejected the reactors as unsafe. Meldrim's contempt for both the environment and the democratic rights of New Hampshire voters has prompted four protest demonstrations so far.

EMBATTLED CWA STRIKERS: Ninety communications workers have been on strike against Focus Cable TV in Oakland, California, since July 7. Focus, a union-busting outfit controlled by the giant Hughes Corporation, refuses to negotiate with Communications Workers of America Local 9455.

On October 30 more than 100 Local 9455 supporters marched in front of Focus's offices. The demonstrators came from more than a dozen unions, as well as from the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the Alameda County Labor Council.

MORE CAMEJO-REID ENDORSERS: Dr. Armando Gutiérrez, vice-chairperson of the Texas Raza Unida party, has added his name as an endorser of the 1976 Socialist Workers presidential campaign. "Speaking as a Chicano," said Gutiérrez, "Camejo and Reid offer the only real alternative."

Others who have added their names to the final list of endorsers were Ramona Austin, a leader of the National Organization for Women in Minnesota; Nicholas Topping, a prominent Milwaukee activist; Jeff Kleinert of Protect Political Rights, a Milwaukee group; and Frank G. Greenwood, a Los Angeles playwright and lecturer associated with the Langston Hughes Players.

Elizabeth McAlister, a Baltimore antiwar activist who won prominence as a defendant in the Harrisburg Seven frame-up, said, "As Ford and Carter offer no realistic alternative in this election, I urge voters to consider Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid or other socialist candidates."

Black activist Stokely Carmichael and the All-African People's Revolutionary party expressed the view that most Black people would not vote, and therefore they did not endorse any candidate. They did, however, urge those Blacks who planned to vote to "vote for the Socialist Workers party or the Communist party, who are at least raising real issues for people to consider."

ATTACK ON UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS IN ARIZONA:

Last spring, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (*la migra*) deported more than 100 workers in Tucson, Arizona. Shortly afterwards, *la migra* raided the Manzo Area Council (MAC), a service organization for immigrant workers. Without a subpoena, agents carted off records involving 750 MAC clients. The records were turned over to a grand jury.

Subsequently, more than fifty of those listed in the records have been deported. In October, MAC Director Margo Cowan was indicted for perjury and twenty-five felony counts for aiding "illegal aliens." Cowan faces penalties totaling seventy-seven years in prison and \$98,500 in fines.

At an October 27 news conference, leaders of the NAACP, American Civil Liberties Union, and other groups called the

indictment an effort to whip up hysteria against the rights of undocumented workers.

The Manzo Defense Fund is urging protests demanding that all charges against Cowan be dropped. Protests should be sent to U.S. Attorney William Smitherman, La Placita Village, Tucson, Arizona 85701. Send copies to Manzo Defense Fund, 1025 North Grande Avenue, Tucson, Arizona 85705.

CAPITALIST MURDER MACHINE MOVES AHEAD:

Utah has set November 15 as the day Gary Mark Gilmore will go before a firing squad. The date was set November 1 after Gilmore lost a bid for a new trial.

The U.S. Supreme Court has given attorneys for Ernest Benjamin Smith until December 11 to appeal a Texas trial that sentenced Smith to death for his alleged role in a robbery-related killing.

Smith, a Black man, pleaded not guilty to the charges.

But Texas authorities have already set November 22 as the day Smith will be executed.

Smith's lawyer says he will file a motion for a delay of the execution until the U.S. Supreme Court can review his case.

Concerned that racist forces in Massachusetts may win passage of a death penalty law, opponents of legalized murder picketed the Department of Corrections in Boston October 29. The protest was organized by the Coalition to Help Prisoners and their Families, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and the Massachusetts Prisoner Reform Organization. A teach-in against the death penalty was held October 30 at Boston's Arlington Street Church.

FREE MUSTAFA DZHEMILEV! An October 18 protest outside the Soviet airline offices in New York City demanded freedom for Mustafa Dzhemilev, a Crimean Tatar leader imprisoned in the USSR.

Dzhemilev, thirty-three, was sentenced to his fourth term of imprisonment last April. His "crime" was to demand that Crimean Tatars be permitted to return to their homeland, the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, established in 1921 by the Soviet government under Lenin's leadership. Stalin abolished this republic in 1946 after deporting the Crimean Tatar population to Central Asia two years earlier.

SIGN OF THE TIMES: Detroit cops were called out November 1 to handle a crowd of 5,000 people who jammed the personnel office of the Cadillac auto plant to apply for jobs. Cadillac, it turned out, was only taking applications for future job openings. But a local unemployment rate of 10 percent prompted people to begin lining up at 4:00 a.m. The Cadillac plant, meanwhile, is working heavy overtime to meet a record demand for its luxury product.

—Peter Seidman

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Where
we are

Well on way to 'Militant' subscription goal

By Harvey McArthur
The elections are over. But the campaign to sell *Militant* subscriptions and bring socialist ideas to thousands of American working people goes on.
From Boston to San Francisco, from Chicago to New Orleans, 2,315 new subscriptions were sold this week. Our total now stands at 14,443—72.2 percent of the goal of 20,000. This leaves 5,557 to sell by our November 20 target.
Socialists in two more cities—Baltimore and Oakland—have raised their subscription quotas—each by twenty-five. This makes a total of eleven cities that have upped their goals so far.

San Francisco led the way this week by selling 230 subscriptions. Stacey Seigle told me, "We found an amazing number of people who had heard of the Socialist Workers party presidential candidates and Sylvia Weinstein, SWP candidate for board of education."
"Many of them plan to vote Socialist Workers and bought *Militant* subscriptions to follow what the SWP is doing."
San Francisco's Western Addition branch sold especially well. They signed up ninety new readers, including fifteen at a showing of the film *Last Grave at Dimbaza*, a documentary about apartheid.
Chicago socialists sold 150 subscriptions—their best week yet. Gregory Banks, who sold thirty-six, reports, "the *Militant* really sold well through our door-to-door canvassing in the Black community. We went into the Henry Horner projects for the first time this week and sold 14 subscriptions in one afternoon. Some people didn't have money just then, but invited us back to talk with them later."
"The campuses were great too. In fact, it seemed like people were just waiting for socialists to show up. One morning Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for Congress, and I went to Governors State University and sold nine subscriptions and every single copy of the *Militant* we had. We also sold eleven subscriptions another day at Harry S. Truman College and met one subscriber there who wants to start a chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance."

Some of the best subscription sellers are new members of the SWP.
Sue Millington, who recently joined in Detroit, has sold thirty subscriptions so far. She also helped arrange a discussion about socialism in a local housing project and invited new subscribers to attend.
New Orleans socialists recently organized a special subscription blitz in Destrehan, Louisiana, home of Gary Tyler, a young Black framed up on murder charges. Juanita Tyler urged the *Militant* salespeople to sell to her neighbors, since the paper reports regularly on her son's defense case. The top salesperson was Patsy Cannon, a young Black woman from the University of New Orleans who joined the YSA in September.

The subscription campaign is also introducing more and more unionists to the *Militant*. Helen Meyers reports that Baltimore socialists have sold forty subscriptions to steelworkers, many of them employed at the big Bethlehem Steel plants.
Oakland socialists have been helping organize support for a strike by Local 9455 of the Communication Workers of America against Focus Cable TV. Last Saturday, at a union picket line of 100, 14 strikers signed up to be regular *Militant* readers.
Pittsburgh reports a friendly response to the *Militant* at meetings of Steelworkers Fight Back during a tour there by Ed Sadlowski, insurgent candidate for president of the United Steelworkers of America. One new subscriber is the young president of a USWA local.
The *Militant* also got a warm reception from the 600 people who registered for the seventh annual convention of the Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey last month. Thirty-one *Militant* subscriptions were sold there, along with ninety dollars in other socialist literature.
If you haven't done so already, why not join the thousands of people across the country selling *Militant* subscriptions? Introduce your friends, neighbors, and people you work with to a socialist viewpoint on the news at our special introductory offer of ten weeks for just one dollar.



En route to a 'Militant' subscription

Militant/Harris Freeman

Subscription scoreboard

	Goal	Sent in	%		Goal	Sent in	%
Kent, Ohio	30	52	173.3	Edinboro, Pa.	30	18	60.0
Toledo	100	93	93.0	New York	2,000	1,168	58.4
Portland, Ore.	350	299	85.4	Detroit	800	456	57.0
Berkeley	400	335	83.8	Denver	600	337	56.1
Richmond, Va.	125	104	83.2	St. Paul	175	98	56.0
Boston	800	663	82.9	Salt Lake City	50	28	56.0
Louisville	150	122	81.3	Buffalo, N.Y.	25	14	56.0
Newark	400	322	80.5	Bloomington, Ind.	50	27	54.0
Washington, D.C., Area	750	600	80.0	Atlanta	600	321	53.5
Tacoma, Wash.	115	90	78.3	Cleveland	450	240	53.3
San Jose	300	231	77.0	Lexington, Ky.	50	26	52.0
Cincinnati	150	115	76.7	Kingston, R.I.	25	13	52.0
New Orleans	225	169	75.1	Albany, N.Y.	40	20	50.0
Dallas	150	111	74.0	St. Louis	425	202	47.5
Kansas City, Mo.	150	111	74.0	Miami	80	35	43.8
Oakland, Calif.*	375	275	73.3	Tallahassee, Fla.	25	10	40.0
Baltimore*	325	237	72.9	Boulder, Colo.	20	8	40.0
Seattle	475	345	72.6	Newark, Del.	5	2	40.0
San Antonio	175	126	72.0	Charleston, W. Va.	10	3	33.3
Ithaca, N.Y.	50	36	72.0	Binghamton, N.Y.	25	6	24.0
Phoenix	50	36	72.0	Sarasota, Fla.	25	6	24.0
Indianapolis	100	71	71.0	Arlington, Tex.	30	3	10.0
Philadelphia	650	458	70.5	Knoxville, Tenn.	10	1	10.0
Chicago	900	630	70.0	Campaign teams			
Allentown, Pa.	20	14	70.0	New Mexico	85	85	100.0
San Francisco	800	548	68.5	Ohio	400	250	62.5
Champaign, Ill.	25	17	68.0	Northeast	400	172	43.0
Pittsburgh	450	303	67.3	California	300	128	42.7
State College, Pa.	30	20	66.7	Rocky Mountain	215	75	34.9
Los Angeles	1,000	664	66.4	Michigan-Indiana	400	89	22.3
Madison, Wis.	100	66	66.0	Midwest	165	21	12.7
Minneapolis	700	457	65.3	Southeast	250	22	8.8
Houston	900	584	64.9	General		1,586	
Milwaukee	650	420	64.6	Total	20,000	14,443	72.2
San Diego	400	249	62.3	Should Be		14,000	70.0

*Areas raising their goals

'Ethnic purity' in Plains

Blacks banned at Jimmy Carter's church

By Nelson Blackstock
Rev. Clennon King learned the meaning of "ethnic purity" on Sunday morning, October 31.
The Black minister was told that "niggers and civil rights agitators" are not allowed in Jimmy Carter's church.
The preacher of the Plains Baptist church notified King and three other Blacks of the policy.
The Blacks arrived at the all-white church after earlier announcing their intention to apply for membership. In anticipation of their visit, church officials decided to cancel services that morning rather than admit the Black applicants.
Jimmy Carter is a deacon of the church and teaches a men's Sunday school class. His visits to the church have frequently been played up in the media to portray the Democratic nominee as a pious symbol of small-town virtues. But few people who watched Carter on television chatting with

reporters outside the church realized it was segregated.
Carter termed the incident "politically inspired." While he said he objected to the whites-only policy, he refused to resign from the segregated church. In recent years, several politicians have publicly resigned from private clubs exposed for banning Blacks.
"Carter's continued membership in a church with overt racist policies is an affront to all Blacks in this country," said Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president.
"Jimmy Carter's church closed its doors to Rev. Clennon King because it follows Carter's philosophy of opposing 'Black intrusion' and maintaining 'ethnic purity,'" she charged.
Carter's mother, "Miss Lillian," endorsed the racist exclusion. Often portrayed as a sensitive humanitarian, she said, "If you ask me, I'm glad they didn't admit him."
While insisting that any Black who was "decent" would be admitted into

the church, Lillian Carter said she supported banning King because "this man is an activist who shouts from street corners."
Typical of the Black Democrats who rushed to Carter's defense was Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson, who called the episode "political trickery."
Willie Mae Reid responded, "Democratic party accusations about election-eve dirty tricks do not change the fact that Carter is a deacon in a church that has a policy of excluding 'niggers and civil rights agitators.'"
"If Carter is seriously concerned about ending racial injustice," Reid continued, "why wasn't he at his church on Sunday to accompany Reverend King to the services?"
"What Carter has done is ignore this racist exclusion the same way that he and President Ford have ignored the problems of Blacks throughout this election campaign."

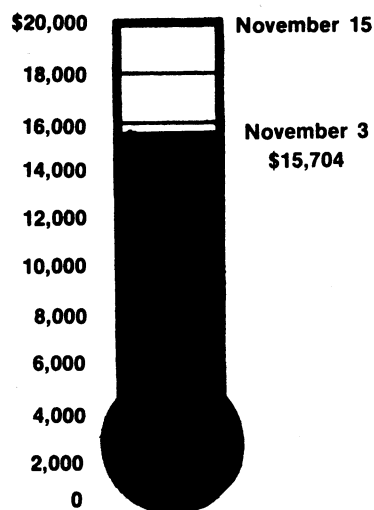


'Niggers and civil rights agitators' policy kept Rev. Clennon King and three others out of Jimmy Carter's church.

\$20,000 Camejo & Reid campaign fund

It's been the biggest election campaign in the SWP's history! Newspaper and TV coverage was the most extensive. More leading activists and prominent individuals endorsed our slate. The SWP appeared on more state ballots. By far the greatest amount of socialist campaign literature was distributed. And it was capped by thousands of warm letters of support, some more of which are printed on page 15. But we still need \$4,300 to meet the \$20,000 goal in the final twelve days of the fund drive. Last week more than \$3,000 was received—from Baltimore, Minneapolis, Kentucky, Detroit, Houston, St. Paul, New York, San Francisco, Chicago, and Boston. If you can help, any amount will be appreciated.

How we're doing



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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. •

Camejo winds up campaign in N.Y.

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK—Socialist Workers presidential candidate Peter Camejo ended his fall campaigning in New York. The final day before elections, Camejo appeared at campuses in the Bronx and Queens.

In the South Bronx, with a large Puerto Rican and Dominican population, Camejo spoke at Hostos Community College. Hostos is the only bilingual college in the Eastern United States. Camejo spoke in Spanish.

At Queens College Camejo debated Michael Harrington, national chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Harrington, who teaches at Queens, appealed to the students to vote for Carter. The entire debate was carried on the eve of the elections by WBAI radio.

On Saturday, October 30, New York socialists held a wind-up rally for the SWP campaign that was attended by more than 400 people. In addition to Camejo, speakers included Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York; Catarino Garza, candidate for Congress from the Eighteenth Congressional District; and Marvin Titus, a nineteen-year-old Black member of the Young Socialist Alliance born in the Virgin Islands.

Titus explained why he joined the YSA. "There was no alternative in either the Democratic or Republican parties to the situation students faced. Both parties were calling for the end of free tuition, open admissions, and the cutting of 'non essential' departments—or even the closing down of entire schools.

"The school that I had just been admitted to, York College, was scheduled to be axed. It was no coincidence that York has a large Black enrollment. Like the victory in saving Hostos College, my school is still alive because of the mobilization of students and faculty at York, which the YSA was centrally active in."

Titus also said that "Marcia Gallo was the only senatorial candidate who came to our campus when the cuts were coming down and spoke out against them. [Republican Senator James] Buckley and [Democratic candidate Patrick] Moynihan never once showed their concern—much less their faces."

At the Saturday rally, Gallo explained that the choice between Buckley and Moynihan—both of them

outspoken conservatives—led eleven women staff members of the New York weekly newspaper the *Village Voice* to endorse her senatorial campaign.

Gallo met with three of them. "They do not consider themselves socialists, but they deeply identify with women's liberation," she said. "They are committed to its goals."

Camejo debunked the "Great Debates" between Ford and Carter. Neither big-business candidate offered any solutions to the problems of war, racism, unemployment, or sex discrimination, he said.

Camejo also discussed the insurgent campaign of Ed Sadlowski for president of the United Steelworkers of America. "It is the beginning of a massive rebellion against the bureaucracy that runs the unions today," Camejo said.

"Sablowski is saying that the workers have the right to run their own unions. He is saying that the unions must fight for the interests of the workers, not look out for the profits of the corporations. That the right to strike is not to be surrendered.

"Sablowski is saying," Camejo said, "that the union should fight for social justice, against racism, against sexism. He says it should have fought against the war in Vietnam.

"We must help spread the word about Sadlowski's campaign," Camejo continued, "because it can also open up a new optimism among others—Blacks, women, students, members of other unions—who also want to fight back.

"If Sadlowski's campaign should triumph—as it will inevitably, whether he wins or loses this election—it will so inspire people that you will see a complete transformation of the political situation in this country.

"The logic of the Sadlowski campaign points toward the transformation of the labor movement into a social and political movement fighting for the interests of all workers and all the oppressed," Camejo concluded. "That is why it is the most important political event taking place in this country at this time."

Reid: 'Many new backers'

By Barbara Mutnick

"When Peter Camejo and I began our campaign for president and vice-president in December, we tried to figure out how we could get to all

twenty-three socialist headquarters across the country. Twenty months later, there are eighty-five active groups of campaign supporters."

Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid was describing the growth of the socialist movement during the 1976 election campaign.

The SWP's growing size and influence was apparent in city after city that Reid visited during the last month of her twenty-two-month-long campaign.

In the last two-and-a-half weeks before traveling east to Boston, Reid campaigned in five midwest cities. In four of them, new SWP branches had been formed only months earlier.

In Toledo, Ohio, Reid supporters sponsored a rally at Scott Park Community House October 16. A wide array of Toledo activists came to hear Reid, including a well-known Black radio commentator who was recently fired for airing news of the Paul X Moody frame-up case; a United Auto Workers activist; leaders of a community group called the People's Tribunal; and several members of the Nation of Islam.

Paul X Moody spoke at the meeting to appeal for support. Moody is a young Black student at Bowling Green State University who was framed up on a rape charge. "I am innocent," he said, "and I need your help to get out the truth."

Reid supporters in Kansas City focused their efforts on building a city-wide meeting at Penn Valley Community College October 20. More than 100 people attended the meeting. Reid's fiery speech evoked an enthusiastic response from the audience. "This is the only thing in this whole election I've heard that makes sense," said a Black woman who brought her three children along to the meeting.

In both St. Louis and Boston, people who joined the SWP earlier in the presidential campaign played major roles in organizing Reid's tour.

In St. Louis, Mary Pritchard, a Black feminist, chaired the city-wide rally. She joined the SWP last year.

In Boston, Chris Horner helped organize media interviews for the socialist candidate. Horner, a carpenter, ran into the SWP in Roxbury this summer when he was asked by an SWP campaign supporter to sign a nominating petition.

Beatrice Cohen, a nurse at a hospital in Worcester, Massachusetts, spoke at the campaign rally in Roxbury. Cohen is participating in a union organizing drive.

"I have always tried to be an independent voter," she said. "This year, all I've found to vote for are those on the SWP ticket.

"When I read the socialists' campaign platform—the 'Bill of Rights for Working People'—I felt the soft touch of sanity," she said.

Over 1,000 Berkeley students hear Camejo



Militant/Eli Finer

Camejo's wind-up appearance in California was at the University of California, Berkeley. Enthusiasm for Camejo's talk was shown by the large crowd—which quickly grew from 200 to more than 1,000—and by the large number who attended an informal discussion with Camejo afterward. Eight students asked to join the YSA. More than 65 'Militant' subscriptions were sold.

Socialist rallies wind up campaign

Carter: no victory for working people

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Nov. 3—Forty-five socialist campaign headquarters were alive with activity last night, as supporters gathered to watch election returns and hear speeches by Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. Camejo, speaking from New York, and Reid, speaking from Chicago, addressed the meetings via a nationwide telephone hook-up.

As we go to press it is still too early to report and assess all the major national and local election results. But several conclusions are clear.

Millions of American workers saw no important differences between Ford and Carter. A significant number of them, however, figured that they might fare better with the present Ford administration out of office. They knew that Ford had presided over cutbacks, rising prices, and high unemployment. Maybe Carter would be better, they hoped.

Voters also booted a good number of incumbent representatives and senators out of office—Democrats and Republicans alike. The overall composition of the Congress was little changed, however.

One day before the November 2 election Peter Camejo debated Michael Harrington, chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, at Queens College in New York City. Harrington urged a vote for Carter, while Camejo urged the audience to vote Socialist Workers.

The debate was carried in full that night on New York's WBAI radio and rebroadcast on election day. After the rebroadcast, WBAI set aside two-and-one-half hours for listeners to call in to comment on the Camejo-Harrington confrontation.

Militant readers will be able to read major excerpts from this important debate on working-class electoral strategy in coming issues. Watch for it.

Two important victories were scored in Colorado and Massachusetts. The attempt by reactionary forces to repeal Colorado's state Equal Rights Amendment was soundly defeated.

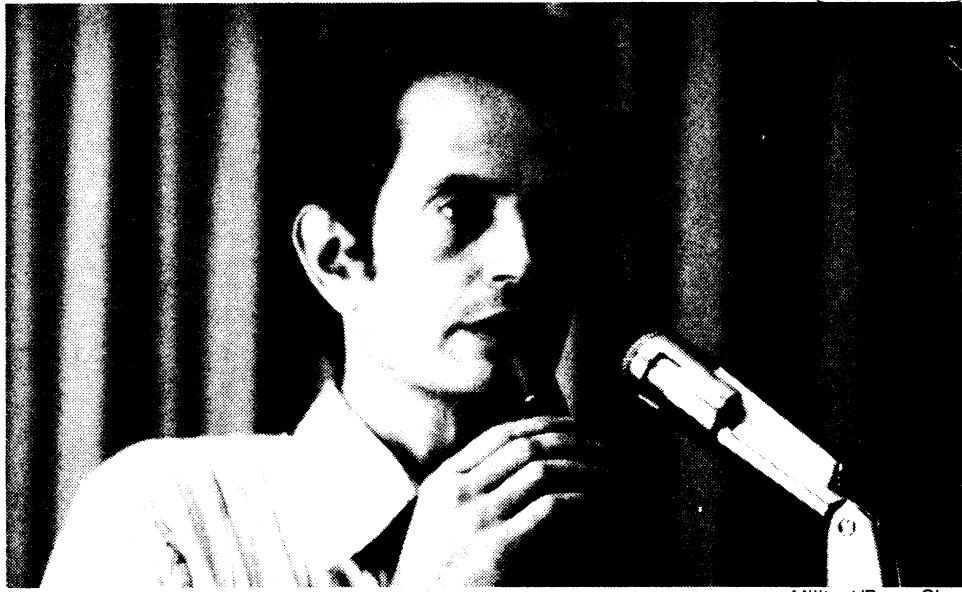
In Massachusetts an ERA was added to the state constitution, also by a large margin. The Massachusetts ERA forbids discrimination on the basis of sex and race. Its passage deals a blow to the racist, antibusing forces in Boston and spurs the nationwide struggle for women's rights.

Farm workers in California suffered a setback in their fight for fair union representation elections with the defeat of Proposition 14. Democrats, including Carter himself, who were nominally committed to passing this farm labor initiative failed to campaign for it in any significant way.



WILLIE MAE REID

Militant/Stu Singer



Militant/Barry Chan

PETER CAMEJO speaks to nationwide audience on election night

This is an early indication of what is in store for American workers with the incoming Democratic administration.

Two-party monopoly

The monopoly by the Democrats and Republicans over the electoral process makes it extremely difficult to find out the vote totals for other parties and candidates. Election boards stall on revealing these figures, and the big-business-owned press gives them little, if any, attention. This treatment is being extended to a certain extent even to Eugene McCarthy.

We will report these figures as they become available. The *Militant* will also offer further analysis of the national and local elections.

Meanwhile, it is clear that the scales were tipped to Carter by the votes of trade unionists, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans in major cities.

According to an NBC poll, 63 percent of union families voted for Carter. Five percent of Carter's supporters were unemployed. "A majority of Carter voters listed inflation and unemployment as the main factors in their decision to support the Georgian," said the New York *Daily News*.

These workers were barraged by an intensive "get out the vote" campaign by the big-city Democratic machines and by the AFL-CIO.

"Mr. Carter owed large debts to Mayor Frank L. Rizzo of Philadelphia," the *New York Times* reported.

In Chicago, Mayor Daley's Democratic party organization distributed tens of thousands of leaflets headlined, "Americans Live Better Under Democratic Administrations."

In New York City—battered by layoffs and cutbacks during the past year—the pro-Carter leaflet handed out everywhere reproduced a *Daily News* front page from last fall. "Ford to City: Drop Dead" was the headline. "Vote for New York, Vote Carter/Mondale," the leaflet declared.

Workers are pressed to forget that in all three of these cities, and many others, Democratic party administrations are in office. These politicians have cooperated with a Republican White House in carrying out devastating attacks on working people and national minorities.

Low turnout

Despite the news buildup during election day that the voter turnout was "larger than expected," figures now indicate that only about 53 percent of those who were eligible to vote went to the polls.

It was the lowest voter participation in decades—even lower than the 1972 race between Richard Nixon and George McGovern, which saw a 55.4 percent voter turnout.

Roughly seventy million Americans concluded that the differences between Ford and Carter were so insignificant

that they didn't bother to vote for either one.

"Those people who did vote, voted reluctantly," Peter Camejo said in remarks heard at SWP election-night rallies. "Millions agree with much that we have to say. They may be active in some social movements, but they are not yet ready to break from voting for the ruling parties."

"They voted for Carter to stop Ford. And those who voted for Ford, voted to stop Carter. Americans were put in the position of having to figure out which one would do the least harm."

Willie Mae Reid's national address centered on accomplishments and future plans of the socialist movement. "We've more than tripled the twenty-two offices we had in 1974 when we launched this campaign."

"Our hard work and enthusiasm put the socialist alternative on the ballot in twenty-eight states," she said.

"The Black news media published our press releases regularly, sometimes using them as the basis for commentary in the Black community."

"Democrats and Republicans around the country," Reid continued, "are preparing to fade from the scene until vote time again, while our offices will continue to hum with activity."

"Building a large and powerful movement against racism—from Boston to South Africa; the struggle to defend abortion rights and to ratify the ERA; the fight for union democracy; the struggle against the racist, barbaric death penalty and for the freedom of young Gary Tyler in Louisiana and other victims of racist frame-ups."

Reid made special mention of two upcoming events: the National Student Conference Against Racism scheduled for Boston, November 19-21, and the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance to be held in Chicago, December 29-January 2.

"Young people need a new hope, a new commitment," Reid said. "This is a central aim of the socialist movement."

Labor vote

The labor vote for Carter occurred under different circumstances from 1960, when it helped put John Kennedy in office, and in 1964, when it helped elect Lyndon Johnson.

Ten or fifteen years ago, the U.S. and world capitalist economies were expanding rapidly, especially under the impact of enormous war spending. The jobs and other concessions promised by the Democrats could at least be partially fulfilled.

Today the economy is in deep trouble—not only in the United States, but in Europe and Japan as well. Unemployment and layoffs are rising, even in a period of slight economic recovery. While Carter can still make certain concessions, there will be no return to the prosperity and victories of the 1950s and 1960s.

High jobless rates, rising prices, and social service cutbacks are here to stay—under Carter as well as Ford. Carter is a big-business politician, and he has no intention of taking the only steps that can solve these problems—steps that place the interests of working people above private profit and war spending.

Important struggles around these issues are already under way in the unions. Camejo pointed to Ed Sadlowski's challenge to the bureaucracy in the United Steelworkers. He said that in the postelection period the SWP plans a major effort to reach steelworkers with the *Militant* and a pamphlet on *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*.

During the fall elections, Camejo said, more Americans than ever before were aware that a number of different independent parties and candidates were on the ballot across the country. The idea that there are alternatives to the programs and candidates of the two big-business parties became more widely accepted.

Millions of Americans were opposed to the undemocratic refusal of the Democrats and Republicans to allow alternative ideas to be debated, and at the obstacles placed in the way of independent parties and candidates getting on the ballot.

In this political climate, Carter's inability to make good on his campaign promises will lead many people to take a good hard look at the Socialist Workers party. "We expect to grow," Camejo said, "and we invite those of you who have helped us in our campaign—but have still not joined the SWP—to do so. Join us as we gear up for important battles ahead."

Join the SWP

On November 3 Democratic and Republican campaign offices began folding up shop.

But the Socialist Workers party won't be closing down its campaign headquarters. We will continue fighting for the interests of women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and all working people. "Human needs before profits" is more than an election slogan for us. It sums up what the SWP fights for 365 days a year.

Help us build toward a socialist America. Join the Socialist Workers party!

☐ I want to join the SWP.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

Return this coupon to: Socialist Workers party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Suit contests gov't use of spies

Judge tells FBI official to testify in court

By Diane Rupp

NEW YORK—On October 28 U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa ordered a top FBI official to testify about the bureau's use of political informers. James Adams, deputy director of the FBI in charge of all investigations, will have to appear at a court hearing in the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against government harassment.

A legal battle for files of nineteen past and present informers assigned to the SWP has become a fight over the government's use of spies for political cases. This is the first time the FBI's shroud of secrecy over its use of informers against political activities has been tested in court.

The socialists want the complete files of the nineteen so they can document how the government uses informers. The SWP insists that informers do more than just "inform"—they carry out disruptive and illegal operations, such as burglaries.

A sworn affidavit submitted by the SWP explains why it is crucial to get the complete files on the nineteen informers. It points out that the government has already admitted that more than half the information about the nineteen supplied in previously submitted summaries of the files was inaccurate.

The government summary about a person identified only as Informer No. 357 is a good example of how the FBI covers up the record. The FBI had said that "there was no indication" how No. 357 picked up Young Socialist Alliance bank statements.

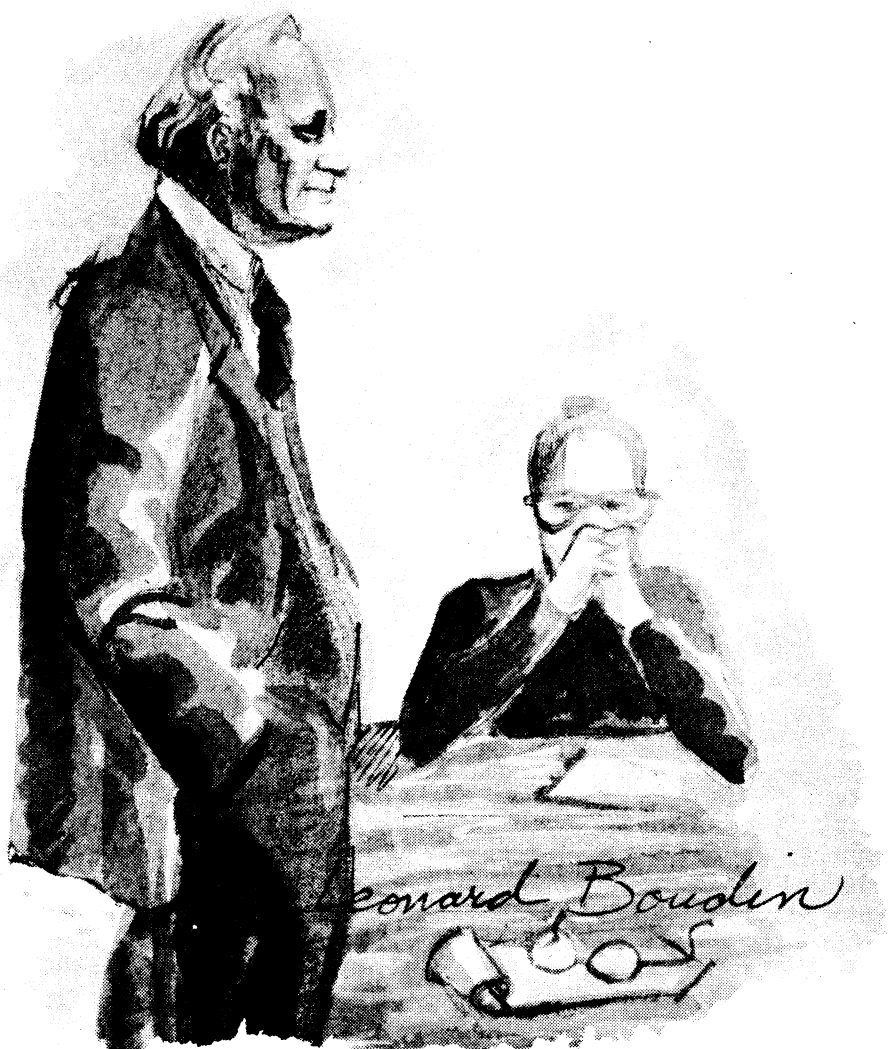
But when the complete FBI files on No. 357—Timothy Redfearn—were made public they showed he had stolen the material in a burglary of a Denver socialist's apartment.

FBI 'scuttlebutt'

The government has filed several legal briefs and affidavits arguing the informer files should be kept secret. FBI official Adams supplied a sworn affidavit defending the bureau's use of informers.

At the October 28 hearing Griesa said he could not base his decision on Adams's statement. Calling the G-man's affidavit a "mixture of opinion and hearsay," Griesa said, "A lot of this could be just scuttlebutt."

Griesa ordered Adams to appear in court to testify and face cross-examination. This is especially necessary because the government has lied before in the SWP case.



LEONARD BOUDIN: 'The history of the SWP is an absolute guarantee that no informers are in danger.' Courtroom drawing by Caryl Loeb.

"I have to face the fact," Griesa said, "... that I have had misrepresentations made to this court in sworn documents."

The government's lawyer, William Brandt, tried to brush aside the FBI's lies as "some bad communication."

But Griesa said, "It is just as plain as can be that there is a danger here that an agency is using a claim of privilege to avoid revealing things that will be damaging to that agency in the view of the officials of that agency."

"We have a very serious problem, and that is this:

"If a government investigative agency can use confidential informants to perform illegal activities and then cover the revelation of that by saying, 'We have a confidential relationship,' that, I think, creates some extremely serious problems of getting such activities corrected and vindicating the rights of injured people."

Adams will have to face cross-

examination by the socialists' attorneys when he appears in court.

Retaliation?

Adams's claims are farfetched. He says the FBI fears "physical retaliation and intense harassment" against its informers.

Adams describes violence by the fascistlike National Caucus of Labor Committees. Then he goes on to claim that "there is no reason to believe that SWP or YSA members would not engage in similar retaliation against these informants."

Leonard Boudin, the socialists' attorney, answered Adams's charge at the hearing.

"The history of the Socialist Workers party is an absolute guarantee that no one is in danger of being injured and no one will be injured if his identity is revealed," said Boudin.

"We now know the names of seven people [informers], at least. Not only

have none of the seven indicated any fear of the Socialist Workers party... but the only fear that was expressed was the fear of the FBI."

The record shows that it is the FBI, not the socialists, that is violence-prone (see box).

In his statement Adams says that informers who are unmasked would face other problems.

These, Adams says, include: "Notoriety and publicity... Union problems... Marital problems; Fear of peer group disapproval of acting as an 'informer,' which activity has always held an unsavory connotation in certain circles regardless of motive;" and "Ostracism of themselves and their families from community activities."

In other words, these informers would face the public contempt they have earned.

Informers quitting

Adams claims that informers are so afraid of being exposed that the entire FBI spy network is in danger. He reports that twenty-three informers have quit in the past three months.

Adams does not explain, however, whether this is all just because of the SWP lawsuit. Maybe informers are quitting as a result of the general publicity about FBI crimes.

After all, public support for the FBI has dropped to new lows. In 1965 84 percent of the country gave the FBI a "highly favorable" rating in the Gallup poll. But in 1975 only 37 percent felt that way.

Other government briefs add to Adams's statement. The Justice Department claims that the FBI has closed its case on the socialists.

"The threat of allegedly disruptive tactics of informants is eliminated," claims the government. And that is supposed to end the need for files. In legal jargon, the government claims the informer issue is "moot."

But while the FBI says it has closed its case on the SWP, it claims it should continue operations against SWP members.

The socialists insist that if the case were really closed there would be no reason left to keep the files secret.

At stake

The government warns, "What is at stake on this motion [for the files of nineteen informers] is nothing less than the ability of the FBI and other law enforcement agencies to obtain information which is vitally necessary."

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the lawsuit, disagrees.

"What is at stake is whether the government can disrupt legal political activities that are supposed to be protected by the Bill of Rights," Stapleton told the *Militant*.

The challenge is a unique one for the courts. The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence pointed out:

"The Supreme Court has yet to be presented with the type of factual situations—such as intensive informant coverage of lawful political activity and personal matters—which may produce a chilling of rights guaranteed by the First Amendment... No court has seen the overall pattern of FBI intelligence informant coverage of citizens and groups. Consequently, courts have been unable to assess the full impact of the informant system on the exercise of constitutionally protected rights."

The hearings on the nineteen informer files and Adams's testimony will give the American people the chance to challenge the FBI's use of informers in court.

Violence: some FBI success stories

An excellent example of the effective use of informants is their use in the investigation of the Ku Klux Klan ("Klan"). The previous success of the FBI in preventing violence by the very dangerous and volatile Klan organizations was directly attributable to an intensive and successful effort to develop informants. Without informants, resolution of the many bombings and violent deaths would have been highly unlikely, if not impossible.

—James Adams
Deputy Associate Director, FBI

In this sworn statement for the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against the government, a top FBI official claims that the agency's paid informers prevent violence.

But Gary Rowe, an ex-informer in the KKK, told a different story last year in testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

Rowe said he had tipped off the

FBI about planned Klan violence "dozens of times." But the government did nothing to prevent these crimes.

In 1961, for example, Rowe gave the FBI three weeks' warning that the KKK and Birmingham police were planning to attack prodesegregation freedom riders when they arrived. A local cop told him, "We don't care if you kill 'em, burn 'em, bomb 'em out, we don't give a damn."

On May 14, 1961, the KKK attacked the freedom riders with chains and bats, as Rowe had warned. But the FBI did nothing except take pictures of the violence.

What about solving racist bombings and murders? Rowe testified that he gave the FBI the names of eight klansmen he suspected of bombing the Birmingham church where four Black children were killed in 1963. But the FBI never solved that case.

Maybe Adams was telling the truth despite himself when he called

the KKK cases an "excellent example of the effective use of informants."

There are other examples, too. In San Diego FBI informer Howard Godfrey operated in the right-wing Secret Army Organization (SAO).

Godfrey testified that the FBI gave him \$10,000 to \$20,000 worth of weapons and explosives.

The SAO used this FBI backing to terrorize political activists in San Diego. It vandalized and smashed the presses of two radical newspapers. It fire bombed at least one person's car. It burglarized the offices of the Communist and Peace and Freedom parties.

And in 1972 Godfrey and another SAO member shot at anti-Vietnam War leaders Peter Bohmer and Paula Tharp.

The FBI doesn't use informers to prevent violence. Instead, the record shows that the government uses informers to wage war on the Black and other progressive social movements.

—D.R.

NYPD ordered to give red squad data to SWP

By Diane Rupp

NEW YORK—The New York Police Department must make the red squad's political files available to the Socialist Workers party, even if it means letting the SWP help move boxes of those files at the NYPD headquarters. So ruled U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa October 28.

The SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance have demanded the cops' political files for their lawsuit against government harassment. The files may show how the local red squad



Militant/Caryl Loeb
Socialists' attorney Herbert Jordan describes boxes of files at New York Police Department.

helped the FBI burglarize and disrupt the socialists.

The NYPD has put up a fight against turning over the records. Lawyers for the cops argued that the NYPD purged its political files in 1973. All these records, the cops claimed, were piled up in a room where they could not be used.

Three weeks ago Judge Griesa ordered the cops' lawyer to inspect the storage room and discuss the problem with the socialists' attorneys.

At the October 28 hearing Herbert Jordan, an attorney for the socialists, reported the results. Jordan was not allowed to see the room, but he waited outside while Richard Duschaneck, the cops' lawyer, went inside to look at the so-called purged files.

Duschaneck came out and described the room to Jordan. It was twelve by fifteen feet, he said. There were file cabinets inside, and cardboard boxes piled up in some places to the ceiling.

Despite the disorder, however, all the cabinets and boxes were labeled. One cabinet, for example, was marked "Nation of Islam."

Jordan asked the police department to make a list of the labels. From that list the socialists could decide which boxes or cabinets relate to their lawsuit.

But the cops refused to do even that much.

Griesa agreed with Jordan that such a list was "absolutely a minimal request."

Duschaneck complained that making this list was too much work. It would mean moving the boxes out of the room so that the labels could be

seen, he said. And the boxes are old and things might fall out.

But Griesa ordered the list to be made. He also told Duschaneck to look in the file drawers and to make a quick survey of what is in the boxes.

Duschaneck then tried a final argument. He demanded that the socialists pay for the work involved. The project might take two days for a number of highly paid people with security clearances, he said.

Jordan objected to the NYPD setting such a ransom for the files. He said the socialists should not have to pay just because the police department had piled up its files in a disorderly way.

Griesa rejected Duschaneck's proposal. "The thing that bothers me is that you are creating a lot of the costs . . . If there is to be any search you want to do it in the most expensive way that anybody can dream up by having security-cleared policemen do all this.

"Okay, if you want to do it that way, you do it. But I am not too inclined to make the plaintiffs pay for all that."

Griesa had an alternative for the police:

"It seems to me that if you are talking about taking a salaried policeman of New York City to cart boxes and cartons and move file drawers around, well, I would imagine some of these young plaintiffs might be willing to go over there and help do some moving.

"And before you say no, and before the police department just says that this is going to deprive the community of all security, why, I have an idea that the outside of a file cabinet is not going



Militant/Caryl Loeb
Lawyer for New York red squad complains that moving files is too difficult.

to reveal any great secrets."

"And they can be under guard. . ." Griesa added with a grin, "so they do not peek."

Duschaneck protested. But Griesa replied, "I think you take it or leave it. Do you want to do the moving yourself? Okay, do it. But I am not going to have [the socialists] pay the cost of your moving, if [they are] willing to come over and physically do it. That is up to you."

The police department is to report back with its list in two weeks.

Socialist campaigners arrested in Michigan

By Nancy Rosenstock

A team of Socialist Workers party campaign supporters touring Michigan campuses was arrested October 20 at Central Michigan University in Mount Pleasant.

Tom Smith, Brigid Douglass, and Jim Garrison—all members of the Young Socialist Alliance—were arrested while distributing leaflets publicizing a meeting for Paula Reimers, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Michigan.

The three were charged with trespassing and "illegally occupying a university building." The arrest occurred outside a meeting where former CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr was speaking to a crowd of 1,000 students. Conviction carries a possible six months in jail and a \$1,500 fine.

Reimers protested the arrest October 22 at a news conference on the steps of the city government offices in Mount Pleasant.

"The arrest of three of my campaign workers is an outrageous attack on the rights of the American people to free and fair elections," she said. "The arrest was ordered by the administration of Central Michigan University and carried out by plainclothes police. My three campaign workers were handcuffed behind their backs and roughed up during the arrest. They, of course, offered no resistance.

"The prosecutor's office has decided to lodge a string of charges together, all of them pure frame-up, in order to victimize my three campaign workers," Reimers said. "This is being done in an effort to prevent the ideas of the Socialist Workers party candidates from getting a hearing.

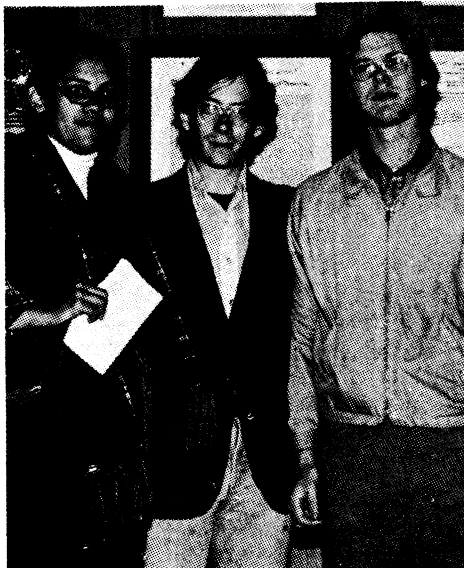
"I hold [university president] Dr. Harold Abel and his staff directly responsible for these illegal arrests and

the threats to the safety of the three campaign workers."

Immediately after the arrests, Reimers' supporters on campus launched the Committee for Democratic Rights and began to circulate petitions on campus demanding that all charges against the YSA members be dropped. A letter to the Central Michigan *Life* protesting the arrests was co-signed by the chairpersons of the Organization of Black Unity, the Associated Womens Students, and Project Alpha.

This attack on the YSA's democratic rights occurred in the context of a general attack by the campus administration on student rights.

Responding to these stepped-up attacks, the Committee for Democratic Rights organized a rally of 250 students October 27. It is planning a follow-up rally November 8.



Militant/Gary Davies
From left, YSA team members Brigid Douglass, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith.

Open Rosenberg files!



1950s protest against Rosenberg execution. Electric chair did not put an end to doubts about case.

By May Cramer

On November 15 the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case (NCRRC) will present thousands of petitions to Attorney General Edward Levi. The petitions demand that the government make public all its files from the famous Rosenberg-Sobell case.

In 1951 the government charged Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell with passing atom bomb secrets to the Soviet Union.

The Rosenbergs were executed—murdered by the government—in 1953. They went to their deaths declaring their innocence. Sobell was kept in prison for nineteen years.

The NCRRC wants all government files from the case to be

released to prove that the witch-hunt trial framed the Rosenbergs.

The government has refused. It has turned over only 6 percent of the files. The Rosenbergs' sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol, are working with the NCRRC for the release of the rest of the material.

The petition to Levi says:

We, the undersigned, demand that the U.S. government immediately release all files in the Rosenberg-Sobell case, as required by the Freedom of Information Act.

We demand an end to secrecy in government, and an end to cover-ups of illegal and unconstitutional acts. History has shown a pattern of government abuse of power and misconduct in the form of political trials used to silence the American people. The American people have the right to know what the government is doing.

We have the right to know the truth in the Rosenberg-Sobell case.

To add your name, write the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, Room 606, 250 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York, New York 10019.

The petitions will be presented to Levi at the conclusion of an NCRRC meeting in Washington D.C. During the conference a public meeting is scheduled on Saturday evening, November 13.

On Sunday, November 14, there will be a showing of a new slide show about the Rosenbergs and a replaying of a recorded debate between Michael Meeropol and Roy Cohn, one of the prosecutors in the 1951 case.

'Guardian' still undecided on China purge

By Les Evans

During the past ten to fifteen years, thousands of young and not so young radicals in the United States were persuaded that Mao's regime represented a socialist alternative to the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy that rules the Soviet Union.

The *Guardian* newspaper based in New York has been the most widely heard proponent of this view, adopting the jargon of Mao Tsetung Thought and looking to the pronouncements of the Peking press for political guidance.

The current purge of Chiang Ch'ing—Mao's wife—and three of Mao's closest associates poses a serious dilemma for this Maoist milieu. *Guardian* Managing Editor Jack Smith has begun a series of articles to explain the new turn of events to his readers. But by the second installment, in the November 3 issue, the most definite conclusion he could draw was this:

"The purge probably means there will be some modifications in party line in the next period. Exactly what they will be is not known with any certainty—not the least reason being that a frank exposition of the political differences between the party center and Chiang Ching et al has not been revealed. Virtually all the charges made against the four have been devoid of specific political content."

Smith's hesitation in accepting the victors' official version is a departure from the *Guardian's* past practice. During China's so-called Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s, for example, Mao Tsetung and Defense Minister Lin Piao accused head of state Liu Shao-ch'i of being a secret agent plotting to restore capitalism. The *Guardian* has hailed the Mao faction for saving socialism from counterrevolution. It has never asked for evidence, and none was ever offered. Nor was Liu ever permitted to present his side of the case where the Chinese masses could hear it and offer their own views.

In 1971, Lin Piao, leader of the "left wing" that had just saved socialism, was in turn branded with the identical charges. The *Guardian* accepted that too.

On January 21 of this year, after the death of Premier Chou En-lai, the *Guardian* paid tribute to Chou for, among other things, having fought



Posters such as this one showing four purged leaders impaled on bayonets have nothing in common with socialism and workers democracy.

"like a lion" against "the worst of the excesses and injustices" of the Cultural Revolution to save Teng Hsiao-p'ing, "the cadre who will most likely replace him as prime minister." Less than three months later, however, in its April 14 issue the *Guardian* accepted the official Peking line that the Chinese leadership had again been saved from counterrevolutionary disaster by unmasking Teng as a bourgeois agent.

As Robert Friend, the *Guardian's* Peking correspondent, put it, "The indictment [against Teng] was damning. He was emerging as a man of 'reactionary nature who is going against the trend of history.'"

If that seemed a little vague, Friend reassured his readers, "To put 'the unrepentant capitalist-roader in the party' in the post of premier . . . would have allowed the forces who continue in the path of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao an intolerable advantage in the intense class struggle over whether the bourgeoisie or the proletariat shall rule in China."

Teng was not permitted to comment on these charges. No evidence to support them was made public.

After the third replay, even some

longtime partisans of Peking must have begun to wonder if there was any truth to this unlikely script. Even if the accusations were true, what kind of "communism" was this where there was more intrigue than a medieval court? And if the whole thing was a lie, what kind of monstrous frame-up system was Mao running?

When, after Mao's death, the previously obscure Hua Kuo-feng "discovered" yet another capitalist plot—this one by Mao's best-known followers—the *Guardian* decided to take some distance from these new charges.

Jack Smith reminds his readers in his November 3 article that "all four [of the purged leaders] have worked closely together for years and were brought to their prominence in the party under the aegis of Chairman Mao."

The campaign against them, he says, has emphasized "personal vilification of the four—particularly Chiang Ching. Some of the charges can only be described as sexist. The tactic was to discredit the four from the beginning of their careers, implying they were always bad communists."

Smith dismisses as "speculation,"

which he "finds unconvincing," the main accusation in the Peking press, that the "gang of four" made a "desperate, illicit grab for power and lost."

Smith refers throughout to the ouster of the four Maoists as a "purge," a new word in the *Guardian's* vocabulary. He even leaves open the possibility that "the party right wing has smashed the 'Maoists.'" For those still trapped in the Maoist schema that a "bourgeoisie lurks within the Chinese Communist party, this would be tantamount to the restoration of capitalism.

In fact, this "theory" is designed to allow the bureaucracy to brand its critics as "class enemies," the better to silence them and frame them up. Hua learned these methods directly from Mao Tsetung, who in turn took them from Stalin's notorious Moscow trials of the 1930s.

While taking a first hesitant step in questioning such methods, the *Guardian* is plainly undecided where to go next. After admitting that the new regime is lying to the Chinese people, that the nature of the real political differences between Hua and Chiang Ch'ing are kept secret and covered up with a sexist slander campaign, the *Guardian* still leaves open the possibility of lining up behind Hua Kuo-feng.

Smith concludes his article by suggesting that everything may be for the best after all: "It is this writer's guess that Hua and the forces behind him thought the party left was pushing its antiright campaign too far in the months leading up to Chairman Mao's death . . . the faction led by the ousted four was maneuvering for influence in the post-Mao era that it did not deserve—by virtue of politics, popularity or power—to possess. A clash between the party center and left was perhaps inevitable."

Isn't it time for the *Guardian* and other uncritical friends of Maoism to stop guessing at explanations for Peking's conduct—explanations the regime itself does not put forward? Isn't it time to judge the Stalinist bureaucracy in China by the criteria of Marxism and even simple common sense—by what it says and does?

Isn't it time that the Chinese workers and peasants themselves be allowed to discuss and democratically determine the policies that will decide their future?

KCIA harasses Koreans in U.S.

By Peter Seidman

Revelations of violence and intimidation by South Korea's Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) against Koreans living in the United States have lifted a corner on the seamy world of lawyers, lobbyists, payoff artists, religious quacks, and goons who work to protect the interests of U.S.-backed reactionary regimes around the world.

There are 250,000 Korean residents in this country. They should be free to exercise their democratic right of freedom of speech.

But those Koreans who try to take advantage of the relatively freer political climate in the United States to speak out against the dictatorial policies of Park Chung Hee become targets for the South Korean secret police.

According to Koreans opposed to the Park dictatorship, the number of known KCIA agents under official cover in the United States has risen from about five in 1971 to about twenty-five today. Many of them pose

as diplomats or consular officials in New York, Washington, Los Angeles, and other cities with sizable Korean communities.

An article in the October 29 *New York Times* reported that one KCIA agent stationed in Los Angeles is Kim Ki Whan. He was the KCIA station chief in Tokyo when agents kidnapped former South Korean presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung and took him to Seoul, where he is now in prison.

In Los Angeles, where 70,000 Koreans compose the largest such community outside Asia, South Korean agents are reported to have beaten up or threatened violence against several dissidents. A Los Angeles police detective was quoted in the October 30 *New York Times* as saying, "The K.C.I.A. has people in almost every important organization in the community. . . . They're always at anti-Park rallies gathering information."

Kim Woon Ha, the editor of the anti-Park weekly *New Korea*, told the *New*

York Times, "They sent agents to my office last year and told me if I didn't stop criticizing the Government, 'You and your children will be retaliated against'; they also said they could detain my children in Korea."

Embarrassed by these disclosures, the Department of Justice, the FBI, and the State Department now say they have launched investigations of these illegal KCIA activities.

But Washington will not take meaningful steps to curb the activities of its South Korean puppet's secret police.

Since the fall of South Korea's sister dictatorship in South Vietnam, Washington has continued to spend millions in military aid to Park. Last June, Congress approved \$485.5 million in military aid to South Korea, overriding critics of Park's suppression of democratic rights.

This funding, plus 40,000 U.S. troops stationed in Korea to back up the dictatorship there, shows Washington's real intentions.

Washington official testifies

FBI used election reports for enemies list

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Does the FBI scrutinize financial reports from socialist election campaigns to draw up enemies lists?

The answer to that question is yes, judging from sworn testimony by Larry McCoy, a high-ranking official of the Federal Elections Commission (FEC).

McCoy, deputy assistant staff director of the commission, said FBI agents inspected the Socialist Workers party's campaign finance reports for 1972. The G-men showed a special interest in lists of contributors.

Reports filed by the socialists in 1972 and 1974 included the names, addresses, and workplaces of ninety-six contributors of \$100 or more.

FEC official McCoy testified that in the summer of 1972, FBI agents visited what was then called the Office of Federal Elections. At the time McCoy was assistant to the director of the office.

The G-men flashed their badges and asked to see the SWP's financial reports. They pored over the records for forty-five minutes.

McCoy said the agents also asked to look at records filed by the Communist party.

On their way out, McCoy recalled, he talked with the agents. "They were somewhat surprised that the records that we had with donations and names and contributors, this type of thing was available for public inspection just by anybody that walked in," McCoy said.

Their surprise is understandable. This is just the kind of information for which FBI agents and informers have illegally burglarized SWP headquarters.

McCoy said that "the only thing that could have been called out of the ordinary" about the inspection is that the FBI agents bothered to show their credentials.

"When other people came in," he added, "we wouldn't know who they were."

Clearly, FBI agents posing as ordi-



nary citizens could have returned to inspect files any number of times, with no one the wiser.

At least eighteen of the ninety-six supporters disclosed in the 1972 and 1974 reports subsequently became victims of FBI harassment. They or their friends, relatives, or employers received visits or calls from bureau agents. Two contributors lost their jobs.

McCoy also stated that later the same day he told his boss, Phillip Hughes, about the visit. Yet in a statement submitted in court this past March, Hughes said he had "no knowledge or information" that he or his staff had ever received any FBI inquiries about the SWP reports.

Asked by the *Militant* to explain this contradiction, Hughes said he couldn't recall. Couldn't recall if McCoy told him of the FBI visit. Couldn't recall if in preparing his sworn statement he had bothered to consult his staff. That staff included McCoy, who—in Hughes's own words—was "in charge of the office" from 1972 through the end of 1974.

McCoy's testimony was part of pretrial proceedings in a civil suit challenging contributor disclosure pro-

visions of the Federal Election Campaign Act.

The suit was filed two years ago by Joel Gora, a staff attorney of the American Civil Liberties Union, on behalf of SWP campaign committees.

The suit demands that sections of the law requiring identification of individual contributors be ruled unconstitutional as applied to the socialists.

Gora says these provisions threaten "the right of privacy, the right to associate with individuals or groups without government disclosure, and the right of political anonymity—rights which were central in the creation of the First Amendment."

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers candidate for president in the recent elections and treasurer of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, said that McCoy's testimony "clearly shows that turning our contributors' names over to the FEC will lead to FBI harassment."

"Last month we received \$3,332 in contributions from 946 people who watched me on NBC's 'Tomorrow' show," Camejo said. "If we had to turn over all those names to the FEC, it would be a ready-made 'enemies list' for the FBI."

A related legal case—the SWP's \$40 million damage suit against government persecution—has forced the FBI to reveal numerous examples of harassment and crimes against the socialists and their supporters. Because of this history of government crimes, Socialist Workers campaign committees since mid-1974 have refused to file the names of their contributors.

The Federal Election Campaign Act went into effect in the middle of the 1972 campaign and was amended in 1974. It has been hailed by its congressional backers as a law that will finally end the corrupting influence of big money on the American electoral process.

But its main effect is to strengthen the hold of the big-business-dominated two-party system over elections. So-called minor parties have to meet stringent regulations for collecting money and disclosing contributions to presidential campaigns. Democratic and Republican candidates, on the other hand, have their campaigns financed from the public treasury.

In addition, loopholes aplenty exist for big business. The dairy industry, for example, *legally* contributed \$1.2 million to congressional candidates this year. Not surprisingly, prominent among the recipients are members of the House Agricultural Committee, which is responsible for handing out milk price supports.

There are those who defend this phony reform at all costs. For example, Common Cause, the self-styled citizens' lobby, has intervened in the socialists' disclosure lawsuit on behalf of the government.

Common Cause claims to be against government disruption of the SWP. But its officials argue that the sacred disclosure law is a different matter altogether.

The question for Common Cause now is this: What was the FBI doing with the lists of SWP campaign contributors?

'This is a party that takes politics seriously'

By Joe Ryan

SAN DIEGO—What kind of people are joining the Socialist Workers party? People from many different backgrounds.

Anthony González and Carmen Rue are two examples.

González, nineteen, is a Chicano student at the University of California at San Diego. He has long considered himself a nationalist. He is a leading activist in MEChA, a campus Chicano group.

**JOINING
THE SWP**

Last winter González joined the Young Socialist Alliance, a student organization that collaborates closely with the SWP. He saw that YSA members were consistent supporters of Chicano rights. The local YSA chapter was also organizing to fight cutbacks in programs that Chicano students had won at UCSD.

"It was through the YSA that I first met members of the SWP," González explained. "I found that I agreed with

the need to build a party with a program to meet the needs and demands of Chicanos and all working people."

This summer every SWP branch held discussions over a three-month period to prepare for the national SWP convention. Attending those discussions in San Diego and talking to other Chicano members convinced González that the SWP was the party for him.

"The reports and discussions, especially on the Chicano struggle," he said, "showed me that this is a party that takes politics seriously and knows how to lead struggles."

Carmen Rue found out about the SWP while she was in line for a benefit concert for Tom Hayden, who ran in California's Democratic party primary for the U.S. Senate nomination. An SWP campaign supporter gave her a copy of the socialists' platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People." She planned to read it at home, but didn't get around to it.

Several weeks later Rue ran into the SWP campaign again, at a feminist film series. She received a copy of another campaign brochure, "The Fight for Women's Rights." This time, she made it a point to read the pamphlet.

Rue is divorced, holds down a job,

and is raising a daughter, Tiffany. She feels her life is typical of a lot of women.

"I caught on," Rue said. "My problems? They weren't just mine. They're the same problems that the majority of women face."

Rue quickly became convinced that the Democrats and Republicans were not offering any solutions.

"They never talked about the issues I thought were important—like child care, like the Equal Rights Amendment, like abortion rights."

When Rue read the SWP campaign pamphlet on women's rights, she knew she had found a party that was doing something about these issues.

So she wrote the *Militant*, asked to join the SWP, and is now a provisional member. (A three-month provisional period gives people a chance to become familiar with the party before joining.)

At a recent campaign rally, Rue talked about her decision to join the SWP.

"I found the SWP to be a party of people who work hard and assertively with dedication, loyalty, and concern for the real and immediate problems currently facing us: sexism, racism, lack of jobs, and government crimes," she said.

The SWP needs nationalists like González and feminists like Rue. In

fact, a socialist party needs the talents and energies of all kinds of working people.

If you would like to join, contact the SWP branch nearest you (see directory on page 31). Or write to the SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



Militant/Joseph Ryan
Carmen Rue and daughter Tiffany

Boston conference

On November 19-21, the National Student Coalition Against Racism is hosting the third National Student Conference Against Racism at Boston University.

Its theme will be "No to racism: from Boston to South Africa." Student coalition leaders expect the major topic of discussion to be mobilizing an action campaign against U.S. support to South Africa's apartheid regime.

NSCAR was founded almost two years ago by students who wanted to help organize a powerful response to Boston's racist antibusing movement. Busing remains the major target of opponents of Black rights in this country, and there will be an important discussion at the conference of how to continue the struggle to defend and extend school desegregation.

In addition, there will be workshops on many other aspects of the fight against racism, including defense efforts ranging from the five Puerto Rican nationalists to the Gary Tyler case.

We urge all *Militant* readers—especially students—to attend this conference and become part of the antiracist movement.

For more information contact: NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone (617) 288-6200.

ERA victories

The women's liberation struggle won a resounding victory at the polls when voters in two states cast their ballots for state Equal Rights Amendments. The 61 percent pro-ERA vote in Massachusetts and the 64 percent vote in Colorado showed once again that the majority supports women's fight for equality.

Voters repudiated the reactionary forces out to stop the ERA—the same forces out to outlaw abortion and halt busing.

These are the first victories for the ERA in many months. Last year eleven state legislatures considered the federal ERA, but only one ratified. Last November in New York and New Jersey referenda on state ERAs were defeated.

Those setbacks shocked women's rights supporters into action. A national ERA march on May 16 and rallies and demonstrations across the country helped pave the way for Tuesday's victories.

Before election day, Phyllis Schlafly, national leader of Stop ERA, traveled to Massachusetts and proclaimed: "A defeat [for the state ERA] in Massachusetts would sound the death knell to the federal amendment as well."

ERA supporters should now stand this prediction on its head.

Women, unionists, Blacks, students—all ERA supporters—must take these state victories into the national arena. Now is the time to mobilize the majority sentiment in local and national actions to force four more state legislatures to ratify the federal ERA.

Aid for Vietnam!

Almost eighteen months have passed since the Vietnamese people completed the liberation of their country from U.S. domination. In that time, they have confronted the overwhelming task of repairing the damage done by more than a decade of U.S. occupation and bombing. The Vietnamese inherited a U.S. legacy of bomb-blasted villages, orphaned children, maimed war veterans and civilians, unemployment, and disease.

In an effort to overcome these problems, the government of Vietnam has demanded that the U.S. government meet its obligation—recognized in the Paris accords of 1973—to aid in the reconstruction of Vietnam.

Washington has rejected these claims, hypocritically accusing the Vietnamese of violating the Paris accords. (In fact, President Richard Nixon encouraged puppet dictator Nguyen Van Thieu to violate terms of the accords Washington viewed as concessions to the liberation forces.)

The destruction rained on the Vietnamese people by successive U.S. governments is one of the greatest crimes of human history. Instead of spending our tax dollars on preparing new and more horrible Vietnams, America's rulers have a basic moral obligation to provide massive financial aid to Vietnam *without delay and with no strings attached!*

Southern Africa & Israel

I read with satisfaction and approval Tony Thomas's speech on southern Africa (*Militant*, September 17). In the flood of reports and analyses on the southern African developments, Thomas's speech presents a really valuable Marxist analysis of the situation and of the tasks of the revolution in that area.

As Thomas rightly observes, the Zionist regime has good relations with Vorster's racist regime. Since Vorster's visit to Israel last April, cooperation between the two racist regimes has qualitatively intensified. Huge new joint projects have been worked out. According to press reports, Israeli "experts" operate in Namibia aiding Vorster's troops to slaughter and carry out mass expulsions of the Namibian people. Missile-boats are being manufactured here for South Africa, etc.

The Israeli press reports almost daily of closer relationships between the Zionist and the South African bourgeoisie.

Altogether symptomatic in itself is the coverage provided in the Israeli press of the recent events in South Africa. Racism runs like a leitmotiv through all the reports, which are wholeheartedly sympathetic with the racist minority rule of the whites.

These developments prove more than anything else the common interest of the two regimes, which today form a counterrevolutionary, racist axis directed against the masses, both in the Middle East and in Africa. They also indicate their common fate to be overthrown by the masses.

R.M.

Haiifa, Israel

More on prisons

I have been reading the *Militant* for the past six months and must praise you for the truly commendable publication it is. It is quite interesting, not to mention ironic, to read biased capital-controlled papers (which never bring the public the real news), and then to turn to the *Militant*. There are two sides to every story. Although money doesn't come easy these days, enclosed is my check for the next year.

I would like to see more coverage on penal institutions and more space devoted to the "rehabilitation" myth. With a friend presently incarcerated in California, I am thoroughly and sadly acquainted with what goes on behind institution walls.

I'm sure many of your readers realize the important correlation that a socialist movement has with the prison struggle for decent justice and humanity. I fervently hope that in the future your otherwise excellent paper will pay heed to the many victims of the racist, repressive, and dehumanizing prison system. They must not be forgotten.

Linda Periccioli

Rutherford, New Jersey

Support to Carvalho?

J.B., a reader from Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, asks whether it would not have been "tactically astute" for Portuguese revolutionaries to have given critical support to former General Carvalho in the Portuguese elections [*Militant*, September 17]. He reasons that since Carvalho attracted a lot of militant workers, support of his candidacy would have given revolutionaries a chance to "obtain a genuine hearing from the workers for revolutionary criticism of their 'leftist' leadership."

Never has it been tactically astute for revolutionaries to support left-talking army officers. Early examples of the worth of the tactic are Communist party support for Marshall Pilsudski in Poland and Chiang Kai-shek in China in 1926. Since then the CP and others have pursued the tactic toward similar figures who have surfaced in Indonesia, Argentina, Sudan, Peru, and more places than can be mentioned here.

Sukarno, Perón, and the rest had one thing in common. No matter how radical they talked, they all defended the hierarchy and discipline of the bourgeois army. The same goes for Carvalho. To support **the likes of them** (no matter how critically) is to cross the class line in politics. The workers always get clobbered when they do that. When the Portuguese Trotskyists refused to go along with the Carvalho campaign they were on the right track.

David Herreshoff

Highland Park, Michigan

Ralph Metcalfe

The article in the October 29 *Militant* on my campaign for Congress in Illinois's First District contains several factual errors concerning Ralph Metcalfe, my Democratic opponent.

The article quoted me as saying that Ralph Metcalfe "pretended to run against Daley's machine in the Democratic primary." The reporter must have misunderstood me because Metcalfe did in fact run a primary race against the Daley machine candidate, Erwin France. It was precisely because Metcalfe was opposing a machine candidate—whose backing by Daley was seen as "punishing" Metcalfe for not being sufficiently servile—that Metcalfe won the election by an overwhelming margin.

Since the primary, Metcalfe has made several gestures toward mending fences with Daley. But a rapprochement between the two hasn't come about. Indications of the continuing bridge between Metcalfe and Daley are Metcalfe's refusal to endorse Mike Howlett, the Democrats' candidate for governor, and his backing of Bernard Carey, Republican candidate for Cook County state's attorney, over Daley's man, Edward Egan Carey.

Of course, while Metcalfe's old ties with the machine have been broken, he is still a loyal Democrat. He recently joined with other Democratic party "independents" here to urge people to vote for Jimmy Carter.

Andrew Pulley

Chicago, Illinois

Fine article on Argentina

I'm sending this letter to congratulate you on the fine article by Judy White, "Argentina: anti-Semitic terror growing" (*Militant*, October 22).

It once again proves that the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers party are in the forefront of the struggle against oppression, whoever it may be aimed against.

H.C.S.

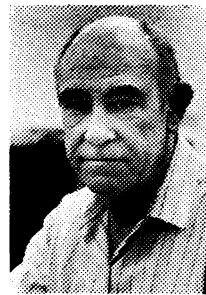
Farmingville, New York

Vote socialist in USA & PR

A report recently issued by the United States Commission on Civil Rights was written up in the *New York Times* October 14 under the headline, "Puerto Rican Plight in U.S. Is Deplored." The contents of that report made one thing very clear; Puerto Ricans here and in Puerto Rico cannot

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Auto: not so settled after all

Officials of the United Auto Workers announced October 27 that the Chrysler Corporation is the second "target" in the 1976 round of contract negotiations in the auto industry. A pattern settlement was reached earlier with Ford Motor after a twenty-eight-day strike, and ratified by a majority vote of UAW members at Ford plants on October 12.

The union is demanding that Chrysler accept the same terms as Ford in a three-year contract, no more and no less. The strike deadline for Chrysler's acceptance was set for 6:00 p.m. November 5.

Union officials had expected to settle with Chrysler without a strike and then turn their full attention to General Motors, largest and most prosperous of the "big three" auto corporations. UAW Vice-president Irving Bluestone, head of the union's GM department, announced after the Ford strike that GM negotiators were refusing to make a contract offer based on the Ford settlement. He said that bargaining at GM could not begin until the company puts its offer on the table.

The truth is that GM is holding out against the union's demand for recognition in seven nonunion auto plants in the South. If Chrysler signs with the UAW, union officials will then feel free to decide whether the union shop for all GM plants is a strikeable issue. They want time to explore this question and probe the corporate attitude on the matter. At the start of negotiations last summer, GM took a tough position against union recognition at its new plants.

The economic decline, despite the current recovery of the auto industry, has caused GM to show signs of dissatisfaction with the cozy union-management relationship built up over the past quarter century.

Union members who are critical of the general policy of collaboration with the corporations have said that UAW President Leonard Woodcock, deeply involved in the Carter presidential campaign, is counting on the outcome of the general election for extra leverage against the auto giants. He hopes, they say, to restore the old relationship, which ensured stability and high productivity in the industry but gained few advantages for the workers.

In announcing that Chrysler would be next in line to sign the new contract, top union officials were careful to say that their decision was made before release of the corporation's third-quarter profit reports. However, Douglas Fraser, a UAW vice-president and chief negotiator in the Chrysler talks, noted that the \$76.2 million quarterly take is an all-time record for this company.

"The \$303.4 million it [Chrysler] earned in the first nine months of 1976 is not only a record for any previous nine-month period but it also exceeds any previous full-year profit figure by nearly \$13 million," Fraser said.

This unearned profit, although small compared with what Ford and GM are raking in, is more than adequate to cover the minimal gains of the 1976 auto settlement that will go to the 100,000 UAW members who work in Chrysler plants.

A sober review of what was won by the union under the master agreement at Ford shows that wages will remain unchanged from what they would have been with the traditional 3 percent annual improvement factor if the 1973 contract had been extended. Under the new contract the base wage on the assembly line will be \$7.30 in 1979. Skilled pay scales will range around \$9.29 per hour, about \$2 above unskilled pay.

The cost-of-living allowance remains unchanged. In the past three years this added \$1.14 to the base wage, poor compensation for the rise in consumer prices. If prices rise at the same rate in the next three years, auto workers will continue to lose commensurately in the race against inflation.

It turns out that the much-publicized "shorter work time" in the new contract amounts to only *seven new paid days off* over the next three years, hardly enough to dent unemployment. Contrary to claims by UAW officials, the new auto contract will create no new jobs.

This explains why auto workers are less than enthusiastic about their latest contract. The prospect of three more years of labor-management cooperation means higher profits for the corporations—and more speedup, declining living standards, and mass unemployment for working people.

rely on capitalist politicians to defend us, much less fight for our democratic rights.

It's clear that we must oppose the capitalist parties and depend solely on independent political action, which alone can put forth a working-class alternative and put an end to the appalling conditions which face us.

Well, here in the belly of the monster, such an alternative does exist. It calls for a massive public works job program, a thirty-hour week with no cut in pay, independence for Puerto Rico, free medical care and education, and support for the Equal Rights Amendment for women. Such is the alternative offered by the Socialist Workers party. A vote for the SWP here (especially for Catarino Garza, the socialist Puerto Rican congressional candidate running in New York's Eighteenth District), like a vote for the Puerto Rican Socialist party in Puerto Rico, can be seen as a concrete step to link the struggles, both on the island and here in this country.

R.T.

Bronx, New York

Contact with outside

Your newspaper is for me and my comrades of incarceration a contact with the outside world.

I translated some of your articles in French for our organization, the FLQ (Front de Libération du Québec) section, St. Denis.

A prisoner

Georgia

Dysfunctional and imprecise?

Your newspaper suffers from two faults. The rhetoric employed is dysfunctional: the most frequently occurring response I get when I ask non-Trotskyists about your paper is that it is rhetorical garbage. To woo people with different views requires sensible, scholarly, inexorable logic and language. Whoever is responsible for the current use of alienating language is doing a disservice to all workers.

Part and parcel of this rhetoric is the lack of sociological or anthropological precision. The paper needs more excerpts and gleanings from scientific writings, more definitions of terms, more documentation of facts.

On a separate account, I want the party to delineate its position on defense (the war budget as you call it, as, indeed, it is sometimes, in some instances). What are the chances for hostilities and aggression in specific areas, from specific governments, within particular fronts? Is no defense desirable? Is unilateral disarmament safe?

These are valid questions in this primitive century and an eclectic, informed, responsible position has to be free of rhetoric, undocumented facts, imprecise theory and overabundance of conviction. The Socialist Workers party must distinguish itself in the political mire by intelligent exposition. James E. Bonsteel
Brentwood, Maryland

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.

Women in Revolt

Lolita Lebron

"As a little girl, I went to school where the first thing I learned was, after the bell rang and the line was formed, to place my little hand upon my heart to salute and pledge allegiance to the flag.

"I learned afterward that the flag was the highest symbol of the nation and that the nation was not Puerto Rico, but a faraway country named the United States of America."

Pledging allegiance to the flag of U.S. domination was only one of the childhood experiences Lolita Lebrón grew up with in Puerto Rico. But it was symbolic of the oppression of the Puerto Rican people, who to this day suffer under colonial rule.

Lebrón, fifty-six, is today the longest-held woman political prisoner in the Western Hemisphere. She is incarcerated at Alderson prison in West Virginia for her part in the 1954 armed attack on the U.S. Congress by four members of the Nationalist party of Puerto Rico.

In a recent article, Lebrón described the poverty of Puerto Rico that led her to join the struggle for independence:

"I saw a peasant wife taking a piece of meat out of the garbage cans of the landowners. This beautiful woman took that piece of meat from inside that garbage can and refried it at the wood stove of a little kitchen and divided it among her five little hungry children."

The case of Lebrón and four other Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners has won growing support in this country as people learn the outrageous conditions

Cindy Jaquith



under which the U.S. government has held them for more than two decades.

The five nationalists—Lolita Lebrón, Oscar Collazo, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Irving Flores—are all imprisoned because they support independence for Puerto Rico. Collazo has been in jail since 1950. Cordero, dying of cancer, has been denied release by prison authorities.

All five prisoners have been victimized throughout their incarceration. In 1971, when Lebrón helped organize a work stoppage at Alderson—in solidarity with the Attica strike—she and the other women prisoners were thrown into solitary confinement for sixteen months.

The five nationalists are not criminals. They are being kept behind bars by the criminal exploiters of Puerto Rico. The demand for their freedom is a demand for simple human justice.

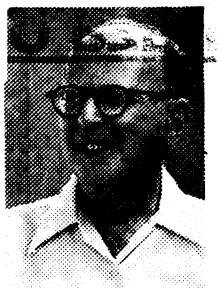
One need not agree with their tactics to recognize that these are political prisoners who are being kept in jail as a warning to the Puerto Rican independence movement.

They are meant to be a warning to the Puerto Rican women fighting against the imperialist plot of forced sterilization and to the Puerto Rican workers struggling for jobs and a living wage.

On November 13, demonstrations demanding the immediate release of the five nationalists are scheduled at the United Nations and in San Francisco. These demonstrations deserve the active support of women's groups everywhere.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



The art of positive thinking— Polls showing that respect for the United States in Western Europe is at a twenty-two-year low are misleading, according to an official of the United States Information Agency. It's misleading because no poll was taken two years ago at the height of Watergate. Then, he said, "U.S. prestige was probably even lower."

One for you, two for me . . . — A divorce settlement agreed to by actor George Hamilton and ex-spouse Alana

Collins included a division of the family wheels. She got the 1969 white Rolls Royce. He got the '69 yellow Rolls and the '71 green one.

Witch and ghost hunter— Lewis Harrison, who ran for the New York Assembly on the Conservative ticket, says he was attracted to the right-wing outfit by a concern for East Europeans living under communism. Harrison says he is also a professional ghost hunter and offers his services to people who suspect their house is haunted.

Data dep't—The American Lung Association asserts that coffin nails are responsible for 300,000 U.S. deaths annually—more than alcoholism, heroin addiction, and car accidents combined.

New York's Finest—Vincent Albano, a retired N.Y. narcotics detective, pleaded guilty to evading \$67,000 federal income tax on unreported income over a four-year period. Probers say the cop, apparently hard-working

and thrifty, built up a Lower East Side "conglomerate," including several apartment buildings, a liquor store, and a coin laundry.

Social note—D.C.-area readers may be interested in the upcoming International Gala. The three-day bash opens with cocktails at British Ambassador and Lady Ramsbotham's and includes brunch with the Kissingers. Tickets, \$175. Proceeds to liquidate the \$20,000 deficit of the Washington Horse Show.

Capitalism in Crisis

Andy Rose



What happened to the recovery?

What ever happened to the recovery?

That's the question being asked from the corporate boardrooms on Wall Street to the homes of thousands of industrial workers hit by unexpected layoffs.

Even White House economic adviser L. William Seidman admitted recently that the "pause in the nation's economic growth has become a lull."

The slowdown in the recovery has been evident since last May, when unemployment began to rise again. But alarms started ringing in the capitalist press at the end of September, when the government's index of "leading indicators" was reported to have dropped 1.5 percent in August—the first drop in eighteen months. This index is a composite of economic statistics that are supposed to signal in advance the direction of the economy.

The biggest factor in the August decline was an increase in the factory layoff rate. Layoffs increased from 1.1 out of every 100 workers in July to 1.5 in August. It was the biggest jump in more than a year and the highest layoff rate since November 1975. Meanwhile, the new hiring rate fell to the lowest point since January.

The index of leading indicators dropped again in September, with the layoff rate staying at a high 1.5 percent. Other signs of the slowdown:

- Industrial production has been stagnant since July and remains lower—after a year and a half of recovery—than in June 1974.

- The rate of increase in the gross national product slowed to 4 percent in the third quarter of this year. The GNP was rising at a 9.2 percent rate in the first quarter and 4.5 percent in the second.

- Unemployment for September was officially reported to be 7.8 percent, no significant change from 7.9 percent in August. The AFL-CIO estimates that the real unemployment rate is more than 10 percent.

The typical pattern of recovery in the capitalist business cycle starts with a pickup in sales of *consumer goods* (clothing, appliances, cars—the things people buy for their own consumption). Then, as business improves for the companies that produce consumer goods, they start investing in *capital goods* (new machinery and plants).

Along the way, more workers are hired. They have more money to spend on more goods. Business expands—until the inevitable crisis of overproduction and a new slump.

This recovery, however, has hardly gotten out of the starting gate. The stimulus of government tax cuts last year gave a temporary boost to purchase of consumer goods. But that has petered out. Retail

sales have been stagnant since last March.

"You cannot count on the consumer to add any significant lift," *Business Week* magazine warned October 18. And it explained why: "Inflation is still eroding purchasing power."

The head of Chase Econometric Associates makes the same point: "The average worker has less money in his pocket, in real terms, than he had in 1972 and 1973."

The capitalists have succeeded in boosting their profits by holding wages down. But that very success has helped undermine the basis for the recovery. The prospects for working people are clear:

"Under no circumstances" will unemployment decline to 7 percent by year-end, according to the director of economic studies of the Brookings Institution. *New York Times* financial analyst Thomas Mullaney writes that economic prospects "do not offer much hope for reducing the current 7.8 percent unemployment rate to any great extent. . . ."

We still have to answer: Why doesn't the government just provide more stimulus and perk up the economy? Why are businesses refusing to increase their investments in capital goods? We'll take these questions up in future columns.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



A costly boycott—almost

One point six million in legal tender, Mississippi Chancery Court Judge George Haynes had ordered. Payable by October 21. And, he had said, no more excuses on paying the bond, no delayin', no stallin', no nuttin'. Crack open the piggy bank!

Faced with this judgment, it looked like the NAACP would take a hard fall on its kisser.

"It was as if there wasn't even any defense in this case," Charles Carter, the NAACP lawyer, said in an October 28 interview.

The judge had ruled in favor of Port Gibson, Mississippi, white merchants who had sued the NAACP for damages claimed as the result of a boycott during the 1960s.

"His decision looked as if he took, almost exactly, parts of the complainants' brief, including their damage figures," said Carter.

Eight days earlier, the day before the \$1.6 million bond fell due, a federal judge enjoined Haynes's order and said the NAACP had to post a \$110,000 bond instead.

"He knew his decision wouldn't hold up," Carter said of Haynes. "That's why he awarded the damages so high. They were just out to break the NAACP on getting up the bond money."

A Mississippi law requires that parties appealing

such a civil judgment post a bond equaling 125 percent of the amount of the award.

The injunction will allow the NAACP some breathing room while preparing an appeal to the Mississippi Supreme Court. Carter said there are twenty-four points of error in Haynes's decision that the civil rights group plans to appeal.

Carter said the judgment against the NAACP is about the fifth such similar award against a civil rights group by a Mississippi judge. "A couple of the others nearly broke SCLC [Southern Christian Leadership Conference]," he said.

The case stems from a Black boycott of white merchants that began in 1966 in Port Gibson, a town of 2,500 people, 75 percent of whom were Black.

The boycott was spearheaded by the NAACP to prompt white merchants into hiring Blacks and calling off the mean Jim Crow dog in public accommodations, in light of the leash law in the form of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

"There were still Black and white signs in all the public restrooms," Carter recalled. "There were segregated facilities in the bus station, and McDaniel's drug store had the only lunch counter in town

and it was segregated.

"In fact, Mr. McDaniel, who is one of the complainants in the suit, closed that dining room down and it is still down today because he refused to integrate."

The boycott was put on all white Port Gibson merchants, many of whom were elected public officials who bore responsibility for ending discrimination.

But the merchants brought suit in 1969 claiming they had been unjustly deprived of fair trade through the boycott. Last August Judge Haynes upheld them.

"We were just trying to get some dignity and equal treatment for Black people in Mississippi," Carter pleaded. "And one of the major issues in the whole complaint was to get courtesy titles. To get them to call me mister or missus, rather than boy and girl and nigger and all that stuff."

There is a story about Port Gibson that says that the town was the only one left standing by Ulysses S. Grant in his swing through Mississippi during the civil war. Grant, it is said, was struck by its charm and said the town was "too pretty to burn." But not too pretty to burn the NAACP.

Denver rally condemns FBI harassment

[The following are excerpts from remarks made at the October 23 rally for democratic rights in Denver.]

JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ, Texas Raza Unida party

I want to thank everyone here on the stage with me this evening for their efforts and assistance in going after the FBI and exposing them for what they are. I commend the Socialist Workers party for their perseverance and diligence in going after the FBI and helping all of us—and all Americans—to understand fully the threat we have from within the government to the basic civil liberties we are all supposed to enjoy.

Our party has decided to sue the FBI, the CIA, and other agencies [because of a] series of unexplained attacks on the RUP.

Our candidate for governor in the last election was recently indicted, supposedly on conspiracy to smuggle marijuana. Supposedly, the evidence was obtained through telephone taps. This alleged conspiracy took place eighteen months earlier. But eighteen months earlier, he was running for governor, not peddling marijuana.

We were, of course, subjected to extreme criticism. The newspapers made a big to-do about that particular indictment.

The brother of one of our organizers in Webb County was found in the Rio Grande, hands bound with bailing wire and shot.

Not long ago, Ignacio Pérez and Mario Cantú were arrested in San Antonio for harboring "aliens." This was in a restaurant, mind you.

I'd like to point out some things that the CIA considers to be important. For example, at the bottom of one page [of a CIA document], footnote "B" says, "MAYO, a youth organization, directed by José Angel Gutiérrez, has a policy line more radical than that of the Alliance." I never heard of any organization called the Alliance. Maybe I should have.

It says, "MAYO attempts"—now this is really terrible—"to organize politically in areas where there are a majority of Mexican-Americans and to win public positions. MAYO advocates the need for a political program and united action by all Mexican-Americans."

I knew I was dangerous, but God almighty, doing all those terrible things: getting people organized and voting, and running for office!

JAMES JOY, director of the Colorado American Civil Liberties Union

In Pennsylvania, some people broke into the FBI offices and went through their files. One of the things they learned is that this police force is spending about 15 percent of its funds and time working on organized crime. Thirty percent was spent on internal paperwork. Forty percent was spent fighting draft resisters. It's amazing.

The FBI is clearly a body out of control, and I personally call for its dissolution. I call for its dismantlement. I call for the American people to gather together and rid ourselves of this Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Let me remind you that there has not been one agent fired, or suspended,



Colorado ACLU leader James Joy addressing October 23 rally for democratic rights in Denver.

By Ruth Getts

DENVER—More than 175 people heard leaders of the Chicano movement, American Indian movement, the Socialist Workers party, and others blast the FBI's illegal and undemocratic attacks on political rights at a meeting held here October 23.

Speakers at the rally were José Angel Gutiérrez, chairperson of the Texas Raza Unida party; John Trudell, national chairperson of the American Indian Movement; James Joy, Colorado director of the American Civil Liberties Union; James Reynolds, director of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission; Ruth Getts, Political Rights Defense Fund; Fred Halstead, SWP; and Militant staff writer Miguel Pendás.

Gutiérrez and Pendás highlighted the extensive government repression of the Chicano liberation movement in Colorado, Texas, and throughout the Southwest.

The fight for the right of dissenting political groups to function freely has received particular attention here in Denver. FBI informer Timothy Redfearn was caught burglarizing SWP campaign offices here last July.

Editorials in Denver's two major dailies have denounced the government's failure to take action against FBI officials for their part in the burglary.

The SWP's \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment was a major focus of the October 23 meeting. Gains already won by the suit were pointed to by many speakers as examples for all Americans of how to fight for democratic rights.

The meeting was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support and publicity for the suit. It was endorsed by more than thirty organizations, community leaders, and political figures. Among them were:

Colorado Civil Rights Commission; U.S. Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.); the Denver Federation of Teachers; the Denver chapter of the National Organization for Women; the student government at Metro State College; and the American Civil Liberties Union of Colorado.

Rep. Patricia Schroeder sent a message to the meeting. It read, in part, "I fully support your struggle to clear the good name of the Socialist Workers party and prevent future illegal activities by the FBI."

"We must join hands firmly to prevent the erosion of our First Amendment rights of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly."

"Your action tonight is helping to preserve those precious rights."

Sen. Floyd Haskell (R-Colo.) also sent a message. "For nearly forty years," he said, "the Socialist Workers party has been subjected to massive and unwarranted surveillance. All citizens should be repelled by this violation of civil liberties."

"My political and philosophical differences with the Socialist Workers party are many and well known. Let it be remembered however, that when the founders of this nation adopted the Bill of Rights, they did not include a list of exceptions."

reduced in rank, or transferred to Fairbanks, Alaska. There has not been a single criminal charge made against any member of the CIA or the FBI for all their illegal activities that have been exposed again and again.

So what I'm asking for today is your anger. I want you to join with me in a sense of indignation that our rights have so systematically been stripped away from us.

It's important that we insist that every American, no matter what his views, has a right to organize, to speak out, and to be heard.

But more than your indignation and your anger, I ask your action. I ask you

to organize, to join, to contribute money, to tell your friends, to contact anybody you know who might be in power and express your unwillingness to tolerate oppression in the United States.

FRED HALSTEAD, Socialist Workers party 1968 presidential candidate

After I had just gotten back from a campaign tour of Vietnam, my briefcase was stolen and my apartment searched by FBI agents.

Now, what were they doing and why? In their own gumshoe minds I suppose they had elaborated all kinds

of fantastic plots. I suppose they thought I had lists of GIs in sensitive positions or something.

Of course, there were no such lists. There was only the overwhelming and profound political fact that millions of Americans were opposed to an immoral war. That's all.

There wasn't any secret and there wasn't any plot. Great social movements are never the result of plots. They are the result of political processes. And political processes just happen to be protected by the Bill of Rights. That's not accidental. The Bill of Rights was the product of a revolution.

The right to think for oneself has to be respected, defended, and protected. This monstrous machine of surveillance, intimidation, and disruption of every legitimate movement for social progress is not respect for the right of dissent or for the right of humanity to settle disputes on the basis of the fullest available knowledge.

The FBI justifies all this nonsense on the grounds of "national security." But I never had a military secret in my life.

What they really mean is that if you don't agree with them, there's something wrong with you. You're not supposed to compete in the marketplace of ideas on an even-Stephen basis.

The SWP is willing to compete in the marketplace of ideas on an even-Stephen basis. All we want is that break.

JOHN TRUDELL, national chairperson, American Indian Movement

Senator Eastland recently conducted an investigation of the American Indian Movement. The investigation had one witness—an FBI informer. Then Eastland published a report saying we were committed to violence.

I'd say that the very opposite of that is true.

We're not committed to any kind of violence. We're just tired of the violence of racism and the double standards of justice in the courts. We're tired of the violence of hunger, of alcoholism, and of drug addiction.

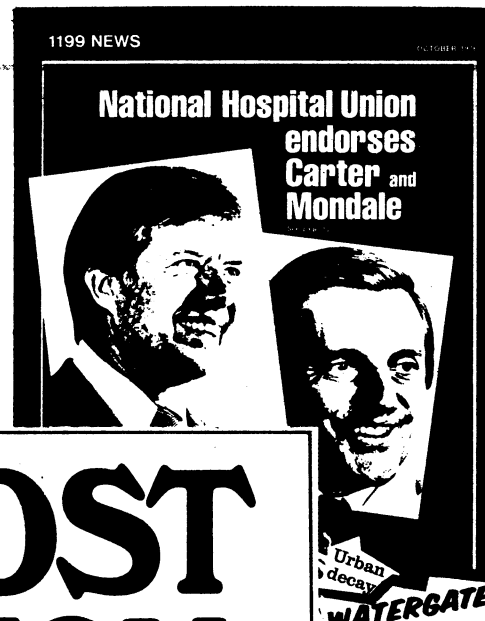
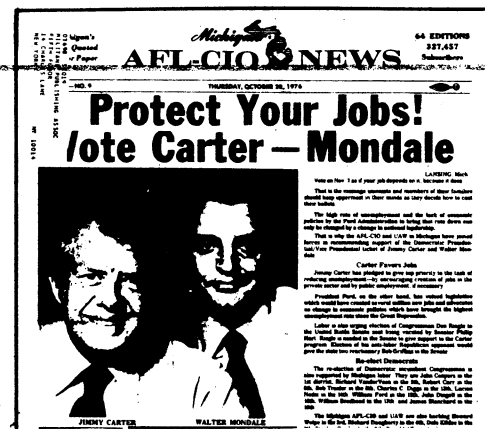
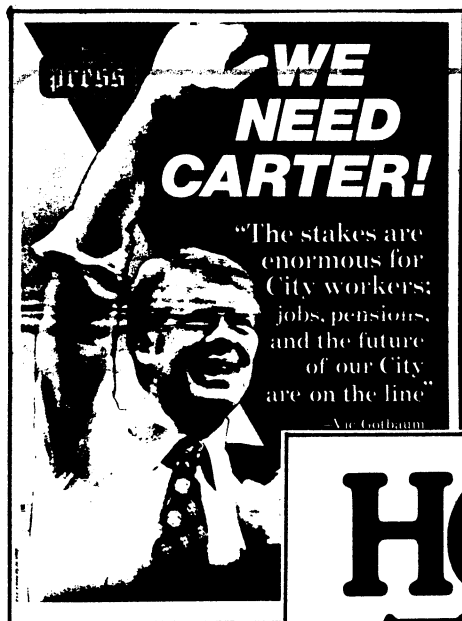
If Eastland wants to talk about a threat to the internal security of the American state, then he should be talking about the Federal Bureau of Investigation. They should be talking about themselves and get off our backs.

When the FBI comes to the reservation, they wear military fatigues and they carry M-16s and grenade launchers. They come in armored personnel carriers.

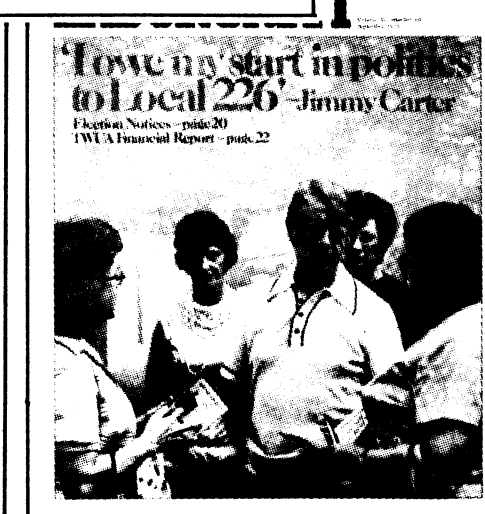
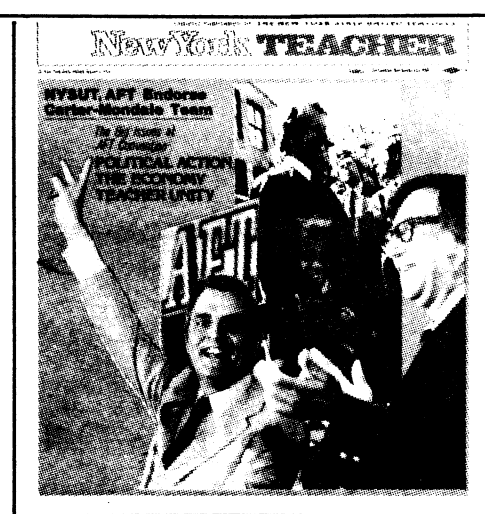
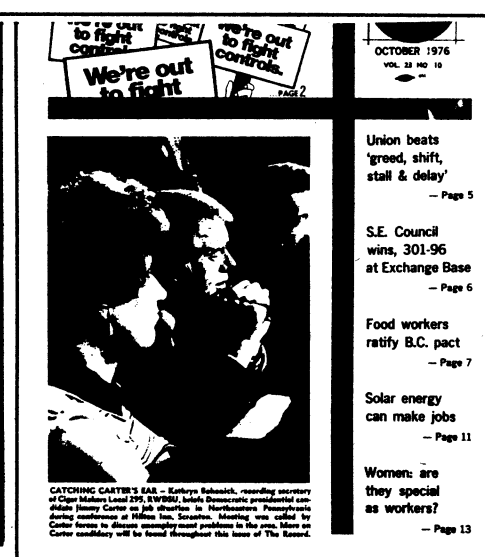
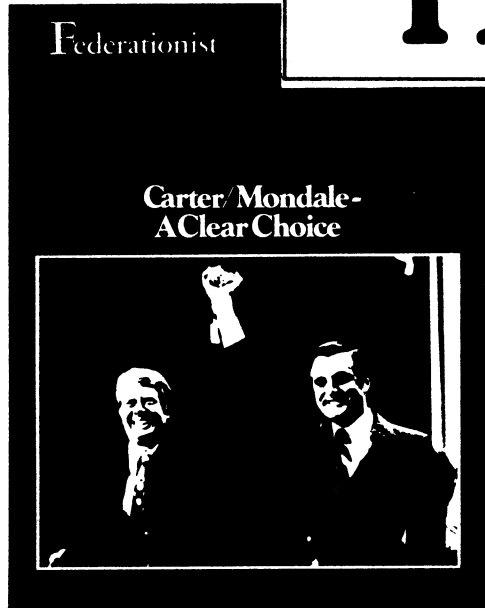
They kick people's doors in and do exactly as they please. The FBI to our people is the 1970s version of the cavalry.

I hope that we can all come together in some way so that we can go after the FBI. The threat that they pose is very real. You can't leave it up to the politicians. You can't leave it up to Gerald Ford or Jimmy Carter. The people are going to have to do it.





HOW LABOR LOST THE '76 ELECTION



By Lynn Henderson

Labor has lost another election. Not a single candidate was elected—to the White House, Congress, or any state legislature or executive post—who will represent the interests of working people.

But then, the union officialdom did not campaign for any such candidates. Instead, it devoted unprecedented amounts of union money, time, and effort to electing Carter, Mondale, and (for the most part) other Democrats.

The *New York Times* called it "the biggest, most expensive, best organized and most sophisticated campaign that organized labor has ever conducted in support of a Presidential candidate."

Unions distributed more than 80 million pieces of literature aimed at getting Carter into the White House.

In the manner of old-time ward-healers, shop stewards and union officers were instructed to put the arm of local members at lunch breaks and on the job.

Other techniques were ultramodern. The AFL-CIO's computer in Washington has the names, addresses, wards, and precincts of most of the federation's 14.5 million members. These were painstakingly matched with voter registration, party enrollment, and telephone numbers to ensure that every possible union member would be contacted to vote for Carter.

The final preelection issues of union newspapers were largely turned into campaign leaflets for the Carter-Mondale ticket.

Carter received firm backing even from unions, such as some of the building trades, that have traditionally remained aloof from presidential politics.

According to *U.S. News & World Report*, "In the midst of its strike against Ford Motor Company, the United Auto Workers still kept the campaign in mind: members who wanted strike benefits in Illinois first had to attend political-education classes."

The union officialdom was determined to elect Carter. But it also had a broader aim in mind: to get out the vote and thereby show that "the system works."

"The big thing we were worried about from the start of the campaign was apathy," said Al Barkan, head of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education.

So the unions went all-out to convince millions of workers who correctly saw no difference between Carter and Ford—who couldn't trust either one—to swallow their revulsion, go into the voting booth, and pull the lever.

In a nationwide radio address, AFL-CIO President George Meany pleaded: "Vote as you please, but please vote."

Meany assured unionists that vital issues would be decided November 2: "Will you have a job or not; will you be able to purchase a decent home at a price you can afford or not; will your children get a decent chance for quality education or not; will those who become ill have a chance for good medical care at a price they can meet or not..."

All this and more, according to Meany, would be decided by whether Carter was elected over Ford.

The unions were indeed instrumental in getting out the vote, in preventing a record low turnout, in propping up the decrepit two-party system, and in electing Carter.

Complete analyses are not yet available, but the labor vote was apparently crucial for Carter's victory. It was decisive in such states as New York and Pennsylvania, without which he could not have come close to an electoral majority.

What did labor achieve with this massive effort?

It played a key role in electing a president who is opposed to busing to achieve school desegregation.

Who opposes the right of women to have abortions.

Who is committed to continued increases in military spending.

Who, in the name of government efficiency, will carry out further cut-backs in education, health care, and other social services.

Who is a known supporter of anti-union "right to work" laws.

The unions seem to have great political clout. But under the present policy their only clout is to serve the interests of labor's enemies. Tied to the Democratic and Republican parties, labor has no say where it counts—in

deciding and implementing policy.

"Labor, for all its vaunted power, has been unable to get a pro-labor law passed for as long as I can remember," admitted Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, in an interview in the May/June issue of *Skeptic* magazine.

"What I've found, essentially," Wurf said, "is that the only people who seem to know how to elect candidates and maintain their loyalty are big business."

Despite this damning admission, Wurf was again in the forefront of getting the labor vote out for Democratic politicians, including Carter.

The reason that politicians "maintain their loyalty" only to big business is simply that both parties, Democrats

and Republicans alike, are parties of big business.

Organized labor does have the potential for tremendous political power. But that potential can only be realized by breaking with the Democrats and Republicans and launching an independent political party of labor—based on, run by, and accountable to the labor movement.

If the time, money, and effort the unions poured into the Carter campaign this fall had instead been devoted to independent working-class political action, labor could have taken a giant step forward.

Instead, the union bureaucracy continues to lead the labor movement down an increasingly treacherous and self-defeating road.

A few buck the tide

The United Electrical Workers union (UE), not an AFL-CIO affiliate, voted at its international convention September 13-17 not to endorse either Carter or Ford. The UE has traditionally backed Democrats.

UE President Albert Fitzgerald told the convention that working people must never again choose between the lesser of two evils.

"Only if the labor unions of this country let the politicians of both major parties know that we are not tied to the tails of any political party, will we be able to get what we need," he declared.

Delegates to the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers state convention voted October 29 to reject their leadership's proposal to endorse the Carter-Mondale ticket. After heated discussion, the endorsement was defeated by a 190-193 roll call vote.

Of the teachers opposed to endorsing the Democratic slate, a minority were Republicans. Most were independents or supporters of third-party candidates, including Socialist

Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo and Socialist party nominee Frank Zeidler.

Many local unions were willing to hear representatives of the Socialist Workers party campaign. One of these was Communications Workers of America Local 4309 in Cleveland.

The union's newsletter, *Perception*, carried an editorial in its September issue backing the SWP candidates' right to ballot status in Ohio. The October newsletter carried profiles of the positions of Peter Camejo, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter. Representatives from all three campaigns addressed the local's October 7 membership meeting.

The most impressive union backing for SWP campaigns came in San Francisco. Sylvia Weinstein, SWP candidate for board of education was officially endorsed by Civil Service Association Local 400, Painters Local 4, and Retail Clerks Local 1100.

Letters to SWP campaign

'Been looking for my party—hope I've found it'

[The following letters are some of the many received recently by the Socialist Workers party presidential campaign of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

[More than 3,400 letters alone were received in response to Peter Camejo's October 14 appearance on NBC-TV's "Tomorrow" show.]

Votes from Idaho panhandle

My husband and I saw Peter Camejo's interview on public television and were very impressed. You have two votes from the Idaho panhandle.

We would appreciate more information about the campaign and your organization in general. We consider ourselves socialists, but have no formal affiliation to a party. If there is a local organization in Spokane, Washington (our nearest city), will you please send us the address.

Enclosed is a small donation from our unemployment benefits.

Coeur d'Alene, Idaho

Proposals most refreshing

I just finished watching the end of your Public Broadcasting Service interview with Paul Duke. I must say that after having previously listened to the Carter-Ford debate I found your proposals and observations most refreshing.

I would greatly appreciate your sending me more information on the Socialist Workers party's philosophy and positions. I am sincerely interested in learning more.

Madison, Wisconsin

He's A-1

Sorry I couldn't afford more—but every little bit helps or hurts, depending on who you're for.

I thought your presidential candidate was A-1 on the "Tomorrow" show. I have been looking for "my" political party. Hopefully I've found it. Send me any information you might have on your party—I'm really interested. Also I'd like your papers on Ford and Carter. They should be humorous.

City of Industry, California

Plain ole truth

Saw your candidate recently on Tom Snyder's "Tomorrow" show for the short time that he was on the program, and I feel that everything he said was the plain, everyday truth that we all can see around us.

I'm disgusted with the monopoly of the two-party system and the control of the military-industrial-government complex over all our lives. I'm fed up with all the vast promises made before each election period, only to blow away in smoke the day after the election.

Would like to purchase a book he mentioned on the program—the *Cointelpro* book.

Pueblo, Colorado

Nix on profit orientation

Recently, I was fortunate enough to hear the SWP candidate for president, Peter Camejo, on television. Mr. Came-

jo's beliefs and my own are very similar on government and on what is best for the United States.

I would like to help and, while my money contribution is something less than huge, I would like to contribute my time to the SWP. I do not and will not work for profit-oriented organizations. So I have plenty of time to contribute, but very little money, regrettably.

Your suggestions would be helpful and much appreciated. Also send me some reading material by and about the SWP. The more the better. I've read Nelson Blackstock's book, *Cointelpro*, and while I've known for some time FBI and CIA tactics, the book was very informative.

Dubuque, Iowa

He got my vote

Saw Peter on the tube last night with Paul Duke. He got my vote.

I almost had forgotten myself and was going to go the lesser-of-two-evils route and vote Carter. I'm glad I was reminded to keep the ideals of democracy in mind. The enclosed donation is literally all I have in the bank.

San Francisco, California

You can't believe it

Just a note from a concerned citizen who feels his country growing away from him. I was taught in school that our nation was free. (Only as free as its most oppressed minorities!)

I was taught that our nation represented the feelings of its people.

I was taught that socialism represented dictatorial oppression.

Well, I guess you can't believe everything you hear!

Bloomfield, New Jersey

Aware of common people

I saw Peter Camejo on the "Tomorrow" show and was very impressed by many of the things he said. I am grateful that there is someone running for president who is aware of the common people and their problems, wants, and needs.

I am twenty-seven years old, and although I once worked for the Kennedy campaign, I have never voted. So far, there has never been a candidate I felt was worth voting for. This time around I was determined to vote—even if it was just to go vote *against* someone, and for the lesser of two evils.

So, you'll understand why I'm so pleased to find a man like Peter Camejo in the running. Although the chances are against his winning the election, I'm going to go out and vote for him anyway.

San Francisco, California

At last someone to vote for

I saw your candidate for president on the Tom Snyder show. At last I have someone to vote for. At last a group that is willing to see America for what it is, has been, and can and should be.

Please! Send me some information on your organization and also the pamphlet on Carter.

Indianapolis, Indiana

Socialists debate opponents in Senate races

Ohio

By Brad Kahn

CLEVELAND—"She stole the show with a fast paced, strident attack on American capitalism."

This was the Cleveland *Plain Dealer's* evaluation of Melissa Singler's performance at an October 29 debate between Ohio senatorial candidates. Singler, the Socialist Workers party candidate, is challenging incumbent Republican Robert Taft and Democrat Howard Metzenbaum.

The prestigious Cleveland City Club sponsored the event at the Cleveland Plaza Hotel. Taft and Metzenbaum, both millionaires, felt at home among the wealthy businessmen who dominated the audience of 600 people.

Singler didn't aim her comments at this elite crowd. She was speaking to the millions of Ohio workers, Blacks, youth, and women viewing the debate on television or listening to it on radio.

Television stations in Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati carried the confrontation live. Twelve other TV stations in seven cities rebroadcast it during prime time over the weekend. And eighteen radio stations across the state also covered the debate.

Metzenbaum spoke first, offering vague promises to bring more industry into the state and dampen unemployment.

After him, Singler tore into the hypocrisy of the Democratic and Republican parties—the parties responsible for soaring unemployment and high prices.

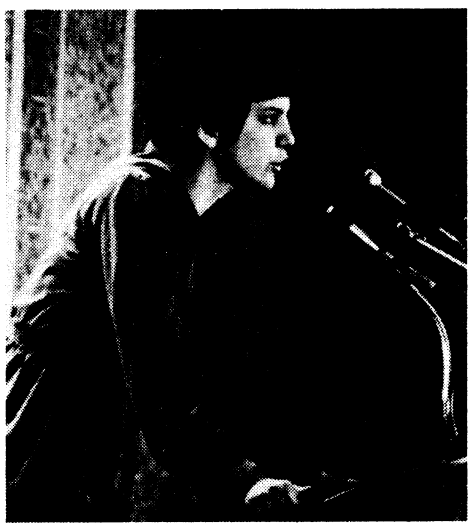
Describing Singler's presentation, the October 30 *Plain Dealer* wrote, "Warning that her views are 'considered dangerous by the government,' she said, 'this is an irrational system. Most of the wealth and power in this country is in the hands of a few rich men and the rest of us have to struggle for a living.'

"She urged a 100 percent tax on all war profits and all businesses that pollute. She also urged a reopening of the investigation of the Ohio National

Guard killing of four Kent State University students in 1970."

The Cleveland daily also cited Singler's condemnation of racist antibusing violence in Boston.

When Singler concluded her remarks, the City Club audience gave her a rousing hand. They were showing an uneasy recognition for this capable young socialist. They knew



Militant/Glenn Campbell

MELISSA SINGLER

that many people in Ohio are listening to the SWP candidate. In 1974, for example, Nancy Brown, SWP candidate for governor, polled almost 100,000 votes.

At the debate, Taft followed Singler at the podium. He began by turning to the socialist and saying, "Melissa, that's a tough act to follow."

Also speaking at the Plaza were candidates for the American Independent party and the Socialist Labor party and an independent candidate for Senate.

During the days after the debate, letters flooded the Socialist Workers campaign office. "I've always voted for the Democrats, but I'm fed up with hearing about 8 percent unemployment or how good 5 percent unemployment would be," wrote a resident of Lorain, Ohio. "I'm unemployed and as far as

I'm concerned, that's 100 percent. You've got my vote."

A student at Cleveland Heights High School wrote, "I skipped school on Friday and boy I'm glad I did—I would have never heard about you."

The City Club debate ended an exciting month of campaigning for Singler. Singler traveled to twenty-five Ohio cities, spoke on nineteen college campuses, and was interviewed or reported on by twenty-six television stations, more than fifty radio stations, and thirty-five newspapers.

Massachusetts

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—On Sunday, October 31, Massachusetts voters heard Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate Carol Henderson Evans confront her opponents, including Sen. Edward Kennedy. The televised debate also included Republican candidate Michael Robertson and Graham Lowry of the right-wing U.S. Labor party.

It was a refreshing change from the phony presidential debates that excluded all candidates except Ford and Carter.

Each of the Massachusetts candidates fielded questions from reporters and presented two minute wrap-up statements. In contrast to her opponents' predictably vague responses, Evans presented concrete proposals for eliminating the state's 8 percent unemployment.

"Measures like the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, which Senator Kennedy supports, will do nothing to solve the unemployment problem," Evans said. "What we need as the first immediate measure is to reduce the workweek to thirty hours with no reduction in pay."

"The Socialist Workers party also calls for eliminating the war budget. The \$115 billion, which is currently being used to defend U.S. corporate interests around the world, should be spent on much-needed social services

such as hospitals, child-care centers, and schools.

"Instead of spending billions for destruction," Evans proposed, "let's launch a crash program to help provide constructive jobs for those out of work."

Responding to Kennedy's defense of Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in southern Africa, Evans blasted U.S. government support for white minority regimes.

"If Kissinger believes in Black majority rule, why has he remained silent about South Africa?" Evans asked. "The truth is that Kissinger is only concerned with protecting U.S. corporate interests in that part of the world. We socialists are for Black majority rule throughout Africa. Just as we supported the Vietnamese people in their struggle for national liberation, we give our full support to the Black freedom struggle in southern Africa."

When Robertson denounced busing, Evans jumped in to defend Black youth seeking an equal, desegregated education. Kennedy, on the other hand, maintained his habitual silence on busing.

Evans was also the only candidate to urge a huge voter turn out for a "yes" vote on Question 1, a referendum to add an Equal Rights Amendment to the state constitution.



Militant/Jon Hillson

CAROL HENDERSON EVANS

By Ed Berger

NEW YORK—The Delegate Assembly of New York's United Federation of Teachers met October 22 at a time when the union faces a new, double-barreled attack: loss of dues checkoff and the announcement of drastic new budget cutbacks.

The week before, a state agency revoked dues checkoff privileges for the UFT because of its five-day strike in 1975. This action was taken under the state's notorious Taylor Law, which prohibits strikes by public employees.

Next came the announcement by Mayor Abraham Beame and the Emergency Financial Control Board that budget cutbacks in fiscal year 1977-78 will be the worst yet: \$500 million in new cuts. UFT President Albert Shanker told the delegates this would probably mean the loss of 4,000 to 5,000 more teaching jobs.

Shanker's strategy for fighting against these attacks on education and on teachers' standard of living was embodied in a motion passed at the previous delegate assembly. That motion committed the UFT to work to "ensure the election of a Democratic President of the United States and a Democratic Senator from the State of New York."

At the October meeting Shanker said that "working toward this goal means getting more money for COPE"—the AFL-CIO's Committee On Political Education.

It is utopian, Shanker declared, to think that

Ed Berger is a teacher at Grady High School in Brooklyn and a member of the United Federation of Teachers.

teachers can gain anything from mass actions or increased militancy. He implied that the 1975 strike was a big mistake. If teachers had taken the money lost in wages and fines resulting from the strike and instead invested it in politics, he said, "we would now have the best politicians money can buy."

But if Shanker doesn't *already* have "the best politicians money can buy," it is not from lack of trying.

Under Shanker's direction the UFT has a long record of pouring money into the campaigns of Democratic and Republican politicians. What does that record show?

In 1969 UFT funds "bought" the support of ninety state legislators. They were alleged to be "proteacher" because of their racist opposition to Black and Puerto Rican community control of schools. Seventy-three of these "friends of education" had voted for the Taylor Law, which has been ruthlessly used against the UFT and other municipal unions.

In 1973 the UFT endorsed, for the first time, a candidate in a New York City election: Democrat Abraham Beame for mayor.

"Our endorsement of Abe Beame reflects teachers' growing political awareness," Shanker declared at the time. He praised Beame as "a progressive and enlightened public official," able "to get people working together" to improve wages and working conditions in New York City schools.

The next year the UFT went all out to elect Democrat Hugh Carey as governor. Teachers had "a tremendous feeling of excitement" about Carey, Shanker said.

Teachers were told that Carey would work to get rid of the Taylor Law. Instead, both of these Democrats have spearheaded the elimination of some 20,000 teaching positions and the gutting of public education. And they have used the Taylor Law as a club against teachers who try to resist.

Now Carter?

Despite this record of failure and betrayal, Shanker is busily peddling Jimmy Carter as the answer to our problems. Electing Carter will bring hundreds of millions of dollars in aid to New York City, Shanker promises.

The October 25 *Wall Street Journal* presents a more informed and accurate assessment. "Beyond a difference in rhetorical tones, and wishful thinking in City hall. . .," the *Journal's* editors write, "chances are that when New York returns to Washington in January with its plea for more help, it will get about the same reception, regardless of who is in office."

Shanker's strategy has been tried. It has failed. A new strategy is needed.

First, it is necessary to recognize that the city crisis affects all social services, not just education.

Individual, isolated demonstrations and strikes cannot turn this situation around. Shanker uses this obvious fact to try to discredit the idea of demonstrating against injustice, at all.

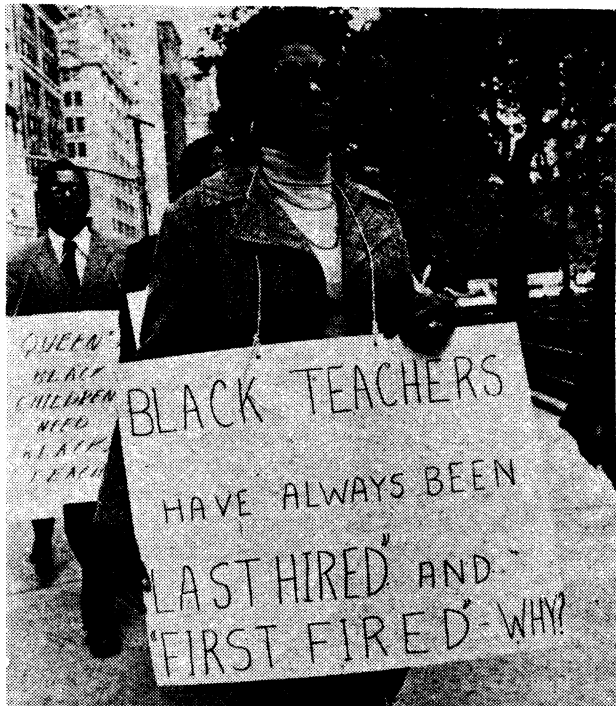
But the correct conclusion is that the UFT should reach out to all the victims of the crisis and wage a consistent fight against *all* layoffs and *all* cutbacks.

Issues facing N.Y. teachers



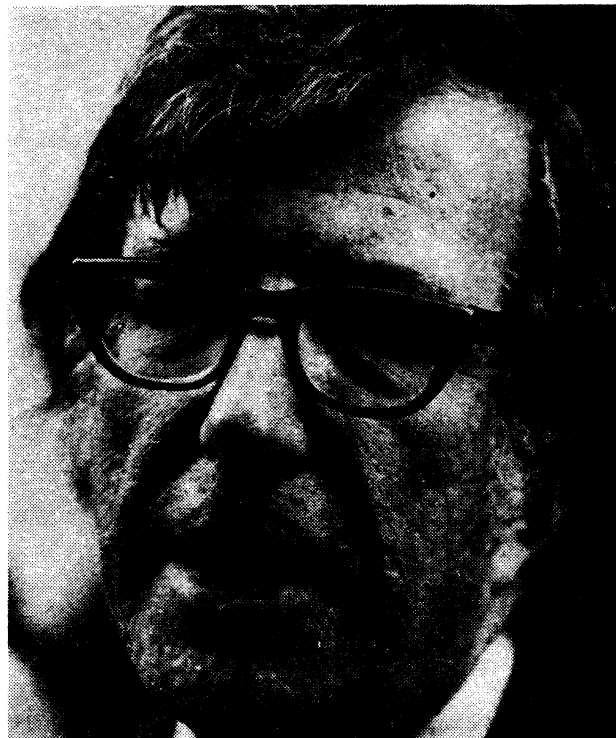
Militant/Martha Harris

PARENTS, STUDENTS: Join picket lines in '75 strike.



Militant/Lou Howort

BLACK EDUCATORS: Protest discriminatory layoffs.



Militant/Lou Howort

SHANKER: Seeks 'best politicians money can buy.'

A winning strategy has to be based on joining in mutual support with other unions and with the Black and Puerto Rican communities. This is where the Shanker leadership has failed most abysmally.

- In 1968 Shanker led the union in a racist city-wide strike against the Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental school district, an attempt by the Black community to control their own schools.

- Since 1968 the UFT has vindictively fought against efforts by Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in school District One to shape education to the needs of their children.

- Bending to pressure from racist antibusing forces, Shanker insisted at the 1975 American Federation of Teachers convention that the union take no position on busing.

- At the 1976 AFT convention a weak probusing resolution was adopted, only in order to head off a stronger resolution presented by the AFT Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education.

With a record like that, why should the Black and Puerto Rican communities support the UFT?

Yet during our September 1975 strike, *despite Shanker's record*, the minority communities understood that the attack on teachers was part of a general attack on education. Their support testifies to the great potential that still exists for a teacher-community alliance to fight the cutbacks.

The UFT, for its part, did virtually nothing to organize and mobilize this support. Shanker called off the strike—the most solid in the UFT's history—after five days. The resulting settlement, a disaster for everyone, fell hardest on the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Discriminatory layoffs

Further alienating the communities from the UFT is the virtual elimination of Black and Latino teachers from the schools, through layoffs based on strict seniority.

In the 1973-74 school year minority teachers made up 12 percent of the total in New York City. By April 1976 layoffs had cut them to less than 5 percent of the work force. Of the teachers laid off up to that time, 45 percent were minority teachers.

Yet Shanker condemns any adjustment of seniority lines to preserve the proportion of minorities as "racism in reverse" and "discrimination against whites."

Affirmative-action plans to hire more Black and Puerto Rican teachers—and unyielding defense of their gains in times of layoffs—are absolutely necessary if the UFT is ever to convince the Black and Latino communities that the union cares about the education of their children.

The Latino communities also want the extension of bilingual programs and the hiring of more bilingual teachers.

While giving token, verbal support to bilingual education, Shanker has consistently opposed its implementation. He wants to recertify older white teachers as bilingual rather than see young Latinos hired. How can this stance gain support for the UFT among Latinos?

Time to fight back

New York teachers and their union are now in grave peril. As Shanker himself admits, "The whole series of layoffs and penalties raises the question in the minds of members of whether the union can really do anything for them."

Many will ask why they should keep on paying nearly \$200 a year dues to an organization that, when the chips are down, seems incapable of defending them.

But leaving the UFT is no answer. It only leaves teachers unorganized and powerless.

Teachers should look instead to transforming the UFT and reversing the disastrous policies of Shankerism. This is not an impossible dream. Thousands of teachers are discussing a new course and the need to change the old policies.

Shanker is correct when he says that political action is the only realistic course for teachers. But for Shanker, the beginning and end of political action is reliance on capitalist party politicians.

The first question in politics is: Who are our friends, and who are our enemies? Shanker's policies tie us hand and foot to our enemies and divide us from our friends.

We should fight side by side with the Black and Latino communities against the bipartisan budget-cutters. *That* is political action.

We need mass demonstrations in the streets to save jobs and education in New York City. *That* is political action.

We need a policy that will also lead to a new kind of electoral political action—independent of the Democrats and Republicans. To the formation of a political party based on the trade unions, which will put forward a social program that defends the interests of all the working people and oppressed.

Steel Fight Back spreads across country

Los Angeles

By Chris Hildebrand

LOS ANGELES—More than 150 Los Angeles-area steelworkers gathered here October 17 to hear Ed Sadlowski and Ignacio "Nash" Rodriguez, insurgent candidates for president and secretary of the United Steelworkers of America.

Many local union officials were there in an initial demonstration of support to the Steelworkers Fight Back slate. Among them were two of the four candidates for District 38 director, Roy Santa Cruz and Mike Friedhoff. District 38 is the huge Western region of the union.

More than half of those at the Sadlowski meeting were Chicanos, a reflection of the largely Chicano composition of District 38 steelworkers.

It was Sadlowski's first public rally in this area. After a brief presentation outlining his basic platform for union democracy, he answered questions for almost two hours.

The first question dealt with the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, the no-strike pact signed by USWA President I.W. Abel with the basic steel companies. Sadlowski vowed to work to eliminate the ENA as rapidly as possible. "When the *Wall Street Journal* praises ENA you know there is something terribly wrong," he said.

Sadlowski also stressed the need to create a new consciousness within the union so that there could never again be a no-strike deal in any steel contract.

One questioner asked about the consent decree, an agreement between the government, the basic steel companies, and the union for a weak affirmative-action program for women and minorities. Sadlowski said the consent decree doesn't go nearly far enough to eliminate discrimination and job tracking.

A young steelworker asked if Sadlowski supported the strict constitutional requirements to run for local union office, including attendance at at least one-half of the union meetings held during the three years prior to candidacy. Sadlowski said he favors eliminating this restriction, which is aimed at younger unionists.

One worker criticized the discussion for focusing on problems in basic steel, where only a minority of the USWA's 1.4 million members are employed. This point is especially relevant in Los Angeles, where 25,000 to 30,000 steelworkers are scattered in more than 200 small shops, few of them under basic steel contracts.

Sadlowski called for bringing the smaller plants under regional and ultimately nationwide contracts, thus

giving steelworkers more power in bargaining. He said this was one of his major goals. This response struck a very positive note with his audience.

Several supporters of Lloyd McBride, Abel's handpicked successor, stood outside the meeting distributing an anti-Sadlowski flyer. In addition to thinly disguised red-baiting, their leaflet included a racist dig at Rodriguez, talking about his failure to support "one of his kind" in some other union election.

When Sadlowski invited these Abel supporters inside the meeting to voice their criticisms, they quickly disappeared. Sadlowski said that similar leaflets and behavior had followed him around the country. He strongly condemned red-baiting and racism as divisive and incompatible with trade unionism.

The current District 38 director, Frank McKee, is running for international treasurer on the McBride ticket. There are four announced candidates to succeed him as director: Santa Cruz, Friedhoff, Bob Petris, and Juan Chacón.

Sadlowski said he was neutral in the District 38 race. He urged those present to help get all of the candidates on the ballot to allow the widest possible choice in the election.

"Nash" Rodriguez, who shared the platform with Sadlowski, is a popular figure locally. He has worked in the mines and mills since he was seventeen. He has been an elected leader of Local 1549 at American Can Company since 1958 and local president since 1973.

Rodriguez said that although Steelworkers Fight Back was officially neutral, he personally had committed himself to Roy Santa Cruz before he joined the Sadlowski slate and would continue to support him.

Rodriguez also spoke of the importance of Sadlowski's choice of Chicano and Black running mates. He contrasted this to the tokenism and patronizing attitude of the Abel officialdom.

The spirited gathering was a good start for building a powerful Sadlowski campaign in this area. Supporters have opened a headquarters at 4833 Slauson Avenue in Maywood.

Houston

By Jean Starbuck

HOUSTON—Ed Sadlowski is coming to Houston. The rebel candidate for president of the United Steelworkers will fly in Sunday, November 7, from weekend stops in Knoxville and Birmingham.

A newsletter published by District 37 Steelworkers for Sadlowski urges all

union members "whether they're for, against, or sitting on the fence . . . to hear for themselves what Ed has to say."

The meeting will be held at the Holiday Inn on Eastex Freeway (Highway 59) at Little York, beginning at 3:30 p.m.

Sadlowski supporters in Houston have been hitting plant gates daily to get out the word of their candidate's visit. The District 37 newsletter reports:

"Houston steelworkers kicked off the fall campaign with a widely publicized distribution of campaign literature for Ed Sadlowski at Armco Steel's Houston Works. In spite of severe harassment last summer, including the shooting of Sadlowski backer Ben Corum at the Hughes Tool plant, and a physical attack on leafletters last July at the Armco plant, there were no incidents this time around. Subsequent literature distribution at other Houston plants has been peaceful, also."

A recent attempt to victimize Sadlowski supporters in Houston backfired when Hughes Tool Company was forced to reinstate campaign activist David Riehle. Riehle had been fired on phony charges of "discrepancy in work record" and "excessive absenteeism." Hughes steelworkers leafleted the plant gates protesting the company's arbitrary action. At a subsequent hearing the company responded to a grievance filed by the union and reinstated Riehle.

The District 37 newsletter states: "If Hughes management was trying to intimidate Ed's backers at their Hous-

ton plant, it didn't work. Hughes supporters of Ed Sadlowski are going full speed ahead with plans to build the biggest possible meeting for Ed on Nov. 7."

Riehle's rehiring was an example of how to stand up to management and win. Both the rehiring and Sadlowski's arrival in Houston are beginning to turn around the climate of intimidation whipped up this summer and fall by management and other antiunion forces.

Meanwhile, at recent union meetings at Hughes Tool, American Can, and some other USWA locals, motions were rammed through to "endorse" McBride for president and Ed Ball for district director.

Former District 37 Director James Ward—whose regime was marked by violence, red-baiting, and suppression of dissent—dropped dead October 15 of a heart attack. Ball, one of Ward's staff, has quickly moved to assume control of the district machine.

The "endorsement" motions are out of order and meaningless, since the official period for local nominations does not begin until November 8. Special meetings must then be held to allow all local members to nominate whomever they wish for district and international office, and vote on the proposed nominees.

Ball's rush to create the impression of monolithic support for the "official family" candidates, steelworkers here speculate, may indicate that the right-wing forces are less than confident of their hold over the District 37 ranks.



Militant/Stu Singer

Sadlowski supporter leaflets at Armco Steel in Houston. Persistent campaigning is beginning to turn around atmosphere of right-wing harassment and intimidation.

Pittsburgh SWP sets blitz week for steel sales

By Pat Douglas

PITTSBURGH—A special blitz effort the week of November 7-13 will launch the Pittsburgh Socialist Workers party's campaign to sell *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel* at plant gates throughout the area.

This pamphlet by *Militant* staff writer Andy Rose discusses the issues in the steelworkers union and the significance of Ed Sadlowski's challenge to the union bureaucracy.

"The response has been tremendous," says Ruth Robinett, SWP branch organizer. "We've sold more than 100 copies already, and we've hardly been trying."

"Because of the Sadlowski campaign," Robinett explained, "many steelworkers are getting involved in the union and are thinking about

union politics for the first time.

"We find they are also very open to discussing socialist ideas. This pamphlet, along with the *Militant*, is the best way to introduce them to our party and our ideas about the labor movement."

Sadlowski spoke at three rallies in the Pittsburgh area October 29-31. "Of the 300 people who attended the rallies," Robinett said, "57 bought the pamphlet, 30 bought copies of the *Militant*, and 2 bought *Militant* subscriptions."

Now, she said, the SWP intends to reach the tens of thousands of other steelworkers who haven't turned out for meetings.

"The entire party membership in Pittsburgh will be involved. On the Sunday after the election, November 7,

SWP members and also our campaign supporters will take the pamphlet door to door in neighborhoods with a high concentration of steelworkers. It's the same way we sell *Militant* subscriptions.

"Then, throughout the week, we plan to saturate the plants. We'll go to each plant first with thousands of leaflets that tell about the pamphlet and the *Militant*. We want to hit every gate and every shift. Then the next day we will be back to sell as many pamphlets as possible."

Of course, the sales drive will continue "right through the union election next February," Robinett said.

Salespeople going out to sell the *Militant*, whether on street corners or at plant gates, will take along copies of the pamphlet. "You run into a lot of

steelworkers while selling the *Militant* in Pittsburgh," she said, "and this pamphlet makes important reading for other working people as well."

Finally, efforts will be made to place copies of the pamphlet in the many newsstands, stores, and coffee shops around the mill gates. "Perhaps we can't get that many steelworkers to our bookstore right now, but we can get a part of our bookstore to the steelworkers."

How many pamphlets do they expect to sell? "We haven't set a specific goal," Robinett replied. "This campaign is really an experiment for our branch. But we've already sold more than 100 copies, and we believe the 350 we've ordered so far won't last us very long."

'Scottsboro Boy' had long road to freedom

By Baxter Smith

With no apology, with no compensation for forty years of wrong, Alabama authorities finally lifted the weight from the neck of Clarence Norris.

"I feel a lot better," Norris said. "You have no idea of how it feels living with a ballast around your neck."

Norris, the sole surviving "Scottsboro Boy," was reacting to news of his pardon October 25 by Alabama Gov. George Wallace for a parole violation connected to the much-publicized 1930s rape case.

The sixty-four-year-old Black man was quick to draw a meaning from his plight:

"The lesson to Black people, to my children, to everybody, is that you should always fight for your rights, even if it costs you your life. Stand up for your rights, even if it kills you. That's all that life consists of."

Norris, a Brooklyn resident, added, "I'm just glad to be free. They said that I was a nobody, a dog, but I stood up and I told the truth."

For forty-five years, through three trials and fifteen prison years—five on death row—Norris has been telling the truth. But Alabama authorities never listened.

It was March 25, 1931, when Norris and eight other Blacks—aged thirteen to twenty—were taken from a Memphis-bound freight and accused of beating a white drifter. Two white women on the train also told sheriffs the Blacks had raped them.

The nine were taken into custody and jailed. Word of the arrests spread quickly through the small town of Scottsboro.

"We could look out the window and see a mob of folks gathering. They were excited and noisy," wrote Haywood Patterson, one of the nine, in *Scottsboro Boy*.

"Round about dusk hundreds of people gathered about the jailhouse. 'Let these niggers out,' they yelled. We could hear it coming in the window. 'If you don't, we're coming in after them.' White folks were running around like mad ants, white ants, sore that somebody had stepped on their hill. We



'Scottsboro Boys.' Clarence Norris is at left.

heard them yelling like crazy how they were coming in after us and what ought to be done with us. 'Give 'em to us,' they kept screaming, till some of the guys, they cried like they were seven or eight years old."

It was this atmosphere that brought a quick trial for the nine.

"Gentlemen of the jury," Patterson recalled the prosecutor saying, "I don't say give that nigger the chair. I'm not going to tell you to give him the electric chair."

"You know your duty."

"I'm not going to tell you to give the nigger a life sentence. All I can say is, *hide him. Get him out of our sight.*"

"Hide them. Get them out of our sight."

"They're not our niggers. Look at their eyes, look at their hair, gentlemen. They look like something just broke out of the zoo."

"*Guilty or not guilty, let's get rid of these niggers.*"

This atmosphere also brought quick

convictions.

Ozie Powell, Olen Montgomery, Andrew Wright, Willie Roberson, Charlie Weems, Eugene Williams, Norris, and Patterson were sentenced to die. Only Leroy Wright, the youngest, was spared.

Protests were soon organized. Some drew tens and hundreds of thousands, as the injustice of the Scottsboro frame-up became known.

"Rally to the Defense of the Scottsboro Boys!" said a headline in the June 1, 1931, *Militant*.

"The defendants are transparently innocent," the article said. "The trial was a farce. Elementary democratic rights were violated."

The defendants were tried three and four times, and the convictions were overturned twice by the U.S. Supreme Court.

At one point, an Alabama judge reversed a conviction and said he found "absolutely no evidence" to prove guilt.

One of the two white women, Ruby Bates, reversed her story in 1933 and took the witness stand to deny the rape.

"I was excited and frightened by the ruling class of white people of Scottsboro and other towns," Bates later stated. She said "those police . . . made me tell a lie."

In 1937 the state dropped charges against four of the nine: Montgomery, Williams, Roberson, and Leroy Wright. The others were again sentenced to death or long terms.

In 1944 Andrew Wright, Weems, and Norris were paroled.

Norris said a condition of his parole was that he work in a lumber yard in Montgomery for forty cents an hour.

He disliked those conditions and went to New York. Rearrested when he returned to Alabama, Norris spent two more years in prison.

In 1946 Powell was paroled. Norris was released and left the state, never to return.

All during the trials and appeals, the NAACP was a major defender of the nine. The case also drew wide support from civil liberties, labor, and political groups around the world.

In 1970 NAACP officials began to work on a pardon for Norris. The civil rights group sought to convince Alabama authorities that Norris and the others had been wronged for more than forty-five years and that their names should be cleared.

The state attorney general, William Baxley, wrote a letter to the parole board recommending dismissal of Norris's case.

"In my opinion," wrote Baxley, "after a thorough review of all aspects of the case of Clarence Norris, that this individual never should have been charged with any offense against Ruby Bates or Victoria Price, and that his repeated sentences of death and his 15 years spent incarcerated in Alabama prisons can only be termed tragic."

The machinery was now in motion. Governor Wallace only made it official. But there was no apology. And there was no compensation from Alabama authorities for the nobody, for the dog who kept telling the truth.

Black lawyers discuss goals at nat'l convention

By Baxter Smith

DETROIT—Meeting here October 21-24, the National Conference of Black Lawyers condemned U.S. moves in southern Africa, renewed its support for Black victims of racist frame-ups, and vowed to arouse public opposition to the death penalty.

Some 275 people turned out for the



HINDS: Urges Black lawyers group to work to end death penalty.

sixth annual convention of the group. Its theme was "Rights in Crises: Days of Repression."

Lennox Hinds, national director of the organization, stated in his opening night address that for Blacks the "promise of the sixties" has been shaken by recent Supreme Court actions.

"They lifted the stay on execution in Georgia, Texas, and Florida by refusing to reconsider the death penalty decision they announced most fittingly on July 2, 1976, on the eve of the nation's birthday party," Hinds said.

"Happy Deathday to the 600-plus Black, minority, and poor people—men, women, and children—who are in the death rows of this country waiting to be fried, gassed, or strangled."

The lawyers group has some 800 members in twenty-five chapters, including in Canada and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Most recently, the group opened a law school in Chicago, the Fred Hampton Community College of Law. It is named for the Chicago Black Panther leader who was slain in his sleep by police in a predawn raid in December 1969.

National conference lawyers have participated in the Hampton family lawsuit, which seeks some \$40 million in damages for the murder of Hampton and Panther Mark Clark.

National conference lawyers have also litigated cases in the past year involving accused Black Liberation Army members Clark Squire and Joanne Chesimard (Assata Shakur); Rosedale New Yorker Ormistan Spencer, who faced frame-up charges for defending his home and family from a white mob; Muslim Lewis 17X Dupree, for allegedly shooting a police officer; and the Leavenworth Brothers, prisoners convicted of trumped-up riot charges.

A convention workshop on criminal justice discussed national conference lawyers' work on cases involving the Wilmington Ten, Charlotte Three, and Republic of New Africa. A representative from the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group coordinating support for the Socialist Workers party national suit against government harassment, was a panelist at the workshop.

U.S. Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) keynoted a workshop on U.S. policy in southern Africa. U.S. Rep. John Cony-

ers (D-Mich.) was a guest speaker at the opening night session.

Diggs said that events in southern Africa now "signal that the countdown has ended and the final stage of the revolution has begun."

The senior Black congressperson blasted Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for refusing to say that the United States would not recognize Transkei, a parcel of land in South Africa that the white regime has bound over for Blacks.

Diggs pointed out that while the administration is saying it favors Black majority rule, it is currently allowing five U.S. banks, headed by New York's Citibank, to put together a \$150 million loan to bolster apartheid.

The Black lawyers also held workshops on prisoners' rights, legal services for the poor, and Title VII litigation, that phase of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that covers employment discrimination.

The organization announced that it will hold a conference with the National Lawyers Guild on affirmative action and employment discrimination November 6 at New York University School of Law.

World Outlook

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

NOVEMBER 12, 1976

Lebanon: rightist forces greet new truce with more attacks on Palestinians

By David Frankel

Arab heads of state met in Cairo October 25 for another round of discussions on the war in Lebanon. On the agenda was implementation of the cease-fire plan adopted a week earlier at Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, under pressure from that country's King Khalid. But in Lebanon itself, an ominous offensive by right-wing Christian forces backed by the Israeli regime placed a question mark over how long the latest truce would last.

On paper, the agreement worked out October 18 among Khalid, Palestine Liberation Organization head Yassir Arafat, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, President Elias Sarkis of Lebanon, and Kuwaiti Sheik Sabah al-Salam al-Sabah represented a substantial victory for Assad. It was reached after Assad's troops brought their invasion of Lebanon to the threshold of leftist strongholds in West Beirut and Saida.

The plan called for a pan-Arab force of 30,000 troops to supervise the cease-fire. There was no mention of a Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon, and the likelihood is that the largest single contingent in the truce force will be composed of the Syrian troops currently occupying most of Lebanon.

Furthermore, the outline of the truce plan is similar to what Assad has been demanding all along. Rival forces are supposed to withdraw to the lines they occupied before the civil war began in April 1975. The pan-Arab force will then supposedly supervise enforcement of the 1969 Cairo agreement restricting Palestinian guerrillas to refugee camps and to specific areas of southern Lebanon, while limiting their armament.

The truce force is also supposed to separate the warring factions, confiscate all heavy weapons, arrest violators of the truce, and help the Lebanese government to reestablish its authority and restore public services.

Despite the fact that Assad has been publicly advocating such steps, Khalid reportedly had to put heavy pressure on him to get agreement to the plan. Assad would prefer not to be hampered by the other Arab regimes in his actions in Lebanon. Also, the Saudi regime, which backed the Egyptian-Israeli disengagement accords in the Sinai, apparently has finally forced Assad to give up his campaign against the Sinai accords as part of the deal on Lebanon.

"As though a hidden conductor had waved his baton," John K. Cooley reported from Cairo in the October 20 *Christian Science Monitor*, "strident Egyptian and Syrian propaganda campaigns against each other suddenly fell silent. . . ."

Cuts in economic aid from Saudi Arabia would have had a devastating impact on the Syrian economy, which is already laboring under the burden of the intervention in Lebanon. Although the rate of inflation in Syria is officially put at 14 percent, some experts believe it is as high as 30 percent. Assad has spent \$200 million on the intervention in Lebanon since June—almost as much as has been allocated for social services in his current budget.

Shortages of basic consumer goods are increasing, and there have been reports of widespread unrest in the towns of Hama and Aleppo.

Assad's purpose in Lebanon all along has been to maintain a dominant position for his regime there by playing off the Maronite rightists



ISRAELI PATROL ON LEBANESE BORDER: Zionists may seek new territory after blows dealt Palestinians by Syria.

against the Palestinian movement and the Lebanese left. The only objection of Sadat and his Saudi and Kuwaiti backers to this was that Assad was trying to freeze them out by acting alone. Also, as has been demonstrated by the latest truce agreement, they hoped to use Assad's predicament in Lebanon to force him to end his campaign against the Sinai agreements.

But now that Assad has made his deal, can he carry it out in Lebanon? Bashir Gemayel, military commander of the right-wing Phalange, greeted the new cease-fire agreement by saying, "We refuse anything that takes us back to before April 13, 1975, because that means all the destruction and death will have been in vain."

Phalangist forces, using tanks supplied by Israel, have taken eight villages near the Israeli border since the truce went into effect October 21. Fierce fighting has taken place around the town of Merj 'Uyun, and the town of Bint Jbail, an administrative center with some 15,000 inhabitants, is under heavy rightist pressure.

"We shall not lay down our weapons until we clear the south of the Palestinian mercenaries and their allies and in order to attain this goal we are ready to cooperate with the devil himself," the Phalangist radio quoted one rightist officer in the south as saying.

Thus, if Assad is serious about implementing the cease-fire in the south, he will have to turn on his right-wing allies. But the Israeli regime has made it clear that it will not tolerate Syrian forces near its borders unless they are there to fight Palestinians.

The cease-fire agreement reached in

Riyadh also calls for the return of Palestinian guerrillas to their bases in southern Lebanon—another provision that cannot be carried out without coming into collision with the Israeli army. In a report from Jerusalem reflecting the tone of unofficial comment by Israeli ministers, Francis Ofner said in the October 21 *Christian Science Monitor*, "If the implementation of the Riyadh agreement reopens this area [of southern Lebanon] to anti-Israel troublemakers, the consequences could become most inflammatory from the point of view of a possible new Israel-Arab warfare."

The fact is, however, that the Arab regimes involved in Lebanon want to reach a negotiated settlement with Israel at the expense of the Palestinians.

Is it true, though, that the defeat of the Palestinians in Lebanon will open the door to a negotiated settlement in the Middle East? Far from it. In fact, what is likely to emerge from such a defeat is a renewed danger of a general Middle East war.

The de facto alliance of Assad, the Maronite rightists in Lebanon, and the Israeli regime is based on their common enmity toward the Palestinian national liberation movement. But what will happen to this bloc if Assad finally breaks the Palestinian movement in Lebanon?

There is no reason to believe that the Maronite rightists would welcome Assad's tutelage once he renders their main enemy helpless. The Israelis, too, can be expected to demand that Assad's troops get out of Lebanon once they think the Maronites can handle the situation on their own.

In reality, if Assad does the work of the Israelis for them in Lebanon, the Zionist regime will have even less incentive for negotiating a settlement. In fact, the Israelis have yet to cede Jordan's King Hussein an inch of territory on the West Bank in spite of his massacre of the Palestinians there in 1970.

Whatever illusions Assad may hold, they are not reflected within the Israeli regime. Lieut. Gen. Mordechai Gur, the Israeli chief of staff, was quoted in an October 4 dispatch by *New York Times* correspondent William E. Farrell as saying:

"The quiet on Israel's northern borders with Syria and Lebanon has enabled us, the Israeli defense forces, to worry less about current security problems and concentrate more on preparing ourselves for total war. The Lebanese conflict has enabled us to concentrate more on central matters."



Arab leaders ratified cease-fire plan at summit (left to right): President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Syrian President Hafez Assad, King Khalid of Saudi Arabia, and Yassir Arafat of Palestine Liberation Organization.

Support price-hike protesters

Defense for imprisoned Polish workers

By Tony Thomas

A group of oppositionists in Poland have announced the formation of the Committee to Support Worker Victims of the Repression. Its aim is to rally public support for workers who have been victimized since the strikes at Radom and Ursus in June.

In a public appeal issued September 23, the committee condemned the Gierek regime's "total contempt for the law" and declared that it was the responsibility of the Polish people to defend the workers against the regime.

The founders of the committee not only signed their names, but added their addresses and telephone numbers so they could be contacted by supporters of the fight for socialist democracy.

Among the committee's initiators were Jerzy Andrzejewski, one of the most popular contemporary Polish writers; Jacek Kuron, one of the authors of the 1965 open letter to the Polish Communist party; and Edward Lipinski, one of Poland's best-known economists.

As part of the defense campaign, the committee has issued a series of public communiqués documenting the Stalinist regime's violation of workers' rights. Excerpts from the first communiqué, dated September 24, 1976, were published in the October 6 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*.

The communiqué reported on the conditions in Bialystok prison, where some 1,100 workers from Radom were

crowded into forty-five cells, with a minimum of twenty-five persons to a cell.

It also said, "Unverified rumors are circulating that five persons were killed in connection with the events of June 25. The names and conditions of death of two of them are known. Father Zenon Kotlarz was killed at his home by unknown persons about two weeks after the events of June 25, after his release and after the security bodies had accused him of having blessed the demonstrators. In addition, Janusz Brodyna, twenty-eight-years old, died in Koszarowa Street, after a brutal interrogation."

Of the seventy victims of repression the committee has received direct information from, "all have been beaten, the real word is tortured," the communiqué reported.

The committee is also carrying out a fund-raising campaign to help the families of workers imprisoned and laid off during the struggles. By the time the formation of the committee was officially announced, it had raised 200,000 zlotys (in 1975, 15.9 zlotys equalled US\$1).

The September 24 communiqué said: "At present, financial aid for the workers of Ursus and Radom has reached the sum of 160,000 zlotys. For the month of October, we will need 555,000 zlotys for the two towns. This will allow us to meet the minimum requirement at Radom, for we have given up hope of being able, as we were

in Ursus, to turn over to those who were fired 50 to 80 percent of their wages. In addition, at Radom there are many more than 200 families in need."

The rising struggle against the bureaucracy and the actions of the committee have encouraged a political defense for workers on trial.

F. Dupain, a correspondent for *Rouge* who was able to attend the trial of a number of workers from Ursus, quoted a speech of one of the defense lawyers in the case:

If I had not been the defender of Chmielewski, I would have believed what the newspaper *Zycie Warszawy* asserted, that this was the case of a hooligan and a drunkard. But I know today that this is an exemplary worker. How can these workers be accused of having acted against the economic interests of the country, when it is precisely those interests they were defending by expressing their discontent? If real freedom existed in this country, none of this would have happened. It should be pointed out that more things were said in Polish newspapers between 1876 and 1906, when there was official censorship, than today.

Supporters of the defense committee have gone to the trials of the worker militants, even at the cost of arrests and beatings by the Stalinist police.

Radom trials

The September 24 communiqué said that on September 16 and 23 six Warsaw youths—Ludwik Dorn, Zofia Krajewska, Jan Tomasz Lipski, Antoni Macierewicz, Stanislaw Puzyna, and Zofia Winawer—went to the trials at Radom of the workers accused of being involved in the June 25 action.

The communiqué reported:

As they were leaving the courtroom at the end of the trial, around 3:00 p.m., they were arrested by a group of militiamen led by Lieutenant Lech Kaminiski, an officer of the security police. They were handcuffed and were all led off to the local police headquarters in Radom.

There, the police tried to interrogate them in an illegal manner, without telling them why they had been arrested. The interrogation lasted until 12:30 a.m. During the interrogation, they were threatened and insulted, and an attempt was made to confuse them as to what their rights were. Ludwik Dorn was beaten by the security police including, among others, Lieutenant Prusek. They hurled anti-Semitic insults at him. He was beaten in the ribs, and they tried to strangle him.

A week later, on September 23, L. Dorn, G. Jaglarska, A. Macierewicz, and M.

Tomezik were called before the regional court in the city of Radom. They were followed by Lieutenant Prusek, and at about 2:30 p.m. they were arrested and taken to the local police headquarters. There, an effort was made to interrogate them. Three of them were released about 7:30 p.m. the next day. That day as well, no legal reason for their arrest was given. Moreover, L. Dorn was beaten on the soles of his feet.

On October 1, Antoni Macierewicz and Jan Josef Lipski, two members of the committee, were arrested along with Lipski's son in the corridors of the courthouse at Radom. They had come to attend the trial of Nogi and Gierek, two workers arrested at Radom on June 25.

'Drunkenness'

Gierek, who had earlier been sentenced to two years in prison plus three years of probation, was sentenced at this trial to a fine of 10,000 zlotys and twenty-two hours of obligatory "voluntary" work. He was also forbidden to be "caught in a state of drunkenness under penalty of being sent back to prison immediately." (The regime has tried to claim that the worker militants were drunkards.)

Dupain reported that for simply trying to attend the trial, which was supposed to be public, Macierewicz and Lipski and Lipski's son were accused of having links with "Radio Free Europe" and of being "undesirables."

Dupain, who met them as they came out of prison, reported that they had been taken to the local and then regional police headquarters, where they were stripped of their clothes and interrogated:

Since they refused to answer, they were charged with belonging to an illegal organization. They were then jailed in different cells (designed for three, but each had fifteen persons in them). When they were released twenty-seven hours later, they were told that they were considered responsible for every news article that appeared in the West and they would suffer the consequences for them. Their case was then placed in the hands of the authorities in Warsaw.

The courageous example of the committee and the Polish workers they are defending is a sign of the rising struggle for socialist democracy in Poland and throughout Eastern Europe. Their example will carry all the more weight if it is backed internationally by all supporters of workers' democratic rights.



POLISH FOOD LINES: Government cracked down on protests of price hikes and shortages created by bureaucratic mismanagement.

Fernandes frame-up trial begins in India

On October 4, George Fernandes became the first prominent Indian political prisoner to be brought to trial since a state of emergency was declared in June 1975. Together with twenty-one other defendants, he is accused of having taken part in a "deep-rooted criminal conspiracy" to overthrow the dictatorship of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Fernandes is the chairman of the Socialist party of India and a former president of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation. In May 1974, he led a general strike of railway workers that paralyzed the country's transport system for twenty days. Foreshadowing her later adoption of massive repression against all opponents, Gandhi broke the strike by arresting tens of thousands of railway workers.

When Gandhi proclaimed the state of emergency on June 26, 1975, assuming dictatorial powers, Fernandes was the most important opposition leader to escape arrest. He went underground and tried to organize continued resistance to the Gandhi regime. After

nearly a year of clandestine activity, he was arrested in Calcutta June 10.

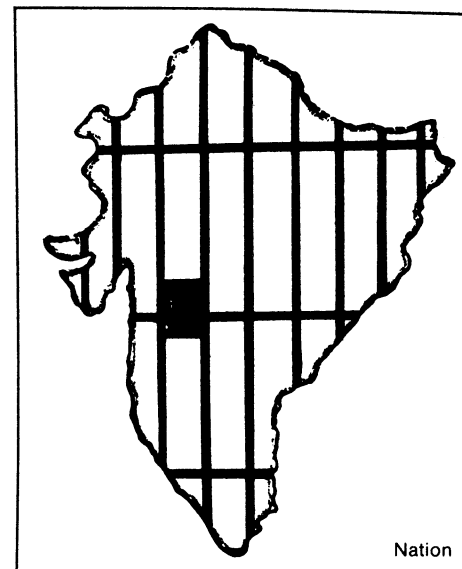
In the sixteen-page charge sheet, Fernandes and his codefendants are charged with setting off explosions and carrying out other sabotage actions in several parts of the country. Gandhi apparently hopes to use the trial and the charges of sabotage as a justification for her authoritarian rule and for the continued detention without trial of the thousands of other political prisoners.

The trial is being staged as a courtroom spectacle, with 575 prosecution witnesses slated to testify. Two weeks earlier, censorship of foreign journalists was lifted to ensure that the show trial receives wide publicity.

Although Fernandes has been held in solitary confinement for four months, his spirit has not been broken. After hearing the charges against them, he and the other defendants raised their hands in the air, jangling their heavy chains. "The chains we bear before you today," Fernandes said, "are symbols of the entire nation

which has been chained and fettered by dictatorship, a symbol of the infamy that has been perpetrated on our country."

He also pledged, "Even without us, our movement will not cease until Mrs. Gandhi is out."



Nation

Challenge labor law

Argentine electrical workers go on strike

By Judy White

Light and power workers in Greater Buenos Aires, Rosario, and La Plata went on strike October 5 in one of the most direct challenges to the Videla dictatorship since it seized power in a military coup March 24.

The strike was called to protest the layoff of 208 workers at Servicios Eléctricos del Gran Buenos Aires (SEGBA—Electric Services of Greater Buenos Aires), almost all of them leaders of the banned light and power workers union.

Also involved were possible revisions in the workers' collective-bargaining agreement.

Thirteen days later, the strike was still on, having been rekindled by the October 8 kidnappings of three SEGBA workers.

Following a wave of street demonstrations by striking workers, Víctor Francisco Seijo, Amado Oscar Mere, and Oscar Polizzo were released. However, the official news agency Télam reported on October 14 that they had been beaten and showed unmistakable signs of torture. Mere and Polizzo were among the workers who had been laid off.

The strike cut off electric and water power in large sections of Argentina or reduced voltage to the point that it was adequate only for lighting.

The October 16 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported that Compañía Italo Argentina de Electricidad (Italo-Argentine Electric Company) was operating at 50 percent capacity, while SEGBA was functioning at 64 percent.

Sabotage was reported at several power installations. The union denied responsibility for these acts, labeling them as provocations and mounting guards from their membership to protect power lines.

Bombs also exploded at several headquarters of the light and power workers union and the homes of union leaders, the October 15 issue of *La Opinión* reported. Among those whose homes were targets of such attacks was Juan Carlos Saluzzi, the head of the Rosario section of the union.

The Argentine press reported arrests during the strike but did not specify the total number being held. Among those jailed was Neifer Junco, a twenty-year leader of the light and power workers union in Rosario.

The junta's inability to nip this



JUNTA'S VIDELA: Sent troops to break strike.

strike in the bud has begun to give rise to the first public criticisms of its conduct by various sectors of the bourgeoisie.

The October 18 issue of the *Buenos Aires Herald* said in an editorial, "The results of the current strike of light and power workers will be what decides who is ruling the country—the armed forces or the trade unions." The paper asked, "Is the government strong enough to impose its will on the powerful trade union?"

La Opinión, the newspaper that most bluntly called for a military coup in the weeks prior to March 24, characterized the situation as "critical," and one of its staff writers, Fanor Díaz, urged the government to be "flexible enough" to permit the conflict to be negotiated.

La Nación, the most influential Argentine daily, said in an October 18 editorial that allowing the strike to continue had "not done the government any good." It noted that the strikers had been able to take advantage of the fact that "not all sectors that support the government had the same opinion, at least not on the wisdom of the steps taken by SEGBA."

The combined redbaiting campaign and use of the armed forces in the power plants may break this strike, but its breadth, militancy, and duration are a clear sign that the junta has a long way to go to smash the Argentine workers movement.

Bulletin reports on political repression

Four members of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) have died at the hands of the Videla junta's repressive apparatus since the beginning of July.

Adolfo Fenon Carrera, Armando Navarro, Cristina Isarregui, and a party member whose last name was Cabello were all kidnapped and murdered by unidentified persons, according to a news bulletin issued October 5 by the PST leadership in exile.

This list includes only "those whose bodies have already been found," the PST said, "since the list of those who have disappeared is much longer."

The bulletin also reported the latest news on José Páez, a central leader of the PST who has been in prison in Córdoba since January 1976. On Au-

gust 6, the judge granted him provisional release, but as of October 5 he was still being held. A writ of habeas corpus was filed on September 13, demanding an end to the delay, but the government has not responded to it.

The news bulletin reported a broad range of prominent individuals and organizations in Colombia, Venezuela, and Portugal who had sent letters and telegrams to Videla protesting the victimization of PST members.

Among them were protest letters signed by twenty-eight members of the Colombian legislature, headed by Liberal party leader Luis Villar Borda; by members of the Venezuelan parliament from most of the political parties holding seats; and by a number of trade unions in Portugal.

World news notes

Repression in Thailand

King Phumiphol Aduldet of Thailand approved October 22 the establishment of a new military-dominated regime in the aftermath of the bloody October 6 coup. He also signed into law a new constitution, which excluded the extensive bill of rights that was part of the constitution abolished on the day of the coup.

On October 20, Col. Karoon Kengradomying announced that 4,287 persons had been arrested since the coup, of whom 2,647 were still in custody. Other government officials indicated the real figures may be higher.

Among additional measures taken by the military junta are the following:

- An ordinance allowing preventive detention without trial or charges was extended from thirty days to six months.
- All cases are to be tried before military tribunals, with no right to appeal.
- Wide areas of the countryside have been declared "Communist-infested zones," where all civil liberties are suspended.
- The teaching of all political theory, "including democratic concepts," was banned in the schools.

At least thirteen newspapers have been banned since the coup, and on October 19 two rightist papers published a list of names of fifty-seven journalists and editors slated for possible arrest.

Police and troops are continuing to seize and burn "subversive" books, and according to a report by Lewis M. Simons in the October 20 *Washington Post*, "Huge bonfires burn everyday at police stations throughout the capital."

60,000 prisoners in South Korea

According to the South Korean Ministry of Justice, more than 60,600 persons were being held in twenty-nine prisons at the end of June. Ten thousand new prisoners swelled the ranks of those jailed by the Park dictatorship in 1975, and in the first six months of 1976 the prison population increased by 10 percent.

Italian CP under pressure

"Italy's powerful Communist Party is coming under growing criticism from rank-and-file members for supporting the new Christian Democrat Government's austerity program," David Willey reported in a dispatch from Rome in the October 13 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Stalinist leader Enrico Berlinguer felt it necessary to assure his followers in Naples in a recent speech that the CP "is and will always remain a Communist party." Nevertheless, doubts must be increasing at a rapid rate in view of the CP's tacit support to the government, which would fall without the abstention of the Stalinists on important parliamentary votes of confidence.

"This had been a bad year," Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti explained earlier this month. "New sacrifices will be needed by all."

Andreotti's austerity program puts the burden of the crisis of Italian capitalism on the working class and the most oppressed. The government has abolished five paid holidays; it has raised railway fares, postal charges, and other public service costs; and it has frozen cost-of-living increases on salaries above \$7,000 a year. Inflation is expected to run over 20 percent this year, with price increases planned for medicines, pasta, electricity, newspapers, urban transport, telephone service, and gasoline.

Secret U.S.-Spain treaty revealed

The Spanish regime has secretly agreed to permit American planes airlifting military hardware to other countries—including Israel—to use Spanish bases. The agreement was reached in January when Henry Kissinger visited Spain to finalize the adoption of a new military pact, according to an October 10 dispatch from Madrid filed by *Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acoca.

Although U.S. and Spanish officials both denied the existence of such an agreement, Acoca reported that the deal is already in operation. "The first beneficiary of the arrangement is Iran," according to Acoca.

International appeal to save Murrays

Fifteen thousand persons in West Germany, along with several internationally known personalities, signed a statement in defense of Noel and Marie Murray, sentenced to death in Ireland on the charge of shooting a policeman. It was sent in early October to the president of the Irish Supreme Court, which will begin hearing the Murrays' appeal on November 1.

The statement particularly condemned the use of torture to extract false confessions as well as the fact that the sentence was handed down by a Special Court without a jury and without the common law safeguards regarding verification of evidence.

Signers included Ernst Bloch; Heinrich Böll, Nobel-Prize-winning author; Professor Gerhardt Schneider; Franz Peter Hancke; Peter Bruckner; Hans Magnus Enzensberger; Professor Alexander Mitscherich; and Jean-Paul Sartre.

Martial law in Colombia

Martial law and a curfew were decreed in Colombia October 7. President Alfonso López Michelsen claimed the steps were needed because of "a grave domestic disturbance of public order."

The decree was directed principally against public health workers, who have been on strike since September 6, protesting government attempts to cut back on their fringe benefits.

Virtually every known Black leader behind bars

Thousands held in South African witch-hunt

By Ernest Harsch

Whenever Blacks in South Africa have stood up against the racist white minority regime to demand their basic human rights, they have been answered with police clubs, bullets, and prison cells. This has been particularly true since the massive Black protests that began in Soweto in mid-June.

During the demonstrations and strikes, hundreds of young Blacks were gunned down in the streets and thousands were arrested. Claiming that the actions were fomented by "agitators" and "Communist enemies," the security police launched a witch-hunt in the Black townships of Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Durban, and other major cities, searching out and arresting virtually every known Black leader in the country.

Under such draconian measures as the Terrorism Act and the recently adopted Internal Security Act, anyone can be detained without charges, bail, court appearances, or access to legal aid. Since the police are not even obliged to reveal the names or whereabouts of those seized, it is impossible to calculate the precise number of political prisoners held under these laws.

Daily detentions

In a report made public September 20, the anti-apartheid Christian Institute of Southern Africa stated, "We have reached a point in time when barely a day goes past without the detention of at least one further person, and as at September 10 1976, 300 people are believed to be in detention. This figure includes only those detained under the security laws of South Africa."

The institute estimated that an additional 2,600 persons were arrested during the protests. "This figure can be

Prisons James T. Kruger has singled out the Black Consciousness movement for particular attack. Kruger, according to an August 14 report by Burns, condemned Black Consciousness "as an absolutely negative, destructive ideology, and cited unrest among urban blacks in the United States in the 1960's as an example of the chaos it can produce."

The influence of Black Consciousness has spread rapidly since the early 1970s, particularly among Black youths. According to the 1971 "Policy Manifesto" of SASO, "The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that the Black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity. . . ."

"The concept of Black Consciousness implies the awareness by black people of the power they wield as a group, both economically and politically. . . ."

One of the most prominent leaders of the Black Consciousness movement seized by the Vorster regime is Steve Biko. He was a founder of SASO in late 1968 and the organization's first president. In 1972, he helped establish the Black People's Convention. In 1973, together with several other Black Consciousness leaders, he was banned¹ for a number of years.

Biko was at first held under the General Law Amendment Act, but was later held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. The report by the Christian Institute pointed out, "This allows for solitary confinement and creates an ideal climate for interrogation and torture."

Other key leaders of the Black Consciousness movement who are known to have been seized by the security police include Mongezi Stofile, Jairus Kgokong, Silumko Sokupa, and Barney Pitso, of SASO; and Mxolisi Mvovo, Thomas Manthata, and Kenneth Radebe of the BPC.

Other targets

The Black Parents' Association, a broad umbrella organization including SASO and the BPC, as well as other groups, was formed shortly after the initial protests in Soweto. It, too, has been a target of Vorster's political police. Four of the five members of the BPA's executive have been arrested. They are Harrison Motlana, Aaron Mathlare, Aubrey Mokoena, and Winnie Mandela, who is also the vice-president of the Black Women's Federation and the wife of Nelson Mandela.

Among the other prominent Black figures picked up are Mohammed Timol, the chairman of the Human Rights Council; Barney Ngakane, an official of the South African Council of Churches; Rev. Mangaliso Mkatswa and Dan Mokwena of the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference; and Gibson Kente, a playwright. Members and leaders of the Black Research Institute, the Institute of Black Studies, and the Black Renaissance Convention have also been jailed.

Fatima Meer, a sociologist at the University of Natal and the president of the Black Women's Federation, was initially banned in mid-August from attending meetings for a period of five years under the terms of the Internal Security Act. She was later arrested. Her husband, Ismail Meer, was a

1. A banning order prohibits a person from attending gatherings of three or more persons, traveling outside his or her town, or publishing or helping to prepare anything for publication.



South African students give Black power salute during Soweto protests. Black consciousness movement has been especially hard hit by government repression.

leader of the passive resistance campaign carried out by Indians² in Natal in 1946 and a defendant in the infamous Treason Trial, which lasted from 1956 to 1961. Shortly after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, Fatima Meer participated in protests against the imprisonment of thousands of Black leaders.

Her son, Rashid, has also been seized. Together with two other student leaders at the University of Durban-Westville, Yunus Ismail Karmali and Lloyd Padayachee, he was picked up by the security police and held under the General Law Amendment Act. Shortly after the arrests, 1,500 Indian students at the university met and denounced the detentions as "blatant psychological warfare" by the police. They decided to continue a boycott of classes (initially called in solidarity with the Soweto demonstrations) to protest the arrests and then marched through the campus singing "We Shall Overcome."

Coloured population

After Coloured students and workers began participating in demonstrations and strike actions, the apartheid regime also started detaining prominent leaders of the Coloured population. The most important figure arrested so far is Rev. Alan Hendrickse, the chairman of the national executive of the Labour party, a Coloured organization opposed to apartheid. Also detained are his son, Peter; Joseph Titus, the principal of a Coloured school in Cape Town; and Professor Ismail, the head of the mathematics department at the University of the Western Cape.

A total of ten journalists are known to have been detained since the initial protests in June. Only one, David Rabkin, has been charged and tried. Sentenced by a Cape Town judge September 29, Rabkin drew a ten-year prison sentence on charges of promoting the aims of the outlawed African National Congress and the South African Communist party.

Two of the journalists, Nat Serache and Harry Mashabela, have been released. Those still believed to be in jail include Peter Magubane, Willie Nkosi, Jan Tugwana, Patrick Weech, Duma Ndlovu, Anthony Holiday, and

2. South Africa's Black population is composed of 710,000 Indians, 17.8 million Africans, and 2.3 million Coloureds. The Indians were originally brought to South Africa as indentured laborers for the sugar plantations of Natal. The Coloureds are descendants of the early white settlers, Indians, Malay slaves, and native Khoikhoi, San, and other African peoples.

Joseph Thloloe, the president of the Union of Black Journalists.

The repression in the Transkei, Pretoria's "showpiece" Bantustan, has also been intensified. Transkei Minister of Justice George Matanzima announced October 11 that two Black actors, John Kani and Winston Ntshona, were arrested under the territory's security laws. Kani and Ntshona were recipients of the 1974-75 Tony Award for best actor for their New York performances in *Sizwe Banzi Is Dead* and *The Island*.

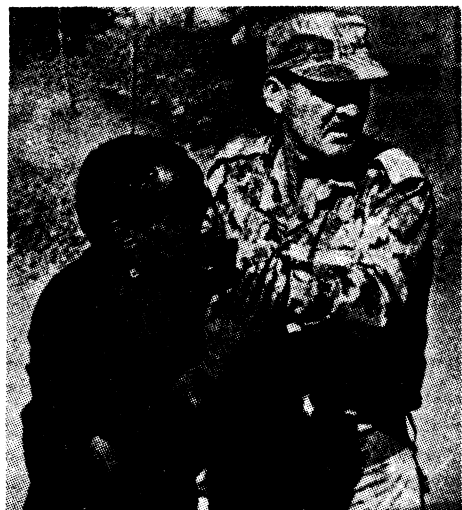
Following demonstrations in Lady Frere in solidarity with the Soweto upsurge, fifty-seven Transkeian high-school students were each sentenced to six months in prison. In July, Hector Nkomo and twelve other leaders of the opposition Democratic party were jailed in the Transkei.

Those arrested since the Soweto upsurge are only the most recent victims of the white regime's repression. The witch-hunt against the Black Consciousness movement actually began several years ago, when SASO, the BPC, and other groups were initially established. Scores of Black Consciousness leaders were arrested and more than sixty were forced to flee the country.

Other Black nationalist leaders have been rotting in Pretoria's jails since the early 1960s. Among the most well known are Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, and Ahmed Kathrada, leaders of the ANC who are serving life sentences on Robben Island. Robert Sobukwe, the leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress, is living in enforced exile in Kimberley in Cape Province.

Pretoria's repressive policies are not only reserved for Black political leaders, but are directed at the Black population as a whole. At any one time, there can be up to 100,000 persons, the overwhelming majority of them Black, in South Africa's prisons. Each year, one in every four adult Africans is arrested, primarily for violations of the pass laws, which regulate African movement. This amounts to an average of about 3,000 Africans arrested each day.

An international campaign in defense of these political prisoners is needed to save their lives and to demand that the apartheid regime release them. This is a particularly important task in countries like the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, and Japan, which have major investments in South Africa or which provide Pretoria with military aid.



One of hundreds arrested during anti-apartheid protests this summer.

contested, however, on the basis of individual reports in the Press which suggest a much higher number of people arrested, many of whom have been held for weeks, having had bail application refused and then inexplicably released without having been charged."

Especially hard hit by the witch-hunt are the groups identified with the nationalist current known as the Black Consciousness movement, such as the South African Students Organisation (SASO), the South African Students Movement (SASM), and the Black People's Convention (BPC). According to a September 18 report from Johannesburg by *New York Times* correspondent John F. Burns, about 250 of those being held without trial belong to these groups.

Minister of Justice, Police, and

...NSCAR meeting to discuss defense of busing

Continued from back page

retreats every day on enforcing Black rights that exist in law."

Boston, where NSCAR's national offices are headquartered, "remains the national hot spot, the focus of the struggle between racists and the Black community and its allies," Dixon said. "For more than two years, the bigots have used every method—their power as elected officials, court appeals, marches, school boycotts, terror, and violence—to sabotage and attempt to overturn desegregation."

"They have been supported by the government—city, state, and federal—which has yet to move forcefully against them. They have received the blessings of the White House. They have made Boston unsafe for Blacks and polarized the city. But they have not destroyed the court order. The buses continue to roll."

That antibusing forces have been stood off, Dixon says, "is a partial victory. Thousands of Blacks students now are going to desegregated schools where they are getting a better education than before. Surveys commissioned by both major daily newspapers in Boston show increasing support in the Black community for busing—as much as 75 percent. The majority of whites, including those opposed to busing, are now against the use of violent force as the way to stop busing."

"At the same time," Dixon cautions, "the most virulent opponents of busing have not let up. Leaders of ROAR, for example, are waging a political, educational, and agitational drive to whip white sentiment against busing."

"They plan to organize more rallies and demonstrations. They have said that Blacks can expect more physical abuse in the schools and in areas the racists consider 'theirs.'"

"South Boston and Charlestown high schools," Dixon went on, "have been war zones for Black students this fall. Hyde Park High School is constantly on the edge of explosion. The racists continue their violence because



Founding conference of NSCAR, February 1975. NSCAR's ongoing education campaign has been key part of defense of busing.

the cops and government still treat them with kid gloves. That's why they tried to kill Black students a couple of weeks ago with those bombs."

"They thought they could get away with it. As long as this kind of mood exists in Boston, there is no guarantee that the court order will be implemented."

Nationally, Dixon believes the situation is not much different. "That is the impact of Boston," he said. "In some cities, like Milwaukee and Dallas, the first two major post-Boston busing orders have been piecemeal and half-hearted at best. Whole sections of the school systems in those cities remain all white or all Black."

Dixon pointed to the Supreme Court decision several months ago concerning Pasadena, California. That, he says, "was a major setback for Black rights. The court said, in effect, if population shifts resegregated schools after a desegregated order is partially implemented, that doesn't matter. There is no legal necessity to reorganize enrollment or assignment to desegregate."

"And you can survey the rest of the country. In Louisville, the school board has allowed thousands of illegal white transfers as a way to undermine desegregation. In Los Angeles, the state supreme court has blocked busing. In Chicago, America's most segregated city, the schools simply rot away along with the futures of Black children."

"Then," Dixon said, "there is Wilmington and the decision by the U.S. government to back the racists. They say there is too much busing planned for Wilmington."

"NSCAR says there is segregation in Wilmington, and any segregation is too much. That is what the Black parents said, what the federal court said," Dixon told me. "It is going to take a fight, it is going to take a struggle, a campaign of actions and protests and demonstrations to ensure the implementation of school desegregation. And national support is essential."

"The Boston racists have not been able to gut desegregation so far because there has been steady resistance by probusing forces locally and na-

tionally. The ongoing actions—picket lines, rallies, meetings, and demonstrations—by busing supporters have put pressure on the city and federal government to enforce the court order to the degree they have."

"That is why we formed NSCAR," Dixon continued. "Through such activities we have helped educate the public about the need for busing—a task NSCAR is committed to until full school desegregation is a national reality."

The continuing violence in Boston, the Pasadena decision, and the government support to Wilmington's segregationists make one thing clear, Dixon says. "It is suicidal for Blacks and our supporters to rely on the government, on the courts, to win and defend our rights. We must rely on ourselves."

"We need a fighting, independent mass movement to back up our rights, to force the courts and government to enforce them," Dixon says. "It took decades of struggle to win those rights. Now, everything we fought for is being stripped away by the government and the politicians who administer it. And desegregation is their main target. If they beat back the buses, it's full steam ahead against the Black community."

The National Student Conference Against Racism is, Dixon told me, "an important place for us to keep fighting back. To discuss ideas. To move forward."

"American Blacks have a history of struggle," Dixon says, "and its legacy today, the threat of new struggles, still exerts pressure against the government."

"And today we have a tremendous ally in the masses of African Blacks fighting for majority rule in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe."

"Our conference," Dixon told me, "says to the racists we have not conceded an inch to them. It is a protest. We're just the tip of the iceberg of millions of Blacks and whites who are opposed to racism in America and apartheid in southern Africa, who support school desegregation, and who are just getting ready to fight."

Transkei fraud: attack on African rights

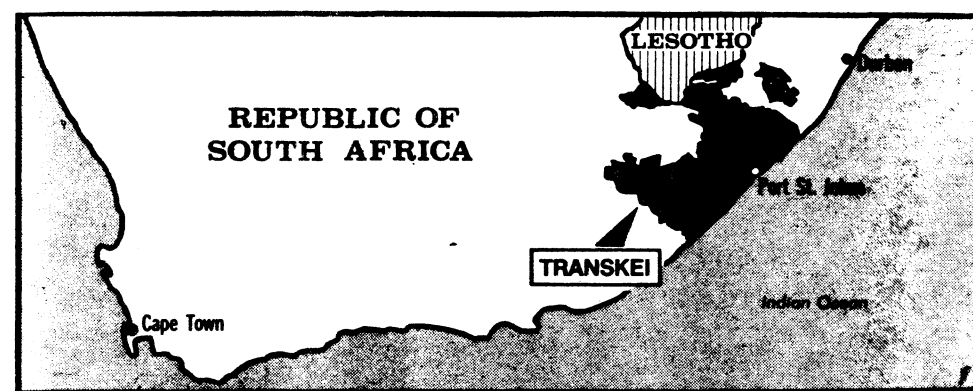
By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

When South African Prime Minister John Vorster was asked by an interviewer October 18 if he foresaw the possibility that the Black majority would ever rule the country, he replied, "I cannot foresee such a day at all . . ." (*New York Times*, October 19).

Just eight days later, on October 26, the white supremacist regime in Pretoria proclaimed the "independence" of the Transkei, an impoverished African reservation, or Bantustan, along the coast of the Indian Ocean. It was precisely in an attempt to put off the assumption of power by Blacks in all of South Africa that Pretoria went ahead with the fraudulent "independence" ceremonies. The formal separation of the Transkei from the rest of South Africa is a key part of the apartheid regime's overall strategy of divide and rule.

Vorster and his Black administrators in the territory claim that October 26 marked the achievement of "national self-determination" for the inhabitants of the Transkei. But it is the very opposite of real national self-determination, having been imposed by force against the wishes of the African population.

The Transkei is only one of ten Bantustans, which comprise 13 percent of South Africa's total land area. All eighteen million Africans, who make up 72 percent of the population, are assigned to one or another of the Bantustans, whether they live in them or not. Pretoria has cited fictional



Christian Science Monitor

political "rights" Africans supposedly have in the Bantustans as a justification for continuing to deny them their basic human rights in the country as a whole.

In fact, the imposition of an "independent" status on the Transkei is a further attack on African rights. According to Pretoria, the 1.7 million inhabitants of the Transkei—as well as the 1.3 million Africans living in "white" South Africa who have been assigned there—will no longer be considered South African citizens.

The impoverished Bantustans can never be economically independent. They are an integral part of the South African economy, serving essentially as dumping grounds for "superfluous" Africans and as sources of cheap migrant labor. There are virtually no real industries in the Bantustans.

About 85 percent of the income of Africans assigned to the Transkei is earned outside of the territory. The

Transkei administration itself is financially dependent on Pretoria, with the apartheid regime supplying \$95 million of the Transkei's \$156 million budget.

The "citizens" of the Transkei have thus been reduced to the status of foreign laborers in their own country, with no political rights whatsoever.

It took the white supremacists more than a decade and a half, however, to suppress most of the active opposition to this scheme within the Transkei itself. A state of emergency has been in force there since 1960, when massive peasant rebellions broke out against the imposition of government-paid tribal administrators. That unrest was stifled only after 5,000 persons were arrested and more than twenty executed.

Repression in the Transkei is continuing. To ensure that no embarrassing criticisms were raised during the "independence" ceremonies, Chief

Kaiser Matanzima arrested more than a dozen leaders of the Transkei opposition Democratic party in July, including Hector Ncokazi, an opponent of the phony "independence" scheme. Two of South Africa's most prominent Black actors, John Kani and Winston Ntshona, were arrested October 11 and expelled from the Transkei two weeks later for their criticisms of the Bantustan program.

Just before October 26, about 2,000 South African troops and more than 650 police were rushed to the Transkeian capital of Umtata. The October 23 weekly edition of the Johannesburg *Star* reported:

A security net has been thrown around Umtata to prevent disruption of the celebrations culminating in the granting of independence to the Transkei at midnight Monday. . . .

Transkei police have been given intensive riot and crowd control training over the past two months and are patrolling residential areas of the town—especially the White section—at night.

Plainclothesmen are keeping a close watch on visitors. . . .

Although this show of force forestalled any major demonstrations in Umtata, it did not prevent the African population from expressing its disdain for the "independence" fraud in other ways. In the Transkei general elections held a few weeks before October 26, there was a turnout of less than 45 percent in the constituencies where seats to the Legislative Assembly were being contested.

FRED HAMPTON

How the FBI set him up for the kill

By Baxter Smith

CHICAGO—Lying facedown on a courtroom table, Deborah Johnson lifted her head momentarily and stared wide-eyed. She was demonstrating what she said was the only movement of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton during a predawn police raid on a West Side apartment that took his life and that of Panther Mark Clark.

Johnson was testifying here recently in a multi-million-dollar civil suit filed by the families of Hampton and Clark and the seven raid survivors.

Fighting off sobs, Johnson recalled how the bed in which she and Hampton slept during the raid had lurched and pitched under the force of police machine-gun bullets.

"I saw a lot of sparks in the darkness," she said. "I heard all the shooting. The bed was vibrating real fast . . . going up and down . . . It seemed like a long time."

Johnson said that after the shooting stopped, she and the others were herded into the kitchen.

"I heard a male voice say, 'He's barely alive,' or 'He'll barely make it,'" she said. "Then there was more shooting and somebody said, 'He's good and dead now.'"

The trial, now in its tenth month, has heard testimony from the survivors and from Chicago FBI officials.

William O'Neal, the FBI informant who supplied the raiders with a floor plan of the Panther flat, is expected to testify. The floor plan had an X indicating, "Hampton sleeps here." High Chicago cops and Edward Hanrahan, the former Cook County state's attorney whose men conducted the raid, are also expected to be called to the witness stand.

The plaintiffs aim to prove that FBI officials conspired with local cops to deprive the Panthers of their civil and human rights as part of an intricate web of government operations against Black organizations.

Plaintiffs Louis Truelock and Ronald Satchel have sworn that the police, who say the purpose of their raid was to confiscate illegal weapons, announced their presence by shouting insults and chopping in the front and rear doors.

"I began to listen, to become alert to what was going on, when I heard gunshots," Satchel testified. He said he reached for his pants and put them on as the firing became continuous.

Satchel said he heard plaster falling as bullets cut through the room.

There was "more shooting which had diminished and then a voice saying, 'Come out or we will put something in there to get you out.'"

"I heard a rapid succession of shots and noticed that I was hit several times and hollered in agony," Satchel continued. He said others in the room also cried in pain.

'We got 'em'

"I heard a noise from the area of the doorway say, 'We got 'em, we got 'em.' Then I said, 'I'm shot and I can't move,'" reported Satchel. He then heard a voice say, "Come out or we'll kill you."

The police maintain that they only returned fire they received from the apartment. But investigators have determined that at most one shot was fired from the apartment, while the cops discharged ninety-nine rounds.

The plaintiffs maintain that the raid was conducted as part of the government's war on Black organizations. But attempts by the plaintiffs' lawyers to introduce FBI "Counterintelligence Program" (Cointelpro) documents as evidence have been repeatedly blocked by U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry.

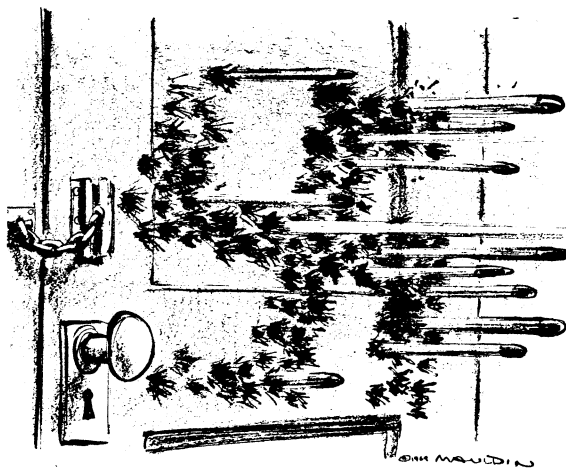
Perry—a frail, often rude, seventy-nine year old—once countered that "the Black Panther party is not on trial here," when denying the plaintiffs access to FBI surveillance records on the Chicago Panthers.

During the pretrial discovery phase, fewer than one thousand pages of government files on the Panthers were turned over. After the trial began, an FBI agent mistakenly testified about part of an FBI file the plaintiffs did not possess. Perry ordered the files connected with it turned over.

The "government wheeled in eight shopping carts of files," said Jeffrey Haas, one of the plaintiffs' lawyers, in an interview.

Though the defendants have maintained there was no conspiracy on their part, evidence shows that orders to get the Panthers came from the highest circles in Washington. Nevertheless, Haas believes, "it's very dangerous if they can get away with murder by saying, 'We were just carrying out orders.'"

FBI agent Robert Piper, supervisor of the Chicago bureau's "Racial Matters Squad," testified that one week after the raid his office sent a request to Washington asking for a bonus for O'Neal, the informant.



Piper said the raid was "successful." He credited O'Neal with obtaining the information that made it possible. This information, Piper said, was "not available from any other source" and proved to be "of tremendous value."

Washington approved the bonus.

Tests have shown that Hampton had been drugged prior to the raid. O'Neal, it is believed, followed FBI instructions in slipping Hampton the drug—seconal.

Meanwhile, it has recently been learned that the FBI asked Marie Fischer, another of its informants, to drug Hampton just prior to the raid. Fischer, in a statement to the plaintiffs' lawyers, said the former head of the Chicago FBI asked her to administer a "harmless and tasteless" substance to Hampton that would "put him in a deep sleep." Fischer said she refused.

According to recent revelations, O'Neal's job for the FBI was not only to inform on the Chicago Panthers. He was also supposed to encourage Panthers to violent acts.

Provocateurs

Plaintiff Truelock explained that O'Neal urged Chicago Panthers to burglarize a McDonald's hamburger stand and to blow up military armories to obtain weapons.

In a sworn statement, Truelock said he visited O'Neal's father's home in October and November 1969.

"On the first occasion . . . O'Neal showed us a satchel full of explosives," Truelock said.

"Inside the satchel was putty, blasting caps and several plastic bottles of liquid.

"O'Neal said when the plastic [explosive] was put into a building, you could blow the building up. He said armories could be blown up this way, and we could get their guns."

On the next visit, Truelock said, O'Neal showed him explosives and said he knew of a McDonald's they could take off.

"He stated we could use the explosives on the safe's door. I told O'Neal I did not want to go back to jail," Truelock stated.

On occasion, Truelock added, O'Neal would carry a handgun in a shoulder holster while acting as Panther chief of security. This apparently bothered Hampton, who ordered O'Neal to ditch the gun. Hampton then "stripped [O'Neal] of all his duties except running errands for Panther leaders," Truelock said.

Perry has refused to let the six-person jury hear Truelock's sworn testimony.

FBI setup

Although the plaintiffs believe the raid's purpose was murder, the official pretext was a search for illegal weapons. Truelock's portrait of O'Neal raises anew the question of O'Neal's role in bringing illegal weapons into the apartment.

So far in the trial, the plaintiffs have brought in as evidence the beat-up, bullet-riddled door that led to Hampton's bedroom, and a scale mock-up of the apartment that shows one of Hampton's bedroom walls with forty-two bullet holes.

"The last time I saw Fred Hampton," testified Deborah Johnson, "he was lying on the bed."

Abortion rights still in danger

By Ginny Hildebrand

NEW YORK—The federal government is pressing ahead to deny women on Medicaid access to safe, legal abortions. On October 29 government lawyers asked Federal District Judge John Dooling to guarantee the refund of federal outlays for abortions if his ruling against the Hyde amendment is overturned.

The Hyde amendment cuts off federal Medicaid funds for all abortions except those necessary to save the life of a pregnant woman. Judge Dooling declared the amendment unconstitutional and placed an injunction on it October 22.

The government's new request would have sabotaged the injunction. Hospitals and clinics would have immediately stopped performing Medicaid abortions rather than risk huge financial losses.

Fortunately, the judge rejected the government's maneuver.

On the same day, Sen. James Buckley, Sen. Jesse Helms, and Rep. Henry Hyde asked the Supreme Court for a stay on the injunction. This too would effectively halt Medicaid abortions by cutting off federal funds until all appeals are completed. Justice Thurgood Marshall is now weighing this request.

Keith Jones of the U.S. solicitor general's office told the *Militant* that the amendment has nothing to do with restricting women's right to abortion. "The only real issue is whether the federal government will pay or the states will pay," he said, since "some states are under court order to continue to perform abortions" with or without federal funds.

What about women in states not covered by such court orders? "The Hyde amendment might have some coercive effect," Jones admitted.

In fact, coercive motherhood is at the heart of this amendment. Senator Helms, a sponsor of a constitutional amendment that seeks to outlaw all abortions, argued on the Senate floor that the Hyde amendment is a way to stop "tax-paid abortions."

When asked why government lawyers don't admit the amendment's antiabortion purpose, Carl Anderson a spokesperson for Helms told the *Militant*, "In a court of law it has to be worded differently."

In other words, the courtroom argument is a crude lie to avoid the question of women's rights.

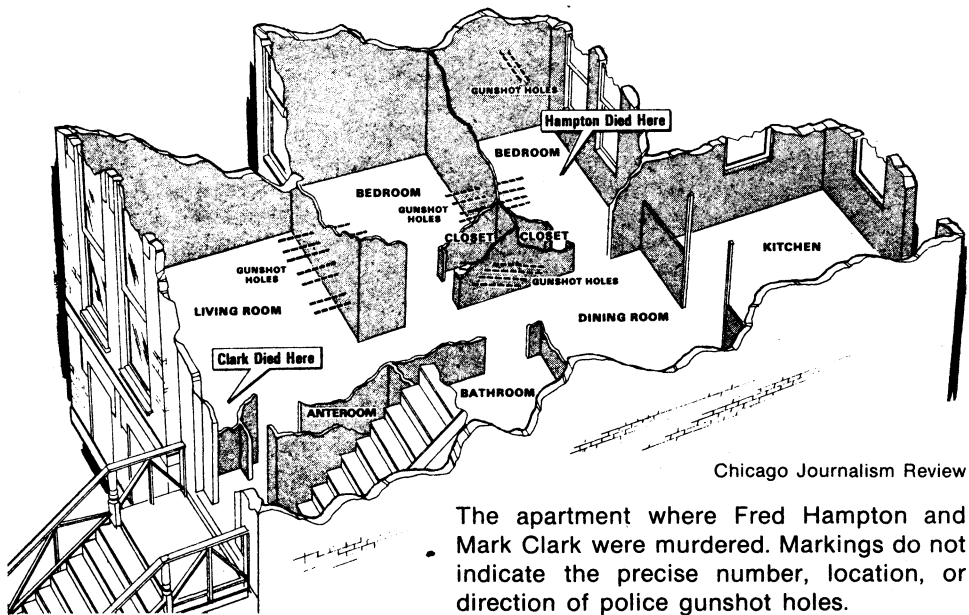
Are anti-abortion politicians aware that the Hyde amendment would force hundreds of thousands of women to risk their lives at the hands of back-alley abortionists? Anderson's only response to this was, "It's just a fact that one has to accept. . . some will make a choice injurious to themselves."

Alarmed by the danger to women's rights, pro-abortion organizations are continuing to hold urgently needed protests.

On October 28 in Atlanta, more than sixty people picketed outside the offices of the Catholic Archdiocese. They were protesting the hierarchy's escalated drive to impose its anti-abortion dogma on all women.

The picketers pointed to the Hyde amendment as the greatest immediate danger to abortion rights.

Two television stations covered the action, which was sponsored by the Georgia Abortion Rights Action League, Atlanta National Organization for Women, Georgia State University Women's Coalition, Socialist Workers party, and others. A week earlier, sixty-five people participated in an abortion rights speak-out at Georgia State University.



The apartment where Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered. Markings do not indicate the precise number, location, or direction of police gunshot holes.

600 attend N.J. convention

Puerto Ricans debate political action strategies

By José G. Pérez

CHERRY HILL, N.J.—Puerto Ricans need political representation to combat the grave social and economic problems they face in this state.

This was the theme that emerged most strongly at the seventh annual Puerto Rican convention, sponsored by the Congreso Boricua de Nueva Jersey (Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey).

The theme broke through in keynote speeches and workshops and in a sharp debate over how Puerto Ricans can win real political representation: running independent candidates or becoming part of the Democratic party.

According to convention organizers, more than 600 persons registered for the meeting held here October 23-24. Any Puerto Rican resident of the state could be a delegate by paying a small registration fee.

The Congreso Boricua is an antipov- erty organization set up in 1971. It played an important role in winning a state law for bilingual-bicultural edu- cation.

Although the Congreso is prohibited from taking part in partisan politics, many current and former staff members are active Democrats.

There are several reasons for the heightened interest in political action at the convention.

First, the corrupt Democratic party machines in New Jersey—with help from the Republicans—have shut Puer- to Ricans out of politics here altogeth- er.

There are more than half a million Latinos in the state, most of them



Militant/José G. Pérez

Delegates vote on resolutions at seventh annual convention of Puerto Ricans in New Jersey.

Puerto Ricans. But Congreso officials said there is only one elected Puerto Rican officeholder in this state—a city council member in a town of 2,600.

Second, as the 1970 census showed, Puerto Ricans are at the bottom of the social and economic ladder in New Jersey. And conditions since 1970 have gotten worse.

And third, this slippage since 1970 has convinced many involved with social service agencies that govern- ment antipov-erty programs are ineffec- tive.

Since the Congreso's annual conven- tions provide one of the few authorita- tive voices for Puerto Ricans here, they naturally become a focus for discon- tent.

Before this year's convention, Demo- crats in the Congreso privately worked out a plan to run Puerto Rican candi- dates in the 1977 Democratic primaries for governor and the state legislature.

Shortly before the convention, Demo- crats sent out a letter signed by Mathías Rodríguez—a member of the Congreso's board of directors—announcing the formation of a "Com- mittee of 100" to push a candidate for governor. The suggested candidate, Hector Rodríguez, was for several years executive director of the Congre- so. He is now a minority affairs consul- tant.

The night before the Congreso opened, the "Committee of 100" met in Cherry Hill and "tentatively" ap- proved Rodríguez nomination.

Election-year politics dominated much of the convention, which began the following morning. Speakers invit-

ed to address the convention included Thomas Ford (President Ford's brother), Ray Maduro (an aide to President Ford), California Gov. Edmund Brown (who was on the East Coast Cam- paigning for Carter), and Roberto García (assistant leader of the Demo- cratic minority in the New York Sen- ate).

The first debates on running inde- pendent Puerto Rican candidates ver- sus running in the Democratic party took place at the political workshops held Saturday afternoon.

I attended the largest of these workshops. Richie Ariza, a member of the National Committee of the Social- ist Workers party, spoke in support of running candidates "independent of and in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties."

The Sunday morning session was the only decision-making plenary of the convention. Some 120 delegates were present.

At this session, members of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, along with others, supported a resolution urging the formation of an "indep- endent political organization." During the discussion, a PSP member made a motion to amend the resolution to state specifically "independent from the Democrat and Republican parties."

The resolution also urged the con- vention to "nullify and reject" the plan to run Hector Rodríguez in the Demo- cratic gubernatorial primary.

All resolutions had been pre-sorted into "packages" by a resolutions com- mittee. A fifteen-minute limit had been set for discussion of each package. So

only a few supporters of the amend- ment and resolution for independent political action were able to speak.

One was Richie Ariza. Ariza answered the argument that running in Democratic primaries is a tactical question. "What we're talking about is not hustling votes to get in the Demo- cratic party," he said. "What we have to do is organize our communities around the issues."

A woman supporting the amend- ment added, "This country is already sick of political swindles, and that is the reason people don't vote." She said there was no point to joining the Democrats and Republicans when their ship was sinking.

There were at least two or three dozen active Democrats present, many wearing "Amigos de Carter" (Friends of Carter) or other campaign buttons. They made no attempt to defend their party, its candidates or its record, however.

Instead, they tried to cloud the issues. When this failed, they turned to red-baiting.

"I'm opposed to the amendment," a "Friend of Carter" said, "for the sole reason that it limits independence only to the Democratic and Republican parties."

"Okay! I was waiting for someone to say that," said Mathías Rodríguez, who was chairing. "Because there's a socialist party out there that's the one pushing the amendment." Rodríguez, one of the "Committee of 100," was also wearing a Carter button.

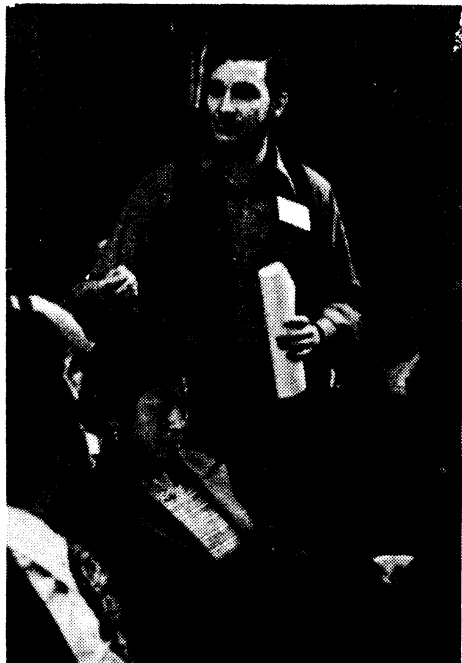
He then decreed all further discus- sion out of order. The vote on the amendment was roughly forty for, sixty against.

An amendment to read "independent from all parties" was then introduced by another Democrat. Rodríguez again insisted there was no more time for debate. Both the amendment and the resolution package were then over- whelmingly approved.

The convention took no steps to implement the resolution for indepen- dent political action. And the Congreso itself cannot implement it because of its tax-exempt status.

Hector Rodríguez, the proposed can- didate for governor, told me after the vote that he would ignore the resolu- tion repudiating his nomination. "That's only frustration speaking," he said. "That's a reaction of the social- ists."

Nevertheless, the debate and vote at the Cherry Hill convention were signif- icant. The debate around independent political action versus supporting Dem- ocrats will continue as the 1977 state elections approach.



Militant/José G. Pérez

RICHIE ARIZA: 'Run independent candidates.'

... Camejo visits nationalist political prisoner

Continued from back page

people like this unless there's that pressure from below."

Camejo reported how the national- ists have been treated by prison officials. "Since I've been in prison," Figueroa Cordero told Camejo, "I've been allowed to receive only three books."

He is now permitted a book a year— at Christmas time. Last year he received the first volume of the selected works of Don Pedro Albizu Campos, the leader of the Nationalist party, who died in 1965 after a long imprison- ment.

Figueroa Cordero said he is hoping to receive the second volume this Christmas.

In addition, he told Camejo that *Claridad*, a proindependence daily published in Puerto Rico, does not reach him regularly.

The five have also been subjected to arbitrary rules and regulations not applied to other prisoners.

By and large, their visitors are restricted to people they knew before they entered prison more than twenty years ago. They can write letters only to people approved by prison officials. Correspondence and packages sent to them often fail to arrive.

"Cordero told me one example of the harassment," Camejo said. "He had requested to purchase an overhead projector to help him with his painting. Other prisoners have been allowed to purchase them, but his request was denied without explanation."

Camejo said he visited Figueroa Cordero "to show my solidarity with him and to be better able to explain the issues in this case during the closing days of the campaign."

"Figueroa Cordero and the other four

nationalists should be released imme- diately and unconditionally, as has been demanded by the legislature and all political parties of Puerto Rico," Camejo said.

"The five remain in prison today because they have not wavered in their support to Puerto Rican independence.

250 march for release

By Michael Laird

SPRINGFIELD, Mo.—Some 250 people—about half of them Puerto Ricans—demonstrated here Oct- ober 30 to demand immediate, unconditional release of the five Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners.

Demonstrators assembled at the Medical Center for Federal Prison-

"Figueroa Cordero told me he was sent papers to ask for parole. 'But I sent them back.' He said he would not sign any papers or do anything that could be taken to mean he has aban- doned his principles or his demand that he and his four compañeros be released unconditionally."

ers where Andrés Figueroa Cordero is being held. After a short protest in front of the prison, they went to a church for a rally.

Slogans included, "Free the five," "Andrés should not die in prison," and "Free Lolita [Lebrón], free the five, free Puerto Rico—right now."

Vietnam: new steps against

By Fred Feldman
From Intercontinental Press

Vietnam, forcibly carved up for more than a century by French and American imperialism, today is politically united. The Vietnamese National Assembly formally sealed this advance on July 2 by proclaiming the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV), encompassing both the Northern territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the former "Republic of Vietnam" (South). The assembly adopted the red-and-gold star flag of the DRV as the emblem of the new government. The border between the two halves of Vietnam, maintained during the first year after liberation, has been abolished.

The organizations through which the long and costly struggle against foreign domination in the South was carried out—the National Liberation Front, the People's Liberation Army, the People's Revolutionary party, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government—have been fused with their Northern counterparts.

The National Assembly elected a government to rule the united country. Its leading figures were the most prominent members of the government of the DRV. Ton Duc Thang, president of the DRV, retains this post in the SRV, as do Premier Pham Van Dong, Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap, and Truong Chinh, president of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly. The key post of first secretary of the Lao Dong (Vietnam Workers) party will be held, as before, by Le Duan.

Representatives of the former Provisional Revolutionary Government occupy lesser posts in the cabinet. Nguyen Thi Binh, foreign minister of the PRG and its most prominent international representative, heads the Ministry of Education. Nguyen Van Hieu, the PRG ambassador to China, is minister of culture.

Contradictions

Through these measures the deformed workers state that was established in North Vietnam in the years after 1954 formalized the extension of its political apparatus and control to the South. In doing so it has come face to face with a major contradiction.

In contrast to the North, the economy of the South remains capitalist in nature although it is a weak and battered capitalism. The Vietnamese rulers are thus confronted with the choice of coexisting with capitalist forces in the South or completing the social revolution in the South through the overturn of capitalist property relations and the creation of a planned economy.

Should the Vietnamese leaders decide to coexist with a capitalist economy in the South, the recovery and growth of capitalist forces would be encouraged. Their penetration into the government and into the economy of the North would be facilitated. The ground could thus be prepared for the reactionary overthrow at some future time of all the progressive gains of the Vietnamese revolution, including the planned economy in the North.

In reality, however, Vietnam is moving toward a progressive resolution of this contradiction, despite the hesitations and class-collaborationist practices

of the Stalinist leadership. After tolerating capitalist property relations in the South for more than a year, the leaders committed themselves at the July meeting of the National Assembly to "consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat" throughout the country by speedily overturning capitalist property relations in the South.

The overthrow of capitalism in the South under the present Stalinist leadership will confront the Southern masses with the further task of joining with the workers and peasants of the North in making an antibureaucratic political revolution.

Class-collaborationist program

In carrying out the political reunification of the country and initiating steps that point toward the overthrow of capitalist property relations, the Vietnamese Stalinist leaders have been compelled to move far more quickly than they counted on. Moreover, they have moved in contradiction to the program they have strenuously advocated for many years.

During the long struggle against American imperialism and its local agents, the leaders of the DRV and NLF presented reunification as a long-term goal. The objective of the armed struggle, they insisted, was the establishment of a progressive but nonsocialist regime that would accept the prospect of eventual reunification. In the interim, the coalition would forge a political and economic alliance between the two halves of the country.

This conception was closely linked to the Vietnamese leaders' objective of combining a military struggle based on the peasantry with an alliance with bourgeois forces in the cities. This strategy precluded calling for rapid reunification with the workers state in the North or mobilizing the Southern workers around anticapitalist demands.

The creation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in 1969 indicated that the NLF-DRV seriously sought bourgeois support. The PRG offered "to enter into consultation with the political forces representing the various social strata and political tendencies in South Vietnam that are for peace, independence and neutrality . . . with a view to setting up a provisional coalition government. . . ."

To smooth the way to such discussions, the PRG insisted that "industrialists and traders must enjoy freedom of enterprise." It promised "to protect the right of ownership of means of production."

Reunification

This position found its corollary in the PRG's stand on reunification with the North. The PRG's immediate goal was to "reestablish normal relations between South and North Vietnam . . . to maintain economic and cultural relations according to the principle of mutual benefit and mutual help between the two zones."

Reunification, the PRG held, "will be achieved step by step, by peaceful means."

The course of the revolution diverged widely from the schema of the NLF-DRV leaders. No significant bourgeois forces could be found to enter into an alliance with the NLF.

Those among the bourgeoisie who were inclined



Civilians welcomed North Vietnamese troops following 1975 liberation. Despite popular support for united, socialist Vietnam, Hanoi has stalled on abolishing capitalism in south.

to compromise hesitated to break with Washington. The American imperialists, determined to drown the colonial rebellion in blood, rejected all proposals for a coalition government.

No significant Vietnamese capitalist forces were ready to risk losing the protection offered by the Saigon military-police apparatus, however much they rankled at its venal brutality and its resistance to the most minimal reforms.

The Paris Accords of January 1973 did not change this situation. Despite provisions calling for a tripartite "National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord," Thieu launched massive military offensives against the liberated zones. He counted on the threat of a U.S. military invasion to prevent the DRV from coming to the aid of the beleaguered Southern fighters.

The DRV, however, did not withdraw its material aid to the Southern fighters, although it attempted for a time to shift its emphasis to domestic economic recovery. Antiwar sentiment among the American people, intensified by the Watergate revelations, barred Nixon and then Ford from further escalation of the war.

According to the June 6, 1975, issue of *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "In an off-the-record briefing in Hanoi during July [1974], newsmen from fraternal countries were told that the Paris Peace Agreement of January 1973 had failed and the third Indochina war had begun."

The final months

DRV forces played an increasing role as the fighting intensified. This was owing in part to the fact that the military forces and cadres of the NLF, while retaining wide support in the countryside, had suffered heavy casualties as a result of the 1968 and 1972 offensives and the CIA's "Phoenix" assassination program.

The recently published account by General Van Tien Dung, the DRV's army chief of staff, provides valuable information about the last months of the war. According to Dung, the decision to launch an offensive was made at the beginning of 1975.

An initial campaign that year, consisting heavily of surprise attacks, was to be followed by an all-out offensive aimed at military victory in 1976.

To the surprise of the rebel forces, the first assaults led to the disintegration of Thieu's army. Faced with the opportunity presented by the Saigon army's collapse, the Vietnamese leaders decided to bring the long war to an end on their own terms. Tens of thousands of DRV troops poured across the border to aid in the liberation of Kontum, Hue, Danang, and other cities.

Down to the last possible moment, the NLF-DRV stance left the door open for governmental alliances with bourgeois leaders who would accept the changed relationship of forces. The bourgeoisie preferred to cling to Thieu's crumbling apparatus.

The DRV and NLF won a sweeping military victory without achieving their long-standing political objective of an alliance with a "progressive



Millions of craters, left by U.S. bombing, still make farming impossible in many areas. Vietnam has justifiably demanded U.S. economic aid to help repair war damage.

capitalist system in south

sive" or "patriotic" sector of the Vietnamese bourgeoisie.

Political and military power after April 30, 1975, was wholly in the hands of the Stalinist Lao Dong party, which immediately absorbed the Southern formation, the People's Revolutionary party. Its only allies in the NLF were some petty-bourgeois sympathizers of the Lao Dong.

A devastated country

There can be no doubt that the DRV and NLF leaders, on taking political power in South Vietnam, confronted grave economic and social problems in both parts of the country. These conditions could not be quickly overcome without massive infusions of economic and technical assistance from abroad.

Millions of tons of U.S. bombs had pounded the rural areas of South Vietnam and virtually the entire DRV. Agriculture had been disrupted. From a significant exporter of rice, South Vietnam had been transformed into an importer.

Today the restoration of agriculture—undoubtedly the first priority for the new regime—requires the painstaking work of filling and replanting twenty-six million bomb craters.

Millions of peasants were forced from the rural areas into the cities by U.S. bombing and search-and-destroy expeditions.

The new authorities made energetic efforts to return refugees to their villages or to settle them in "new economic zones," as the bombed-out and depopulated areas of the countryside are called.

About 1.5 million persons have returned to the countryside thus far. In exchange for the harsh conditions of life and grueling work that await them, the government has offered them ownership of small plots of land.

The American occupation not only rained destruction on the land of an already impoverished people, but left a legacy of disease as well. Malaria as well as instances of bubonic plague have been reported. In the cities, venereal disease afflicts a sizable percentage of the population. Antibiotics and other medicines are in short supply and doctors are few.

Throughout the nation, hundreds of thousands of crippled and maimed civilians and war veterans urgently need assistance. Tens of thousands of orphans must be provided for.

Many of these problems worsened in the aftermath of the fall of the puppet regime. Economic activity came to a standstill as factories shut down. Some were closed down by their owners as they fled Vietnam; others were processing plants that required raw materials from the United States and other countries. The embargo on trade imposed by Washington after the liberation has helped to block the restoration of production in some of these factories. With the collapse of the Saigon army and bureaucracy, unemployment in the South immediately rose from one million to 3.5 million.

Impact on North

Less attention has been paid to the economic impact of the war on the North. While social dislocation was less severe than in the South because of the revolutionary spirit of the people and the advantages of a planned economy, the economic development and the living standards of the population were hard hit. The cities of the South were largely off limits to American bombers (except for brief periods during the 1968 and 1972 NLF offensives), while the cities of the DRV were primary targets. Except for Hanoi and Haiphong, the urban centers of the North were bombed to the ground.

If Vietnam is to make rapid progress in repairing war damage and constructing a prosperous economy, considerable aid from abroad is essential. The other workers states, which measured out minimal military aid during the U.S. aggression, are not doing much better today in surviving economic assistance.

This grave economic and social situation confronted the new leaders with massive and complex tasks. On the one hand, South Vietnam urgently needed a planned economy to eliminate unemployment, restore production, assure the distribution of basic necessities, and take the initial steps toward industrialization.

At the same time, they had to urgently seek foreign assistance. Here the vast reserve of international support won by the Vietnamese people through their heroic struggle against imperialism provides a powerful lever for prying assistance out of both the capitalist states and Vietnam's tight-

fisted bureaucratic allies.

Thus far, the Lao Dong leadership has sought to solve these problems through methods in line with their deeply rooted Stalinist outlook.

The Vietnamese Stalinist leaders rejected swift reunification and opposed completing the social revolution in the South through the overturn of capitalist property relations. Instead they attempted to implement the class-collaborationist program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

"As for actual reunification between the North and the South," one Southern official told UPI correspondent Alan Dawson May 14, 1975, "it might take years. . . . Our brothers in the North realize we cannot have a regime like that of the North immediately."

Dawson reported May 30, 1975, that North and South Vietnamese officials had concluded that reunification was at least five years away.

In the August 1, 1975, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Malcolm Salmon quoted a formula "much in vogue" to describe this anomalous situation: "Vietnam has one Party, one army and two governments."

The military victory of the rebel forces in the absence of capitalist allies undermined the reason for existence of the PRG, which was designed



Vietnamese face task of rebuilding cities in north, virtually all destroyed by U.S. saturation bombing.

precisely as a magnet for bourgeois groupings. Nonetheless the Provisional Revolutionary Government took office in Saigon on June 6, 1975.

Although the Hanoi leaders remained the ultimate authority, the decision to formally turn power over to the PRG amounted to an effort to preserve the fiction of a coalition government designed to protect the property of the remaining capitalists for the time being. It meant an indefinite postponement of the establishment of a planned economy.

A policy decision had been made not only to preserve two governments in the North and South, but two contradictory social systems as well.

Some Western observers and journalists attributed the decision to postpone a full-scale social revolution in the South to fear of the supposed anticommunism of the Southern urban masses. Lao Dong officials have encouraged that belief.

Attitude of workers and students

In reality the liberation forces were eagerly welcomed by important parts of the populace of Saigon and other cities—particularly in the working-class districts and the universities. This initial sympathy broadened out rapidly as it became evident that the scare stories about an inevitable bloodbath were anticommunist fabrications. Because of the depth of Vietnamese nationalism and the tragic consequences of the division of the country, support for reunification was, if anything, even wider than sympathy for the new government.

In the hours immediately preceding the liberation of Saigon and in the days following it, many factories were abandoned by their owners. Workers, usually under the leadership of NLF cadres, in many cases occupied these factories to prevent the destruction of property and to restore production where possible. Committees of these workers played

an important role in the first days in providing a link between the new regime, with its weak organization in the cities, and the urban population.

The stance taken by the Vietnamese leaders and by rank-and-file workers on the future of Vietnamese capitalism has been vividly described in the book *Giai Phong! The Fall and Liberation of Saigon* (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1976), by Tiziano Terzani, an Italian journalist who is highly sympathetic to the Vietnamese revolution. Terzani writes:

In the first days the situation in the factories of Saigon was still confused. A declaration by the new authorities had assured owners that "manufacturers and dealers will have their goods safeguarded and will be able to continue activities profitable to the national economy and to the life of the population." But in some establishments the workers had announced a takeover, and in some cases had even held the first people's trials against the bosses.

In many other cases, however, the government resisted workers' demands for the expropriation of the capitalists. Terzani continues:

The problem of maintaining foreign ownership and keeping foreign technicians in the factories, at least for a certain period, was felt strongly by the cadres in the center on Le Van Duet Street [headquarters of the government-sponsored trade-union federation]. In their discussions with workers' committees, which often put forward radical and maximalist positions, they advised prudence and caution.

"First of all, it's important to resume production," they repeated, and this watchword was printed in large capital letters in *Saigon Giai Phong* [the daily established by the Military Management Committee].

The class-collaborationist views of Nguyen Nam Loc, a member of the Executive Committee of the official trade-union federation, were also quoted by Terzani:

When a worker in the course of a discussion asked why the bosses shouldn't be expropriated immediately, Loc replied:

"Now's not the moment. Just now it's a question of reeducating the owners. We must make them understand that their profits come from the workers and should be distributed more fairly. We want to encourage enterprise, not discourage it. That's important at this moment so as to consolidate the people's power."

Fear initiatives

The policy of preserving capitalism for a time in South Vietnam was not justified by the supposed conservatism of the Saigon masses. On the contrary, the course taken by the Lao Dong party may have been motivated in part by fear of the initiatives these workers might undertake, which might go far beyond the goals of the Stalinists. This fear may have been especially strong in the first months of the regime, when the bureaucratic apparatus in the South was only beginning to be organized and the masses were caught up in the excitement of victory.

The policy of upholding and fostering capitalism held sway throughout the first year of the new regime, despite the shattered condition of Vietnamese capitalism.

In the April 30, 1976, issue of the *Washington Post*, Nayan Chanda, an Indian journalist drew a conclusion that has been echoed by virtually every journalist who has observed the South's economic course since liberation: "Partly as a result of the gradualist approach, partly because of a serious lack of trained managers, it is still the market forces that dominate the economy."

Chanda predicted that this situation could not continue indefinitely: "The present striking contradiction between the ideals of socialism set for the whole country and the continued if subdued existence of the old social-economic structure must be viewed as a passing phase."

Offer 'peaceful coexistence'

In their search for desperately needed assistance, the new rulers of Vietnam have offered "peaceful coexistence" to the United States and its clients in the region. In Stalinist parlance, this includes political support to counterrevolutionary governments.

In the past, this treacherous policy led the DRV and NLF leaders to support the Bandaranaike regime's sweeping repressions of radical youth in 1971, the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement government in Portugal, and other regimes that voiced verbal sympathy with the struggle for freedom in South Vietnam.

The regime's policy toward the United States was enunciated by Pham Van Dong in Hanoi on June

Continued on next page

..Vietnam

Continued from preceding page

3, 1975, three days before the PRG was officially placed in power in Saigon.

Addressing the opening session of the DRV's National Assembly, the premier demanded that Washington abide by provisions of the Paris Accords (backed by private promises from President Nixon) obliging the United States to contribute to Vietnam's reconstruction. Dong continued:

On this basis, and on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam government will normalize its relations with the United States in the spirit of Article 22 of the Paris agreement on Vietnam and will settle the remaining problems with the United States. . . .

The State Department rejected this overture, cynically describing as "ironic" the appeal for aid from a nation the American imperialists had tried to destroy. Later, Kissinger modified this stance slightly, holding that Washington's response would depend on Vietnam's "conduct" toward imperialism and its allies in Southeast Asia. In the meantime, Washington continued to deny diplomatic recognition to the new government and to bar Vietnam from the United Nations.

The Vietnamese Stalinists clearly signaled the advantages of "peaceful coexistence" when Hanoi hailed Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's reactionary coup in 1975.

During the first months after taking power, the Vietnamese leaders demanded that Thailand and other neighboring capitalist states eliminate U.S. military bases that could be used against Vietnam.

Hanoi has now established diplomatic relations with the Philippines and Malaysia, while relations with Singapore and Thailand have thawed somewhat.

The social policy adopted by the victors in Vietnam is consistent with their attempt to achieve "peaceful coexistence" in the international field. By delaying the overthrow of capitalism in the South for as long as possible, the Vietnamese leadership signaled willingness to coexist with capitalism elsewhere. In addition, they may have hoped that protection of capitalist interests would reassure potential foreign investors on the determination of the new leaders to protect future investments.

In describing the perspective for South Vietnam in a major speech on May 15, 1975, Le Duan projected the creation of "a fine national democratic regime, a prosperous national democratic economy" in the South.

This projection was in line with the theory of a two-stage revolution long advocated by the Vietnamese Stalinists. The theory calls for a lengthy period of "national democratic" development guided by a coalition government, a regime that is supposedly suspended between capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Events in Vietnam have again exposed this class-collaborationist line.

The "stage" of "prosperous national democratic economy" in Vietnam has proved to be a period of stagnation for the economy, particularly in the cities. About 3.5 million persons out of a population of twenty-one million remain unemployed. The scope of unemployment makes it impossible for the government to effectively combat such evils as crime and prostitution.

Although rationing has prevented starvation, the standard of living in the cities has declined under the impact of unemployment and inflation. The prices of rice, fuel, and other commodities have risen sharply. Businessmen attempted to squeeze maximum profits from the difficult situation through black-market activities, currency manipulation, counterfeiting, and hoarding.

As the economic situation worsened and popular discontent grew, the new government took measures against the most hated sectors of the capitalists.

On August 30 all banks except the government-owned National Bank were shut down. A new currency was established soon afterward.

On September 11, 1975, PRG Prime Minister Huynh Tan Phat issued a fourteen-point program aimed at "compradore capitalists who have monopolized and illegally hoarded goods and disrupted the markets." Armed security forces raided the homes of a score of the wealthiest families in the Cholon district of Saigon, and seized substantial hidden stores of goods. The property of these "compradores" was nationalized.

The enthusiasm aroused by such measures indicated that the Saigon masses were eager for anticapitalist measures aimed at getting the stalled



PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG

economy moving. Wilfred Burchett wrote in the October 17, 1975, *Far Eastern Economic Review*:

By the time many people were on their way to work, workers, businessmen, housewives, and others, paraded through the streets under banners demanding punishment for hoarders and profiteers, a clean-up of the marketing system, and price controls. One big procession of some 8,000, composed of delegates from most of the trade unions, marched through the central market area, shouting slogans while merchants peered cautiously from behind their shop-windows.

Other groups, obviously from the poorer parts of the city, invaded the exclusive shopping centre of what used to be known as the European area. . . . Among the most militant of the demonstrators were Chinese workers and businessmen in the heart of Cholon—the section of Saigon where about half of South Vietnam's 1 million Chinese live.

In the aftermath of this crisis, the Political Consultative Conference on National Reunification was held in Saigon in November 1975. This conference called for elections to a single National Assembly for the entire country to be held in April 1976, a big step toward full reunification.

The "anticompradore campaign" further weakened the capitalists. There was no fundamental change in economic policy, however, although Truong Chinh and others spoke about the importance of moving more speedily toward socialism. Despite the economic reforms of September 1975 and the accelerated steps toward reunification, the economy remained in deep trouble.

Richard Nations, writing from Bangkok in the August 24, 1976, *Financial Times* of London, asserted:

Shortages of essential goods are chronic. The unemployed squeeze a living by queueing at ration shops for hours and then selling their quotas on the open market where prices are much higher than the controlled ones. Anti-biotics are almost non-existent except in the burgeoning "under-the-counter" sector.

A black market thrives in dollars at ten times the official exchange rate and diamonds at twice world market prices. The rich continue to live comfortably, if only through dis-investment.

To make matters worse, Vietnam suffered a setback in agricultural production this year as drought blighted the spring and summer crops. To assure an adequate water supply for the land and sufficient food for the cities, the authorities are attempting to organize the peasants into "work-exchange" teams, an early stage in the development of cooperatives.

Despite the drought, Vietnam has made impressive strides toward the restoration of agriculture, although this promises to be a long and difficult process. Everywhere bridges, canals, and irrigation works are being repaired, land is being reclaimed, and new roads built.

Shift toward planned economy

The first steps toward the reorganization of agricultural production on a cooperative basis increased the pressure on the government to move toward a more thoroughgoing land reform and to establish planned industrial production in the cities. The social tensions generated by widespread unemployment in the cities also press the leaders in this direction.

Signs of a sharp new turn in economic policy began to appear in May. Vo Van Kiet, chairman of the Saigon People's Revolutionary Committee,

sought to assure worried city dwellers that a sweeping attack on unemployment would soon be launched. A Saigon radio broadcast reported in the May 21, 1976, *New York Times* quoted him as saying:

To root out the unemployment problem and to turn Saigon into a productive city, we need a ring of industrial and agricultural zones around Saigon. To make this a reality, we need two million workers from the Saigon area.

These workers will be employed in factories, agricultural areas, power stations, water works, sanitation and communications centers and so on.

An undertaking of this scope could hardly be carried out if South Vietnam's economy were to remain capitalist.

During the June 24-July 3, 1976, meeting of the National Assembly, which formally completed the administrative reunification of the country and adopted a five-year economic plan, Le Duan announced:

In the south we must immediately abolish the comprador bourgeoisie and the remnants of the feudal landlord classes, undertake the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and commerce, agriculture, handicraft and small trade through appropriate measures and steps, combine transformation with building in order actively to steer the economy of the south into the orbit of socialism, and integrate the economies of both zones in a single system of large-scale socialist production.

Turning point for Vietnam

Such a policy would represent a turning point for the Vietnamese revolution, the abolition of the primacy of capitalism in the social and economic life of the Southern masses. It would mark a new qualitative advance, following upon the expulsion of the capitalists from political power on April 30, 1975.

To accomplish changes of this scope, the regime will have to mobilize the Vietnamese workers and poor peasants on an even larger scale than was done during the campaign against the "compradores" in September 1975. Only the working class is capable of taking command away from the capitalists in the factories, counteracting their resistance, demoralizing their remaining followers, and providing a popular base for a new social order.

This presents problems for the Lao Dong party leaders, however, for their regime in the North rests on the exclusion of the workers from political power. Consciously modeling their political structure on the bureaucratic regimes in the Soviet Union and China, the Vietnamese leaders have sought to protect the privileged position of the ruling bureaucratic caste. The Stalinist leaders, compelled by circumstances to move toward carrying out a social overturn in the South, fear that the workers will not accept bureaucratic control in doing away with capitalism, but may challenge the supremacy of the bureaucracy itself. This fear contributes to their delays and hesitations.

Urban workers

Although the urban working class of South Vietnam was not directly involved in the military confrontations that finally brought the neocolonialist regime down, it is not without a militant tradition of its own. From 1963, when the masses in Saigon and elsewhere staged demonstrations that helped topple Diem, no regime has been able to firmly establish its totalitarian control over the urban masses, despite the brutal repression carried out by Thieu and his predecessors.

Strikes, including general strikes, and workers demonstrations have taken place. Students, Buddhists, Catholics, and war veterans protested the corruption and injustices of the regime. Many political tendencies existed in the underground and the tradition and ideas left by Trotskyists like Ta Thu Thau were not without influence. Having fought so long, the masses may prove resistant to bowing their necks to the bureaucracy's yoke.

One indication of such resistance is the widespread criticism of the highhandedness and, in some instances, corruption of the bureaucrats. Some of these complaints have found their way into the Saigon press. In response to these charges, the government has launched an "antibureaucratic" publicity campaign denouncing the derelictions of lower-ranking officials. This campaign has been reflected in the North as well. By turning lower-ranking and inexperienced officials into scapegoats, the Lao Dong party leaders hope to deflect criticism from the dictatorial command exercised by the tops and from the bureaucratic system of rule as a whole.

Mobilizations against the remnants of Southern capitalism could undermine the stability of the Lao Dong party's power base in the North, where the regime has confronted growing discontent with the slow pace of economic advance.

Political considerations of this type may have motivated the "East European observer" who told Chanda that the Vietnamese leadership's "pragmatic" policy in the South may have "averted a possible Budapest." The carrying out of the overturn of capitalism in the South is closely intertwined with the tasks of the political revolution in the North.

Fear of workers democracy

The Vietnamese Stalinist leaders have not carried out sweeping repressions in the South thus far. Their actions, however, have been consistent with their deep and long-standing antagonism to workers democracy. They have betrayed no inclination to give the masses a decisive voice or, indeed, any voice at all in the shaping of the policies that guide the regime.

The local committees established in May 1975 with the fall of the Saigon government are closely controlled by cadres of the Lao Dong party and its fronts. These organizations provide the Lao Dong with a mass base for carrying out its policies or for use against recalcitrant bourgeois elements, but they neither debate nor decide political, economic, and social policy.

The trade unions perform similar functions. According to Father Tu, an organizer of the Trade Union Federation of Liberation, the federation's task "will be to keep watch over the life of the workers, to forge a bond with all levels of government." (Quoted in Terzani's *Giai Phong*!)

All political parties that existed under the old regime, including the oppositional parties of the "third force," have been abolished.

The new rulers have made no provision for political tendencies to exercise their right to form parties that support the revolution while criticizing or opposing the policies of the Lao Dong party.

On some occasions, the antidemocratic policies of the regime have met with unexpected opposition. An instance of this was the response to a May 15, 1975, order by the Office of Information and Culture in Saigon barring the circulation, sale, and lending of all publications printed during the American occupation and under the puppet regime. Student supporters of the government ransacked libraries and private homes in search of materials that fell under the ban. Prohibited books were publicly burnt in bonfires. At this point, Tiziano Terzani reports in *Giai Phong*!, "the population began to protest."

'Hoc tap'

Hoc tap or "reeducation" is another practice of the Lao Dong leaders which contradicts the norms of workers democracy. In its mildest form, *hoc tap* means attendance at lectures on the liberation struggle or discussions (often taking the form of self-criticism). In this form, virtually the entire urban population is expected to pass through *hoc tap*, which continues until each individual is regarded to have sincerely repented relations with the neocolonial regime, if any, and to have reached full support of the objectives of the new government.

Whatever its uses in introducing the population to the policies and goals of their new rulers, the system of "reeducation" has a built-in tendency to classify virtually the entire urban population as tainted to some degree or other by association with the old Saigon regime. This extends even to those who actively opposed the regime through the organizational forms that were available to city dwellers (union struggles, Buddhist and Catholic protests, and so forth).

This view of the urban masses is especially dangerous because of the possibilities opened by the new advance in the revolution. While peasant rebels under capable military leadership proved able to deeply undermine and (with major aid from the DRV) finally smash the old government, the building of a new society requires the leadership of another class, the urban workers. The concepts that underlie *hoc tap* provide a ready-made excuse for stifling the initiatives of this class and for imposing bureaucratic tutelage over it.

The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky had a different approach to winning the support of the masses. They knew that the allegiance of workers and peasants can be won and maintained only by actions against the landlords, capitalists, and imperialists, and not by pressuring the masses to repent supposed past derelictions or compelling them to attend propaganda lectures.

'Collective reeducation'

The most severe form of *hoc tap* is "collective reeducation" in camps in the northern regions of Vietnam. This treatment appears to have been reserved primarily for former Saigon politicians (including some bourgeois opponents of the Thieu

regime), government officials, and military officers of the old regime. More than 200,000 persons have now been held in such camps for a year.

While some of these people are undoubtedly guilty of real war crimes against the Vietnamese people, few have been charged with, tried for, or convicted of any crime.

The danger that the Stalinists will turn to large-scale political repression will be especially great as the regime carries out its promise to move against the remaining landlords and capitalists.

In the East European countries and China, the equivalent period saw the imposition of tight police regimes, eliminating the very narrow leeway for dissent that had been allowed earlier. The task of suppressing active procapitalist counterrevolutionaries was used as a pretext for assaults on democratic rights aimed at preserving bureaucratic rule against the masses.

In Eastern Europe, Stalin followed up the overturn of capitalism with sweeping purges aimed at eliminating all potential dissidence. In 1952, when the Maoists were beginning to undertake the measures that eventually led to the elimination of

solving Vietnam's problems. Such a regime, having nothing to fear from the people, will do its utmost to open up educational opportunities, foster the advancement of culture, and guarantee freedom of discussion. The revolution must be a school of unfettered thought!

The struggle for these rights and institutions of workers democracy in the South can play a role in inspiring the masses of the North to advance along similar lines in the struggle against bureaucracy.

The Vietnamese revolution urgently needs economic assistance from the capitalist world. For a time it may be necessary to offer economic concessions to foreign capital, particularly in developing Vietnam's oil resources. In addition, concessions to small traders and the peasantry may have to be made.

But these needs do not justify the leadership's delay in overturning capitalism and landlordism in the South. In Vietnam it is illusory to count on economic development along "national democratic" lines. The history of revolutions in the colonial world has demonstrated conclusively that a *planned economy* is a prerequisite for swift,



Saigon working class has a militant tradition of struggle, as in this 1964 strike. Independent actions by workers have pressured leaders to move against capitalists.

capitalism, they ordered the arrest and imprisonment without charges or trial of dozens of Trotskyists.

For freely elected committees

As the Vietnamese revolution advances, the issue of workers' democracy will become more acute.

For instance Le Duan has indicated that the people of the South may have to accept a lower standard of living for a time. In view of the grave problems confronting the country, this may prove to be the case but it is *not Le Duan's decision to make*. It is the Vietnamese people who have the right to decide. If austerity proves necessary, should not the privileges of the bureaucracy be cut to the bone before the bare living standards of the masses are sacrificed?

The workers and peasants in Vietnam, struggling to complete the destruction of landlordism and capitalism and to establish effective economic planning, will tend to form rank-and-file-controlled committees. They will seek to exercise their right to debate issues, to read and write what they like, and to form tendencies and parties without official interference.

Revolutionary Marxists will certainly support their efforts to build such committees and to oppose all efforts by the government to subject them to bureaucratic control, as the government has done with the committees established under Lao Dong sponsorship.

One of the sharpest phases of the struggle may well involve the right of the masses to elect and recall all officials, a demand that was first sounded at the time of the Paris Commune in 1871. Against the monolithic parliament erected as a showpiece by the Lao Dong party, the workers and peasants will certainly press for a soviet form of government.

A soviet regime enjoying the enthusiastic support of millions of workers and peasants can mobilize immense human forces, one of the requisites to

balanced economic reconstruction and full employment.

Nor does the need for foreign capital justify the Lao Dong leadership's stubborn adherence to the reactionary policy of "socialism in one country" and the Stalinist practice of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist powers.

During the years of the New Economic Policy in the Soviet Union, Lenin and Trotsky favored making temporary concessions to foreign capital and the market economy; but they stressed the fact that the way out of poverty and economic isolation for the Soviet Union was on the road of the world revolution, and in particular the socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries. Diplomatic maneuvers were not allowed to determine the political strategy, positions, and program of the Bolshevik party and the Third International.

New revolutionary party

The Lao Dong party, because it represents the interests of a crystallized bureaucratic caste established in the North, which has extended its control to the South, is incapable of establishing workers democracy. A new revolutionary party, firmly rooted among the Vietnamese workers, is required for that.

Socialists and all those who oppose new imperialist wars like the one in Vietnam must keep up the demand that Washington meet its obligation to aid in the reconstruction of Vietnam. Restitution must be made for the damage inflicted on Vietnam, although America can never fully repay the Vietnamese for the death and destruction wrought on this small country under Johnson, Nixon, and Ford.

In addition to demanding massive aid for Vietnam, opponents of imperialism must call upon Washington to recognize the new government, end the trade embargo, and get out of Southeast Asia, where the Pentagon still threatens the peoples of Indochina.

Pittsburgh debate

SWP, CP clash on ERA, support to Dems

By Paul LeBlanc
and Bill Kalman

PITTSBURGH—Both the Socialist Workers party and Communist party presidential slates were on the ballot here for the November 2 presidential election. (Overall, the SWP ticket achieved ballot status in twenty-eight states, the CP in twenty.)

A debate here several weeks before the election helped clarify the differing viewpoints of these two parties and their candidates for students at the University of Pittsburgh.

The debate, attended by more than seventy people, featured representatives from the presidential campaigns of the Democratic and Republican parties, as well as the CP and the SWP slates. It was endorsed by the Young Socialist Alliance, Young Republicans, Young Democrats, and Student Government Board.

Linda Jenness, the SWP's presidential candidate in 1972, spoke on behalf of the party's 1976 slate; Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. Rasheed Storey, district organizer for the CP in western Pennsylvania, represented Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner.

In contrast to the Ford and Carter spokespeople, both Jenness and Storey drew an enthusiastic response from the audience. This reflects the widespread disenchantment with the Democrats and Republicans this year and the growing willingness of many people to consider alternatives to these two capitalist parties.

During the question period, a member of the audience asked how the

CP and SWP differ from each other.

"The main debate here tonight," Jenness answered, "is not between the two of us, but is the two of us against the two parties of big business." She pointed out that both the CP and SWP this year are calling for a vote against the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates.

Nonetheless, Jenness said, there are important differences.

First, she explained, the CP is not consistent in opposing candidates of the two big-business parties. Although the CP this fall is not supporting Ford or Carter, for example, it supports many liberal Democrats in state, local, and congressional races.

Another major difference, Jenness said, is that the CP "supports the kind of government, and the theory and ideology of the government, in the Soviet Union."

"The Socialist Workers party does not. . . . We are staunch supporters of the socialist revolution of 1917 and of the planned economy there. But we do not think that the government there is democratic. We think that it is a totalitarian, reactionary government on the question of democratic rights, and we're the people who believe that democracy and socialism go hand in hand. We think that the government in the Soviet Union should be replaced with one that's controlled by the people who live and work there."

The CP, Jenness said, supported the Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, while the SWP opposed it.

Another major disagreement, she added, is over the Equal Rights Amendment for women. The SWP is an active fighter for the ERA, while the CP opposes the amendment.

Storey responded, "Trotskyism is an ideology which comes at you from the left, but props up the bourgeoisie, argues for bourgeois norms, bourgeois democracy, and places the workers in the tail of the bourgeoisie. . . .

"Their anticommunism is just as bad as Carter's and Ford's," he said. This charge of anticommunism is absurd. The SWP has been the target of witch-hunting tactics by the government and right-wingers for decades. It has consistently defended members of the CP and other groups against red-baiting and victimization. To Storey, however, any criticism of the lack of democracy inside the Soviet Union is "anticommunist."

Later in the debate, Storey launched another false and even more slanderous attack on the SWP. "During the Second World War," he said, "do you know who the Trotskyites supported? They were allied with Hitler. They were allied with Hitler against the Soviet Union. . . . Why? Because their main frame of reference was to snuff out the kind of socialism that they didn't like."

Defending the CP's opposition to the ERA, Storey dismissed the amendment as something "which does not touch the profit system. The profit system is the main factor in the oppression of women. If you don't touch it, you are playing the bourgeois game." To prove

this point, Storey said that many Democratic and Republican party politicians support the ERA.

A few moments later, however, Storey defended his party's support for a Democratic candidate by saying, "Well, we are politicians living in the real world." He added, "When you have an opportunity to elect to the Senate a Black candidate, or several Black candidates—well, you're for equal representation for Blacks, aren't you?"

A reporter for the *Pitt News* asked Storey if this wasn't a compromise of the opposition to the Democratic party that he had been advancing. Isn't a Democratic politician—Black or white—still a Democrat? she asked.

Storey termed the question "objectively racist" because "it denies equal representation to Black people, an oppressed national minority."

Jenness criticized Storey's "tirades against Trotskyism" and "slanders that we're agents of the bourgeoisie, agents of the CIA, that we're Hitlerites." The purpose of such gutter charges, she said, is to avoid discussing "the real differences in ideas and programs that exist on the left." She stressed the need for "open, honest discussions of these differences."

"Anything else is a disservice to the workers movement," Jenness said. "It's poison in the workers movement and has been ever since it existed. And you must reject that."

Jenness told the audience, "We are appealing to you on the basis of program and ideas, and for you to honestly decide which you choose."

Calendar

ATLANTA

DEFEND ABORTION RIGHTS. Speakers: Cathy delCampo, Atlanta NOW; Myrian Richmond, news director, WAOK; Doris McLittle, Family Planning Clinic, Spelman College; and others. Fri., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. Drew Park Community Center, 145 East Lake Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 755-2940.

BOSTON

SOCIALIST SUIT AGAINST THE FBI, CIA, ET AL. Speakers: Judy Uhl, co-founder, Committee for Democratic Election Laws; others. Fri., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore Square). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Boston Socialist Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

LOS ANGELES

PICKET LINE TO FREE GARY TYLER. Wed., Nov. 10, 4 to 6 p.m. Federal Bldg. (Temple and Los Angeles St.) Ausp: Gary Tyler Defense Committee. For more information call (213) 759-0920.

LOS ANGELES

BERNADETTE DEVLIN SPEAKS ON IRELAND. Fri., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. Immaculate Heart College, 2021 N. Western Ave., Administration Bldg. Auditorium. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Viewpoint. For more information call (213) 732-8197.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.

DINNER TO PRESENT ACLU'S CIVIL LIBERTIES AWARD TO MARTIN SOSTRE. Sat., Nov. 13. Commons at Rutgers University. Ausp: American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey.

NEW YORK

PARTIES AND TENDENCIES OF THE U.S. LEFT. A talk by the Mass Party Organizing Committee, as part of a series presenting their theory of social change, their perspectives on the Russian and Chinese revolutions and the resulting

social systems, and their strategy for socialism in the U.S. Tues., Nov. 9, 8 p.m. 186 W. 4th St., 7th Floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: School for Marxist Education. For more information call (212) 989-6493.

NEW YORK

FREEDOM FOR THE FIVE PUERTO RICAN NATIONALISTS. A community forum. Speakers: representatives from the Committee to Free the Five; Bimbo Rivas and Jorge Brandon, poets from El Teatro Ambulante; José G. Pérez, *Militant* staff writer who recently visited Andrés Figueroa Cordero; others. Wed., Nov. 10, 7 p.m. Bracetti Houses, 296 E. 4th St. (between Aves. B & C). Donation: \$1.

OAKLAND, CALIF.

BLACK WOMEN STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY. Presentations and slide show by Naima Washington of *The Profiles in Black, Brown, and Beige*. Speakers: Frankie Arrington, director, Women's Reentry Program; Kara Obradović, former member, Merritt College Black Student Union, member YSA. Fri., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

SOCIALIST EDUCATION CONFERENCE ON BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM. Sat., Nov. 13: 2 p.m., *Blacks and the Labor Movement*. Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, SWP. 4 p.m., *Black Liberation and Socialism*. Speaker: Tony Thomas, SWP. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: 50¢ each class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

SAN JOSE

THE FIGHT AGAINST DEPORTATIONS. Speakers: Froben Lozada, head of Chicano studies at Merritt College. Also a film. Wed., Nov. 10, 8 p.m. 957 S. First St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 295-8342.

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Camejo visits political prisoner

'We will win'
Nationalist
says after
22 years
behind bars



By Gilberto Firmat

NEW YORK—"I've lived long enough. Why should one worry so much about dying, when in Latin America and the United States 375,000 babies die of hunger each year?"

That was what Andrés Figueroa Cordero—one of the five imprisoned Puerto Rican nationalists—told Peter Camejo during a recent visit by Camejo to the Springfield, Missouri, Medical Center for Federal Prisoners.

Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president, visited the nationalist October 28. *The Militant* interviewed Camejo the following day in New York. Camejo is the first candidate for public office ever to visit Figueroa Cordero in prison.

Figueroa Cordero has been in the prison hospital since November 1975. He has twice had surgery for cancer there. According to doctors, Figueroa Cordero had at most three years to live at the time of the first operation.

Figueroa Cordero and four other members of the Nationalist party of Puerto Rico—Rafael Cancel Miranda, Lolita Lebrón, Oscar Collazo, and Irving Flores—were imprisoned in the early 1950s for armed actions in support of Puerto Rican independence. They are the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

"I was sentenced as a common criminal," Figueroa Cordero told Camejo, "but it was not a common crime, it was an action against the government demanding freedom for my homeland."

"He told me some of his story," Camejo said. "He started working for very low wages when he was twelve or thirteen and was always—in his own words—'a poor oppressed worker.'"

"He was forced to come to the United States because he could not make a living in Puerto Rico."

Figueroa Cordero's access to information in prison has been limited, but "he has followed political developments very closely," Camejo said.

"One thing that impressed me about Figueroa Cordero is his optimism," Camejo said. "He remains certain the cause of Puerto Rican independence will be victorious."

"He told me, 'Of this there can be no doubt: even in the United States the workers will triumph.'"

"The crisis of the North American working masses is very bad now," the prisoner told Camejo. "They need new leaders in their unions, and they need to put their leaders in the legislatures to represent them."

"Those who govern call themselves the majority," Figueroa Cordero added,

"but they are not. Those who control are simply a minority."

"They look only at the profits they can make from 'free enterprise' and do not see the sacrifices made by masses of workers."

"What moved me most," Camejo said, "was the courage and dignity of the man. Through two decades of imprisonment he has stood fast by his principles."

"And now, when he has but a few months to live, the first thing he said was not that we should redouble our

efforts on his behalf, but on behalf of the people of Chile, Brazil, and other Latin American nations suffering under military dictatorships."

Camejo asked Figueroa Cordero about the unanimous resolutions demanding release of the five passed by the Puerto Rican House of Representatives and Senate.

"They've done this due to pressure from below," Figueroa Cordero explained, "not out of good will."

"We can expect nothing good out of

Continued on page 25

March Nov. 13!

Demonstrations have been scheduled for November 13 in New York at the United Nations and in San Francisco to demand the immediate, unconditional release of the five Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners.

During his visit with Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Peter Camejo asked the nationalist to comment on these upcoming demonstrations.

"All those demonstrations," Figueroa Cordero responded, "are very essential for the struggle, because there is no other way of making the

government see and hear."

Figueroa Cordero emphasized that it would take "pressure from below" to win release of the five.

Further information on the case of the five, the demonstrations, and how you can help can be obtained from: National Coordinating Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists, Post Office Box 319 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 243-6412.

NSCAR meeting to discuss busing fight

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—In their final debate, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter both came out against the use of court-ordered busing to achieve desegregation. That was no surprise.

The fact that they mentioned busing at all was noteworthy.

Both ruling parties sought to obscure the "race issue" in the campaigns of their candidates. Meanwhile, busing is at the center of a national drive by racist forces to roll back the gains won by Blacks during the past two decades.

While Ford and Carter shadowboxed into the waning hours of the election campaign, desegregation rights came under increasing attack:

- **October 25.** Racists unsuccessfully try to bomb classrooms in Charlestown and South Boston high schools in a coordinated assault. Twenty-two whites are arrested. Luckily, the intended Black student victims escaped injury or death.

- **October 25.** The Philadelphia school board again rejects state orders

to desegregate the city's dual school system, continuing a pattern of eight years of obstruction of the law of the land.

- **October 26.** Louisville racists file their second desegregation appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals, attempting to overturn busing.

- **October 28.** The United States government, for the first time since the historic 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, becomes a "friend of the court" for foes of desegregation. The move is made by Solicitor General Robert Bork. The city is Wilmington, Delaware, where city-suburban busing has been ordered for the fall of 1977 to break down the dual system encompassing the area.

"Events like these should serve notice on all opponents of racism that desegregation is not a 'dead issue,'" Maceo Dixon told the *Militant* in a recent interview. Dixon is a national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

We discussed the state of the desegre-

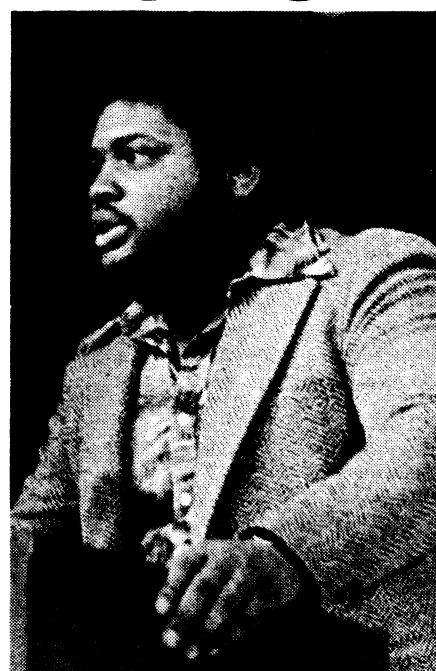
gation struggle on the eve of the third National Student Conference Against Racism, set for Boston University November 19-21. Hundreds of Black, Latino, and white student activists from across the country will be there.

The gathering will set priorities for NSCAR work in coming months. It is expected to launch campaigns in support of Black majority rule in southern Africa and against U.S. complicity with the racist white minority regimes, in opposition to the death penalty, and for freedom for victims of racist frame-ups—such as Gary Tyler and the Wilmington Ten.

In addition, the meeting will discuss NSCAR's continuing work in support of busing. Today this primarily means organizing a national educational campaign on why busing is needed to implement school desegregation.

"That issue," Dixon says, "remains the number one target of organized racists. This includes opponents of busing in the government, which

Continued on page 23



Militant/Baxter Smith

NSCAR leader Maceo Dixon hit government move to back racists in Wilmington, Delaware, busing case.