



the southern PATRIOT

VOL 31, NO. 6

JUNE, 1973

PUBLISHED BY THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF), LOUISVILLE, KY.

Boycott Campaigns Are Growing in South

Textile Strikers Are Holding Firm

By NAN GROGAN*

ANDREWS, S.C.—The strike at Oneita Knitting Mills is going into its seventh month, and the strikers are still holding firm.

At the same time, support for a consumer-boycott of Oneita products is growing across the South, and workers in other nearby Southern communities are joining forces to show solidarity with the Oneita strikers.

The two mills on strike in Andrews and Lanes, S.C., had a work force of 1,000 before 700 of them walked out on January 15; 85 percent of the workers are women, and 75 percent are black. (See April *Patriot*.)

In the past four months, not one worker has deserted the strikers' ranks and gone back to work. Before that, only a tiny handful of the strikers gave up and started scabbing.

Both the workers and representatives of their union, the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) expect that a long fight will be necessary to win. Ten years ago, the Oneita workers stayed out seven months in an unsuccessful strike.

At that time, there were only two black workers at Oneita. Herbert White, who is on strike now, was one of these two.

"Until 1959, when they hired me" he says, the company kept signs posted, 'No Blacks.' It wasn't until 1965 that they started hiring blacks regularly."

The union at that time, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), went along with this discrimination. White feels that this sell-out by the union weakened its position with the company and was one reason why the 1963 strike failed. Explaining why she (Continued on page 4)

**(The writer of this article is a member of the SCEF board from Atlanta. She took part in recent support delegations which visited the Oneita strikers, and is helping to organize a boycott committee in Atlanta.)*

At its recent semi-annual meeting, the SCEF board voted to step up efforts to organize Southwide networks of support for workers' struggles.

Two current struggles it decided to emphasize are the strike of textile workers at Oneita Mills in South Carolina and the nationwide boycott in support of the beleaguered United Farm Workers. Reports on both of these efforts appear on this page.

Both of these struggles are key to efforts of workers everywhere to organize effectively. Both are central to the fight against racism—the one factor that more than anything else has kept Southern workers divided and weak.

Both of these strikes can be effectively supported by consumer-boycotts. See pages 4 and 5 for ways you can help. See page 3 for a more complete report on the recent SCEF board meeting.

Farm Workers Win Wide Support

By KEN LAWRENCE

Support for the United Farm Workers (AFL-CIO) is rapidly growing across the South. In addition to full time boycott offices in Miami, Atlanta, and Dallas-Fort Worth, volunteer committees are being built in many other Southern cities.

The UFW is fighting for its life, as officials of the Teamsters Union have signed sweetheart contracts with California growers whose employees are members of the UFW.

Fighting back against this joint attack, the UFW has called for a nationwide boycott of table grapes, in support of the grape strike in Coachella, Calif. The union is also continuing to build the lettuce boycott in support of the lettuce strike in Salinas, Calif.

Mack Lyons, a UFW staff member in Avon Park, Fla., explained that it isn't just California workers whose future is at stake.

"If we lose in the Coachella valley, we will lose to the system we are struggling to get out from under here in Florida," he said. This is the crew leader system, which has been responsible for the notorious slave-labor camps discovered this year at Homestead and Belle Glade, Fla. (See April *Patriot*.)

UFW contracts outlaw the whole labor contractor system, including the slave-labor camps. Instead, they provide for a union-operated hiring hall. But the Teamster contracts abolish the hiring hall and reinstitute the crew leaders as bosses and hiring agents.

UFW supporters are focusing their boycott drive

(Continued on page 5)



Bird photo by Roger Allen Griggs

Boycott action in Atlanta

On Eve of Chavis Trial Bomb Hits Carolina Paper

(By Staff Correspondent)

WILMINGTON, N.C.—Anti-black violence broke into the open again here, as the date approached for another criminal trial of the Rev. Ben Chavis, black activist and organizer.

On the night of May 28, a high-powered explosion ripped through the offices of the *Wilmington Journal*, the black community newspaper that has been publishing here since 1945. There were no injuries, but the office was destroyed and nearby homes of black people were damaged.

On June 18', as the *Patriot* went to press, Chavis and two of his co-workers, Ms. Mollie Hicks and her daughter Leatrice Hicks, were scheduled to go on trial in Superior Court here on charges arising from protests against discrimination by the Wilmington black community over two years ago.

The three are accused with being "ac-

cessories after the fact of murder." The charges have been widely condemned as a frame-up and part of a well-coordinated plan by state and federal officials to destroy the black liberation movement in this state with an assortment of false criminal charges against its leaders.

Chavis already faces a 34-year sentence on a previous charge arising from the same protests.

At the time of the explosion at the *Journal* office, mobilization was in progress in the black community to build support for Chavis and his co-defendants at the upcoming trial. Organizers were working against an atmosphere of fear that has gripped Wilmington's black community ever since the 1971 protests were crushed by white vigilante terror and an official crack-down of arrests of protesters.

Both white and black supporters were organizing across the state to attend the trial and a rally scheduled for the night

(Continued on page 6)



Wilmington Star News Photo by Herman Benton

On the day after the bombing

News Briefs

About 60 people from 29 organizations in 10 Southern states attended the founding conference of a new national organization to fight racist and political repression. (See April *Patriot*.) A total of about 700 delegates from all over the country went to Chicago for the founding conference. The organization, which has not yet been named, will attempt to mount effective campaigns throughout the country to free political prisoners.

Among the Southerners elected to posts in the new organization are Carl Braden, of Kentucky, who serves as co-chairperson with Angela Davis and Burt Corona; Judi Simmons of Kentucky, Ben Chavis of North Carolina, and Fred Bell of Texas, who are among the vice-chairpeople; and Mike Honey of Tennessee and Walter Collins of New Orleans, who are on the executive committee.

In Norfolk, Va., workers at Miles Oyster Packing Company are still on strike. (See May *Patriot*.) The Center for United Labor Action, which has organized a boycott in support of the strike, asks that you continue to refuse to buy Campbells soups which contain oysters or clams. Campbells is Miles's main customer. (The SCEF board voted at its May meeting to support this boycott, along with the one of non-union lettuce and grapes and products of Oneita Mills. See page 1.)

The Miles strikers are members of the Distributive Workers of America. An example of worker-solidarity was provided recently when members of the United Electrical Workers (UE) local in Waynesboro, Va., most of whom are white, took a collection of \$366 for the Miles workers, most of whom are black. A few years ago, members of the Distributive Workers in Virginia aided a strike of the UE workers.

In Edenton, N.C., there were new demonstrations, as black students protested the firing of a high school teacher, Richard Satterfield.

In Forest, Miss., Brite Risher was found guilty and fined \$100 for beating Tony Algood on a picket line during the strike at Poultry Packers, Inc. (See May *Patriot*.) Algood is an organizer with the Mississippi Poultry Workers Union and a member of the SCEF board.

In Atlanta, 250 black workers ended a seven-week strike at Rich's department store. The strike was over racial discrimination, working conditions, and low pay. (See April and May *Patriots*.) The workers won some, although not all, of their demands. Hosea Williams of SCLC, a sparkplug in the strike, said it was a victory because the giant department store had been forced to negotiate directly with its workers.

In Bolton, Miss. Bennie G. Thompson has become the second black to be elected mayor of a biracial municipality in Mississippi. Thompson was previously an alderman in Bolton. In other local elections around the state, all black incumbents, including Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, were re-elected.

Shell Oil Company workers, including 2,500 in the South, have ended their 129-day strike. The issue, which made the strike an historic one, was health and safety conditions, and a union spokesman said the settlement was a "compromise."

In March, the National Council of Churches dramatized the issue of amnesty for war resisters with a play about the trial of a draft resister, which was shown on national TV by NBC. The play ended without a verdict, and the television audience was asked to serve as the jury by sending in letters with their decision.

In May, the National Council announced the results. A total of 11,978 letters were received from all over the country. Of that number, 67.1 percent voted in favor of amnesty, compared to 32.9 percent against.

The only region in the country where the vote did not go in favor of amnesty was the South. However, even here, the vote in favor was large. A total of 2,235 letters came in from the South. The Southern votes were 52.7 percent opposed to amnesty, and 47.3 percent in favor of it.

The company made at least some concessions, and the basis was laid for further struggle to give the workers some control over health and safety conditions. The union said the consumer-boycott of Shell products was effective in helping the workers win the concessions. (*The boycott has now ended.*)

In Kentucky, the Kentucky Conference of the United Methodist Church endorsed the principle of collective bargaining for its institutions—thus possibly paving the way for recognition of the union that has been on strike at Methodist Hospital in Pikeville, Ky., for over a year. The national Council of Bishops of the church had taken similar action earlier. The Pikeville strikers have held out despite extreme forms of harassment, and there has been widespread pressure on the Methodist Church to support them.

In North Carolina, Robert F. Williams may soon face trial on the kidnapping charge that dates back to 1961. Williams, who has been a fugitive since that time, has been fighting extradition from Michigan, but these accusations appear to have failed. He is accused of kidnapping a white couple during an attack on the black community by a white mob, but he says he was protecting the couple from angry black people.

Virginia Activist Hit By Terror Tactics

KENBRIDGE, Va.—Nathaniel Lee Hawthorne, long-time activist in the freedom movement in Southside Virginia, has recently been the victim of renewed terror tactics. Twice shots have been fired at night at the mailbox outside his house, and in late May his home was broken into and records ransacked while he and his family were away. Vigilantes threaten him and two co-workers when they accompany people trying to get on welfare to the courthouse. Hawthorne is black, and the two co-workers, who are summer volunteers, are white.

As much as anybody in the South, Hawthorne, who is a member of the SCEF board, has stuck with the struggle at the grass-roots in one of the most difficult areas—registering voters, protesting injustice. He says local, state and federal officials all ignore his appeals for physical protection. He needs support. Write Virginia Gov. Linwood Holton, Richmond, Va., and the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Justice Department, Washington, D.C., and demand that they act against those who are terrorizing Hawthorne.



North Carolina: Historic Insights

The current scene in North Carolina may be hard to fathom without the insights provided in a book by Helen G. Edmonds which has just been republished. It is *The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894-1901*.

Fusion was a period when Republicans and Populists came together in a coalition that won them control of state politics for a few years. The Republicans had the support of many black voters, while the Populists had many whites who split from the Democratic Party.

Their uneasy alliance was based on opposition to the capitalists who owned and ran the Democratic Party, and still do. The grave weakness of the Fusionists was their failure to take a firm stand for the rights of black people. Both parties welcomed the support of black voters at the polls but they were unhappy about black people holding public office.

HOW YOU CAN ORDER PAPER ON LABOR HISTORY

Last month's *Patriot* gave an incorrect address for the Mississippi office of SCEF. To receive a transcription of the presentation on Southern labor history by Ken Lawrence, given at SCEF's labor workshop in Birmingham, along with a suggested reading list, write to: SCEF, P.O. Box 5174, Jackson, Miss. 39216.

The *Patriot* apologizes for any inconvenience caused by the incorrect address printed in our May issue.



Postmaster, send P.O.D. Form 3579 to:

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF)
3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211

The Southern Patriot is published once a month except in July and August by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). Editorial and business offices, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211; office of publication, 411 Cowan St., Nashville, Tenn. 37207; Eastern office, 507 W. 111th St., Apt. 54, New York, N.Y. 10025; West Coast office, 5889 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Ca. 90019. Back issues are available on microfilm from Serials Section, University Microfilms, 313 N. First St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48103. Thirty days a copy, \$3 a year. Second-class postage paid at Nashville, Tenn. The Patriot is typeset in our own plant on our own equipment by movement labor. Editor: Anne Braden.

Executive Committee: Modjeska Simkins, President; Julian Bond, Virginia Collins, Jan Phillips, and the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Vice Presidents; Mary Britting, Secretary; Frederic Hicks, Treasurer; Laurie Grupper, Assistant Treasurer.

Executive Staff: Helen Greever, Executive Director; Mike Welch, Administrative Assistant. Western Representative: Lucy Fried. Eastern Representatives: Lenore Hogan and Anne Lancellotti.

SCEF STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

SCEF is a Southwide interracial organization committed to the elimination of racism and sexual oppression; the abolition of an economic system based on the profit motive instead of on the needs of people; and the ending of imperialism—that is, the exploitation of the many by the few both in this country and across the world.

We believe that these changes will come about when powerless people organize at the grassroots; build their own democratic grassroots movements; and take control of their government, the earth's resources, and their own lives.

We believe that in the past the effectiveness of such movements in the South has been impaired by deeply rooted racism. This has kept us divided by color and ethnic identity, and has thus kept us powerless.

Therefore, the first priority of white participants in SCEF is to reach other white people, especially poor and working people. We believe that white people, in the course of their struggles, must vigorously combat racism and racist institutions, while seeking and creating alliances with the black liberation movement around common goals.

SCEF welcomes the cooperation of all persons who agree with these principles, goals, and approaches, regardless of any differences that may exist among them on other questions.

The Southern Patriot is dedicated to the task of reporting the activities of people and groups across the South who are building movements that help incorporate the principles stated here—and to providing information and analysis that can help them build.

Virginians Protest Frame-Up

KEYSVILLE, Va.—One of the largest protest meetings ever held in this Southside Virginia community took place here on Memorial Day to demand freedom for James Carrington.

Carrington, a black man whose home is here, is in prison serving a 75-year sentence on a framed-up charge of raping a white woman. (See April Patriot.)

The Memorial Day rally, which was held at the Mt. Ellis Baptist Church, was organized by Carrington's mother, Mrs. James Carrington, with the help of the Virginia Prisoners Solidarity Committee (PSC). People came from Charlottesville, Richmond, Norfolk and elsewhere to join a large turnout of local people.

Speakers included Thomas Wansley, who served 10 years on a rape frame-up and is now out on bail awaiting an appeal; the Rev. Leon White of the N.C.-Va. Commission on Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, Nathaniel Lee Hawthorne of the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee and a member of the SCEF board; and Veronica Golos of Norfolk PSC.

Golos pointed out that the rape charge against blacks has always been used in the South whenever mass movements of black and white people against the system gained momentum. As examples from history, she mentioned the era of populist revolt, the Scottsboro Case during the mass movements of the 1930's, the Willie McGee and Martinsville Seven cases during the labor upsurges that followed World War II, and the Wansley case arising during the civil rights movement of the early 1960's.

"Now," she said, "at a time in the South when there are countless strikes, most often led by black people with whites often following their lead, we see such frame-ups as that of James Carrington, as well as those of the Wilmington 10, Ben Chavis and Jim Grant in North Carolina.

"The sole purpose is to intimidate the black community, create racist hysteria among the whites and thereby divide poor and working people."



Mrs. Otelia Carrington talks about her son

(Information for this article was provided by Tom Gardner, SCEF board member from Virginia.)

HOW TO HELP

If you want to help free James Carrington, you can do so by writing to Judge H. Emory Widener, Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, Tenth and Main Sts., Richmond, Va. Demand that he release Carrington on his own recognizance and act on a writ of habeas corpus now before his court. This challenges the conviction on the basis of an all-white jury and other trial errors. And you can send a contribution to the James Carrington Defense Fund, c/o PSC, P.O. Box 7032, Norfolk, Va. 23509. (The committee sends thanks to several Patriot readers who have already done this.)

Louisiana Muslim Trial A Blueprint for Repression

The recent convictions of nine Muslims in Baton Rouge on charges of inciting to riot brought together in one case all of the latest techniques of racist repression currently being used by federal, state, and local governments against individuals and organizations committed to social change.

The Baton Rouge case grew out of an incident on January 10, 1972, when police and sheriff's deputies attacked a Muslim street meeting with guns and clubs. The black group attempted to defend itself, and in the end two deputies and three blacks were dead, and many more on both sides were hospitalized.

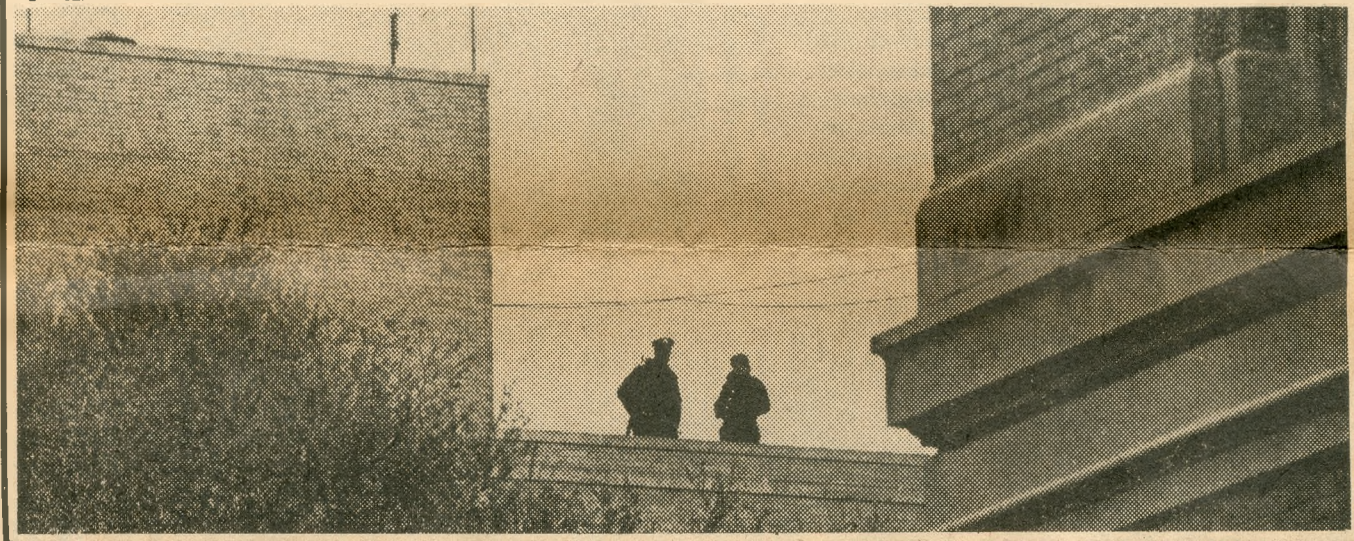
ONLY FIREARMS WERE POLICE WEAPONS

A commission of inquiry consisting of civic leaders in the black community heard testimony that a policeman shot a man handcuffed to the ground. The only firearms used were police weapons. One observer pointed out that if the police had simply arrested the Muslims for blocking traffic instead of launching an armed attack, the worst result would have been a misdemeanor conviction with a small fine and brief jail term.

Following the incident, the authorities launched a campaign of racist hysteria. Sheriff Bryan Clemmons called in the FBI. Mayor Woodrow W. Dumas imposed a curfew. Gov. John McKeithen called out the National Guard, and guardsmen were armed with riot batons, automatic pistols, and carbines with fixed bayonets.

Outright lies were used. Police told reporters that they were fired on before they attacked the crowd. The Muslims were charged with murder. No one expects that they will ever be

Warren Hall, 26, one of the Muslims arrested in the 1972 confrontation, turned state's evidence and testified against the nine who were convicted. In June, he hanged himself in his jail cell in Baton Rouge.



Armed sentinels keep watch from nearby rooftop during Muslim trial

SCEF Will Expand Organizing Program

(By Staff Correspondent)

EPES, Ala.—The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) is making plans to build a Southwide network of support for the growing struggles of black and white workers to organize.

The organization also decided to step up its work to free political prisoners throughout the South.

A RENEWED UPSURGE

These plans were made at the semi-annual meeting of the SCEF board of directors held here in mid-May. About 65 activists from nine states attended.

The organization noted that the two campaigns have to go together. In the last few years, there has been a renewed upsurge of organizing among Southern workers; in many places this has been sparked and led by black workers, joined by an increasing number of white workers.

BUT REPRESSION RISES

At the same time, there has been a sharp increase in repression by state and federal governments, aimed especially at activists in the black liberation movement. The repression takes the form of crass frameups on criminal charges and long prison terms, as well as open vio-

lence by law enforcement agencies and vigilante groups.

In order to implement the two-pronged program, the SCEF board voted to hire a labor coordinator and a coordinator of its anti-repression work. It also decided to put two new organizers into the field in North Carolina, one black and one white. They will build fight-backs against the especially heavy repression against black activists there, working to involve both black and white people and cooperating with labor, peace, civil-rights, and civil-liberties organizations.

AMNESTY CAMPAIGN

The SCEF meeting also decided to organize support throughout the South for the campaign for amnesty for war and draft resisters and to cooperate with the newly formed National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty. Ms. Virginia Collins, a vice-president of SCEF, is Southern representative on the working committee of the national organization.

Among other actions at the meeting were plans for workshops next fall on the nature of imperialism, with special emphasis on involving people organizing at the grass-roots level. One workshop will be held in the Deep South and one in the Upper South.

The board also voted to fund a full-time organizer to work with the Missis-

sippi Poultry Workers Union for the next five months, at the union's request.

The plans for building Southwide support for workers' struggles incorporated all recommendations made by a workshop on organizing the unorganized and fighting racism which had been held in Birmingham a few weeks before the SCEF board meeting. The workshop brought together people involved in grass-roots organizing in seven states. (See May Patriot.)

THE JURY: 11 WHITES, ONE BLACK

Venire lists of 1,450 names were drawn in order to get a jury, which finally included 11 whites and one black, an increasingly familiar pattern in Southern political trials, now that the total exclusion of blacks from juries has been found unconstitutional.

The Nixon court has already severely undermined earlier court victories about jury composition, with its ruling permitting non-unanimous jury verdicts to convict, and this tool was part of the prosecutions's arsenal of repression in the Muslim case. All of the defendants were convicted— three unanimously, three 11 to one, and three 10 to two. (Nine to three would have been sufficient.)

FORGING WEAPONS OF REACTION

In the last year, important victories have been won against repression in several important cases: Angela Davis, Harrisburg, Pentagon Papers, Soledad, and others. But the forces of reaction have not been defeated, and their strength seems to be greatest in the South. The cases in North Carolina are well known, as is the Republic of New Africa case in Mississippi. To them must be added the recent atrocity in Baton Rouge.

If the people's movement is going to win, a great deal more attention must be paid to the plight of political prisoners in the South. It is in these cases that the weapons of reaction are forged, and it is here that they must ultimately be defeated.

—Ken Lawrence

CONDEMNS NCLC ATTACKS

The SCEF board voted to condemn the recent physical attacks on members of progressive and radical groups by the National Caucus of Labor Committees. A resolution said in part: "NCLC's violent attacks, first on Communist Party members and later on anyone who opposed these attacks, are reminiscent of the early days of fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany.

"Their consistent pattern of opposition to black and all national liberation struggles and their recent violent attacks of all-white goon squads against black and other third world community groups clearly reveal that their claim to being on the left is merely a cover of objectively fascist policies.

"Objectively, and possibly consciously, the NCLC represents a dangerous arm of the ruling class, masquerading as socialist, but known to be infiltrated by police agents."

Wide Support Developing For Oneita Textile Strike

(Continued from page 1)

thinks the present strike will win, negotiating committee member Carmela McCutchen says: "Black workers were in the majority before the strike. They've taken the lead in this strike, and that has given it the strength that it has."

"The strike would have been even stronger," James Johnson, another black striker says, "if the people here had experienced the lessons of a more powerful civil-rights campaign, like, say, the struggles that were going on in Birmingham or Atlanta."

The white workers who came out have stayed out. This unity between black and white has been maintained in spite of company attempts to split the strikers racially.

'I COULDN'T CROSS THE LINE'

One of the white women strikers Norma Jean Mercer, who has been at Oneita off and on for 13 years, told us; "When the strike first started, I worked for three more weeks, but I had to come out. I couldn't stand to cross the line when I knew it was wrong. On the inside, they say we won't walk a picket line with black people. But I know what I'm out here for and picketing with black people doesn't bother me. We're all fighting for the same thing."

Joyce Lambert added: "We had a big march downtown and I walked right along with them. Only four of us white strikers marched. But my husband was standing on the sidewalk in his National Guard uniform and my dad was up on top of one of the buildings. If anybody watching the march had called me a name, they were ready to go after them."

'YOU CAN RETIRE ON FOOD STAMPS'

The company's race-baiting tricks can't cover up its low wages (\$1.60 an hour), oppressive and unsafe working conditions, and its arrogance toward the workers. As Effie Shirley put it: "I've worked at Oneita 21 years and I know how bad it is. The plant manager said when you get too old to work, you can retire. We asked him how and he said on food stamps! I heard him say that myself."

A factor that can help make the difference in this strike is the support and solidarity expressed by other sections of the labor movement and the black liberation struggle. The strikers have welcomed offers of support from union locals in the eastern part of South Carolina, and from elsewhere around the South.

Porter German, an activist leader of the United Steelworkers local at nearby Georgetown, is organizing support. So are organizers and workers from Wholesale and Retail Workers, Longshoremen, and Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers, in Charleston.

They have all promised to mobilize picket-line support, provide assistance in obtaining food stamps, and help in raising funds and organizing the boycott against

Oneita underwear. They have also offered the benefit of their experiences in struggling against the viciously anti-labor South Carolina power structure.

Four carloads of strike supporters from Atlanta along with the president of SCEF, Modjeska Simkins, of Columbia, S.C., spent a recent week end in Andrews, to lend their support to the mass picketing and to gather first hand information to build Southwide support of the strike and the boycott.

SUPPORT COMMITTEE IS FORMED IN ATLANTA

Ms. Simkins, a longtime veteran of civil-rights and labor struggles in South Carolina, has thrown her full support behind the strike. In Atlanta, an Oneita Strike Support Committee has been formed and fund-raising and informational leafleting at stores that stock Oneita underwear have begun.

The strikers plan a rally sometime in July and welcome support from all across the South and elsewhere. More support from the community must be organized, especially from groups like ministers. Some ministers who also hold jobs in the mills are scabbing.



On the picket line: Effie Shirley, Dorothy Glidden, Edna Cole



Solidarity: Porter German, Georgetown Steelworkers president, and Atlanta supporters talk with TWUA representatives and Oneita strikers

The Power of Boycott

Recently the *Patriot* has urged its readers to take part in a number of consumer boycotts in support of workers' struggles. Several are covered in this issue.

We don't know how many readers are responding to such appeals. It may be that many people do not realize how crucial these campaigns can be. Often they can make the difference between a lost strike and one that wins.

The basic factor that wins or loses a strike, of course, is the strength and determination and unity of the workers themselves. That has to be present. But even with courage and unity, workers often lose.

This is because the employers have lots more money and lots more power, and they can make use of scabs and other strike-breaking actions. At that point, an organized section of the public refusing to buy their products can cut into their profits and induce them to give in to the workers' demands.

Building a working class movement in this country means building a sense of solidarity among all workers—those of varied ethnic groups, men and women, and also between workers in various industries and in different parts of the country. It also means building active support among other sections of the population

who know that their interests are ultimately tied to those of the working class.

Boycott action is a way to build that solidarity. So are campaigns among other workers to refuse to carry material of any kind into a struck plant.

So we urge our readers to support the boycotts that are endorsed by the *Patriot*. The ones we endorse always involve struggles we think are vital not just to the right of workers to organize but also to the fight for black-white unity and the strength of the people's movement in general.

You can give a certain amount of support by simply refusing to buy the boycotted product yourself. But the way to make your action really effective is to get together with others in your community and do it in an organized way.

Form a committee, publicize your actions, picket and leaflet, visit managers of the stores you are boycotting and tell them to pass your protest on to their national companies. And send information on what you are doing to the strikers themselves and to whatever central organization is coordinating the particular boycott. (We ask especially that our Southern readers let the *Patriot* know what they are doing on such campaigns. Write the *Patriot*, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.)

You can help the Oneita strikers by boycotting J.C. Penney, Sears, Montgomery Ward, and K-Mart, which carry their products, and letting the stores know why. For help in building a boycott effort in your area, write Oneita Strike Support Committee, PO Box 54742, Atlanta, Georgia 30308.

Write to the strikers and if you live close enough, visit them. Send donations to The Negotiating Committee c/o Joyce Rutledge, PO Box 511, Andrews, S.C. 29501. The union hall is located on South Carolina Highway 41 in Andrews. The phone number is (803) 264-5114.

The boycott can play an important role in this strike. Oneita supplies men's underwear sold under store labels at J.C. Penney, K-Mart (Kresge), Sears, and Montgomery Ward. The strikers' advice to boycotters is to stress the poor quality of product being turned out by inexperienced scabs.

Two trailer-truck loads of reject underwear were recently returned to Oneita by Montgomery Ward. And K-Mart has already cut its standing contract order with Oneita.

A SUSTAINED BOYCOTT EFFORT CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE

With two of its three mills on strike, Oneita is feeling the pressure. A sustained boycott effort in the South and the nation will concretely support the South Carolina workers in their struggle.

The Oneita strike is a crucial one. This is not only because the workers are fighting against the same poverty wages and horrible working conditions suffered by other textile workers in the South, but also because a victory in this strike would be a necessary step in the strategy of organizing the largely unorganized Southern textile industry.

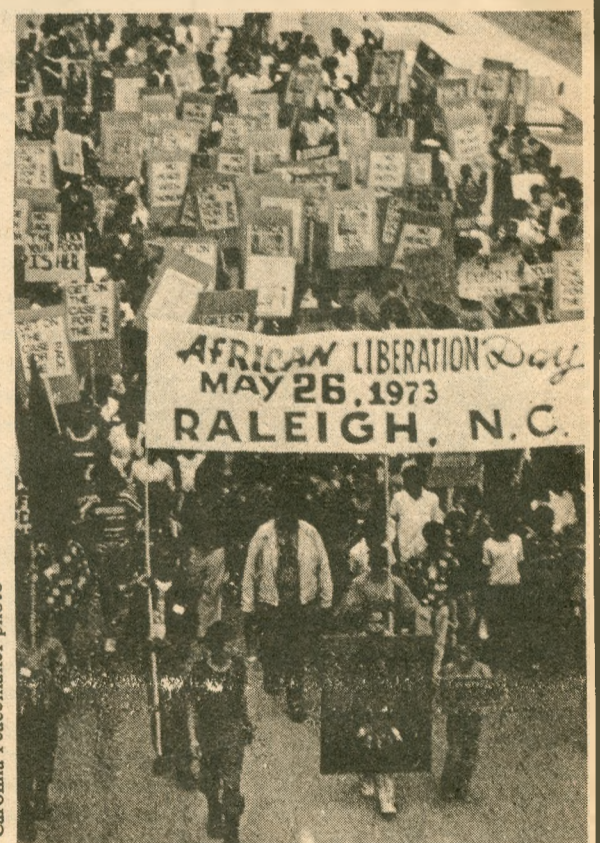
6,000 textile workers facing contract fights in the area are watching the strike. They constitute a potentially powerful base in the textile-dominated Carolinas for a sustained organizing drive throughout the South.

'6000 WORKERS ARE DEPENDING ON US'

James Johnson summed it up this way, "Oneita is the testing ground. And when we get Oneita organized, I believe the other plants will fall into line. Labor is getting together. All the other plants are taking a long, hard look at Oneita. And will use Oneita as a basis for their tactics."

"That's one reason we're so determined. We have 6,000 other textile workers in our immediate area who are depending on us to bring this contract through."

Liberation March



Carolina Peacemaker photo

Large marches were held on African Liberation Day in a number of Southern cities. This one was in Raleigh. Other cities where marches took place included New Orleans, Houston, Nashville, Columbia, S.C., Atlanta. The day was a national event to dramatize support for the liberation struggles in South Africa. In several cities, marches focused on offices of U.S. corporations which are exploiting South Africans.

Southerners Organizing To Assist Farm Workers

(Continued from page 1)
 against two national food chains, Safeway and A&P. They are asking people to stop shopping at Safeway and A&P until those stores agree not to sell scab lettuce and grapes. In cities where there is enough support, picket lines are set up at these stores on a daily or weekly basis to dramatize the boycott.

THREE A&P'S CLOSE

In Miami, three A&P stores have been forced to close since the boycott began, but the chain's regional headquarters in Jacksonville still refuses to remove the scab produce from its stores. So weekly picketing continues at four other A&P's in Miami, with up to 100 supporters on the lines, according to Robbie Jaffe, UFW boycott coordinator in Florida.

Volunteer boycott committees are active in Jacksonville, Orlando, Tallahassee, Tampa-St. Petersburg, Sarasota, and in the Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach area. According to supporters, the strongest base of support in Florida comes from church people, but the labor movement also provides volunteers and financial support.

On the weekend of June 8, a meeting in Orlando brought together farm workers and their supporters from throughout Florida to make plans for intensifying the campaign. Out of this came a new support committee based in Tampa and a strengthening of committees in other cities.

Tom Gannon is the UFW coordinator for the Southeast region outside Florida. He says that there is increasing support for the boycott in Atlanta, especially from union members. Help has also been provided by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Gannon says there are active boycott committees in Columbia, S.C.; Raleigh and Chapel Hill, N.C.; and Chattanooga, Tenn.

Kenny Snodgrass, another boycott supporter in Atlanta, described a familiar problem. "When we picketed and leafleted the A&P at the West End Mall, a lot of people went out of their way not to shop there. That's in a neighborhood that's 90% black. But we got a bad response at the store on North Decatur Road, in a white suburb.

'CALLED ME A COMMUNIST'

"One white guy grabbed the leaflets from me and threw them on the ground. He called me a Communist and tried to intimidate me," he said.

According to Dale Brown, a lot of people are staying away from Safeway stores in Dallas and Fort Worth. "This area is known to be so conservative, but blacks, Chicanos, and trade union members are really supporting us."

Local unionists, including rank-and-file Teamsters who work at Braniff, have been active in leafletting and picketing in the Dallas-Fort Worth area. Other supporters in the area include the National Organization for Women (NOW), church people, college and high school students.

The UFW is also calling attention to another reason why shoppers should avoid Safeway stores. Recently Safeway pleaded guilty in court to charges of having rats in its warehouse, and was fined a total of \$40,000 for the offense.

STUDENTS ARE ACTIVE

Paul Norris, a UFW volunteer in Houston described a similar situation in his area, with support for the boycott growing among clergy and lay groups, NOW, and students. "The high school students really surprised me," he said.

The situation is a little different in San Antonio, according to John Dauer. "We don't have any Safeway or A&P stores," he said, "so we're hitting the independents, one at a time. Fifteen or twenty agreed to our demands when we talked to them. One gave in after 45 minutes of picketing."

Financial support has been provided by the San Antonio Central Labor Council. UFW supporters speak to any groups that will listen—local unions, church groups, schools, YWCA's, etc. "It's a process of educating the community about the farm workers," says Dauer.

Southern Lawyers Guild

HIWASSEE, Ga.—The Southern Region of the National Lawyers Guild held a conference here June 8-10 and decided to set up a permanent regional structure. Approximately 100 lawyers and law students from all the Southern states attended the conference.

Ben Smith, attorney from New Orleans, began the weekend with a sketch of the Guild's history in the South. Arthur Kinoy discussed the role of Guild lawyers in serving the freedom movement in the 60's in Mississippi, and used that example to illustrate what radical lawyers need to be doing today.

"We need to find ways to creatively use the law to advance the people's movements," he said.

Howard Moore, black attorney from Atlanta, pointed out that there were only two blacks present, and that this posed a problem for the Guild which it would have to deal with as an urgent priority. Without an input from black lawyers, the value of the Guild would be severely limited, he said.

Workshops were held to discuss Title VII anti-discrimination suits, prison law, and organizing in the law schools. Presentations about current movement needs were made by representa-

Your Help Is Needed

The farm workers need your support. It isn't enough just to avoid buying grapes and lettuce, though that's important. Even though the boycott movement is spreading across the South, there are still many areas where no boycott committees have been organized yet, including several large cities.

As support for the UFW consolidates in areas where strong organizations exist, unorganized areas will become "dumping grounds" for scab grapes and lettuce. So it is important to build volunteer boycott committees everywhere in the South where they don't already exist. And of course, if there is a boycott committee in your area, do everything you can to help.

In Florida, the state boycott coordinator is Robbie Jaffe, Contact her at: United Farm Workers, 2206 NW 27th Avenue, Miami, Fla. 33142, phone (305) 633-7071 or 665-0773.

In Texas, the state boycott coordinator is Bill Chandler. Contact him at: United Farm Workers, 1401 Craven Road, Arlington, Tex., phone (817) 265-2344.

For all other states in the South, Tom Gannon is the boycott coordinator. Contact him at: United Farm Workers, 325 2nd Ave. SE, Atlanta, Ga. 30317, phone (404) 373-0201.

The grape harvest has already begun in the Coachella Valley. Help is needed TODAY.



Picket line in Miami

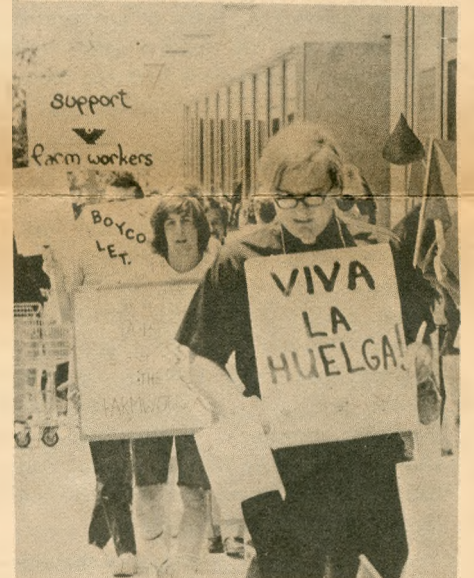
A boycott committee in Louisville, Ky., is organizing picket lines at A & P stores each weekend, and in Morgantown, W. Va., a very active boycott committee is attempting to reach out to other West Virginia communities.

The West Virginia Welfare Rights Organization endorsed the boycott at a state meeting after its president, Joan White, noticed lettuce in the salad they were being served at lunch. She got up and explained the boycott and said she, for one, was returning the salad untouched. All the delegates followed her example.

PICKETING SUCCEEDS

The Black Lung Association has also endorsed the boycott. In Morgantown, the boycott committee reported that local A & P's have begun buying UFW lettuce, as have some other stores which wanted to prevent picketing. The committee had trouble in the beginning when the owner of a shopping center maced one of its picketers, Gary Cappy. But that didn't stop the campaign.

All the boycott offices report growing support. People turn away from Safeway and A&P stores, and don't go back. Each week, the effect of picketing and leafletting is cumulative, and people are begin-



ning to tell their friends not to buy non-union lettuce and grapes. Among the Teamsters, there is growing rank-and-file opposition to the policies of the international leadership.

If support continues to build at the present rate, the farm workers will win, and that victory will provide a strong boost to every effort to organize the unorganized throughout the United States. If they lose, it will be a major defeat for working people everywhere.

tives of the Shell Strike Support Group, SCEF, the October League, Save Our Cumberland Mountains, and the North Carolina Political Prisoners Committee.

Plans were made to continue organizing the Guild in the South, and to hold meetings every six months, alternating between upper and lower South. For more information, contact National Lawyers Guild, Southern Regional Office, 956 Juniper St., NE, Atlanta, Ga. 30309; phone (404) 872-2930.

Subscription Blank

The Patriot is sent to all persons who give \$3 or more annually to the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.

I enclose _____, of which \$3 is for a Patriot sub.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Florida Growers Win State Law To Speed Up Mechanization

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Fruit growers have been thwarted in their latest efforts to kill the farm workers' union, but they worked out a plan for getting rid of the farm workers.

The state legislature refused to pass so-called right-to-work laws or a law to set up the Florida Agricultural Labor Board. Such measures were aimed at stopping organizing by the United Farm Workers (AFL-CIO).

Thousands of workers wrote letters or visited the capital to protest these bills during the legislative session that ended in early June. They were aided by hundreds of letters and telegrams from across the nation, many of them from friends and supporters of SCEF.

The growers then obtained passage of a bill to speed the use of machines to pick fruit. The law provides for a state commission to collect 1 cent on every box of fruit concentrate produced in Florida. Last year sales of such concentrate amounted to 664 million dollars. It is expected that the 1-cent levy will be passed on to consumers.

The money will be used to develop machines to replace the pickers. A similar plan adopted by cotton planters in the Mississippi Delta in the 1950's resulted in loss of jobs for almost half-million workers. The jobless and their families then crowded into large cities in the North and West.

Diana Lyons, associate director for the farm workers' union in Florida, said of the mechanization bill: "The growers feel that it is the best thing that could have come out of the Legislature. It seemed as though they were happier about that than if the right-to-work bill had passed."

Black Activists on Trial New Terror Breaks Out in Wilmington

(Continued from page 1)

preceding it in Wilmington. Angela Davis was scheduled as the main rally speaker.

The Commission for Racial Justice (CRJ) of the United Church of Christ, on whose staff Chavis works, issued a statement saying in part:

"We view this trial as another racist political act by officials of Wilmington and North Carolina to thwart the organizing efforts of the black community. . . . We see the bombing as an attempt to prevent the voices of the black community from being heard and also a direct attempt to further intimidate a powerless black community. . . . It illustrates the unchecked reign of terror that has kept the black community of Wilmington in check or powerless for the past 75 years."

AN EFFORT TO DIVIDE

The CRJ statement was made at a press conference in Raleigh called jointly by the CRJ and SCEF. Judi Simmons, a member of the SCEF staff who was in North Carolina to help organize support for the Wilmington defendants, stressed that the new terror was ultimately an effort to keep black and white powerless people divided.

"This is the way a small minority can maintain the political and economic control they have long held here," she said. "In the last two decades, the black liberation movement has been the strongest force challenging that control. If it can be destroyed, there is no hope for anyone. If acts of violence again sweep whites up into anti-black hysteria, there is no hope of unity."

IT HAPPENED BEFORE

The mention of "75 years" of a reign of terror in the CRJ statement was a reference to an earlier attack on a black newspaper in Wilmington. In 1898, the offices of the *Wilmington Record* were burned. This was a part of a campaign of violence that crushed North Carolina's "fusion politics", in which the black liberation movement of that time, poor and working white people, and the Populist movement joined in a powerful coalition. (See book review, page 2.)

After the recent bombing of the *Journal*, SCEF mobilized its friends across the country to demand that North Carolina Governor James Holshouser act to see that the terror was stopped and that



Star-News photo by Mike Clemmer

Carpenters begin rebuilding *Journal* offices two days after bombing.



The Rev. Ben Chavis, with Ms. Mollie Hicks, and her daughter, Leatrice

frame-up charges against black activists were dropped.

Holshouser later offered a \$2500 reward for information leading to the arrest of the bombers, but he has thus far maintained silence on the continuing attack on black activists.

CRJ called for a "national presence" at the Chavis trial, to "view North Carolina's concepts of justice in action." The church group sent requests for observers to governmental agencies, the Congressional Black Caucus, the National Bar Association, National Conference of Black Lawyers, NAACP, Urban League, and other national and state church and civic groups.

UNBELIEVABLE TO MANY

The Wilmington situation involves an openly anti-black terror that is unbelievable to many people in other parts of the country and is reminiscent of some of the worst episodes in the Deep South 10 years ago. In 1971, an organization known as the Rights of White People (ROWP), was openly carrying on vigilante attacks against the black community and its spokesmen were publicly saying they would shoot black people "like rabbits."

At that time, Chavis was minister of the First African Congregation of the Black Messiah, and had successfully mobilized large numbers of the city's black youth to protest against injustice in an organized way. The central issue was gross and blatant discrimination in the schools.

The youth protest was met by armed vigilante attacks led by ROWP, and protesters were forced to barricade themselves in a church for protection. Police responded by arresting Chavis and young black activists on an assortment of charges.

A TOTAL OF 242 YEARS

Chavis and nine other persons involved in the protests, including a white woman, were convicted last fall of burning a grocery during the 1971 incidents. That's when Chavis got the 34-year sentence; all-told the sentences in that case totalled 242 years.

The current charge of "accessory after the fact of murder" against Chavis, Ms. Hicks, and her daughter, involves the death of a young black man, Clifton Wright, during that same period.

Wright and two other youths, Jerome Nixon and Don McLain, were guarding the home of Ms. Hicks because of threats from ROWP. Wright died of shotgun wounds. Nixon and McLain said soon thereafter that an unknown white assailant came to the door and shot him. Now, however, the state has reclassified the killing as an "accidental shooting."

Nixon and McLain were scheduled to be the state's main witnesses against Chavis and the other defendants. But neither Chavis nor Ms. Hicks nor her daughter were anywhere near the scene of

the shooting. Chavis was in Raleigh; Ms. Hicks was at a meeting in Wilmington, and Leatrice was upstairs asleep.

Nixon and McLain have been granted immunity from prosecution in several unrelated crimes. This follows a pattern that is becoming familiar in North Carolina.

REWARD FOR INFORMERS

Patriot reporter Jim Grant is in prison under sentences totalling 35 years because of the testimony of two young men who were repaid with immunity from prosecution on charges that could have brought them 100 years in prison.

Since the 1971-72 crackdown on black activists, so-called "race relations" have been quiet in Wilmington. City officials have boasted of the new "calm" and "cooperative spirit." ROWP has been relatively silent—reflecting, of course, not peace but repression.

However, Leroy Givson, head of ROWP, was arrested earlier in May on a charge of bombing a radical bookstore in Jacksonville. See May *Patriot*.

THE BOMBING SCENE

The bombing of the *Wilmington Journal* occurred at 10:57 on a Monday night. That afternoon Chavis and a few friends had visited the newspaper office to go over certain files and clippings they planned to use in the trial. The newspaper publisher, Thomas C. Jervay, Sr., while not active in the protests, has spoken out against the attacks on Chavis and others.

When police and firemen arrived at the scene of the explosion that night, observers noted that members of the police force whom they know to also be members of ROWP were on hand. SCEF representative Judi Simmons, who went to the scene with Chavis, said she saw policemen wave at Chavis and say, "We'll see who gets the last laugh." She said the police were laughing and joking and seemed "very casual" about the whole thing.

Publisher Jervay immediately issued a statement that his weekly newspaper, which is printed elsewhere, would come out on schedule the week of the bombing—and it did. He said he had no intention of ceasing publication.

JOURNAL WILL REBUILD

Jervay was born in the two-story frame dwelling that housed the *Journal's* offices. His father, Robert S. Jervay, founded a print shop there in 1901; the father and son worked together in the print shop, and Thomas Jervay edited an earlier paper there, the *Cape Fear Journal*, starting in 1927. The printing business was discontinued when Jervay launched the present *Journal* in 1945.

The newspaper office, which will be rebuilt on the same site, was within a block of the location of the newspaper that was burned in 1898. It was also just around the corner from Chavis's church.

Reform Group Winning Again In Mine Union

(By Special Correspondent)*

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—The second stage of the UMWA reform movement is unfolding this spring as coal miners in the union's Districts cast their ballots for the top three District offices—president, secretary-treasurer, and international executive board member (IEB).

In some of these Districts it is the first time since the early days of John L. Lewis that the miners have voted for these offices and in many it is the first time ever.

MFD CANDIDATES WIN IN IMPORTANT DISTRICTS

Miners for Democracy (MFD) candidates in two large West Virginia districts have scored important victories in recent weeks. In District 31, which comprises the northern part of the state, the MFD won the office of District president and secretary-treasurer, narrowly losing the IEB position.

In District 17, which is in southern West Virginia and which is Arnold Miller's home district, the MFD swept, all three posts.

The MFD has done well in a number of other Districts as the voting appears to be reflecting the pattern of last year's International election.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION TO BE HELD THIS YEAR

In December of this year an International convention is scheduled to be held in Pittsburgh and the current union constitution is expected to receive a thorough going-over and updating.

All of this, the election, constitution-writing, etc., is designed by Miller to return much of the political and policy-making control back to the rank and file and to build a strong union body for doing battle with the operators.

And there are still more elections to come in the future. After each, a district-wide convention is scheduled for the purpose of drawing up a district constitution. And then the district field representatives, the men who are in daily contact with the working locals in handling grievance and safety problems, will be up for election. When this is completed it will make nearly all of the important union jobs elective.

THE TEST WILL COME IN 1974 NEGOTIATIONS

The important test of this strength will be during the next contract time in the fall of 1974. Three-fourths of the MFD campaign pledges will have to be negotiated with the operators as they deal mainly with health, safety, and fringe benefits.

That is why the current elections are so important, not so that "yes" men can be elected, but so that genuine rank and file reformers get elected to these important policy positions. The next few years are expected to be turbulent ones within the UMWA as internal power struggles and differences over policy are argued out. There are already signs of deep divisions in the International over crucial policy questions.

The success or failure in dealing with these questions will be in direct proportion to the amount of influence and participation that the men working in mines have upon those decisions. Hopefully, it will be considerable.

*(The writer of this article is a miner who is active in the reform movement.)

A Southern View: Women And Minorities In USSR

By HELEN GREEVER

Helen Greever, 28, grew up in North Carolina, where during her childhood her father was a tenant farmer. She won a scholarship to attend a small Carolina college and after graduation moved to New York to work. In 1968, she came back South to join SCEF's mountain organizing project, later moved to SCEF's main office in Louisville, and now serves as the organization's executive director. This article is excerpted from a long taped interview, with questions interposed only where necessary for continuity.

In 1972, I went to the Soviet Union to attend the first joint youth conference of the Soviet Union and the United States.

It was sponsored by the Committee of Youth Organizations of the Soviet Union and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. There were 100 Soviet delegates—farmers, students, factory workers, professionals.

Our delegation, 97 young people, was varied too—people of different backgrounds and political views, one-third from national minorities in this country—black, Chicano, Native American, etc.

'WE VISITED CITIES, FACTORIES AND FARMS. . .'

We were there three weeks. We had discussions with the Soviet youth, visited seven cities, factories, cultural centers, collective farms—and sometimes just wandered the streets alone. People were friendly and many spoke English, so we did have some informal talks.

I wanted to go on the trip because—well, although I'd never been out of this country, I've always been interested in other places in the world, finding out how other people live, reading about it. And recently I've been especially interested in finding out about the socialist countries.

Q: You probably never heard much about socialist countries in school in North Carolina?

A: Well, like everybody in their 20's and 30's in this country, I grew up during the red scare—when the idea permeated the atmosphere that anything associated with communism and socialism was bad and was taking advantage of you, etc. But I began to think about many things.

The civil rights movement was happening all around me, and I began to see that racism was a major cause of most of our problems in the South. Later I thought about the war. All this made me think more about other ways of organizing society.

So when I finally had a chance to go to a socialist country, the main thing I wanted to find out was how their new society had dealt with questions of national minorities and the oppression of women.

'YOU SEE A GREAT VARIETY, MANY DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES'

You see, many people think of the Soviet Union as a white country. But it's not white. In the European part, most—although not all—of the people are fair-skinned. But over half of the Soviet Union is in Asia. There you have extreme varieties of population, many different nationalities, people of Indian descent, African, Middle Eastern, Asian, etc. On the streets, you see every sort of facial feature, hair color, etc.

So the most important part of the trip to me was the last week, when we visited three Central Asian republics—Georgia, Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan.

Before the Russian October Revolution of 1917, Central Asia was extremely impoverished, except for rich landlords. It is mountainous and semi-arid. There was no modern farming, no industry, hardly any schools, no health care. Women particularly lived in total slavery—sold as child brides, willed from one man to another, having to wear heavy veils or else be hanged, doing the worst back-breaking labor.

HOW WOMEN WON FREEDOM IN CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS

In 50 years, all that has changed. Now these areas lead the USSR in many aspects of economic, social and political advancement. There is industry, new farming methods. Illiteracy has been wiped out. Today one-third of all citizens in Tadzhikistan, for example, are in school either full or part time. They have developed their own culture, and written languages.

And women—now they are in all kinds of skilled work and professions, and in government. One third of the members of the Supreme Soviet (the governing body) of Tadzhikistan are women—and that's roughly the percentage in all Soviet republics.

Q: And did you find some answers to how all this came about?

A: Well, it was several things. Lenin and others who carried out the October Revolution had the idea that the whole nation could not be strong if any part was in poverty. And that women must be freed, because if half

the population was in slavery you couldn't build a new society.

So there was economic aid—for example, 50 million gold rubles to develop irrigation so Central Asians could cultivate their semi-arid land. This was aid without political strings, while the people were setting up their own new republics, discussing the kind of relationship they wanted with the USSR.

Then there were new laws—saying women could no longer be held in bondage or discriminated against. And a commitment that the state power of the Soviet government would enforce these laws.



Some women of Uzbekistan: (above left) a machine operator and member of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic; (right) a member of a village Soviet; (below) an architect at work.

And then an educational program. In a sense, this was like the modern women's liberation movement. Doctors and lawyers and women organizers from the western part of the Soviet Union, where they had more trained people, were sent to the high lands; they traveled around, telling women what their rights were, under the new laws, sometimes just getting two or three together at a time at first. Actually they were taking their lives in their hands; some women organizers were killed.

THE LAW AND THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

But gradually more men learned that if they continued in the old ways, they'd be committing crimes, and the idea of women's freedom became more accepted. And they would put on skits to ridicule men who were still recalcitrant. We've read recently about events in China where they used skits in the educational process. And I think they've used them in Cuba—and Chile. . . .

Q: Are there specific lessons that we might borrow for this country?

A: Well, not mechanically. Every country is different. I wouldn't say racism had developed there in quite the same way it did here—where our whole economy for 200 years was built on slavery of blacks. But non-white people in the old czarist regime were the worst oppressed. And women's oppression in Central Asia served the same purpose that racism and women's oppression do in this country, in the sense of keeping us divided.

So the most important lesson we can learn from the Soviet Union is that these things can be dealt with. I think those who control our country try to keep us convinced that you can't solve these problems—that you can pass laws, organize, work, march, you can even take up arms, and still you can't do anything about racism in this country.

But there in the largest nation in the world, with

Window on the World

This is the second in a series of articles by SCEF-related people who have recently visited socialist countries, telling what they learned that is helpful to their work in the South. The first article was on China; soon we hope to have articles on Cuba, Chile, the German Democratic Republic, and an African socialist country.

great variety of nationalities within its borders, and where women were once in virtual slavery, they have dealt with these problems—not yet eradicated them entirely, but things have changed.

It seems to me that the Soviet Union is living testament to the fact that with a new kind of economic system—where the profit motive is removed, and you don't have to always have some group that's on the bottom—racism and sexism can be combatted.

THERE ARE STILL CHANGES TO BE MADE

Q: What about the criticism here, especially in the women's movement, that socialism hasn't really solved the problems of women?

A: It hasn't completely. It's a mixed thing. We met couples where men and women seem to share responsibilities completely. And we met some men who seemed still to have some of the old attitudes. It takes a long time to root out attitudes. But the main thing was seeing the difference it makes when the society provides enough social services—child care, etc.—so that everyone can participate on an equal basis.

One thing many people ask me is whether the Soviet young people criticized their own government. Well, their attitude was that they don't have basic criticisms of the government because they agree with socialism. As they see it, if they hadn't had a cooperative society, their country could not have pushed back the Nazis, rebuilt the economy and created all the things they have—schools, complete medical care, cultural things, etc.

'NONE OF THE GRUESOME THINGS WE HEAR ABOUT'

But they say people do criticize when things aren't working right. For example, we met a woman, a textile worker, who is a leading deputy in the Soviet of Byelorussia, which is like our state legislature. And she told about the long fight she made when a new housing development was being built with faulty construction—and she won.

Q: Of course the cynics would say that the delegates who came to your conference had been carefully picked. I mean, if our State Department rounded up 100 people for a conference, they wouldn't pick critics of the Vietnam War. . . .

A: Yes, that's what they say, but when people we met on the street and went into their houses—nobody was pulling us aside and whispering to us all their discontent. None of the kind of gruesome things people here think is going on there—and some of our delegation was looking for it. I think we would have seen it if it had been there.

Of course, remember that we've gotten used to the idea in this country that young people are supposed to be "alienated"—the feeling people here have of there not being much to live for. We felt a different spirit there—a sense of being a part of the society they live in, a feeling that they have a great deal to live for.

'NOT DIMINISHING THE PROBLEMS, NOR THE BENEFITS EITHER'

I think as we build really strong movements in this country, movements that are opposed to racism and anti-communism and understand these things, then we'll look at the rest of the world with clearer eyes. Then more people will be able to evaluate the contributions of the Soviet Union and the problems—and of other socialist countries too—not diminishing any of the problems, but not diminishing the benefits either.

The Soviet young people weren't trying to convince all our delegation to become socialists, by the way. They think our system is wrong and theirs is right, but they think we have to shape our own country, that all people must have political self-determination.

Most of all, they want peace. I heard that before I went—but you can't comprehend until you go there and see how intense it is, how they feel about World War II, even those too young to remember. But they've grown up knowing that their country was devastated, over 20 million people, 10 percent of their population, killed—and in some places 25 percent, whole cities leveled, 65 percent of their industry and farms destroyed.

And they are determined it must never happen again. More than anything else, they want the people of the world to know each other and to build peace.

The Provocateurs In The VVAW Case

(By Staff Correspondent)

GAINESVILLE, Fla.—Waves from Watergate may wash out the government's case against the Gainesville Eight, including seven members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW).

It reached the point where, at *Patriot* press time, U.S. District Judge Winston Arnou had ordered another hearing in Pensacola, Fla., on evidence to be presented at the trial of the Eight. The trial itself was set to start July 17 in Gainesville.

Meantime, government informers in Miami began spilling the beans about efforts to entrap the Gainesville Eight into illegal acts. At least one of the informers has been connected with the Watergate conspirators.

The Eight are formally charged with plotting to disrupt the Republican National Convention last summer with firearms and incendiary devices. So far the government has produced only some slingshots to back up its charges.

Miami police admitted that they hired Pablo Fernandez, 28, an anti-Castro Cuban, who told the VVAW he could help them buy machine guns before the convention.

The offer was made just after Fernandez returned from a trip to Washington with Bernard Barker, one of the convicted Watergate burglars. They had gone there to start fist fights and attack radicals at J. Edgar Hoover's funeral.

"We were hoping for the overt act necessary to produce a charge of conspiracy," *The Miami Herald* was told by Major Adam Klimkowsky, commander of the special investigation section of the Miami Police Department.

Fernandez claims that the veterans brought up the subject of weapons and that he just played them along for the police and the FBI. He said the conversation about guns was with Scott Camil, one of the accused.

Angelica Rohan, 31, another anti-

Castro informer, was quoted as saying she was present when Fernandez offered to supply Cuban weapons that "could be turned into machine guns by putting in a little piece of metal."

She added that the veterans were not interested. "There was no indication whatsoever that they wished or desired to purchase one single bullet," she declared.

Camil said these reports "just corroborate what we've been saying the whole time—that we were coming to the convention to exercise our constitutional rights, and not to cause problems, and that what problems did occur were caused by provocateurs."

Major Klimkowsky agreed that, despite all his efforts, Fernandez never brought back anything damaging to the veterans on whom he was spying.

"In fact, I guess he might make a good defense witness," the officer said.

Political Burglary Against Jim Grant

(By Staff Correspondent)

CHARLOTTE, N.C.—Recent revelations in the Watergate investigations give new significance to a break-in at the apartment of black activist Jim Grant in May, 1972.

Grant's supporters here have long believed the break-in was political and was engineered by government agencies.

The North Carolina Political Prisoners Committee (NCPPC) has now asked Sen. Sam Ervin who heads the Watergate investigation to look into it.

Grant, who is a member of the *Patriot* staff, is now in the federal penitentiary in Atlanta, serving a 10-year sentence on a federal charge of helping two young black men flee to Canada to avoid prosecution. He also faces 25 years on a state charge of taking part in the burning of a riding stable near Charlotte. Both cases are on appeal.

In a letter to Ervin released at a news conference in June, the NCPPC outlined details of the break-in, which occurred May 9, 1972. Grant was in jail in Raleigh, having been convicted of the federal

charge in April. His trial on the state charge was scheduled for July.

Hearing of the break-in, his friends went to his apartment. They found that it had been vandalized, clothes strewn about, cabinets emptied.

"However," the NCPPC letter stated: "none of Dr. Grant's voluminous files had been destroyed except his bank records. These records had been systematically piled up, burned, covered with eggs, and rendered totally illegible."

Grant's friends called Charlotte police. When they learned whose apartment was involved, they left without investigating, the NCPPC letter charged.

A key element in both the state and federal cases against Grant involved bank records. In fact, except for testimony of two informers who were rewarded with immunity from long prison sentences, these records were the only concrete evidence against him. The NCPPC noted that a juror in the Charlotte trial later stated in a letter to the local newspaper that the bank evidence was the determining factor in the guilty verdict.

The NCPPC wrote to Ervin: "Because of the inability of James Grant to refute this evidence due to the destruction of his bank records; because we do not believe the domestic spies were inactive prior to the Watergate break-ins; and because we believe that James Grant is innocent, we ask you to investigate the possibility that federal agents or other persons acting under the umbrella of domestic security broke into the apartment of James Earl Grant, with the express purpose of destroying bank records which could have been crucial to his defense.

This cartoon, drawn last fall, has turned out to be somewhat prophetic.



A TYPICAL CASE OF AMERICAN BLIND JUSTICE.

An Opinion

The Road to Watergate

One thing that has been proved in the current Watergate scandal is something most of us working for social change have long known—that long before government agents were bugging, wire-tapping, disrupting and stealing from the Democrats, they were doing the same thing on a widespread scale to people in radical movements and people's organizations.

Two such instances that have recently come to light are reported on this page—agents provocateur in the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and a political burglary against Jim Grant.

THE MANY ATROCITIES

These are only two of many such atrocities, which, according to information that has already emerged in the Watergate fallout, include the use of provocateurs to stir violence at anti-war demonstrations, government "plants" against GIs United Against the War in Ft. Jackson, S.C.; attempts to pit the Washington black community against anti-war demonstrators by such means as forged letters; a break-in at the office of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation in Los Angeles in 1969, an agent provocateur carrying out bombings for the Weathermen, etc.

BLACKS ARE SPECIAL TARGET

Government espionage, as we have long known and is now proved, was aimed especially at the civil rights movement and the black liberation movement. *The New York Times* reported that one official connected with the secret 1970 White House report on internal security named "the most serious issue facing the Nixon Administration in mid-1970 as 'the black problem.'"

This secret report is the one Sen. Sam Ervin said was compiled by people with the same mentality employed by the Gestapo in Nazi Germany. Government officials now claim it was never implemented—but more and

more evidence is coming out that indicates that parts of it certainly were.

There is now proof of heavy infiltration of Black Panthers, with agents often instigating illegal acts. Last June, syndicated columnist Jack Anderson revealed an FBI list of 5,500 black activists whom it labeled as dangerous. The list included such figures as Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP.

DIDN'T START WITH NIXON

And it didn't start with the Republicans and Richard Nixon. The Democrats have long carried on similar activities against those who opposed the status quo.

For example, the secret 1970 report on internal security reveals that President Johnson had already ordered infiltration of the Black Panthers. And there is the now-proved wire-tapping of Martin Luther King, Jr., ordered by the Kennedy Administration at the same time it was claiming to be a friend to the civil rights movement of the early 1960's.

Someday perhaps the truth will come out about government lying in famous political trials of 20 years ago—for example, the cases of Alger Hiss and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. These prosecutions were both started under Democratic administrations.

THE NET WIDENS

Those in people's movements who have been victimized by political frame-ups and government spying, disruption, and dishonesty have long tried to point out that if the government got by with this kind of thing against the left, the net would widen. If there is anything the Watergate scandal proves, it is certainly that. But the establishment press didn't get excited about bugging, wire-taps, and infiltrators until it hit the Democrats.

And that press is still making a distinction between this and government spying and provocation directed against radicals. *New York Times* writer Seymour Hersh, in an article revealing a secret intelligence unit set up to collect information on anti-war groups, wrote:

"Undercover intelligence activities against radical and anti-war groups are legal and have been routinely utilized by federal and local police agencies. The Nixon administration has been linked, however, to a number of illegal activities against Democratic candidates . . ." (Emphasis added.)

A DOUBLE STANDARD?

We refuse to accept this double standard. What is involved is the right to organize to make changes in this society. The U.S. Constitution says we have that right—we who are organizing workers' struggles, liberation movements, demonstrations, independent politics, mass action, just as well as those who organize election campaigns within the two-party system. It's a right that belongs also to those who seek to make basic changes.

The fact is that today both major parties are under control of a powerful few who own the nation's wealth. Their power is being challenged all over the world and at home, and thus they become terrified of their own people. They especially fear the black liberation movement, for this movement opens the way for all oppressed people in this country to struggle for a better life.

WE CAN FIGHT BACK

People who are terrified and determined to keep power aren't given to respecting things like a Constitution or the rights of people opposing them, and ultimately in their fear they turn on each other, as they are doing now. And no matter how they try to resolve Watergate, they are likely to continue using illegal methods to attack people's movements. None of this, however, means we have to accept these things as inevitable when they are done to radicals—although cause for a national scandal when the net widens.

The Watergate exposures open the way to fight back. The public now knows the depths to which those in power will sink in attacking their opposition. We can fight back and win in Jim Grant's case, the VVAW case, and in others in which spies and provocateurs have been used to frame those working for change. We can demand an end to the secret police in this country and assert our right to organize without disruptions by criminal acts of government agents.—Anne Braden