

THE MILITANT

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

World outcry at Spanish killings

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National Student Coalition Against Racism conference, October 10-12 in Boston, will discuss and plan actions to defend school desegregation, other Black rights. Above, founding NSCAR conference last February. Pages 6-10.

On to antiracist conference!

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: LARRY SEIGLE
Business Manager: ROSE OGDEN
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING
Washington Bureau: CINDY JAQUITH

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PAT SWINTON ACQUITTED: "It's our gift to the bicentennial," said Robert Elson, a member of the federal jury that acquitted Pat Swinton, or Shoshana, September 26 of charges of conspiracy to bomb several corporate and government buildings in Manhattan in 1969. "We found there wasn't any evidence," said another juror. Swinton had been free on \$200,000 bail since FBI agents arrested her in Brattleboro, Vermont, last March. Two others already convicted for the 1969 bombings—John Hughey and Jane Alpert—refused to testify against her. As she left the courthouse, Swinton said the case showed "one of the ways the government is willing to use its power to get political dissenters."

DETROIT STUDENTS PROTEST CUTBACKS: Larger classes, fewer teachers, and a rapidly deteriorating school building prompted 800 students of the almost all-Black Highland Park High School in Detroit to demonstrate outside their school Tuesday night, September 23. The next morning, nearly 500 students walked out of the school and marched to the board of education offices to demand that all teachers be reinstated. They then returned to the school, where they announced a two-day boycott of classes to reinforce their demands.

IRANIAN ATTACKED IN SAN JOSE: Four members of the Iranian Student Association physically attacked a member of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran on the San Jose State University campus September 24. The CAIFI member was selling copies of an Iranian students' magazine when ISAers prevented him from talking to other Iranian students and then assaulted him. The ISA has a history of disrupting CAIFI activities in San Jose and around the country. The CAIFI member could have been seriously injured if students staffing Young Socialist Alliance and United Farm Workers support committee literature tables had not gone to his defense.

JUSTICE ISN'T CHEAP: "My heart goes out to ordinary people and poor people who can't afford proper defense." So said Bunker Hunt after he and his brother, W. Herbert Hunt, spent \$1 million on a defense case that ended in their acquittal in Lubbock, Texas, September 26, of charges of wiretapping. "If we'd just been ordinary folks, I'm afraid we would have been in trouble."

The two Hunts, with fortunes estimated at \$400 million each, had been accused of hiring private detectives six years ago to tap the phones of some employees they suspected of "milking" their father, the late oil billionaire H.L. Hunt. They didn't know wiretapping was illegal, they argued, and the jury—ten of whom had direct ties to agriculture—took less than three hours to decide they believed them. The H.L.H. Food Products Division of Hunt Oil Company had been the biggest victim of employee-filching, testimony claimed.

INQUEST INTO MILWAUKEE COP KILLING DELAYED: An inquest into the cop killing of Charles Dailey in Milwaukee was delayed indefinitely September 17 when the gun police claim Dailey threatened them with was unavailable as evidence. The attorney representing the Professional Policemen's Protective Association unintentionally disclosed that the gun found at the death scene was so new that it still had oily preservative on it. Dailey's friends contend that he did not own a gun and that it was planted on him to justify his murder.

Dailey was shot, reportedly in the back of the head, after police stopped him on August 26 for questioning about a burglary. He is the fifth person from Milwaukee's Black community to be killed by cops in less than a year.

PORTLAND COPS ORDERED TO ADMIT SWP FILES: A circuit court judge granted an injunction September 19 ordering Portland police not to destroy any secret files kept on the Socialist Workers party and to turn over any such files to the court for safekeeping. This is the latest victory for the socialists in their four-month campaign to gain access to their cop files. The court order also directs Police Chief Bruce Baker to submit an affidavit stating whether or not files actually exist on the SWP.

TRIAL OF CHICAGO UFW SUPPORTERS DELAYED: Jewel Foods, the sixth-largest supermarket chain in the United States, won a court postponement in Chicago September 22 in the trial of two Catholic nuns, a Catholic priest, and a Lutheran minister. The four are charged with criminal trespassing for conducting a prayer service over a scab grape display in a Chicago Jewel store last June 21. This is the second postponement granted the prosecution. Despite the absence of representatives of Jewel Foods at the hearing September 22, the judge refused to dismiss charges.

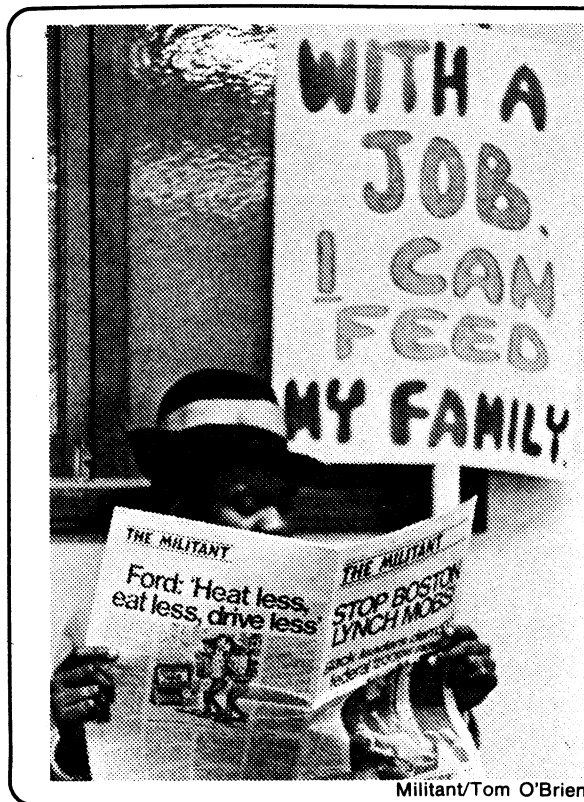
A related case of three nuns facing charges for talking with customers in the same store will be heard in court October 10. Both defense cases are being coordinated by the Chicago United Farm Workers Boycott Support Committee.

MORE EVIDENCE OF FBI HARASSMENT: Additional proof that the FBI's Cointelpro-type actions against dissenters did not end when the FBI says they did is provided in the September 15-October 15 issue of *Burning Spear*, paper of the African People's Socialist party. Background for the charge of continued harassment is a report on the FBI documents released to the Socialist Workers party last June. They detailed an anonymous letter campaign to get Washington, D. C., teacher Maude Wilkinson fired because of her association with the Young Socialist Alliance.

Burning Spear goes on to explain a similar campaign against APSP member Katura Carey in Florida. FBI agents visited Carey's roommate, and then in June 1973 a school board member revealed an "anonymous" letter sent to him accusing Carey of teaching socialism to her elementary students, teaching the Black pledge to her Black students, and other charges. This began efforts that ended in Carey being fired. "They may call it by another name," Carey says of the FBI's Cointelpro operations, "but it still exists, as is evidenced by the attacks on our party and myself."

CAROLINA FRAME-UP VICTIMS DENIED NEW TRIAL: A request for a new trial for three Black activists has been denied by a North Carolina state superior court judge. The three—James Grant, T.J. Reddy, and Charles Parker—were convicted in 1972 of fire bombing a riding stable in 1968. The only evidence against them was the testimony of two admitted participants in the burning who were given immunity for their role in the trial. Motions to overturn the convictions were filed in July 1974 when news articles disclosed that the two witnesses were each given \$3,000 in "relocation payments" by the U.S. Justice Department five days after the end of the trial.

—Nancy Cole



Militant/Tom O'Brien

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Kissinger bars Blanco from U.S.

By José Pérez

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has refused to grant Hugo Blanco's application for a visa to enter the United States on the basis of "classified information," according to Mike Kelly of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

This information was given to Kelly by Diane Villard, spokesperson for the State Department Visa Office, on September 24.

The noted author, who was a leader of Peruvian peasant unions, had been scheduled to conduct a nationwide speaking tour, coordinated by USLA. It was to begin September 25 on the topic, "Latin America: Continent Without Justice."

Blanco had also planned to meet with his U.S. publisher and world literary agent, Pathfinder Press.

Since the application for a visa was filed last July, the U.S. government had continually stalled, hinting all along that the visa would be denied but refusing to take an official position.

As the delays mounted, so did the protests, especially after the State Department announced that Blanco had been found "ineligible" but Kissinger was "studying" the case to see if an exception could be made as provided by the law.

Impressive support for Blanco's right to present his views to the American people was gathered from

prominent individuals in all walks of life.

Kelly told the *Militant* that the State Department's eleventh-hour decision would be met with a major national campaign to win its reversal.

He also charged that Kissinger's action was part of an ongoing cover-up of information about U.S. involvement in the overthrow of the Chilean government of Salvador Allende. Blanco was an eyewitness to the September 1973 coup and escaped torture, imprisonment, and possible death by seeking refuge in an embassy.

Because of the delays, the first week of tour meetings had to be canceled, but other meetings are being transformed into protests demanding that Blanco be given a visa.

The denial of the visa prevents Blanco from explaining his views to people all over the country. It is not only a violation of his own right to freedom of speech; it is a violation of the right of U.S. residents to hear him.

Moreover, it prevents him from consulting with the editors of Pathfinder Press, hampering efforts to publish and promote his works here and internationally. Kissinger's action also limits Blanco's ability to earn a living as an author and lecturer—a major source of his income because he is a political exile.

According to USLA's Mike Kelly, the government representative he talked with said Blanco "would have had a better chance" if he had applied from Peru, his native country, instead of Sweden, where he has been living in exile. The implication is clear: The U.S. government stacks the deck against those who have had to flee dictatorial and undemocratic regimes.

The Kissinger decision is a direct attack on academic freedom. As an organizer of peasant unions, socialist leader, and victim of and witness to repression in Latin America, Blanco has unique qualifications to lecture on U.S. campuses.

This was recognized by the U.S. publication *Library Journal* in describing his book, *Land or Death*, as "necessary reading for those involved with contemporary Latin America," and by the American Library Association journal *Choice* when it named that work an outstanding academic book for 1972.



Kissinger and Ford at Helsinki conference last July. At same time Kissinger was signing agreement providing right of authors and lecturers to travel, he was maneuvering to deny Blanco visa.

Kissinger's action can only be considered the height of hypocrisy. It is now clear that even as he and Ford were signing the Helsinki agreement at the end of July, the government was beginning its machinations to deny the visa. Among the specific sections of the accord violated by Kissinger's action are:

- "The participating States will respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief. . . ."

- "The participating States . . . Make it their aim to facilitate the freer and wider dissemination of information of all kinds. . . ."

- "To facilitate the dissemination of oral information through the encouragement of lectures and lecture tours by personalities and specialists. . . ."

- "To promote wider dissemination of books and artistic works, in particular by such means as:

" . . . international contacts and communications between authors and publishing houses. . . ."

Among the concluding paragraphs to the agreement is one in which the United States pledged itself to "implement the provisions" outlined above "unilaterally, in all cases which lend

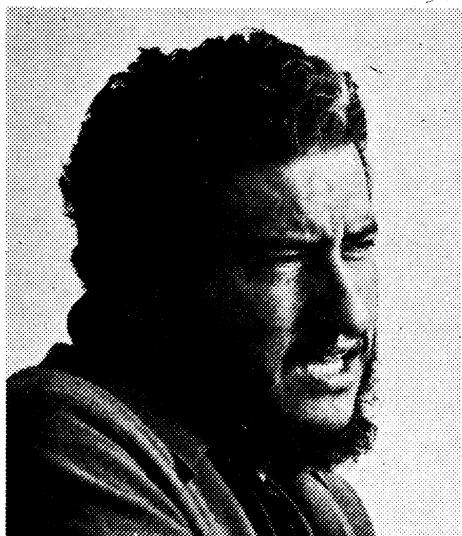
themselves to such action."

Despite repeated requests to do so, the State Department has refused to disclose the reason why Blanco has been barred, saying only that he is "ineligible" under a section of McCarthy-era thought-control legislation.

Citing alleged "classified information," Kissinger has acted as prosecution, witness, judge, jury, and executioner.

Blanco's views are not "classified," nor are his activities. He has written extensively about both. What Kissinger really wants to keep "classified" is the fact that he has trampled underfoot the U.S. Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Helsinki agreement he so piously subscribed to only a few weeks ago.

USLA is urging an all-out effort to expose this fact before the American public in order to force Kissinger to reverse his decision. The committee is also asking that messages demanding a visa for Blanco be sent to: Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State, U.S. State Department, Washington, D.C. Copies should be sent to: USLA, 156 Fifth Avenue, Suite 600, New York, New York 10010.



Militant/Ben Atwood

Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant union organizer and author.

'Let us hear what Blanco has to say'

[Even before the government had announced its final decision to turn down Hugo Blanco's application for a visa, scores of messages addressed to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and other officials had demanded that he be let in the country.]

[Indicative of the breadth of support was a telegram from local endorsers and sponsors of Blanco's meetings in Minneapolis, signed by about forty individuals and representatives of organizations.]

[Among those signing were presidents of the Minnesota National Organization for Women, Minnesota Americans for Democratic Action, Minnesota Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Minnesota Coalition of Labor Union Women, and an officer of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers.]

[Also signing were thirteen professors from three campuses, including two department chairpersons, and eight ministers, including several from campus-related religious institutions.]

[In addition, members or representatives of the following organizations: Minnesota Women's Political Caucus; Greek American Solidarity; National Office of the American Indian Movement; Faculty Committee for Academic Freedom in Chile; Committee for Solidarity with Chile; and the New American Movement. A state senator, a state representative, and a Minneapolis city council member also signed the appeal.]

[Following are excerpts from some of the other messages sent to the State Department.]

We, the members of Local 1304 USWA urge that Hugo Blanco's request for a visa . . . be granted immediately. To do otherwise would constitute a gross infringement on everyone's right to hear all points of view. . . .

Local 1304

United Steelworkers of America

. . . As a publisher whose books include Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *Can-dle in the Wind*, I am concerned about

the implications of possible denial of Blanco's visa application. . . . In some cases authors and publishers can correspond at length, but it is obvious that discussions in person are the most valuable—as I am sure you, who travel often for such discussions, will agree. . . .

John Ervin, Jr., Director
University of Minnesota Press

I am increasingly concerned by the inappropriate application of the [immigration] law to individuals who have espoused political views which oppose the positions of their governments. . . . [It] also serves to deprive our own citizens of an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the range of opinion existent in other nations.

Bella S. Abzug
Member of Congress

I am writing at the request of many of my constituents. . . .

In the recent Helsinki accords to which the United States is a signatory, we pledged that all participating countries would ease restrictions on the travel of authors. . . . I would

certainly hope that such standards would be applied to Mr. Blanco.

Ronald V. Dellums
Member of Congress

We urgently request that a visa be granted to noted Peruvian author Hugo Blanco to come in October and November. . . .

Ramona Ripston, Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California

The San Francisco Coalition of Labor Union Women strongly urges that Hugo Blanco's request for a visa to enter the U.S. be granted immediately. . . .

San Francisco Coalition of Labor Union Women

Deeply concerned to learn of difficulties with Hugo Blanco's visa transactions, whom I personally look forward to being able to hear in Chicago. A denial of the visa for him would imply U.S. complicity with dictatorial regimes. . . .

Leland H. Rayson
State Representative
Illinois

150 more face death penalty

Spanish executions spark world protest

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

Five Spanish political prisoners were executed by Franco's firing squads at dawn September 27. Six other condemned prisoners had their death sentences commuted only hours before.

The sentences, handed down in the last four weeks, touched off an international storm of protest. Several European governments felt compelled to urge the Franco regime to spare the lives of the prisoners.

Two of those executed were members of the Basque nationalist Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (ETA—Basque Nation and Freedom): Juan Paredes and Angel Otaegui. The three others were members of the Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota (FRAP—Revolutionary Antifascist and Patriotic Front): Ramón García, José Luis Sánchez, and José Baenz.

Spared from death were ETA member José Antonio Garmendia and FRAP members Manuel Chivite, Vladimiro Tovar, María Jesús Dasca, Manuel Canaveras, and Concepción Tristán.

With the announcement that the executions had been carried out, angry protests were staged in a number of countries. According to initial reports, in the following forty-eight hours, demonstrations occurred in most major cities of Europe, as well as in Ankara, Mexico City, and Bogotá.

Thousands of workers in the Basque region of Spain began a forty-eight-hour general strike September 29. Thirty thousand Basque workers in San Sebastián and 1,500 in Algorta had already downed tools two days before. When 2,000 silent demonstrators marched through the streets of Algorta September 28 behind a Basque flag, they were fired on by the Civil Guard, leaving six persons wounded. In Madrid, 1,500 protesters tried to turn a mass at San Isidro Cathedral into a requiem for the five executed prisoners. Police dispersed them, arresting several persons.

Forty thousand persons in Utrecht heard Dutch Premier Joop Den Uyl score the executions as an act of terror. Ten thousand persons marched in Paris, and a similar number rallied in Rome in response to a call by the Communist party and other political organizations.

Demonstrators in many cities occupied or attacked Spanish government installations. In Lisbon, 5,000 demonstrators sacked and burned the Spanish embassy and consulate while soldiers and police looked on. The following day the consulate in Oporto met the same fate.

In Paris a sit-in in front of the Spanish embassy was broken up by helmeted police wielding truncheons and hurling tear-gas grenades.

Pope Paul VI deplored the executions at an audience of 5,000 at the Vatican. The pope had appealed to Madrid three times for clemency.

Sweden, Belgium, Denmark, Britain, the Netherlands, Norway, East and West Germany, Portugal, France, and Poland recalled their ambassadors from Madrid.

The head of the Common Market's Executive Commission, François-Xavier Ortoli, condemned the executions and said they were expected to block moves toward a free-trade agreement between the Common Market countries and Spain.

Mexican President Luis Echeverría called for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council to suspend Spain from the UN.

The sizable Basque community in Caracas called a demonstration for October 1 to protest the executions.

No Judicial Appeal

All eleven prisoners had been convicted for alleged involvement in the killing of members of Franco's police and Civil Guard. The death penalty is automatic and no judicial appeal is permitted in such cases under the "antiterrorism" law decreed in Spain August 26.

Several of those sentenced were convicted on the basis of "confessions" they made under torture. José Baenz, arrested July 22, testified to this from Carabanchel Prison. His exposé was reprinted in the supplement to No. 57 of *Agencia de Prensa España Popular*:

"At the DGS [Dirección General de Seguridad—General Security Offices] they told me that I had participated in the murder of a policeman and that they were going to beat me until I confessed. They were going to leave me alive long enough to sign a statement, although it wouldn't be for long, because they were going to garrote me. When I refused to confess, the beating and torture began. They bounced me back and forth hitting me with clubs and their fists. I fell down several times, but they picked me up right away to continue the beating. Once while they were holding me from behind, they grabbed me by the throat and banged my head over and over again against a piece of metal furniture, injuring my face—especially my forehead, cheek, and left eye—on the edges of the furniture. They continued beating me and one of the blows knocked out a molar. (The DGS medical report on me refers to this simply as 'tooth decay'.)"

"They also tortured me by making me kneel down and hitting me across the soles of the feet with a stick so that when I stood up I felt as if my feet would split open. And they made me stand facing the wall and hit me for almost half an hour with a BIC ballpoint pen on the left side of my backbone. At first this didn't hurt too much, but afterward I could hardly move at all. On the night of July 25 when I couldn't walk, when I was



Militant/Lou Howort



Militant/Estelle Cordano

Pickets organized by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) marched September 26 at Iberia Airlines in New York City (top). Below, September 20 demonstration in Paris demanding "Spare the lives of all those sentenced to death—End Francoist terror."

Socialist hits Ford on Spain

[The following are excerpts from a statement by Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate.]

The execution of five Spanish political prisoners September 27 show[s] who the real murderers of the Spanish people are. They are not the five young martyrs whose "confessions" were exacted through beatings and other outrages. They are the officials of the Spanish government, headed by Franco.

The Ford administration has become Spain's chief source of moral support in this despicable crime. For the sake of renewing a pact with Spain guaranteeing U.S. military bases there, administration officials have not uttered a single word against the slayings.

President Ford's excuse that the executions are a Spanish "internal matter" is sheer hypocrisy. No such scruples prevented Secretary of State Henry Kissinger from organizing the overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile, nor the CIA from carrying out plots, including assassinations, against governments around the world.

We must demand of Ford, No new military pact with Spain! No moral support to the Spanish executioners! And we must demand of Franco, immediate release of all political prisoners!

almost totally immobilized from the back pains, when I couldn't see out of my left eye, and when my face was mashed to a pulp from the beatings (I had various nosebleeds and once I bled from the mouth), I signed the statement."

The executions were part of what a dispatch in the September 28 issue of the *New York Times* called "the most rigorous repression in 30 years" in Spain. The crackdown on opponents of the Franco dictatorship had resulted in 200 to 500 arrests in the last month. Moreover, Franco's prosecutors are asking the death penalty in approximately 150 cases now before the courts.

State of Siege

The new "antiterrorism" law not only made the death penalty mandatory in killings of police and government functionaries, it also placed Spain under a virtual state of siege for the next two years. It suspended the guarantees on the few rights remaining to the Spanish people, stiffened penalties for those convicted of political offenses, and gagged the press even more tightly than previous censorship regulations.

The new repression is aimed at maintaining the regime's control in face of the worldwide economic crisis of capitalism and the expected demise of the aging Franco. There have been growing demands over the past two years for democratic rights and economic change. Large strikes have occurred, and the revolutionary move-

ment has been growing in size and influence.

Added to this is the influence of the revolutionary process taking place in neighboring Portugal. A mass mobilization of similar character in Spain would be much more of a threat to European capitalism because of the greater social weight and higher degree of organization of the Spanish working class and oppressed nationalities.

The Franco regime is not unanimously agreed that harsh repression will solve its problems, even in the short run. There were reports that a number of cabinet ministers opposed the executions. In addition, the international wave of protests following the sentencing obviously had an impact on the regime's decision to commute six of the sentences.

The steps taken by several European governments in the name of "humanitarian concerns" show that they, too, have their doubts about the effectiveness of Franco's course.

Olof Palme, premier of Sweden, described Franco's action as one of "desperation." Henry Giniger commented in the September 28 issue of the *New York Times*: "Only the United States Government seems disposed to make a show of friendship now in the interest of saving its military bases in Spain."

The concern of the European capitalists is that the crackdown could set off protests going far beyond the demand that Franco halt the executions.

Refuses to name victims

Senate unit reveals massive FBI break-ins

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—Buried somewhere at FBI headquarters is a division where agents study "locks and picks," or, more popularly, "black-bag jobs"—the government's term for burglaries.

The vast extent of the FBI's illegal break-ins was revealed September 25 by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. The committee announced that by the agency's own figures the FBI carried out 238 burglaries from 1942 to 1968 against "domestic security targets."

Seventeen targets

Fourteen organizations—none of them identified by the Senate committee—were the victims of these illegal entries. Another three U.S. dissident groups were also burglarized "numerous" times from 1952 to 1966, over and above the 238 figure.

This is the first time the FBI has publicly admitted that the methods that became famous with the Watergate break-in have been used on a massive scale for decades against opponents of government policy.

The revelations came as the Senate committee heard testimony from Charles Brennan, former head of the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division. Brennan was the final witness in three days of testimony on the 1970 Huston spy plan, the government program to intensify illegal surveillance against antiwar, Black, and student groups.

One key element of the Huston plan was the use of burglaries to steal membership lists and other information. Approved by Richard Nixon, the government now claims the plan was withdrawn before ever being executed.

The central figure in drawing up the Huston plan, however, was the man who directed many of the FBI burglaries over the years, William C. Sullivan. A July 19, 1966, memorandum by Sullivan, written when he headed the Domestic Intelligence Division, was released at the Senate committee's September 25 hearing.

In the memo, as quoted in the September 26 *New York Times*, Sullivan admitted: "Such technique involves trespass and is clearly illegal; therefore, it would be impossible to obtain any legal sanction for it."

"Despite this," he continued, "black bag' jobs have been used because they represent an invaluable technique in combating subversive activities of a clandestine nature aimed directly at undermining and destroying our nation."

Sullivan went on to give a glowing report of one recent FBI break-in that netted membership lists and financial records "which we have been using most effectively to disrupt . . . and, in fact, to bring about [the group's] near disintegration."

The group's name had been blotted out by the Senate committee, but Sen. Robert Morgan (D-N.C.) indicated during the hearings that the target had been the Ku Klux Klan. Shortly thereafter, Morgan said the committee would refrain from further revealing who the FBI victims were. "We've reached an agreement not to talk about specific cases," he said.

FBI cover-up

The most important part of the Sullivan memo described not how the burglaries were done but how they were kept secret year after year. According to the September 26 *Washington Post*, Sullivan explained that authorization for every FBI break-in was obtained by sending a memorandum to J. Edgar Hoover or his aide Clyde Tolson.

"Subsequently, this memorandum is filed in the assistant director's office under a 'do not file' procedure," Sullivan

said. Such a procedure means that the memo is locked in the assistant director's safe instead of in regular bureau files.

"In the field," the memo explained, "the special agent in charge prepares an informal memorandum . . . and this memorandum is filed in his safe until the next inspection by bureau inspectors, at which time it is destroyed."

This method enables FBI officials to testify under oath that they had "no record" in their files of a given burglary. "[They] would be technically telling the truth, yet it would be a total deception," noted committee member Sen. Richard Schweiker (R-Pa.).

"It's really the perfect cover-up," he said. "It looks to me as though the bureau has perfected a better technique . . . a lot more sophisticated and refined than the 'plausible denial' of the CIA."

The FBI's justification for the criminal entries is that these are necessary to halt "crimes" by "subversives." But a parallel investigation of FBI activities by the General Accounting Office has turned up some interesting statistics about who the real criminals are.

FBI victims innocent

The GAO recently studied 676 cases out of 19,700 FBI investigations of "subversives." Out of these 676, only 16 cases were ever referred for prosecution, and only four of those resulted in convictions. For all the rest, the FBI was unable to produce a single illegal act to justify its harassment and surveillance.

The GAO, however, did uncover illegal acts on the part of the FBI, including eight burglaries in New York and one in Chicago in the early 1960s, and one case of the FBI opening mail.

Attorney General Edward Levi ordered the FBI to turn over only highly censored summaries to the GAO for its investigation, refusing access to the agency's raw files. The Justice Department clearly wants to conceal FBI activities that are still going on.

Writing in the September 24 *Washington Star*, Orr Kelly said, "The GAO investigators found no evidence that the confidential Cointelpro (Counter Intelligence Program) operations were carried out after the FBI said they



FBI's SULLIVAN: Burglaries 'an invaluable technique,' even though 'clearly illegal.'

were cut off in the spring of 1971. But the subcommittee was told that the investigators could not be sure of this because they had to rely on the summary prepared by the FBI rather than on the files themselves."

In the past, the FBI has stated that J. Edgar Hoover withdrew authorization for break-ins in 1966. This was shown to be false when the Senate Intelligence Committee released a 1967 memo by Hoover stating that "requests are still being made by bureau officials for the use of 'black bag' techniques." The statistics made public by the Senate committee list the last FBI burglary as taking place in April 1968.

Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), chairperson of the committee, told the media 1968 was the cutoff date "with one possible exception," which he refused to detail.

Much more recent evidence indicates that the burglary tactic has indeed survived since 1966. In 1972, according to an article in the *New York Times* earlier this year, FBI director L. Patrick Grey ordered the burglarizing of an Arab information office in Dallas.

Socialists burglarized in 1971

Another example is the 1971 break-in at the Detroit Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance head-

quarters. Stolen during the raid were lists of supporters and other files. One cop called to the scene said that the burglary looked like "an FBI job." Indeed, shortly afterwards, supporters of the socialists began receiving visits from the FBI. Their names had been on the stolen lists.

Also taken in the raid was a letter written to the SWP by a former member, Norma Lodico. Three years later Lodico was quizzed by the Civil Service Commission about her "suitability for employment" because of her political views—and one of the documents they asked about was the letter she had written to the SWP. The Civil Service Commission has since admitted that the copy of the letter came from the FBI.

The SWP and YSA have filed suit against the FBI and other government agencies engaged in illegal spying against them. Noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin is representing the SWP and YSA, and the Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing public support for their case.

In their suit, the socialists charge that the FBI played a role in the 1971 Detroit burglary. The FBI has denied the charge.

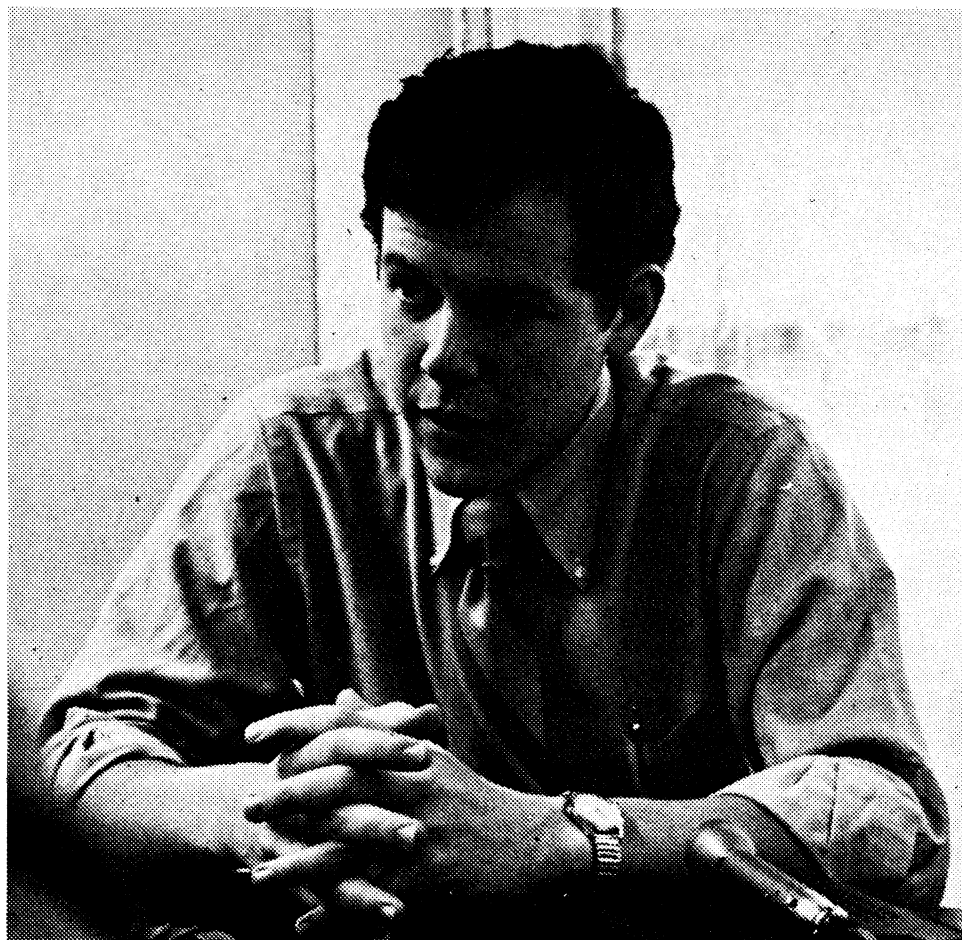
PRDF National Secretary Syd Stapleton told the *Militant*, "The information released by the Senate Intelligence Committee confirms in our minds that the 1971 break-in was one of the FBI's black-bag jobs. The FBI refused to admit it because they would be admitting that such illegal tactics are still in use today."

"Perhaps the FBI has 'no record' of this burglary in their regular files. But we would like to see the top-secret files—the files kept in the director's safe and elsewhere—where illegal operations like the Detroit burglary are kept on record."

"We expect that as we continue our suit, we will force out facts showing that the FBI has not renounced burglaries, mail openings, or any of the other illegal techniques they claim to no longer use."

The Senate Intelligence Committee findings have opened the door to new questions: What are the seventeen organizations the FBI burglarized between 1942 and 1968, and why are the senators keeping the names classified? How many other criminal activities of the FBI are kept secret through the "do not file" procedure outlined by William C. Sullivan? Are reports on the assassinations of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and Fred Hampton kept locked up in the director's safe?

The American people have the right to know the full truth about this criminal outfit masquerading as the nation's top "law and order" agency.



Militant/Michael Baumann

PRDF's STAPLETON: 'New information confirms that 1971 break-in at SWP office was FBI job.'

Why busing is main issue for antiracist movement



Militant/Harry Ring

From Pasadena to Boston, defense of busing to achieve school desegregation has become focus of struggle against racism.

By Tony Thomas

(Third of a series)

BOSTON—A national confrontation is building up around the issue of busing and school desegregation. Racist mobs continue to mobilize in cities such as Boston and Louisville, Kentucky. Both houses of Congress have passed antibusing amendments to various bills, and President Ford has spoken out across the country against busing.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) will be hosting a second national conference against racism here October 10-12. The conference will be one of the rallying points for forces defending busing and other desegregation programs.

"Busing is the key issue right now in the fight against racism," Maceo

In all, more than forty cities may be involved in busing or busing suits over the next year.

Dixon explained, "The reason why there's so much busing is that the schools are segregated on a 'neighborhood' basis.

"With the neighborhoods even more segregated than the schools, the only way to get equal access to the schools is through some sort of transportation.

"So all busing means is desegregation. People who are against busing are really just against desegregation."

Ford and Congress

"What makes busing so important," Dixon pointed out, "is the fact that not only do you have racists like ROAR [Restore Our Alienated Rights] here in Boston moving against it, but President Ford and Congress are coming out with antibusing statements and actions. They're putting on a lot of pressure to moderate or push back busing."

On September 26, the Senate passed an appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Tacked onto the bill was an amendment barring HEW from ordering local school districts to carry out busing for school desegregation. HEW was also barred from using federal funds for busing.

The same week, the House of Representatives passed a similar amendment to an energy bill, condemning busing for desegregation as a "waste of fuel." Neither bill is in final form yet.

These moves were prepared by a series of antibusing speeches by President Ford. After the speeches, Ford's aides made it clear that the purpose of the statements was to pressure the courts not to hand down any more busing orders.

"The logic of these moves," Dixon pointed out, "would be to outlaw or to severely limit busing and any other form of school desegregation.

"Ford and the other politicians are openly returning to the same type of rhetoric that was used by the Southern racists against desegregation in the 1950s and 1960s. Their attack on busing should be seen for what it is, an attempt to stop desegregation."

'Separate but equal'

The *Boston Globe* reports that in Dallas President Ford said the source of the "busing problem" was the 1954 Supreme Court decision that outlawed what he called "the long-accepted practice in many states of having separate-but-equal schools."

"The fact that Ford could say that," Dixon said, "shows where he's coming from. 'Separate but equal' was the code word the Southern bigots used to

defend the system of complete segregation by law that existed in the South before the civil rights movement.

"That's what Ford means when he talks about improving the schools in the Black community as an alternative to busing.

"In 1954 the Supreme Court ruled that such separate schools couldn't be equal. They're not controlled or set up by Blacks, and they don't have equal funding. They're set up to give Blacks a second-class education to keep Blacks second-class citizens.

"Ford is justifying segregation with his talk about quality education—that's all he's doing."

"By his campaign against busing, Ford is saying that Black students don't have the right to get into the first-class schools and have to stay in segregated, inferior schools," Dixon continued.

Better schools

"What is involved," Dixon said, "is not only our right to go to any school of our choice, but the right to go to the better schools, which happen to be all or mainly white.

"When you understand that the desegregation decision in 1954 set the stage for the civil rights movement and the other struggles that have pushed for Black gains in jobs, housing, education, and so on, you can understand what this type of racist pressure against busing from the president can do.

"If they're able to push back or outlaw busing, that will make it tougher for Blacks and other minorities to defend and extend their rights in those other areas too."

Response needed

"Black people and others who want to fight against racism have to respond to this," Dixon said.

One of the biggest problems the Black community faces in this fight, he said, is that the press and the racists from Ford on down are trying to claim that no one really supports busing, including Blacks.

"They tried this over the last year here in Boston," Dixon said.

"When the racists were really mobilizing here, they claimed that Blacks didn't want busing.

"They tried to intimidate Blacks and whites who support the desegregation order from speaking out and from demonstrating. They were trying to put pressure on the local and federal governments to overturn the busing order.

"We didn't settle for that. NSCAR and the NAACP and other groups began to take action. We organized marches on December 14 and May 17.

"The Black community began to stand up and began to put more pressure on the government to give us more protection.

"We found that by this year Blacks are much more assertive about busing, and many whites here are speaking out against the racists too.

"We were able to force the government to give more protection to Black schoolchildren so far this school year."

National campaign

"Now that pattern has to be repeated," Dixon said. "We need to act not just in Boston and Louisville and other cities where the busing struggle gets hot, but on a national scale.

"Many people I've talked to aren't sure why we need action. They think that, because busing has been ensured to some degree in Boston and Louisville, we don't need to continue the struggle.

"But looking at this national campaign to push back busing, it's clear that we can't be complacent and that we've got to continue.

"We have to continue to educate, mobilize, and debate around the question of busing. We have to explain how it relates to the general interests of Black people and the other struggles against racism.

"We've got to take the debate on busing out of the halls of Congress and the White House and into the Black community, the campuses, the high schools, the union halls, and the streets of our cities.

"The NSCAR conference is very important," Dixon concluded, "because it's there that we're going to hammer out the next steps in this campaign, as well as in the fight on other fronts of the antiracist struggle."

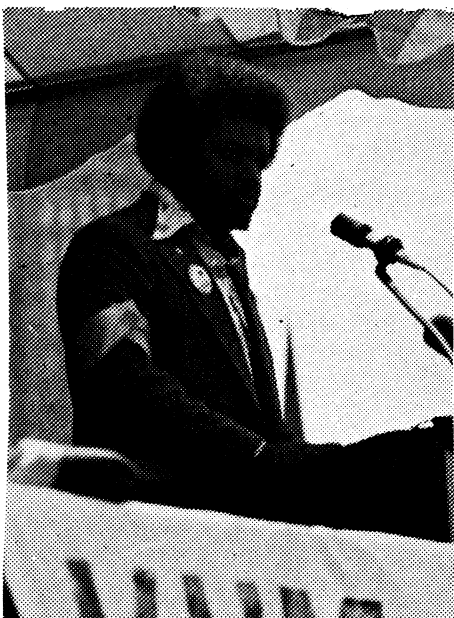
The issues in Boston

The Racist Offensive Against Busing: The Lessons of Boston; How to Fight Back by Willie Mae Reid, Peter Camejo, and others. 50 cents

Who Killed Jim Crow? The story of the civil rights movement and its lessons for today by Peter Camejo. 60 cents.

From Mississippi to Boston: The demand for troops to enforce civil rights. An Education for Socialists bulletin. 75 cents.

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

Maceo Dixon, national coordinator of NSCAR, addressing May 17 rally of 15,000 in support of busing.

Dixon, one of NSCAR's five national coordinators, told me in an interview.

"NSCAR is involved in many different aspects of the struggle against racism," he continued, "but we've got to make support to busing the center of our activities coming out of this conference."

Court-ordered busing programs are now being implemented in twenty-four cities, including Boston; Louisville; San Francisco; Denver; and Miami, Florida.

Next year other cities such as Detroit; Dallas, Texas; and Indianapolis, Indiana, are going to have busing programs. The NAACP and other Black groups have filed suits for desegregation that may bring about busing in St. Louis; Philadelphia; Dayton, Ohio; Baltimore, Maryland; and other cities.

Next step in desegregation fight

NSCAR prepares for nat'l conference

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) is building a second national conference against racism here for October 10-12 at Northeastern University. Hosted by the Northeastern University Student Federation, the meeting will take place in a city notorious for racist mobs that have rampaged against school desegregation.

"The struggle against racism is beginning to heat up," NSCAR coordinator Maceo Dixon told the *Militant*. "For those who are against racism and who are ready to act, this conference is the place to be. We will be taking up the big issues of the day that face the antiracist movement, starting with the all-important fight to turn back the racist, antibusing drive."

Other topics discussed at the conference will include the fight against cutbacks in education and social services, the defense of the victims of racist frame-ups, like Joanne Little, and the struggle against discriminatory layoffs.

Dixon reported that students will be attending the conference from across the country and busloads will come from the East Coast. Philadelphia and

Pittsburgh SCAR will each be sending two buses to the gathering, he said, while in New York SCAR activists have organized ten to fifteen buses in collaboration with student governments. Another bus will be coming from Atlanta.

Brenda Franklin, a Boston high school student last year, recently toured Texas and New Orleans to urge support for the conference. The highlight of her tour was a speech to 1,500 students at the University of Texas at Arlington.

In New England, the word is getting out as well. At the University of Rhode Island, four student senators have begun to form a SCAR chapter, with the backing of the student body president. The student government of Northern Essex Community College in Haverhill, Massachusetts, unanimously endorsed the conference.

At Boston College Karen Galloway, a chief counsel for Joanne Little, spoke on NSCAR's behalf at the campus Black cultural week.

Other organizations are also building the antiracist meeting. At Yale, for example, the Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña (FUSP), a youth affiliate of the Puerto Rican

Socialist party, is gathering support for the conference. NSCAR affiliates and the FUSP have worked together against cutbacks in education, and FUSP national President Arturo Rivera is helping to publicize the conference.

Other individuals who have endorsed the conference are Congressional Black Caucus members Ronald Dellums, Walter Fauntroy, and Charles Rangel. Also: Boston NAACP Executive Director Ed Redd; Rep. Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.); Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana; Julian Bond; Robert Allen, managing editor, *Black Scholar*; Karen DeCrow, president, National Organization for Women; Percy Sutton, Manhattan Borough President; and attorney William Kunstler.

Local and national organizations that have backed the gathering include the National Student Association; Massachusetts Teachers Association; Young Socialist Alliance; People's party; Operation PUSH of Philadelphia; and the Urban League of Portland. The National Education Association, the largest teacher organization in the country, has also urged its members to attend.

Noted figures in the Puerto Rican movement to endorse the conference include author Piri Thomas; Luis Fuentes, a leader in the five-year struggle for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of the schools in New York's Community School District One; and Héctor Ruiz of Boston's Cooper Community Center. In addition, the Puerto Rican Student Union on the Boston campus of the University of Massachusetts is backing the conference.

The conference will be kicked off with a rally Friday, October 10, featuring Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins, along with other local leaders of the desegregation fight; Jerry Paul and Karen Galloway, the lawyers for Joanne Little; Jonathon Kozol, whose stinging exposé of the racist Boston

School Committee, *Death at an Early Age*, won the National Book Award; Luis Fuentes; National Student Association President Clarissa Gilbert; Robert F. Williams, a veteran of the militant civil rights struggle of the 1950s and the victim of a famous government frame-up; Robert Allen; and Denver Chicano leader Everett Chávez.

The next two days will feature workshops on a broad range of issues and plenary sessions that will discuss, debate, and decide on NSCAR's policies in the fight against racism.

Admission to the three-day gathering is four dollars. Housing is available. For further information contact NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

Boston, May 17. NSCAR conference will plan further antiracist actions.

Teachers back NSCAR meet

At a September 22 membership meeting, the Washington (D.C.) Teachers Union passed the following resolution:

"Whereas, the racist anti-busing forces in Boston, Louisville, and Prince Georges County are escalating their offensive against the right of Black children to attend the school of their choice. . . .

"Be It Therefore Resolved, that the WTU reaffirm its position in support of Boston desegregation and send a telegram to President Ford, Boston Mayor Kevin White, and Mass. Gov. Michael Dukakis to demand implementation of school desegregation and enforcement of the law with all necessary force; and Be It Further Resolved,

"That the WTU endorse and encourage its members to attend the second national conference of the Student Coalition Against Racism to be held in Boston October 10, 11, 12 to plan future activities in support of school desegregation."

Racists dominate Boston city elections

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Two antibusing Democrats—incumbent Mayor Kevin White and State Sen. Joseph Timilty—won the supposedly nonpartisan municipal primary election here September 23. White, with 54 percent of the vote, and Timilty with 43 percent, will face each other in the November 4 election.

Only 37 percent of the city's voters—about 90,000—even bothered to vote in the lack-luster, tweedledee-tweedledum campaign. It was the lowest turnout in two decades.

Socialist Workers party mayoral candidate Norman Oliver—the only Black in the race—was the only candidate to speak out for busing and desegregation. Oliver repeatedly challenged White and Timilty for their collaboration with the racist movement and their opposition to court-ordered busing, which has begun to desegregate Boston's schools.

Oliver polled 1,263 votes, 1.4 percent of the total. A fourth mayoral candidate, Robert Gibbons of the U.S. Labor party—the electoral name used by the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees—received 1,103 votes, or 1.2 percent of the tally. Gibbons was the most adamantly antibusing candidate in the field.

The Oliver campaign reached tens of thousands through meetings and street rallies, the distribution of thousands of

pieces of literature, and the sale of the socialist campaign newspaper, the *Militant*. Oliver's vote in the Black community averaged more than 3 percent, and in certain precincts ranged from 6 percent to a high of 18 percent. He received similar votes in some areas in predominantly white Beacon Hill and the Fenway district.

In general, however, the racist candidates dominated the field. In the school committee primary all four antibusing incumbents won handily, including outspoken bigot Paul Ellison, who is under two separate felony indictments for larceny.

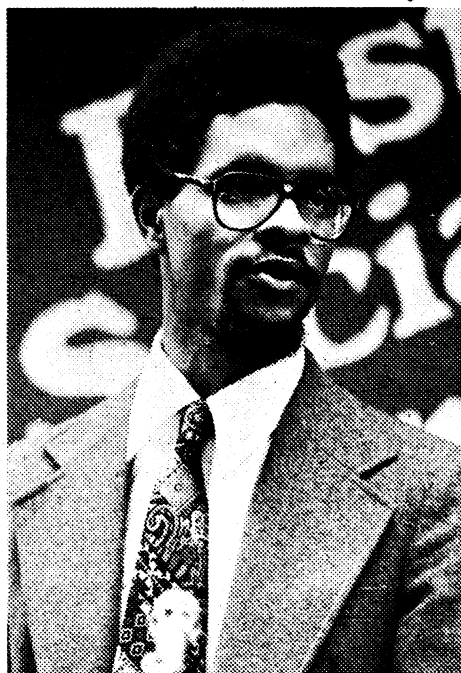
Five positions will be filled in the runoff elections for school committee, and Elvira "Pixie" Palladino was edged out for fifth place in the primary by another antibusing figure, who topped her by a scant 326 votes.

Palladino is a leader of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights—the main antibusing organization). And she is perhaps the most boldly crude racist leader in the city. The usually reserved *Boston Globe*, in an election analysis, termed her "tasteless and offensive." Attempting to get her elected in November will be a chief concern of the racists.

In the city council race incumbent Louise Day Hicks, the central leader of the racist antibusing drive for more than a decade, led all contenders in

vote getting. Hicks is the president of ROAR.

Hicks was followed by fellow bigot Albert "Dapper" O'Neil, also a Democratic party incumbent and ROAR leader. With nine seats to be filled in the city council runoff, the other two elected officials most revered by the racists also finished in the money.



Militant/Maceo Dixon

SWP's Norman Oliver was only Black and only probusing candidate for mayor.

Former Boston School Committee Chairperson John Kerrigan came in fourth, and South Boston State Sen. Raymond Flynn finished eighth.

These results reflected the fact that school committee and city council elections are rigged from the start against the Black community. Because these elections are held at-large in a city that is nearly 75 percent white, Blacks are denied even token representation. The NAACP has filed suit against this setup, urging district representation to allow the Black community to have a voice on the school committee and city council.

However, three Black candidates did manage to reach the runoffs. Black educator John O'Bryant finished seventh in a field of sixteen for school committee. He is among the ten candidates who will appear on the November ballot.

Attorney Clarence Dilday finished thirteenth in a field of thirty-two city council candidates. Eighteen names will be on the ballot for the nine-member council. Ed Brooks, another Black candidate, finished seventeenth.

SWP city council candidates Reba Williams and Jon Hillson polled 5,355 and 1,899 votes, respectively, finishing twenty-third and thirty-second. SWP school committee candidates Deborah Clifford and Ollie Bivins received 5,912 and 4,650, respectively, placing fourth and sixteenth.

Left debates stand on Boston issues



Militant/Flax Hermes

By Andy Rose

There's a new antibusing group active in Boston these days. You can see their posters up in South Boston and Charlestown: "Stop Phase 2—Strike," and then in small letters at the bottom: "Fight For Decent & Equal Education."

On September 8 this group sponsored a picket line of about seventy people outside the federal courthouse to demonstrate their opposition to the court-ordered Phase Two desegregation plan. They chanted, "Hey, hey, what do you say; we've got to stop Phase Two today."

A printed flier put out by this group proclaims: "They're crazy if they think we're going to let them get away with this. We don't want our tax money going into some juicy bus contract, or into beefing up the police force. Nor will we be forced to spend \$600 of our hard-earned money to put our kids in private schools."

The antibusing group that put out this flier is smaller than the main racist outfit, ROAR—"Restore Our Alienated Rights." It calls itself the Committee for Decent Education. What makes it different and noteworthy is that it was set up by the Revolutionary Union, one of the largest Maoist organizations in the United States.

A year ago, RU developed the theory that busing represented "forced integration" that "intensifies national hostilities." They condemned "antiwhite sentiment [that] has grown in Black and Latin communities," and raised the demand to "end police attacks on whites," referring to the occasions when police were forced to take action to defend Black children from racist mobs.

Last fall RU at least paid lip service to opposing racism and supporting integration, in the abstract. But no more. In the August issue of *Revolution*, RU's newspaper, with the headline "People Aim Arrow At Boston's 'Phase 2,'" and in the Committee for Decent Education leaflets, there is not one word of opposition to segregation or racism.

Competing with ROAR

The role set for itself by RU is to compete with ROAR for the leadership of the antibusing movement. *Revolution* boasts that at an RU antibusing demonstration last July, "A person from South Boston who had been a member of ROAR spoke about the differences between CDE and ROAR, saying that 'You won't find anyone from CDE running for city council,' but rather that CDE was at factory gates, going door-to-door in the community and readying people for a fight."

Although RU is not a significant factor in the actual situation in Boston, its plunge into the racist

camp should hold lessons for others trying to understand the issues in Boston.

RU claims to be all for unity between Black and white workers to fight for jobs, higher wages, and quality education. But they have decided that the main obstacle to unity is the desegregation efforts of groups like the NAACP, which, according to *Revolution*, "separate the struggle against discrimination from the struggle for better schools for all working people's children."

Since the busing plan was ordered by a capitalist court, the Maoists reason, therefore it must be in the interests of the capitalist ruling class. Conversely, since the antibusing movement in Boston attracted many working-class whites, therefore it must be a working-class struggle, even if a slightly misguided one.

This schema provided the rationale for RU's political adaptation to what seemed to be the hottest movement in town. The middle-class radicals of this Maoist sect were bowled over by the fact that the antibusing movement included *workers*, that it was *militant*, it was even *against the government!*

The racist mobs' clashes with the cops were quite exciting to a group like RU, for whom the sine qua non of revolutionary struggle is street fighting, a group that is not averse to a little thuggery itself, and one that has no political guidance except Maoist Thought. So far as is known, the Great Helmsman has yet to express an opinion on busing.

October League & 'Guardian'

In the absence of clearer advice from the Red Book, the American Maoists took divergent positions. The October League, RU's main competitor for the Peking franchise, holds that the antibusing movement is racist, segregationist, and neofascist.

The duty of revolutionaries in Boston, according to OL's newspaper, the *Call*, is "clearcut." It is simply "to struggle for militant action and unity of the whole working class."

OL initiated its own rally September 13 under the slogans: "Stop the segregationist movement, build the fightback"; "Jobs, not war"; "Jobs or income now"; and "End discrimination against minorities and women." Strikingly absent from this shopping list is any slogan about *busing*. OL abstained from the NAACP-called march against racism last May 17, attacking it as "assimilationist." According to the September 10 issue of the Maoist weekly *Guardian*, "They have since sharply criticized themselves for 'standing on the sidelines criticizing the NAACP,' and now feel they should have participated in and helped raise the level of politics

of a march which was 'objectively and consciously antiracist.'"

This is a more remarkable confession than it may appear at first sight. The NAACP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), whose firm probusing stance is denounced by OL as reformist and opportunist, organized an "objectively and consciously antiracist" demonstration.

In fact, the May 17 march of 15,000 was the largest action uniting Blacks and whites, including many working people, to take place during the present busing struggle. It was an example of unity in *action*, of unity against racism, not just abstract talk about unity.

The *Guardian* newspaper is now odd man out among the American Maoists, a paper without a party, sideline commentator on events, with no coherent political line even among its own staff.

The *Guardian* is neither for nor against busing, although it warns that the "liberal rulers" use busing to co-opt the Black struggle. Moreover, the slogan "Keep the buses rolling," supported by the NAACP and NSCAR, is "reformist."

"Busing is not the key issue, at least not now," writes Jay Steele of the paper's Boston bureau. "The issue is the right of Black students to go to school anywhere in the city, in *safety*."

How are Black students supposed to get themselves to schools "anywhere in the city"—walk? How is their safety to be guaranteed? Does the *Guardian* demand that the government protect Black students, or is that also "reformist"? The *Guardian* doesn't say.

PLP's provocative role

More active in Boston, and playing an especially destructive role, are the ex-Maoist Progressive Labor party and the Committee Against Racism, which is led by the PLP. They claim to support desegregation, but their adventuristic actions have been an obstacle to organizing a massive antiracist struggle.

To this day the PLP boasts about its "march against racism" last May 3 that led many unsuspecting protesters into a violent clash with South Boston racists. At the head of the march, which went through part of South Boston, was a uniformed PLP "strike team" armed with chains and clubs and chanting, "Death to the fascists."

When a broad alliance of Black groups sponsored a picnic at Carson Beach in August to demonstratively uphold the right of Blacks to swim there, PLP and CAR members taunted police and racists in attempts to provoke fights. Police, itching for a pretext to bash some Black heads, moved to disperse the gathering at the agreed ending time, and picnic coordinators tried to organize an orderly move to another spot in order to protect the picnickers.

CAR members began provocative chants of "Hell no, we won't go" and tried to start fights.

CAR's skirmishes with the racists have naturally been widely publicized in the capitalist media and have been seized upon by those who want to discourage people from joining antiracist actions.

The PLP and CAR claim their brawls have dealt setbacks to the racists; but just the opposite is true. Such provocations give the racists a political advantage by taking them off the hook as the ones responsible for violence in Boston.

ROAR's assaults on Blacks are designed both to intimidate them and to "prove" that busing leads to violence. One of the political tasks of the Black movement and its allies is to put the blame for violence squarely where it belongs: on the racist gangs. For this reason, CAR's irresponsible actions have been bitterly denounced by many in the Black community.

CAR's actions make it an easy target for the cops, and make it more difficult to defend CAR members when they are victimized. When school opened this fall, seventy-four CAR members were arrested for violating a ban on gatherings near the schools.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism has protested the arrests and called for dropping all charges, while at the same time making clear its strong disagreements with CAR's tactics.

CP: message in the mail

The front page of the August 28 *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist party, announced that the CP's New England District was launching "a stepped up drive against ultra-Right and racist extremist forces in the school integration struggle."

Was this a signal the CP was going to join with forces like the NAACP and NSCAR to help organize mass demonstrations to defend busing, and embark on a campaign to educate the public on the issues in Boston? Well, not quite.

The CP's antiracist campaign was to consist of the following:



Maoist Revolutionary Union poster in Charlestown section of Boston

Militant/Jon Hillson

- Distributing 10,000 copies of the report by CP General Secretary Gus Hall to the party's June convention, "through mailings and shopgate distribution." Hall's four-and-a-half-hour report has been printed by the CP as a small book.

- Buying space in the *Boston Globe* to reprint a column by Hall entitled "Racism—Monopoly's Hammer Against All Workers."

The Gus Hall ad, which appeared in the August 28 *Boston Globe*, gives a good flavor of the CP's approach to fighting racism in Boston.

"The real problem," writes Hall, "is to convince white workers that while they are the carriers of racism, and while they acquiesce in and support racist practices against Black workers, they are themselves victims of racism." To overcome this victimization of white workers, Hall calls for united struggle against layoffs, against speedup, for quality medical care and education, for organizing the South, and for many other good things, including socialism.

The word busing is found exactly once in this treatise, in line 209, where Hall says, "Busing is one of the adjustments to overcome the enforced racist patterns of the past."

Abstention from real struggle

This flurry of rhetorical activism against racism in the abstract may be the CP leadership's response to rank-and-file dissatisfaction with the party's abstention from the concrete struggle against racism in Boston.

The CP youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, held its national convention the same weekend as the first national probusing march in Boston, last December 14. At the convention, YWLL national chairperson James Steele dismissed the December 14 march of 12,000 as "a routine exercise in left sectarianism."

Later, the CP gave verbal support to the May 17 march, but did little to build it. Instead they tried to undercut it by red-baiting NSCAR, the main group mobilizing young people in response to the NAACP's call, as "dominated" by the Young Socialist Alliance. Denouncing NSCAR as "a caricature of the struggle against racism," the YWLL, which had participated in the founding convention of NSCAR, announced its withdrawal from the coalition just three weeks before the May 17 demonstration. YWLL leaders have refused to participate in the upcoming Second National Student Conference Against Racism.

The CP doesn't seem to think defense of busing is the key fight right now, anyway. Hall's column states that "the struggle against racism must be integrated into the fabric of the struggles and issues arising from the economic crisis." This is the familiar theme that Black-white unity can be more readily achieved by sidestepping the issue of busing.

The CP is simply following the political lead of the liberal Democrats it supports. These capitalist politicians have either caved in to the racists or at best equivocated. For the CP, to mount a big probusing campaign would only be an embarrassment.

Social Democrats, USA

Social Democrats, USA, which provides advisers and apologists for the George Meany-Albert Shanker wing of the trade-union bureaucracy, and which is completely immersed in the Democratic party, tries to straddle the busing question.

Bayard Rustin, national chairman of SDUSA,

who is also an officer of the NAACP, claims to support busing and school desegregation.

On the other hand, Albert Shanker, who is president of the American Federation of Teachers and the most prominent union official in SDUSA, beat down every probusing resolution raised at the July AFT convention. Rustin was present, and far from opposing Shanker he provided left cover for him by criticizing the busing plan in Boston.

"They said to the poor Irish workers, you take the whole responsibility for integrating the city," Rustin told the cheering Shankerites. "It will not work."

The dilemma for the right-wing social democrats is that they used to give at least token support to the civil rights movement and integration, and they want to maintain their traditional ties to liberal Black groups like the NAACP and the National Urban League.

But any serious fight against de facto segregation would bring them into sharp conflict with the white-job-trust bureaucracy they serve in the trade unions. It would mean an equally sharp conflict with the Democratic party. The social democrats are not willing to do either.

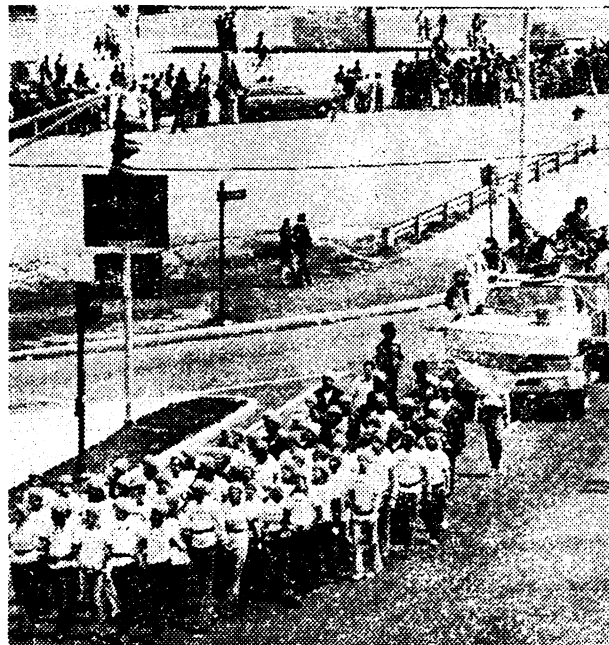
Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, which split from the right-wing social democrats in 1973, supports busing and backed the May 17 march.

Unfortunately, DSOC has done little to actively build the struggle in Boston and help mount future May 17-type demonstrations. A number of liberal union leaders are identified with DSOC, and could add significant weight to the fight for school desegregation. They have not done so.

Sectarians echo racist demand

Two small groups that mistakenly call themselves Trotskyist, the Spartacist League and Workers League, have focused their energies on opposing the demand, raised by many Black community groups and parents, that all necessary force, including federal troops, be used to enforce desegregation and protect Black students.

These groups argue that such a demand is a violation of revolutionary principles and can only foster illusions in the capitalist state. Up until this fall, they insisted that it was absolutely excluded that federal troops might, under mass pressure,



Progressive Labor party march last May 3 was led by uniformed 'strike team' armed with chains and clubs and chanting, 'Death to the fascists.'

actually hold off the racists and protect Blacks. Since that is what has happened in Boston and in Louisville, Kentucky, this fall, the argument bears reexamination by its proponents.

But mere reality is not about to tempt the Workers League, at least, from the path of sectarian purity. In their haste to flee from the federal troops demand, the Workers League has now fallen squarely into the arms of the racists.

Terming the use of national guardsmen against racists in Boston and Louisville a "military occupation" that is "aimed at training troops to occupy working class neighborhoods," the Workers League's *Bulletin* writes: "The fight must be taken into every union and community to demand the immediate withdrawal of all military forces from Boston." This is the same demand raised by the racists so that they can have a free hand to use violence to stop school desegregation.

The logic of this position is now unfolding week by week in the pages of the *Bulletin*. All mention of racist attacks on Blacks has disappeared from the paper. Instead the September 16 *Bulletin*, under the headline "Boston police terror: 'It sounds like the Nazis,'" writes that "Charlestown, a white working class community, resembles Belfast in Northern Ireland." It goes on to quote complaints about "police brutality" by Charlestown racists.

"Every racial slur in Boston is dragged out and blazoned across the pages of *The Militant*, out of all proportion," says the *Bulletin*, "to make it appear as if the whole city was engulfed in race riots. . . .

"Thus the SWP [Socialist Workers party] now deliberately whips up the busing issue and foments racism to deepen the divisions between black and white workers."

By adopting the racists' slogan for withdrawal of troops from Boston, by blaming the busing issue for dividing the workers, and by identifying the racist mobs as representing the white working class, the Workers League is fast moving down the same path as the Maoist Revolutionary Union.

Socialist Workers party

The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance have many points of difference with the other leftist groups cited above. They unequivocally support school desegregation through busing, and they have demonstrated their willingness to work with all other forces who support this right to organize mass actions in the streets to defend busing against racist attack.

The SWP was the only group to carry the antiracist fight into the political arena in Boston, running its own candidates to challenge the bigots in the mayor's office, city council, and school committee. No other group on the left ran candidates or offered any position on the elections.

The Communist party did call for electing a Black candidate to the school committee. But they ran no candidate of their own and refused to endorse Ollie Bivins, SWP candidate for school committee, who is Black.

Contrary to the wild allegations of the Workers League and others, the SWP knows that the capitalist ruling class, not white workers, is responsible for racism. But something more follows from that, something the sectarians have lost sight of. When white workers adopt the ideology of racism and act as the shock troops to uphold racist oppression, they are—even if unwittingly—defending *capitalist-class interests*, not *working-class interests*. Their racist prejudices and actions must be combated, not pandered to.

Those who lose their bearings on this point can slip into implicitly blaming Blacks for racism.

The Socialist Workers party believes that the decisive majority of white workers can and will be won to the struggle for Black rights—because it is in their class interests.

A federal court ordered busing in Boston not because the capitalists favor integration—full equality for Blacks is in fact incompatible with their continued rule—but because of mass pressure from the Black community, not only in Boston but nationally, not only recently but back to the 1950s and 1960s.

Under the impact of the civil rights struggles, the ruling class made concessions in the 1960s, including the *legal recognition* of Blacks' right to equality. No group that fails to take advantage of this gain—and use it to further the mobilization of the Black masses to win equality *in reality* and not just *on paper*—can hope to advance the struggle for Black freedom.

The course of that struggle will not create illusions in the capitalist government, as so many sectarians fear. On the contrary, it will shatter illusions and convince growing numbers of Blacks that their liberation can only be achieved through a workers revolution and a socialist America.

All out to Boston!

The reactionary logic of the antibusing movement was spelled out recently by Gerald Ford. In what one reporter termed "a rip-roaring, partisan stump speech" given to a hall full of Republican women in Dallas September 13, Ford complained that it was the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision that had started all the furor over "forced busing." He drew a standing ovation.

Three days later, Ford further explained: "It was the decision in 1954 that declared unconstitutional the long-accepted practice in many states of having separate-but-equal schools. But as an outgrowth of that court decision there have been the subsequent decisions that have involved busing."

Ford is exactly right. Busing has been, and will continue to be, the necessary outgrowth of any attempt to end segregated schools. That is the only way to transport students between the segregated neighborhoods maintained by this racist society. Ford, for his part, would prefer the "separate but equal" schools ruled "inherently unequal" and outlawed by the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

While antibusing mobs attack Blacks and scream racist epithets in Boston and Louisville, Ford has the gall to say, "I don't think opposition to busing really has any relationship to racism on the part of most people."

In reality, the fight over busing is today at the center of the struggle to improve the condition of Black people in the United States. If successful, the antibusing bigots won't stop with penning Black children into inferior, segregated schools. They will move on to attack other gains won by Blacks over the last twenty-one years.

The anti-Black offensive has gained national prominence in Boston and Louisville, but similar racist forces are organizing in cities across the country. They are being openly encouraged by Ford and by moves in Congress to pass antibusing legislation.

Government enforcement of the laws against segregation—half-hearted at best—can only be guaranteed through the same type of massive public pressure that forced the dismantling of the apartheid Jim Crow system in the South in the 1960s. On October 10-12 Blacks and their allies from all over the country will be meeting in Boston at the Second National Student Conference Against Racism to help organize just such action.

They will be planning the next steps for the struggle against racism in this country. Come to Boston for this conference, and bring others with you!

Judicial murder

The firing squads that gunned down five political prisoners in Spain September 27 were the Franco dictatorship's answer to growing demands for democratic rights and economic change. The oppressed Basque nation is a special target of the regime's campaign of terror and intimidation.

The victims of this judicial murder steadfastly maintained their innocence. But confessions were extracted by torture, and the military judges, military prosecutors, and in some cases military "defense" lawyers had decided the verdicts in advance.

The grisly executions sparked a worldwide outcry. Tens of thousands took to the streets. Indignation ran so high that a dozen governments felt compelled to recall their ambassadors from Madrid, and heads of state in Sweden, Mexico, and the Netherlands denounced the executions.

There was a notable exception. Gerald Ford dismissed the whole thing as an "internal matter."

It is possible that in making this statement Ford gave thought to the roughly 300 inmates waiting on death row in prisons throughout the United States. Even though the death penalty was outlawed in 1972 by the Supreme Court, racists and reactionaries have campaigned for its reinstatement ever since. States have adopted new capital punishment laws, and the issue is again pending before the high court.

The cases of Black frame-up victims like Joanne Little and Delbert Tibbs have heightened public awareness that the death penalty is not only barbaric and inhuman in its own right, but serves as an instrument of racist terror against Blacks in particular. *Fully 60 percent of those on death row are Black!*

The victims of capitalist 'justice'—in Spain and America—are part of the same worldwide struggle for freedom and human dignity.

Stop Franco's firing squads!

Abolish the death penalty!

Free all political prisoners!

Bicentennial column

It is often said that Americans are ignorant of their past, and in particular, their revolutionary traditions and history. Sadly, this is also true of many who consider themselves radicals and revolutionaries.

It is now 1975 and bicentennial activities have already begun. Nearly every hamlet and town is planning festivities.

Needless to say, all this hooplah being promoted by the government's Bicentennial Commission is designed to obscure the *real* history of our first revolution. American capitalism, in its most unpopular hour and deepest crisis, is grasping at the bicentennial straw in an attempt to "pull the country together again."

We believe the *Militant* can play a unique role in setting the record straight—educating its readers. No one else remains loyal to the real "spirit of '76." No one else continues the heritage of figures like Sam Adams, Tom Paine, James Otis, and Patrick Henry.

The *Militant* would do well to establish a regular column commenting on bicentennial activities, historical episodes and personalities, and so forth. This could effectively counter all the "red, white, and blue" propaganda of Ford and company. At the same time it would be instructive to the American revolutionaries of today.

Jay Ressler

Floyd Fowler

Brooklyn, New York

Struck by starvation

Please send a one-year subscription to your newspaper as soon as possible. I've been without your paper for several months now (I let my subscription drop), and I'm starving for some factual detailed reporting.

G.J.M.

Victoria, British Columbia

True internationalism?

The "America first" attitude of the AFL-CIO brass is beginning to rankle the labor federation's Canadian affiliates. An example of this occurred recently when the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry (AFL-CIO) submitted a brief to the Federal Power Commission favoring an American route for the pipeline carrying natural gas from Alaska to the United States, instead of a Canadian route.

The brief calls Canada a "foreign government" and argues that it would be irresponsible to allow control of the pipeline to fall into the hands of a foreign government. The route favored by the AFL-CIO would bring gas across Alaska by pipeline. Then it would be moved in tankers down the west coast.

A Canadian union official complained, "It's typical the way they [Americans] treat us. This statement was made in the name of the international, but do you think they asked us before they spoke up? Hell no!

"That's brotherhood for you," the official said. "Sure, we're a small unit of the international up here. But, after all, it is called an 'international,' isn't it?"

The Canadian union official is protesting because a Canadian route for the pipeline would mean jobs for his union, Local 170, which has 4,000

members in British Columbia and the Yukon.

Altogether, the United Association has 314,000 members, of which 35,000 are Canadians.

Harold Schlechtweg

Seattle, Washington

'Socialist kibbutzim'

I would like to condemn your article "Secret war deal" [*Militant*, September 26]. I really don't think the United States could venture into a war on the side of Israel for fear of destruction from the Soviet Union or the Arab countries.

Instead of looking at these aspects, why don't you look further into the country itself. Namely the kibbutzim, the only place in the world where socialism is working and being allowed to work to its fullest extent.

In order to keep things such as kibbutzim, the people must fight for "their" lives and "their" country. They would prefer to live peaceably, but with such hostility and hatred directed toward them, we find this idea quite unrealistic.

Before you write such biased articles, it would be much more intelligent to look more critically at the other aspects of the situation.

B.H.

Geneseo, New York

Pardoned for what?

The recent pardon of Freddie Pitts and Wilbert Lee from a Florida jail is just another example of the workings of capitalist justice.

Pitts and Lee are Black and poor, so they spent twelve years behind bars for a crime they didn't commit.

Admitted Watergaters have gotten short sentences and probationary periods. Agnew got a pardon for collecting money. They were white and privileged, why else.

"Can a pardon replace the mental strain and personal suffering they have experienced?" the Black *Florida Courier* wrote about the Pitts and Lee pardon. "So, what, after 12 years, are Pitts and Lee being pardoned for? . . .

"Pardoned for having had their freedom wrongfully taken, for living without the right to choose where and what they would eat, where they would work and live, what clothing they could or could not wear? Pardoned for having for 12 years been mentally tormented by the knowledge that they were imprisoned because they were Black men in an anti-Black society?

"Is that why white men are giving Pitts and Lee pardon?

"These men should be asking Pitts and Lee for pardon."

K.N.

Miami, Florida

Neat fit

Did you ever notice how when respect for the government and its agencies sinks to new lows there always seems to arise a new "crisis" that is quickly and expertly "handled" by one agency or another to prove that our government still "works"? To take our attention away from the defeat in Indochina, we were treated to the *Mayaguez* incident to show that we "won't be pushed around."

Now, when the intelligence agencies are under increasing scrutiny and criticism, there is another crisis of



Time for a shorter workweek-II

The demand for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, raised this year by some AFL-CIO unions and recently by the National Ford Council of the United Auto Workers, has brought agonized arguments against it from the employers and their hired defenders and apologists.

In the past, many who recognized the need for a shorter workweek have argued that it would create more jobs, generate greater purchasing power, and expand the consumer goods market—thus restoring new life to the capitalist system. This was a popular notion in the 1930s and was put forward as a way of reviving business. Business interests were never convinced.

In the early post-World War II years, with the advent of the "Second Industrial Revolution," it was widely recognized that the new technology of computers and automation would lead to mass unemployment and would cause an imbalance between the vastly expanded productivity of industry and the contracted consumer market.

When the Ford Motor Company automated the engine plant at River Rouge nearly twenty years ago, the story was told about how Henry Ford II invited then UAW president Walter Reuther to inspect the new installation. A system of giant machines and automatic conveyors shaped and drilled and bored 5,500 Ford engines a day, untouched by human hands. Ford is supposed to have said, "These machines don't pay union dues and they don't go on strike." Reuther replied, "They don't buy cars, either."

About ten years ago A.H. Raskin, the *New York Times* labor editor, spoke to a college audience on "Automation and the War Against Poverty." He said automation had brought with it a new economic phenomenon: "the diamond-studded depression." That was well before the current crisis of the capitalist system, but there were at that time about four million unemployed.

Raskin looked to the future. "Far from becoming a faceless appendage to a machine or, worse still, the expendable unit in a mechanized society, man has it within his power to lift himself to the stars without ever leaving the earth."

"The challenge," said Raskin, "lies in how well we avail ourselves of the promise we have created."

That sounds pretty good. But judging by the present state of the economy, the challenge hasn't been met.

And according to the responses of the ruling class there is no intention of meeting it.

Henry Ford II says the economy absolutely cannot afford the shorter workweek because that "is just going to run the cost of automobiles up very much higher than they are today." That means Ford will sell even fewer cars than now, and of course he will have to lay off a few thousand more workers.

A recent *Wall Street Journal* editorial on demands for a shorter workweek has this to say: "What the AFL-CIO does not care to admit is that unemployment can only fall when it becomes profitable for an employer to hire an employee. This can only occur if workers are willing to work longer work weeks with no increase in benefits, or be more productive during the hours of their existing work week."

This is an assertion, not an argument. It has always been the position of the employers, but they once tried to provide economic justification of sorts. An economist by the name of Nassau W. Senior tried to prove in 1836 that if the ten-hour day were introduced in the factories of that time it would bankrupt the manufacturers. His contention was that workers had to work an average of 11.5 hours daily because the owner needed their work for the first 10.5 hours just to recover his investment in machinery and raw materials. Senior's "analysis" proved that "the whole net profit is derived from the last hour."

This brilliant analysis has been superceded by more than a century of economic development during which the working class won the ten-hour day and then the eight-hour day, and is now demanding the six-hour day. Senior would have been forgotten long ago if it had not been for the ridicule that Karl Marx heaped upon Senior's "last hour" in the first volume of *Capital*.

But with all the technological advances of industry, the so-called science of economics has not moved much beyond Senior. Modern apologists for capitalism have learned to be more cautious, less "analytical," and that's about the only difference.

The shorter workweek today does not depend upon what the employers can afford, or say they can afford, any more than the demand for the ten-hour day or the eight-hour day depended upon what the employers in a previous era thought about it.

The six-hour day is a social need arising from the advance of technology, and should be fought for by the union movement on that ground.

confidence in the government. So what happens? Patty Hearst is suddenly "caught" and a couple of people take shots at the president.

As the daily papers would have it, this once again proves the "necessary function" that the FBI, Secret Service, and domestic intelligence play to "protect everyone."

It would not surprise me in the least if the FBI knew where Patty Hearst was all along and was waiting for the best moment to catch her. Likewise, I wonder about the authenticity of the assassination attempts, even though the first one by "Squeaky" might have been.

But there is no doubt that the assassination attempts fit very neatly into the ruling class's need to restore confidence in the intelligence-gathering agencies. It is significant, I think, that Sara Moore has a history of being an FBI informer.

The response of the liberals in Congress to the investigations of the CIA and FBI activities is to be careful not to "throw the baby out with the bath water" and eliminate the "legitimate" intelligence activities of these agencies along with their illegal ones.

We should indeed do just that—abolish the FBI and CIA!

Douglas Pensack
Detroit, Michigan

Hurry back

I'm leaving the country September 30. Please donate all subsequent issues I have coming, and the cash enclosed, to the Prisoner Fund.

Thank you for keeping me so well informed on the truth about revolutionary struggles and imperialist repression throughout this country and the world. I'll be looking forward to reading the *Militant* again on my return.

B.B.
Lawrence, Kansas

Chickens come home

I was pleased to see the editorial in the October 3 *Militant* taking up the recent assassination attempts against Ford. After sending their glorified thugs all over the world to murder opponents of capitalism, the Kennedys and Fords have no right to get indignant when the chickens come home to roost.

The latest wrinkle in the reaction to these assassination attempts was reported in the September 29 *New York Times*. It seems that Democratic presidential hopefuls will now be getting Secret Service protection. This will be restricted, however, to those who have raised at least \$100,000 in campaign money in the first six months of 1975. After all, what other way is there to tell if somebody's life is worth saving?

M.F.
New York, New York

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

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



All the news that fits

"Policeman Slays a Bronxite Who Allegedly Attacked Him"—That was "All the News That's Fit to Print" in three inches of the lower right-hand corner of page forty-seven of the Thursday, September 25, 1975, *New York Times*.

Three paragraphs followed, sketching the police version of a shooting in self-defense. Mentioned in passing in the concluding paragraph was the name of the deceased, Juan Martínez.

He was a Puerto Rican, although the *Times* did not report that. Details of his death appeared in the September 28 *El Diario-La Prensa* in an interview with his brother, Hipólito Martínez.

Hipólito explained that Juan had been threatening to commit suicide by slashing his veins with a razor blade when the police were called.

Hipólito arrived at the scene at the same time the police did, and he says he "begged the police" to let him try to calm his brother down. The cops refused, and broke into the bedroom where Juan had locked himself up.

The cops say that Juan attacked Officer Frank Geysen with the blade. "Having no choice," the cops say, Geysen shot Juan Martínez at point-blank range.

Hipólito tells a different story.

"The two police could have very easily grabbed and disarmed my brother, in addition to the fact that at the scene there were almost a dozen police."

"They killed my brother and they had no reason to kill him."

Hipólito has filed a complaint with the civilian review board. I doubt very much anything will come from it, not because I don't want Geysen brought to justice, but because that's what's happened in the past.

For example, last June 13 Israel Marrero Rodríguez was dragged from his home for questioning in connection with several burglaries. Numerous witnesses who saw him when he was arrested say he looked fine.

A little more than three hours later he died from internal injuries at the emergency room of a Bronx hospital. He had been beaten to death by the cops.

An intense investigation was allegedly launched by the Bronx district attorney and the police, and the case was turned over to the grand jury. No one has been indicted for the killing.

In the most prominent place on the front page of the September 25 *Times*, there was a detailed account of the arrest of a Puerto Rican in connection with the killing of two cops. These deaths had been front-page news for a couple of weeks, and the *Times* continues to feature them.

But Juan Martínez's death has disappeared from the pages of the *Times*. Rodríguez's death made it only once—three months after it happened, in a story about the investigation that carefully avoided even hinting the cops murdered him.

Cops getting killed is front-page news. Police murdering Puerto Ricans isn't news that "fits," not even on page forty-seven of the *New York Times*.



Superbox—The Louisiana Superdome in New Orleans auctioned off forty-seven box suites. The suites are in two sections, one overlooking the playing field, the other for parties. (You can watch the game on closed-circuit TV.) Completely carpeted and furnished, the suite includes refrigerator, ice maker, and rest room. Superdome food and beverage service on the touch-tone telephone.

A reasonable attitude—The Food and Drug Administration OK'd a plastic disposable bottle that, if burned in a hot campfire or Bunsen burner, emits hydrogen cyanide, the deadly poison used in gas chambers. "That's not what the bottles are intended for," an FDA spokesperson explained. "Our concern is if any plastic would get into the food."

The ties that bind—Those congressional votes may not be simply the expression of abstract ideological commitment to capitalism. According to the *Congressional Quarterly*, forty-five members of the House own stock in the 100 top war industries; thirty-eight have investments in oil and gas; eighty-six enjoy income from financial institutions.

Universal view (I)—A recent San Francisco conference of astronomers discounted the notion that other planets may have dispatched flying saucers to earth, noting the enormous financial expenditure involved. And that's not figuring the rate of currency exchange.

Universal view (II)—Many UFOs are piloted by God's angels, but a minority are operated by Lucifer's

fallen angels, participants in Dr. Carl McIntyre's annual UFO conference were advised. The ultraright reverend is offering cassette tapes on UFO sightings for an earthly five dollars.

Perish forbid!—Victor Fuchs, professor of economics at Stanford school of medicine, suggests we not go off half-cocked in pressing for more medical research. "For example," a *Los Angeles Times* interviewer reported, "a cancer cure that costs \$150,000 per patient to implement would result in serious ethical, moral, legal and financial problems."

Saddle the pony—Under the constitution of the Letter Carriers union, the only way to conduct a contract ratification vote, even during a strike, is by mail.



The American Way of Life

Poll spells doom for capitalists

"Look at it this way," begins a magazine ad for the Cyprus Mines Corporation. "If you were going to set yourself up in business, you'd have to pay the cost of the tools and plant necessary to your success."

"When you work for someone else, your employer invests the money that pays for your tools. . . ."

"Obviously, if industry doesn't make a profit it can't create as many jobs."

As hackneyed as it is, this justification for the profit-hungry capitalist system is still used by U.S. corporations. But according to a recent poll by Hart Research Associates, the majority of the American people would dismiss the above propaganda as bunk.

The poll found, for example, that 72 percent of the public think "profits are the major goal of business even if it means unemployment and inflation." And "there is a conspiracy among big corporations to set prices as high as possible," say 61 percent.

Nearly half of the public—49 percent—feel that "big business is the source of most of what's wrong in this country today." Only 45 percent disagree.

So there's a burgeoning distrust of big business among Americans. Granted, not everyone is ready to wash her or his hands of the whole mess. But growing numbers are heading in that direction,

according to the poll.

Thirty-three percent of the public believe that our capitalist economic system has already reached its peak in terms of performance and is now on the decline. Only 22 percent think it's still getting better.

As for alternatives, 44 percent of the people feel that it would do "more good than harm" to "institute public ownership of oil and other natural resources." Only 42 percent think not.

Given three choices of companies to work for, those polled divided as follows: 66 percent would favor working for a company that is employee owned and controlled; 8 percent opted for a government-owned company; and only 20 percent like the present set-up of privately owned companies.

Fifty-seven percent of those polled believe that both Democratic and Republican parties favor big business rather than the average worker. And 58 percent feel that "America's major corporations tend to dominate and determine the actions of our public officials in Washington."

A plurality of 49 percent feel that it would do "more good than harm" to "develop a new political movement to challenge the influence of big business."

The Hart poll was commissioned by the People's Bicentennial Commission. But it could have been a project of supporters of the Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, to evaluate what people think of plank number eight of the SWP campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

It calls for the "right to know the truth about and decide economic and social policies."

As for the "new political movement to challenge the influence of big business," the Bill of Rights has this to say:

"The first big step toward a working class break from the two parties of big business would be the formation of an independent *labor party* based on the power of the unions. . . . It would lead the way toward a mass socialist movement that can start building a new social system."

One of the last questions asked in the poll should run shivers up the spines of those poor beleaguered Democratic and Republican presidential candidates. It found 56 percent of the American people willing to support a presidential candidate in 1976 who favors employee ownership and control of U.S. companies.

—Nancy Cole

Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



Senate's latest attack on busing

WASHINGTON—The Senate has struck two blows against the right of Black children to an equal education, a sure sign that the battle to end segregation is far from over.

Within one week, two antibusing amendments have been tacked on to an appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, both with the help of liberal Democrats.

On September 17, the senators passed the so-called Biden amendment by a vote of 50 to 43. The amendment was sponsored by Sen. Joseph Biden (D-Del.), a one-time civil rights activist and a liberal.

His amendment would prohibit HEW from using one of its most effective means of enforcing equal education—the denial of funds to school systems that perpetuate segregation. Aimed primarily at busing, the amendment would also prevent HEW from halting discriminatory practices within a school, such as separate Black and white classrooms.

A statement by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights called the Biden Amendment "unquestiona-

bly the most sweeping attack on a civil rights act passed by the Senate in recent years."

A week later, on September 24, the Senate passed by 51 to 45 another anti-busing amendment, this one introduced by the Democratic whip, Robert Byrd (D-W. Va.).

Byrd's amendment prohibits HEW from using its funds to "require" the busing of any student "to a school other than the school nearest to the student's home" in order to comply with civil rights laws.

Calling the Byrd amendment "little more than an effort to reinstate the separate but equal doctrine," the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights pointed out that the measure would "lock minority students to attendance only at unconstitutionally segregated schools inasmuch as many school districts have deliberately constructed and maintained schools in such a way as to create and perpetuate segregation."

The segregationist amendment nevertheless received the support of several prominent liberal Democrats—including Mike Mansfield of Montana,

Warren Magnuson of Washington, and Thomas Eagleton and Stuart Symington of Missouri.

Both the Biden and the Byrd amendments still have to go through a Senate-House conference on the HEW bill, so it remains to be seen if they will emerge intact. But their passage in the Senate has already set a dangerous precedent that will embolden racist forces.

Although the amendments do not apply to busing where ordered by a federal court, as in Boston, they still constitute a frontal attack on civil rights. HEW's use—and denial—of funds have played a major role in breaking up segregated school systems and enforcing civil rights legislation.

The passage of these two amendments, with the aid of the liberals, underlines the need for continued action to defend the right of Blacks to equal education.

The way to stop the racists and their friends in Congress is to build the broadest possible counter-mobilization of the Black community and its allies to demand that the buses keep rolling.

By Dick Roberts

The sharp increase of world energy prices precipitated by the 1973 Middle East war had not been foreseen by the Nixon administration when it launched the "New Economic Policy" four years ago.

But higher energy prices have become a central fact of world economics. It is necessary to take them into consideration in order to draw a full balance sheet on NEP. (For two earlier articles see the *Militant*, September 12 and 26.)

The latest chapter of the "energy crisis" took place in Vienna last week, when the thirteen nations of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries decided on a 10 percent rise in the base price of Middle East oil.

Although Washington was officially angered by the move, it was, in fact, minimal. It will change U.S. prices about one cent a gallon, compared with a rise of twenty to thirty cents a gallon in the fall and winter of 1973-74.

And the new OPEC move is a far cry from the predictions of the past that Arab and Iranian "petrodollars" would come to dominate capitalist finance.

"Oil was supposed to be scarce and rationed for the rest of this century," Britain's financial news-weekly the *Economist* recalled September 20.

"The west was in an Arab stranglehold. The expropriated oil companies would be ruined. The west's real estate and our industries would be bought up, the world's monetary and banking systems brought down by the uncontrolled wash of oil money. And there was no way out. . . ."

The predictions were wrong. "The world is not short of oil. The world's money and banking systems have not collapsed. There has not been a wholesale Arab takeover of the west," the *Economist* admits.

Peterson report

Although the specific outlines of the "energy crisis" could not be predicted when the White House launched NEP in August 1971, there was considerable concern at the time about the future of U.S. imperialism's ability to control world sources of raw materials.

In the December 27, 1971, white paper on NEP, Nixon's economic adviser Peter Peterson wrote, "Our imports have been rising not only in response to our consumer appetites, but because our industry buys an increasing share of its raw materials abroad.

"Our imports of crude oil, iron ore and copper are growing and we import most or all of our natural rubber, tin, nickel and chrome. Long-range projections indicate that by the year 2000 we will import 30% to 50% of our mineral requirements, including oil. In doing so, we will be competing in world markets with other industrialized nations, such as Japan, which are even more dependent on imported raw materials than we are."

But NEP could only serve to exacerbate the relations between the United States and the semicolonial nations producing raw materials. Two devaluations of the dollar sharply increased the prices of imported raw materials, favoring domestic production. U.S. exports captured increasing shares of the world food market and drove up food prices, while mass starvation spread across sub-Saharan Africa and parts of Asia.

NEP helped to fuel the inflation that swept the globe in 1972-73—and this was a causative factor in the historic decision of the OPEC nations to boycott imperialist oil markets and to take over foreign oil holdings in order to drive up the world price of oil. Some Arab leaders also hoped that this would pressure Washington to seek a more favorable settlement of the October war.

For the first time, a significant sector of the semicolonial world declared to imperialism: "Your higher prices have been starving us for centuries. We are going to play the same game—and with the commodity you need most, oil."

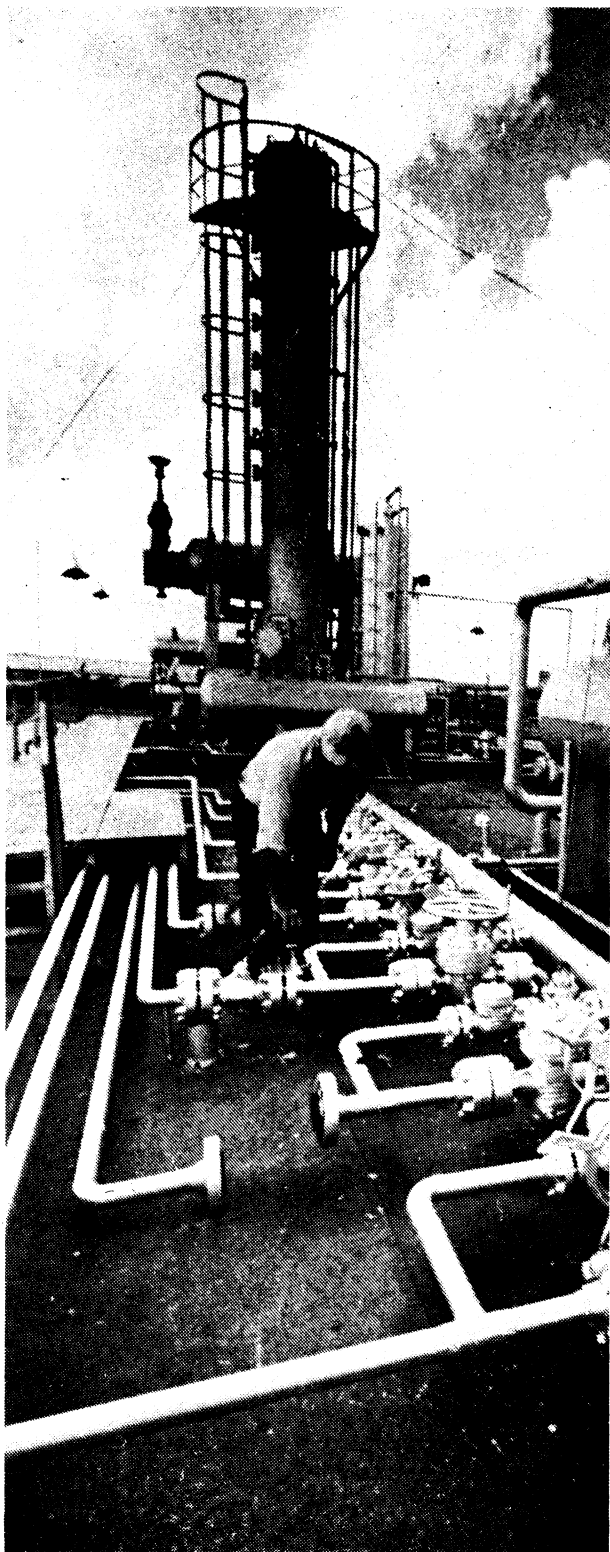
It shook world imperialism as have few events in the postwar decades!

But the error of those who predicted a decisive change in the balance of world capitalist forces as a result was to underestimate the ability of U.S. imperialism not only to absorb the OPEC move, but to turn it, to a significant degree, to the advantage of the American oil trusts.

The relative strength of U.S. imperialism proved to be more decisive than the newly gained power of OPEC.

Higher energy prices were a boon for the oil trusts, one that they had already been seeking before October 1973. And this is precisely because higher world prices were the key to lessening the dependence on imported energy that Peter Peterson worried about two years earlier.

Nixon's NEP: What energy crisis showed



Higher prices would enable the energy trusts to bring into production oil (and, importantly, coal) fields that were otherwise unprofitable. Not only would OPEC be undermined but also the imperialist oil cartel would be that much better off.

Just a week ago Kissinger reexplained this policy to the House-Senate joint economic energy subcommittee. According to the September 22 *Journal of Commerce*, "The secretary said the only way the United States can insure that [OPEC] does not continue to raise prices and curtail production of oil is to meet the goals of cutting consumption, stimulating U.S. production of oil and prodding the development of new sources of energy. . . ."

"[Kissinger] pointed out that rising fuel prices has been the tool used by 'every other industrial nation' to help cut consumption of imported oil."

Because they still own global energy sources, because they still control the facilities for marketing world oil, and because they are charging much higher prices for it, the oil trusts have profited, not lost, from the "energy crisis."

According to the *Economist*, Exxon's profits stood at \$1.532 billion in 1972, \$2.443 billion in 1973, and \$3.140 billion in 1974. Its profits are lower in 1975, but that is because of world recession—a calamity that has undermined OPEC considerably more than it has the Rockefeller empire.

World recession

World economic downturn has added to Washington's energy policies to narrow OPEC's room for maneuver. For a "one crop" economy—even if the single commodity is oil and not sugar or bananas—still has the severe weakness of being inextricably tied to the cycle of world demand for that one product.

As the capitalist world fell into recession in 1974-75 the demand for oil fell sharply. "OPEC's output, currently around 27 million barrels a day, remains only about two-thirds of capacity and is far below the 33-million-barrel-a-day volume reached just prior to the start of the Arab embargo in 1973," the September 23 *Wall Street Journal* reported.

This is a production drop of 18 percent—a higher percentage than the 14 percent drop of industrial production in the United States in the last two years, as the U.S. economy sank into depression. The result for the Middle East has been a sharp drop of the "petrodollar" surplus that was supposed to overwhelm capitalist finance, a cutting back of economic expansion programs by the OPEC countries, the entry of some OPEC countries into financial markets as borrowers rather than lenders, and even price competition within OPEC itself.

"Petrodollar watchers are sharply downgrading earlier estimates of the volume of surplus funds accumulating in the coffers of oil-exporting nations," the *Wall Street Journal* said May 23. From predicted surpluses as high as \$650 billion for all of OPEC by 1978, the figure has come down to as low as \$200 billion.

Price cutting has become so widespread in OPEC that the *Wall Street Journal* believes even the new 10 percent increase will be "softened" by the "price shading" of individual OPEC members.

The growing divisions on pricing within OPEC—widely publicized around the Vienna meeting—testify to the success of U.S. imperialism in undermining the producers' cartel.

In the drive to increase industrial productivity, in world trade and finance, and in the control of energy itself, U.S. imperialism has made significant headway since Nixon launched NEP four years ago.

But American finance today seems to be caught in a grip that threatens to cut across economic recovery, devastating municipal finances in its wake. The capitalist world as a whole has not been able to pull itself out of slump. These questions will be taken up in two final articles concluding this series on four years of NEP.

further reading

Capitalist economists drew panicky scenarios of 'Arab oil sheiks' dominating world finance, and blamed the depression on petrodollars. Marxists disagreed. In the only analysis of the energy crisis upheld by the test of events, Dick Roberts unravels the meaning—and limitations—of petrodollar accumulation, and tells why oil prices skyrocketed. Read it in . . .

Capitalism in Crisis

By Dick Roberts 128 pp., cloth \$6, paper \$1.95
Order from Pathfinder Press,
410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Tom Hayden: antiestablishment Democrat?

By Jerry Freiurth

LOS ANGELES—Tom Hayden's campaign for U.S. Senate from California has kindled the hopes of many people looking for solutions to our country's problems.

Will Hayden fulfill those hopes? Can his campaign provide a way to combat social evils?

These questions are at the center of an important discussion that has been sparked by Hayden's candidacy. The underlying issues raised in this debate are national in scope and deserve the attention of all who are interested in social change.

Last summer, Tom Hayden officially announced that he was challenging incumbent Sen. John Tunney in the June 1976 Democratic primary election. Since then, Hayden has spoken to hundreds of audiences across the state, gotten frequent and favorable media coverage, and raised more than \$60,000 in campaign funds.

What sets the Hayden campaign apart from the run-of-the-mill Democratic campaign, of course, is his strong association in the public mind with the student and antiwar movements of the 1960s. An early leader of the Students for a Democratic Society, he is perhaps best known as one of the defendants in the 1970 Chicago-Seven conspiracy trial. More recently, he served with Jane Fonda as a leader of the Indochina Peace Campaign.

In his speeches and written statements, Hayden talks at length about the profiteering oil corporations, banks, and other sources of gigantic wealth that are operating against the interests of American workers. He speaks about the disastrous effects of inflation and unemployment and about the corruption in high places exposed by the Watergate revelations.

How does Tom Hayden propose to change these conditions? He outlined his approach at a recent meeting in Oakland of the State Executive Board of Social Services Union Local 535. According to Hayden, what is required is an "antiestablishment movement" that can succeed. The way to build such a movement, he explained, is to vote for Tom Hayden.

Hayden's strategy

Hayden says campaigning for the Democratic nomination is the only realistic strategy "to win."

"Aren't you tired of supporting and working for lost causes, no matter how worthy?" Hayden asked at an August 25 public meeting at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles. The way to

really change the system, Hayden explained, is by getting people to come together within the Democratic party to build a "grass-roots movement" for his candidacy.

Realistic?

But the hard truth is that Hayden's campaign is neither realistic nor does it have the capacity to win social changes. It is his campaign that is a "lost cause," regardless of the outcome of the elections, because his program offers no real solutions to the social ills confronting the American people. While liberally spiked with radical-sounding verbiage, Hayden's campaign platform does not challenge the status quo in any meaningful way.

What are some of Hayden's positions?

To begin with, he extolls the virtues of the "free-enterprise system" at a time when millions of Americans are seriously beginning to question the viability of the country's economic structure.

In an attempt to justify this stand, Hayden explains that he supports small family enterprise, as opposed to giant corporate monopolies. "Wildflower Pizzeria in Santa Monica, as opposed to Shakey's [a large fast-food restaurant]," was the way Hayden capsulized his position in a recent interview.

But at the heart of the "free-enterprise system" Hayden supports is its drive toward monopolization. The "Mom and Pop" grocery stores and pizzerias simply can't compete with the A&P and McDonald's chains, and they inevitably fail under this system.

Unwilling to support the socialist alternative to the private-profit system of big business, Hayden tries to paint a utopian picture of what a reformed capitalism could look like.

'Human foreign policy'

Hayden professes to support a "humanistic foreign policy." But, at best, he equivocates on the crucial issue of eliminating the Pentagon's \$100 billion war budget.

In the June 27 issue of the San Francisco *Bay Guardian*, Hayden is quoted as saying that he doesn't "believe automatically that any defense contract ought to be cut...."

"There are a lot of peace movement people who think building a bomber is worse than building a car. In terms of the total casualties per year from poorly constructed cars versus the number from our bombers during the

time when there is not war, I think it's a narrow pacifism."

This is the worst form of demagoguery, justifying one evil by falsely counterposing it to another—a shopworn tactic reminiscent of some not-so-liberal members on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Hayden simply avoids other controversial issues. He has little or nothing to say on the crucial fight to desegregate the schools and the racist mob violence against Blacks that has taken place in Boston and in Louisville, Kentucky. He has point-blank refused to give his opinions on the upsurge in Portugal, telling a Los Angeles audience that he considers Portugal "unimportant."

Part of Hayden's rationale in avoiding "hot" topics was revealed in an article by James Dickenson of the *Washington Star* news service reporting on Hayden's speech to 300 students at Occidental College in Los Angeles.

During the question-and-answer period, the candidate explained his strategy for "dealing" with the Democratic party hierarchy: "You don't try to sell them on your whole program at once. You legislate a limited program and then ask why everything can't be like this."

Classic strategy

But isn't that the classic political strategy of only putting forward part of your program and then "temporarily postponing" the rest, waiting to somehow slip it past the people in power? Unfortunately, these "temporary postponements" nearly always become permanent.

Certainly there are some positive elements to Hayden's program. He gives support to the United Farm Workers, for example, and opposes a current rip-off scheme by the California utility companies. But he is not unique in this respect. Under the pressure of the deepening disenchantment with the U.S. government, many politicians are finding it to their advantage to make radical-sounding criticisms of the system.

By running on the Democratic party ticket, Hayden is in effect saying to his supporters: "The way to change things is to follow the example set by my campaign—register and vote Democratic, run for office as a Democrat, in short, work through the two-party system."

The harsh reality, though, is that Hayden's method has been tried repeatedly—and has failed just as often. It fails for the simple reason that

both the Democratic and Republican parties are committed to upholding the present capitalist system. And in upholding that system both parties are responsible for the growing attacks on the standard of living of working people.

'Veto-proof' Congress

The so-called veto-proof Democratic Congress, for example, has failed to take any meaningful action against unemployment and rising prices.

The Democratic Beame administration in New York City and the Democratic Brown administration in California have spearheaded massive layoffs and budget cuts.

The only "solution" to the economic crisis put forward by the leaders of the Democratic party is to make the average person bear even more of its costs. They have no way of ending inflation and unemployment because these conditions are endemic to the private-profit system.

Any real fight against these economic problems means a fight against capitalism itself, a fight these politicians have absolutely no intention of undertaking.

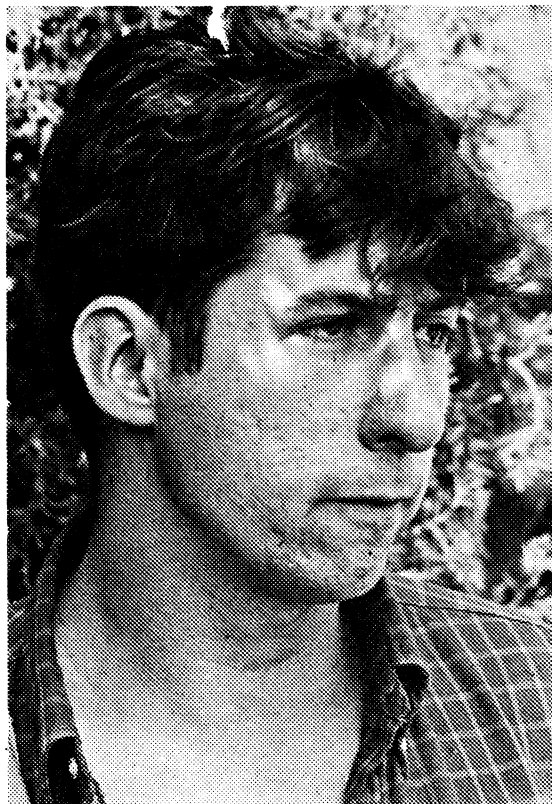
Neither is the Democratic party a vehicle for ending American military involvement around the world. It was Democratic and Republican administrations alike that tried to bomb Vietnam back to the Stone Age.

In his speeches, Hayden readily falls into line behind the diplomatic machinations of Henry Kissinger, supporting Israel and the continued U.S. intervention in the Middle East, which could lead to a new Vietnam.

Points backward

When Hayden urges people to register in the Democratic party, he not only fails to point the way forward to social progress, but actually points the way backward. Hayden's advice to become a part of the two-party system comes at a time when more people than ever before, under the impact of Watergate and Vietnam, are turning away with disgust from both the Democrats and Republicans.

A real avenue for progress can be found only in building a movement to challenge the "free-enterprise system" that Hayden defends—a system incapable of meeting the needs of the majority of Americans. And it will not be campaigns such as Hayden's, but the actions of the oppressed themselves, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, that can mount such a challenge.



Militant/Brian Shannon



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

TOM HAYDEN (then and now): Tired of 'lost causes,' boosts 'free enterprise.'

On the scene in Delano

UFW resists grower intimidation in voting

By Harry Ring

DELANO, Calif.—Following a hand-drawn map provided by a staff member at the United Farm Workers headquarters, we drove down a hot, dusty road that ran between endless acres of grapevines. Finally we spotted a group of people clustered around a pickup truck. We were at the entrance to the Marco Zaninovich Ranch, where a union representation election had just been held.

Standing along the roadside were a group of UFW activists and a number of priests. Inside the ranch property, the vote counting was still going on. They were waiting for word on the outcome.

Soon a big car came wheeling out, headed for town. A UFW member hollered excitedly, "He's a Teamster organizer. He looked mad. I think we won!"

Minutes later another car came heading out to the entrance. It was filled with a group of UFW people who had been election observers.

The excited crowd gathered around, and UFW executive board member Richard Chávez gave the results.

The UFW had won 238 votes. There were 197 for "no union" and 53 for the Teamsters. This meant the UFW was a few votes shy of the absolute majority required to win under the new California labor law.

But there were an additional twenty-eight challenged UFW votes. Thirteen of these were UFW members who were among the original strikers who walked out after the company signed a sweetheart agreement with the Teamsters in 1973 to avoid renewing their UFW contract. The other fifteen were packing-shed workers, who, under the rules, are also clearly entitled to vote.

If the Agricultural Labor Relations Board counts those votes, the UFW will be the winner. If not, there will be a runoff between the UFW and "no union."

Commenting on the small Teamster vote and the relatively large one for "no union," Richard Chávez said, "You can see what happens when the company divorces the Teamsters. Their vote drops way, way down. They can't get to first base unless the company tells their people to vote for them."

Even though the victory was not yet definitive, the UFW people were jubilant about the results. And when you consider what they were up against you realize they had every right to be.

Clerical delegation

The priests were part of a clerical delegation of sixty-five that had spent three days in the area observing the elections.

The next day they sent a smaller delegation to Sacramento to meet with Gov. Edmund Brown. They asked him to either enforce the new farm labor law or suspend the elections. The voting is taking place "in an atmos-



UFW organizers and supporters await election results at Delano ranch

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

phere of intimidation," Brown was told.

After the meeting, Brown's press secretary said the governor told the delegation that the ALRB is an independent agency, but they could be assured the state would provide the board whatever "resources" it needed to carry out its duty. He didn't say what the governor considered such "resources" to be, or how he defined the board's "duty."

On September 29 the ALRB publicly

with "an extraordinary series of unfair labor practices" at his ranch.

These included adding people to the payroll to vote in the elections, firing UFW supporters, evicting them from his labor camp, and refusing to hire workers who back the UFW.

Meanwhile, thirty workers from Andco Farms, the nation's largest tomato grower, staged a sit-in at the ALRB Sacramento office September 27 demanding that a majority vote for "no union" at the ranch be set aside. They charged widespread intimidation and ballot stuffing. An ALRB official said two full-time staffers are being added to help process such complaints.

Delano area

After hearing the vote results on the Zaninovich ranch, we drove to Forty Acres, the UFW headquarters. Here we talked with Ben Maddock, the union's director of organization for the Delano area.

A UFW veteran who has been working in the Delano area for most of the past seven years, Maddock described the rampant intimidation by the growers at the Zaninovich ranch and throughout the area.

It was in Delano in 1973 that two UFW strikers died. One was shot to death as he marched on a picket line. The other was clubbed by a deputy outside a local bar.

The growers seem intent on reviving that atmosphere in their continuing drive to destroy the UFW.

The night before the Zaninovich election, another rancher sent a gang over to the Zaninovich labor camp. Brandishing guns and knives, Maddock said, "they scared the devil out of the workers."

Maddock's charges were confirmed by the ALRB. In a September 25 official complaint, the board charged that a ranch supervisor had threatened two pro-UFW workers with death—and that seven of the union's supporters were fired on the eve of the election.

Maddock said there was another ranch where security guards were carrying guns in the fields. They were brandishing them freely on election day.

In addition to firing known UFW supporters, ranchers were laying off entire crews they suspected would be voting UFW.

Because of the intimidation, Maddock said, as many as 30 percent of the workers were not going to the polls.

As a result of all this, he continued, the Teamsters have managed to squeeze out at least a temporary voting lead in the Delano area.

According to his carefully compiled chart, the Delano grape ranch results,

as of September 26, stood as follows: Teamsters, 2,944; UFW, 2,477; no union, 928.

There are an additional 1,361 challenged votes, and about half of these were cast by UFW supporters.

One more step

Maddock discussed the Delano situation in a sober, realistic way. He said that at the outset some of the eighty people the UFW has working in Delano had illusions about the election process. They really believed the principles of law and justice would apply. They are now quickly learning, he said, what the reality is.

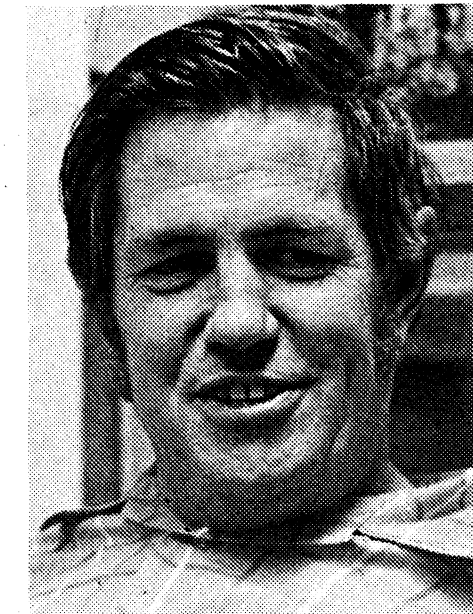
And, he emphasized, even where the union manages to win in face of all the crookedness, that's only one more step in the fight. After you win the election you still have to get the grower to sign a contract.

"What really guarantees that a rancher has to sit down and bargain with us?" he said. "The law only states, 'bargain in good faith.' what's that?"

"What's 'good faith'? Sitting there and talking to us all afternoon? I'm not dreaming. I know the growers are going to make it very rough, and we know they don't want us. They don't really care what their workers want. It's what *they* want, not the workers."

What will be needed to bring the growers to terms, he said, will ultimately be further strike action, along with continuing to press the boycott. "I would be foolish not to think that," Maddock said.

He emphasized the importance of the work of UFW supporters across the country. To them he said, "Keep up the good fight. We'll win."



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

UFW organizer Ben Maddock says union will need continuing support in effort to win contracts.

Vote totals

Following are the unofficial results of voting in the California farm worker elections as of September 29.

	Vote	Percent
United Farm Workers	12,033	45.5
Teamsters	7,780	29.4
No union	3,726	14.1
Challenged ballots	2,895	11.0
Totals	26,434	100.0

admitted that the elections have been marked by widespread irregularities, including coercion and intimidation of UFW supporters. Two top board members estimated that if all the voting had been conducted fairly, the UFW's percentage of the total vote would stand fifteen to twenty points higher. The board said it will announce procedures for more effective enforcement of its regulations.

Despite wholesale violations of the election law, the ALRB has issued only five complaints against growers. One of these is against Joseph Gallo, younger brother of the notorious Ernest and Julio Gallo. He was charged

Calif. AFL-CIO demands gov't act against 'Posse'

LOS ANGELES—The California AFL-CIO has called for a federal investigation of the heavily armed, right-wing "Posse Comitatus." Thugs from this outfit kept United Farm Workers organizers out of the fields in the Stockton area.

John Henning, secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation, also called U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi's attention to death threats posted on ranches where the "Posse" has been active.

In a letter to Levi, Henning enclosed a copy of a notice posted at the Western Tomato Fields Ranch in Stockton. The sign warned that any "intruder," including police, would be treated as illegally trespassing. The warning ominously concluded: "Survivors will be prosecuted."

Both the AFL-CIO and the UFW had appealed to state authorities for action against the "Posse," Henning's letter said, but the state had failed to move.

Teachers across country fight for

Atlanta: 'We want a signed contract!'

By Tony Dutrow

ATLANTA—"We want a contract! We want a contract!" echoed from the walls of Douglass High School here September 27. Three hundred picketers marched outside while school supervisors met inside.

The picket line was called by the Atlanta Association of Educators and the school board chapter of Local 1644, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Both organizations are demanding a signed contract with the Atlanta Board of Education.

This was the first action by the newly formed Coalition of Atlanta Public Employees (CAPE), made up of the AAE and AFSCME. CAPE has set a deadline of October 13 for a negotiated contract from the board.

The picket line, which drew equal numbers of teachers and AFSCME members, was called to protest an "Administrative Congress" convened by Atlanta School Supt. Alonzo Crim. In a memorandum to administrative personnel, Crim had requested their aid in "formulating strategies for responding to the demands of AFSCME and the AAE."

Crim and the board of education maintain that Georgia law prohibits the signing of contracts with public employees.

"Don't Listen to Crim's Fairy Tales," urged an AAE leaflet passed out to the 900 supervisors at the meeting. "The point of this meeting is strictly to divide and conquer. . . ."

"Tell him you support AAE's demands for fair pay and just treatment."

"Tell him his lawyers are wrong. Collective bargaining with teachers is permitted according to the State Attorney General's opinion."

"Crim is planning war strategies at taxpayers' expense when he should be talking with AAE about terms for a reasonable peace."

"Support teachers and other school employees."

"Endorse AAE's and AFSCME's proposals."

AAE President Bill Overton said that some of the 900 people inside the meeting were members of his union. "Counselors were surprised that Crim viewed them as supervisory personnel," he said.

AAE picket signs demanded: "Sign a contract with AAE now," "4,800 teachers want a contract now," and "Save our children."

Local 1644 signs read: "A signed contract now," "Local 1644 says: 18% pay raise," and "We want money, we want a signed contract."

School employees on the picket line told the *Militant* about the issues they are fighting for.

Johnny Murphy, a custodial worker and at-large Local 1644 officer, said that the board still refuses to honor the ten written agreements it was forced to sign in preliminary negotiations.

"They are still transferring and disciplining workers for no reason at all," he said. "The only way these rules are going to be enforced is through a signed contract."

One woman said that working conditions for food service workers have worsened since the ten agreements were signed.

"We still don't have the uniforms that they promised us and they are transferring workers out," she said. "They say they are doing this because of less students, but it just means more work for each one of us."

AAE member Leroy O'Quin, a Black elementary school teacher, described the deteriorating working conditions for teachers.

"We see firsthand that the board is not meeting the needs of the children," he said. "Increasingly we are faced with children who have learning disabilities. We don't have the resources to cope with the problem or control over the allocation of materials."

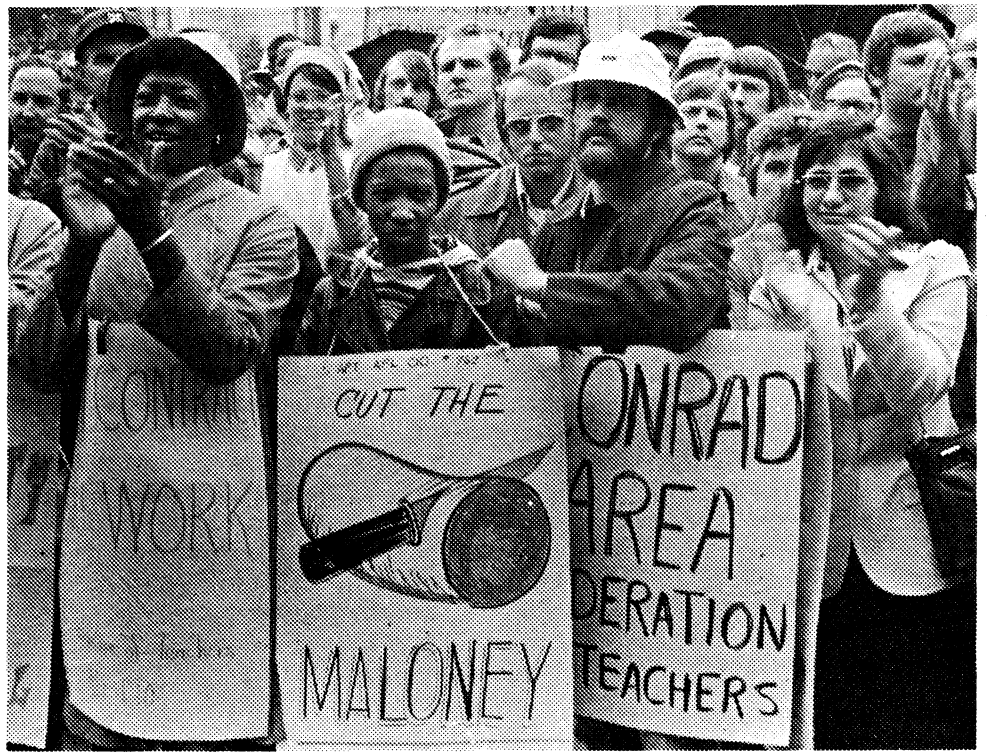
Members of the Bowen Homes Tenants Association also joined the picket line. Mary Williams, spokesperson for the group, pledged support to the school employees. "Whatever we need to do, we will do to help the teachers and school board workers," she said.

Both AFSCME and the AAE have begun to reach out for community support. Willie Burns, a Local 1644 chapter chairperson, said, "Already an outreach committee has met with my school's PTA. And now they are behind us 100 percent."

Burns went on to explain that the AFSCME strike committee is compiling a list of community organizations that it plans to send information and speakers to in order to explain the union's demand for a contract.

"One of the main things is to reach the public," Burns said. "We are also hoping to involve student groups in support activity."

Members of the Atlanta Student Coalition Against Racism also walked the September 27 picket line and distributed a leaflet offering SCAR's support to the teachers and school workers. Atlanta SCAR "will do all we can to organize meetings in the high schools and universities across Atlanta to explain how the fight of the school board employees is everyone's fight," the leaflet said.



Militant/Jon Flanders

Wilmington teachers and supporters demonstrate September 24 against Mayor Thomas Maloney's union-busting campaign.

Delaware: union hit with fines, arrests

By Roberta Scherr

WILMINGTON, Del.—More than 200 striking members of the Wilmington Federation of Teachers were arrested here September 22. The teachers were released on \$500 bail only after they signed forms placing them under house arrest.

According to the bail terms, they were to remain in their homes from 8:00 a.m. until 4:00 p.m. each day, to refrain from participating in strike activities, and to stay away from public school properties unless they were reporting for work.

This typifies the vicious union-busting campaign aimed at the 800 teachers here. On September 2, the WFT voted to strike the 23,000-student school system despite a state law prohibiting teachers from striking. Now a month old, the teachers' strike is the longest in the state's history.

The teachers are demanding a 12 percent across-the-board annual pay increase for the next four years, smaller class sizes, and other improvements in working conditions.

Thousands of dollars in fines have been levied against the WFT and its leaders.

On September 17 fifty-one secretaries were fired for refusing to cross the picket lines set up by the teachers.

"I think they went after the secretaries first because they knew that most of us depend on our income to support our families," one secretary who joined the picketing commented. "But I don't care if this strike goes six months—these are my convictions and I'm going to stay here no matter what!"

I. James Warnick, president of the WFT, told a meeting of the Delaware State Labor Council September 20 that the treatment of the teachers is "only a beginning." He pointed to recent concessions wrung from other public employees by Mayor Thomas Maloney's administration as examples of the campaign against the labor movement.

"We need to call a halt to the mayor's attacks on the unions," he said.

Council President John Campanelli blasted the city's union-busting tactics and said, "This is our sister union, and we'd better not let them get away with it." The council then voted to call a one-day solidarity strike for September 24.

Four hundred unionists rallied here September 24 in pouring rain. Representatives from unions in other parts of the state brought messages of solidarity to the teachers. While participation in the work stoppage throughout the state was uneven, union leaders credit it with forcing the city to lift the curfew on the arrested teachers.

Support for the strike from parents and students appears strong. Students have joined the picket lines with signs like "Come on Wendell [Howell, board president]—Stop Jivin'" and "A Mind is Being Wasted—Mine."

Several parents staged an overnight sit-in at the board offices to demand that the board return to the negotiating table. "At least the union talked to us," Ruth Baker, one of the parents, said. "When we came in here, the board treated us with arrogance and contempt."

As of September 29, negotiations are again broken off. Fines are continuing to add up against the union at \$1,000 a day. But the teachers and their supporters are standing firm.

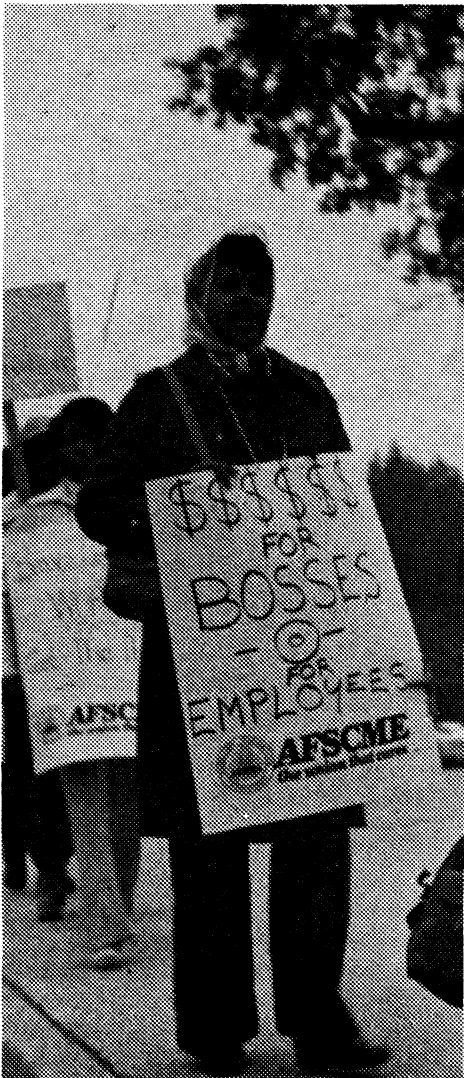
Chicago: board forced to settle

By Dan Caine

CHICAGO—Public school teachers here voted September 25, by a margin of 18,000 to 600, to ratify a new contract negotiated by the Chicago Teachers Union.

Teachers and students had returned to classes September 18 when the union agreed to accept the new contract offer from the board of education, ending the eleven-day teachers' strike.

The contract represents modest



Atlanta AFSCME, teachers, picket meeting of school supervisors.

wages, jobs, and better schools

gains for the teachers, including an across-the-board wage increase of 7.1 percent.

It also provides for retention of 1,525 teaching positions that School Supt. Joseph Hannon had threatened to cut. This provision will have the effect of lowering maximum class sizes in elementary schools by one student; high school class sizes will remain the same.

Other features of the contract include improved medical insurance coverage, a new dental insurance plan, and the creation of a full-time substitute teaching staff of 600.

The CTU's major demands had been a reversal of the threatened job cuts, a cost-of-living pay increase, and smaller class sizes. Throughout most of the negotiations, the board of education refused to concede any of the union's demands except to restore the 1,525 jobs.

Hannon insisted that the board did not have the money, and Mayor Richard Daley—who has traditionally intervened to get the teachers more money—concurred. The capitalist press railed about deficit spending that could send Chicago "down the trail that has proved so disastrous in New York."

On September 15, 1,300 members of the Cook County College Teachers Union ended their three-week strike. Their new contract abolishes the five-month self-terminating contracts used by the city to lay off hundreds of teachers.

The college teachers also won restoration of an annual schedule of incremental pay increases, immediate raises of \$500 to \$1,000, and relief time for department chairpeople.

Class sizes, however, will increase by an average of five students per class, according to a union spokesperson.

Boston: partial victory in strike

By Don Gurewitz

BOSTON—Striking teachers returned to work here September 30 in anticipation of ratifying a new contract. The six-day strike ended as the Boston Teachers Union executive board adopted a new contract after a marathon twenty-three-hour session with court-appointed mediators and the Boston School Committee.

As of *Militant* press time, the exact wording of the contract was not available. Job security was the chief concern of the union negotiators, and this appears to have been safeguarded for tenured and permanent teachers, at least for the time being.

However, the fate of the system's 535 provisional teachers appears bleak. Most must wait one month to find out if they will even have jobs through the end of this year.

Many provisionals are Black or Latino. Their jobs are keyed to school enrollment, which has been cut by the white student boycott organized by the antibusing movement against desegregation. The failure of the BTU to fight for and win job security for the provisionals reflects the central weakness of the union. Since its inception it has functioned as a white job trust.

The new contract negotiated by the teachers includes the agreement to implement a 1974 arbitration award that the school committee had refused to live up to. This agreement will enable the school committee to consolidate classes made smaller by the withdrawal of white students from the school system. Jobs for tenured and permanent teachers will be ensured by the creation of remedial reading programs, bilingual education programs, and similar educational improvements.

Other provisions of the contract were largely in line with the school committee's demands, although the teachers will get what one union spokesperson termed "a substantial increase" in health and welfare benefits.

The teachers received a 6 percent across-the-board wage increase, well below their initial 20 percent demand and 3 percent lower than their final negotiating demand.

One of the most brazen of the school committee's demands—that all teachers work overtime with no pay—was forced on the teachers.

Originally the committee had demanded an additional half hour per day. Then it had "compromised" by demanding only forty-five minutes unpaid labor from every teacher once a week. In the end, the union negotiators agreed to seventy-five minutes every two weeks.

The teachers themselves were militant and their strike was solid. Of the 5,000 working teachers more than 4,000 walked picket lines at the schools each day, and more than 94 percent stayed out.

Daily rallies of 2,000 or more teachers were held to boost morale and to keep the membership informed of progress in the strike. Determination remained high despite the fact that neither the BTU nor the parent American Federation of Teachers had strike funds to aid the teachers.

But the five-year-old union, conducting its first contract fight ever, was hit hard by a \$25,000-a-day fine imposed by Suffolk Superior Court Judge Samuel Adams. The strikers had defied an earlier injunction by Adams.

Even more important than the union's impoverishment was its isolation. The BTU campaigned to win public support, emphasizing that it was not only defending teachers, but also trying to defend and improve education against the attacks of the reactionary school committee.

However, the racist antibusing crusaders couldn't care less about the quality of education. They were only too happy to see the schools closed and the implementation of desegregation delayed.

At the same time, the BTU's historic unwillingness to publicly side with court-ordered desegregation, coupled with the fact that the Phase Two desegregation plan was temporarily stopped, contributed significantly to

uncertainty over the strike in the Black community.

The Black community, which had perhaps the biggest stake in protecting the jobs of Black provisional teachers and in upgrading education in general, was divided over what attitude to take toward the strike.

The NAACP and the Black parents who are the plaintiffs in the school desegregation case that has dominated Boston for the past year asked Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity to issue an injunction forcing the teachers back to work. Garrity refused.

Some members of a group called the Black Educators Alliance of Massachusetts called on Black teachers to cross the picket lines to aid Black students in the schools, even though BEAM leaders expressed sympathy with the union demands. On the other hand, the Trotter School Parents Association and Biracial Council, which includes a number of activist Black parents, came out in support of the strike.

One of the most important developments in the strike was the formation of a Black caucus in the BTU for the first time in the union's history. The caucus declared its intention of mobilizing Black teacher support for the strike while pressing Black complaints against current union functioning and policies.

Berkeley: teacher support grows

By Kathleen Fitzgerald

BERKELEY, Calif.—"Shut it down, shut it down/Turn this district around /Stay out here on the line!"

This refrain—written by the Board Erasers, a musical group that has emerged from the Berkeley teachers' strike—is sung every day on the twenty picket lines here. The song reflects the spirit and strength of the teachers in the fifth week of their strike.

The first teachers' strike in Berkeley's history has developed into a confrontation watched by teachers and officials throughout the state. While most teachers in California settled for less than they originally asked for, the Berkeley teachers decided to fight.

The teachers are demanding that the board of education honor an agreement made last April, which includes class-size limitations, and that it drop

its threats to cut educational programs, classroom supplies, and the health benefits and salaries of teachers.

The outcome of the Berkeley strike could affect future contract negotiations for all California teachers. And the intransigence of the board of education can in part be attributed to pressure from state and local officials outside Berkeley.

The board is also concerned with covering up a scandal brought to light by the Partridge Commission. This commission was handpicked by the board to back up its claim that there are no funds for education. Instead, the commission found the board guilty of "gross mismanagement at best, criminal neglect and fraud at worst" in its handling of funds.

So far negotiations between the board and the two teachers' organizations, the Berkeley Federation of Teachers and the Berkeley Teachers Association, have produced no results. But the teachers are determined to win, and they have gone about organizing the needed support to do this.

One of the most important aspects of this strike is that the two teachers' groups themselves are united. This is rare for affiliates of the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association. Most of the ranks of the two teachers' groups in Berkeley have taken to heart the slogan on the official strike button: "United Employees Win."

Almost daily, teachers' rallies and marches are held. On September 23, the board of education—despite its pledge to negotiate around the clock—announced it would hold a regular business meeting.

On a day's notice, the teachers mobilized 250 to 300 teachers and parents to attend the meeting and demand of the board, "No business but strike business—negotiate!" The mood of the crowd was summed up by one angry parent who yelled, "You're supposed to be our elected representatives. Why are you so afraid to listen to us?"

Frequently, after morning picketing, the teachers fan out across the communities, going door-to-door with materials explaining the issues of the strike and asking for support. Last week, signs began appearing in windows around Berkeley reading, "This home supports the Berkeley teachers."

The Coalition of Labor Union Women held a strike benefit dance on September 27.

A joint committee of the two teachers' organizations was recently formed to organize broader support from community, religious, and labor organizations.

Phyllis Calechman, organizer of the committee, told the *Militant* that one of their first tasks will be to appeal to the entire labor movement in the Bay Area to form a united labor committee to support the Berkeley teachers.



First teachers' strike in Berkeley's history is developing into major confrontation

Militant/Ron Payne

Reid campaigns at Black Caucus meeting

By Baxter Smith

WASHINGTON—"This country is in the midst of a deep crisis," a statement by Willie Mae Reid, distributed at the Congressional Black Caucus's legislative workshop, began. "We face rampant inflation and unemployment, drastic cutbacks in social services, preparations for new wars, and racial discrimination that has taken the form of mob violence against schoolchildren."

Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, was among 400 others who had come to the Black Caucus's third annual legislative workshop on September 26. The theme of the daylong affair was "From changing structures to using structures: 1876-1976."

Seven workshop sessions allowed participants, most of whom were Black elected and appointed officials, professionals, middle-level corporate executives, and caucus supporters, an opportunity to discuss the problems Blacks face.

Reid proposed measures to end unemployment, maintain affirmative-action programs, aid ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and end government war policies and illegal spying on and harassment of Black organizations.

From the floor she was able to address the morning plenary session about the urgency of mobilizing against racist assaults on school desegregation. Later, in her statement to the jobs workshop, she proposed that the Civil Rights Act be strengthened to prohibit employers from using layoffs to reduce the percentage of Blacks and women on the job.

Caucus chairperson Charles Rangel of New York said that of fifty items introduced into the Ninety-fourth Congress by the caucus, extension of the Voting Rights Act was the most important victory. He added that many caucus proposals were rejected.

Rangel listed among current priorities

full employment, tax reform, halting the importation of Rhodesian chrome, and making Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday.

All seventeen members of the caucus are Democrats, and Andrew Young of Georgia, the first Black to serve on the Rules Committee, spoke on "The Rules of the Game."

"Nobody is against civil rights," he said, referring to his congressional colleagues, Dixiecrats and right-wing Republicans alike. "Nobody is against affirmative action. They get us by cutting the appropriations."

He said white congressional representatives have now moved beyond racism and their sole concern is dollarism. But there are some tightwad Dixiecrats "on the appropriations committee," he said, "who even the president had to come around to Tom to." Almost forlornly, he added, "At least the Republicans know how to take care of their niggers."



YOUNG: Outlined 'rules of the game.'

Overall, the gathering was not intended to solicit solutions to be adopted, or to serve as a mandate for the caucus in its deliberations. Rather, it was an undisguised effort to get news coverage depicting the caucus as still on the scene—maybe not leading struggles against Black oppression, but at least thinking about the problems.

Two of the workshops, especially, revealed how far removed the gathering was from the needs of Blacks.

In the education workshop there was no discussion of how to stem the racist assaults on school desegregation, even though in a handbook the caucus distributed to participants, they wrote:

"Events in Boston, Massachusetts around busing, serve as a painful reminder that, twenty-one years after *Brown vs. The Board of Education of Topeka*, black people face a virulent, racist assault in their pursuit of the 'right to learn.'"

In the workshop on jobs and affirmative action, people who offered proposals to help alleviate unemployment sometimes found themselves being interrupted by the moderators with rude and brusque remarks.

The solution to Black joblessness and discriminatory layoffs, according to the caucus, will be passage of the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill. This bill, coauthored by caucus member Augustus Hawkins of California and Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), however, will not solve unemployment. It only asks for reduction of unemployment to 3 percent of the work force—which will mean about 6 percent for Blacks—and it has no binding proposals to even get it down to that figure.

Hawkins and John Conyers of Michigan moderated the jobs workshop. A short man with a subtle drawl and a Daddy Warbucks hairdo, Hawkins occasionally belched out dragon fire at critics.

"Either you haven't read the bill or you don't know what you're talking about," he told Reid, who had ques-



Militant/Joseph Ryan

REID: Outlined socialist solution to economic crisis.

tioned the adequacy of the bill.

Reid had read the bill and had proposed the alternative of turning over the Pentagon's war chest to create jobs.

"Full employment for Blacks," Reid said in her statement, "is our most pressing need. The most effective means towards this end would be the immediate implementation of a massive public works program."

"A bill should be submitted to Congress that would appropriate \$100 billion for this program. We must stand firmly opposed to any claim that there is no money available. . . . All funds in the war budget should be reallocated for human needs."

Reid's remarks at the workshop won her friendly nods and murmurs of approval.

Seattle socialist hits racist 'redlining' practice

By Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE—The Patricia Bethard for city council campaign opened a second storefront headquarters here September 27. The headquarters is at 2200 East Union Street, in the Central Area—the heart of the Black community.

Bethard, a member of the Socialist Workers party, took second place in a



Militant/Toby Emmerich

Patricia Bethard (right) calls for federally funded crash program to build low-cost housing in Black community.

"nonpartisan" primary election to win a spot on the November ballot.

Her opponent for city council position five is Sam Smith, a Black Democrat.

Bethard's supporters marked the opening of the new headquarters with a day of campaigning throughout the city. They sold copies of the *Militant* and distributed Bethard campaign literature as well as the "Bill of Rights for Working People," platform of the SWP 1976 presidential campaign.

Carmen Maymi spent the day campaigning for Bethard at a Safeway store a block from the headquarters. She was enthusiastic about the response to the campaign among Black shoppers. "Everybody will stop and talk to you," she said.

Maymi said that many of the people she talked to wanted to discuss redlining. Redlining, the refusal of banks and other financial institutions to make loans to homeowners in the Black community, has become a major issue in the city council race.

Smith, Bethard's opponent, says that action by the council to stop redlining is unnecessary. Smith, who ran for mayor in 1969 as a "law and order" candidate, said he is discussing the matter with the banks and believes they will cooperate.

Smith also supports the Task Force on Reinvestments set up by Mayor Wes Uhlman to study the matter. But the attitude of this task force was revealed

when a Central Area community group invited it to tour the Black community and witness the shabby, rundown housing and vacant lots that have resulted from redlining. Only five out of fourteen task force members bothered to show up.

Many Blacks, frustrated by the inaction of city government, have expressed their opposition to redlining in action. On Sunday, September 21, members of the Madrona Community Council staged a demonstration to protest the practice.

Another group, the Housing Action Committee of the Central Seattle Community Council Federation, painted red lines along the boundaries of the Black community. It was the federation that touched off the furor over redlining when it released a report documenting the banks' refusal to invest in the Black community.

Ekie Cole, president of the Madrona Community Council, described the problem in an interview with the *Medium*, a Black newspaper.

Cole said that in the past five years, Black communities have experienced a greater loss of housing, because of the banks' refusal to make home improvement loans, than any other communities in the city. He noted that vacant lots will not be replaced with new housing as long as banks continue this discriminatory treatment.

Lacey Steele, president of the Seattle

NAACP, told the *Medium* that the only solution is to apply pressure to stop the millions of federal dollars now deposited in the redlining banks.

"If these banks are getting federal moneys, their funds should be cut off now," Steele said.

He added that the NAACP would back a class-action suit around the issue if necessary.

Bethard, in a leaflet distributed by campaign supporters, agreed with Steele that federal and city money should be withdrawn from redlining banks.

What is required, the SWP candidate said, is a crash program to build low-cost housing and other facilities needed to improve the Black community. The money for such a program should come from the federal government's \$100 billion war budget.

Speaking to campaign supporters at a party celebrating the opening of the new headquarters, Bethard noted that "the Democrats and Republicans say elect us to office and trust us to solve your problems."

The Socialist Workers party, she said, "believes that only the Black community, organized to fight in its own interests through demonstrations, rallies, and boycotts, can force the government to provide decent housing."

"We say vote Socialist Workers, and if we are elected we will use every resource and power of the office to help you win that fight."

World Outlook

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

OCTOBER 10, 1975

A 'political tourist' tells how he got a glimpse into the struggle for democratic rights in Portugal

By F.L. Derry

"Political Tourism Rises in Portugal" ran the headline in a September 6 *New York Times* dispatch from Lisbon. "Visitors Swarm In to View Revolution in Action—Some Play Real Part."

These tourists were described by correspondent Marvine Howe as "students from Britain and Italy, professors from Germany, political exiles from Bolivia, Chile and Brazil, and a sprinkling of United States radicals."

"The keynote is practical politics: participation in political demonstrations, visits to political parties and factories, volunteer work on farm cooperatives."

Howe visited a tent city set up behind Lisbon University, housing almost 1,000 persons. She seemed unaware, however, of the much larger camp in Monsanto Park at the other end of Lisbon.

Not having visited this larger camp, she mistakenly believed that the largest group of tourists was from Germany. In fact, by far the largest group of political tourists was from France, and of these a large number were members or sympathizers of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), the French section of the Fourth International.

Monsanto Park is a huge sprawling affair that once belonged to a nearby monastery. Part of the park has been turned into a campground and trailer park. About 5,000 persons were there in July, many of them permanent residents in the trailer park.

Portuguese workers mingle with refugees from Franco's Spain. Former

PIDE (secret police) agents and others associated with the Salazarist regime live there, having left their more comfortable homes to await a change in the political climate. This summer saw the addition of hundreds of young political activists, in tents and sleeping bags, from all over Europe.

In the middle of July the French Trotskyists at the camp set up a literature table at the campground. They sold revolutionary literature in a number of languages and publicized the latest meetings and rallies in Lisbon. Only on the last day in July did any serious problem develop.

Sometimes the nature of big events is revealed most clearly in the everyday unnoticed struggles that together go to make up a situation of mass ferment. Such was the case in the struggle that took place when the manager of the campground demanded the literature be removed because it was "commercial activity." To justify his demand he produced a rule book printed in 1967 under the Salazarist dictatorship. The Trotskyists refused to move.

A large crowd gathered to debate the issues presented by this threat to democratic rights. For the next five hours as many as 100 persons were to be found at any given moment, milling around the table and discussing the question in Portuguese, French, and English. Sentiment was overwhelmingly against the manager, who was viewed by the crowd as being a reactionary.

The debate rapidly took on the character of a confrontation among the Portuguese residents of the camp as well as between them and the

French revolutionists on the question of democratic rights.

"We have enough trouble with the CDS [Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center, the right-wing bourgeois party]," claimed a middle-aged Portuguese man. "These people are outsiders and shouldn't be interfering. It's just causing trouble, and we've got too much of it as it is."

"Everyone's got the right to speak, don't they?" someone countered. "They're only distributing literature. The rules of the camp are fascist. The manager's a fascist."

"Look," the middle-aged man replied, "if they distribute their literature, what about the CDS? And the PPD [Partido Popular Democrático—Democratic People's party, the main bourgeois party]?"

"Everyone should have the right," someone answered. "That's what we fought for, isn't it?"

A woman in a bathing suit on her way to the pool stopped to listen. She started to defend the LCR, first in Portuguese then in French. "The rules are fascist and the manager is a fascist," she said.

Later she spoke separately to some of us from the LCR. "I'm in the Communist party, and the people here have no understanding of real proletarian internationalism. Besides, we have an alliance with the Trotskyists, with the LCI [Liga Comunista Internacionalista—Internationalist Communist League] in Portugal."

"No, that's not true," replied a member of the French LCR. "That was only a maneuver on the part of the PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party]." The debate drifted off into the question of

united fronts. I returned to the main discussion on who should have democratic rights.

Later the manager returned with the campground guards. When the guards began to destroy the literature on the table, the crowd turned on the manager, pinning him to a wall and demanding in a number of languages that he leave the literature alone. He escaped only with the arrival of four military jeeps carrying about twenty-five soldiers from Copcon [Comando Operacional do Continente—Mainland Portugal Operations Command, the regime's military security force].

The soldiers, instead of attacking the crowd, began to take part in the discussions. Many of them sported "Che Guevara" haircuts and beards, and except for their uniforms were soon indistinguishable from the rest of the crowd.

The manager pointed me out to the commanding officer, claiming that I was the ringleader. Although I had not even been working at the table I agreed to explain the problem to him.

"The manager has been trying to enforce the 1967 Salazarist rules," I said. "We oppose these rules and want to continue distributing literature that helps to explain and defend the revolutionary process in Portugal to all the international visitors who are here."

"The profound involvement of the Portuguese masses in all political affairs, and the broad democratic rights that have helped bring about and defend this mass mobilization, are the real source of strength of the revolutionary movement."

"If we allow the manager to turn the

Continued on page 22



Demonstrators celebrate the overthrow of the old Salazarist dictatorship on April 25, 1974. Struggle for democratic rights is still on the agenda in Portugal.

Uruguayan militants are victims of savage torture

[The following article appeared in the September 11 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

A very severe repression against worker and revolutionary militants is raging in Uruguay, creating an extremely difficult situation for the clandestine organizations.

On March 23, seven militants of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Uruguay) [PST(U)—Socialist Workers party (Uruguay)], sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, were arrested by the "Fuerzas Conjuntas"¹ during a search operation. The following week, seven more militants were arrested. New searches and arrests are still going on.

The fourteen arrested comrades were held for two months in the barracks of the Fourth Cavalry Regiment and were then transferred to the barracks of the Fifth Cavalry Regiment. The FF.CC. utilized physical and psychological torture, "scientific torture" under medical control, in an attempt to wring statements out of the arrested comrades that would enable the police to diagram certain organizations and arrest other militants.

Through the same methods the

1. The "Fuerzas Conjuntas" (FF.CC.—Joint Forces) is the name of the body that coordinates the three military branches and the police.



Uruguayan President Bordaberry

police tried to force the prisoners to sign confessions declaring themselves advocates of the principles and actions of guerrilla organizations.

The torture was intensive during the first three weeks; it was conducted not only on a daily basis, but several times a day. Throughout these three weeks, the prisoners were kept hooded and handcuffed, even when they were allowed to sleep. Their hands were untied and the hoods were partially removed only when they ate or went to the toilet (twice a day).

For twenty days the lives of these

comrades were in danger: There were electric shocks, the "baths,"² blows from special rubber clubs, death threats, and threats of rape against women comrades.

On June 9 the military court pronounced sentence: Twelve of the militants were sentenced to terms of two-to-six years in prison. Ten of the comrades sentenced were accused of "conspiracy and attacks on the Constitution"; the two others were accused of "attacks on the Constitution and conspiracy followed by preparatory acts," one being accused of founding a nucleus of the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (Vanguard Socialist Youth), the other of being a leading member of the PST(U). Three days later another of the accused, a minor, was released. One militant remains in prison without having been tried.

After three months of total isolation, during which they were denied the right to write or to be visited by their families, the prisoners were authorized to receive limited (censored) correspondence from their immediate families. They are now serving out their terms in an old railroad car, separated by sex, awaiting their final transfer to one of the barracks or prisons in which the 7,000 political prisoners of the regime are held.

In the meantime, sixteen other

2. "The baths" are a form of torture that consists of plunging the prisoner into water or excrement, threatening suffocation.

militants have been cited by the military court, which means that a warrant has been issued ordering that they be brought before the court.

In this situation, the most difficult that has confronted worker militants under the dictatorial regime established in the country in June 1973, we call on all democrats and revolutionaries throughout the world to initiate powerful solidarity actions.

The persecution of militants and the dangers faced by the thirteen militants presently in the hands of the military must be denounced. These denunciations must be conveyed by letters and telegrams to the Uruguayan embassies in all countries, demanding that the rights of the prisoners be respected, that the torture be stopped, that humane conditions of detention be established, that the prisoners be allowed visiting rights and free correspondence, that they be granted medical care and daily exercise as well as the right to receive and read all the press that legally circulates in the country and the right to carry on any manual or intellectual activities that they desire.

Democratic organizations throughout the world, the mass movement, all the committees set up to defend democratic rights and the rights of man, trade unions, intellectuals, and student organizations must exert pressure on the Uruguayan government for the defense of political prisoners.

Revolutionary socialist group formed in Panama

[The following statement by the Fracción Socialista Revolucionaria (FSR—Revolutionary Socialist Faction) of Panama was printed in the June issue of its newspaper *Revolución Socialista*. The same issue devoted a number of pages to an exposition of Trotsky's views on the bureaucracy in the workers states. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The Fracción Socialista Revolucionaria is a newly formed revolutionary organization. It was established following a split of three-quarters of the members of the Círculo Camilo Torres, who found it difficult to do student, working-class, and peasant work inside this group.

The formation of the FSR takes place at a time when historical conditions nationally and internationally are marked by a rise in mass struggles.

On the international level, the class struggle has sharpened significantly, as is shown by the victory of the Vietnamese revolutionists, the situation in Portugal, the workers struggles in Europe, the capitalist economic crisis, and the crisis of leadership in the bourgeoisie. All this, combined with the inadequacy of the revisionism and reformism of the Communist parties and of the *foquistas* (the heritage of the petty-bourgeois romanticism that reduces the Cuban experience to its purely military aspect), makes it possible in Panama to respond in such a way as to provide leadership for the explosions of the class struggle.

On the national level, the bourgeois reformists who have ruled since 1968 are using bonapartist tactics in an attempt to sidetrack the class struggle through a policy of demagogic anti-imperialism. At the same time they

permit the deepest possible capitalist penetration—to the very core of our society. The historic struggle of our people for the recovery of our principal natural resource, the canal, has been detoured down the wrong path by their posing the task as a national rather than a class question.

They have also deflected the peasant movement from its main struggles by carrying out a phony land reform. They are trying to bog the student movement down in confusion by giving governmental support to its fascist-like sectors (the leadership of the FEP¹). The aim is to prevent the movement from carrying out what would be its most important political action in the history of our country.

The working class, although organizationally dispersed and held in the iron ideological grip of the bourgeoisie and the reformists, is nonetheless now putting pressure on the bureaucracy in an effort to halt the deterioration of its living conditions and to win back its rights.

The FSR arose out of the need posed by the class struggle to build an organization able to present a coherent socialist alternative.

On the ideological level, this process of regroupment required breaking with the heritage of petty-bourgeois romanticism and clearly differentiating ourselves from the revisionism of the Communist parties and their conciliantist, reformist practices.

The FSR believes that different groups, activists, and vanguard cadres of the working class should converge to form the nucleus of a party.

Some circles have the notion that the

formation of so many left organizations is harmful, that it promotes division. They do not feel that there are differences justifying such a situation.

This view is widely held in broad circles, above all among the petty bourgeoisie. It arises from a failure to understand that the existence of different political organizations is a consequence of the class divisions of society and does not depend on the good or bad intentions of this or that individual.

Thus, the roots of the differences over tactics, strategy, and program lie in the class struggle.

Many differences that at first glance may seem trivial in reality go much deeper. The Chilean experience provides a full array of examples that bear this out. How do you deal with the ill-named middle class? How do you fight against the liberal revolution? In Chile, these questions were resolved in a reformist way, not a revolutionary one, with petty-bourgeois solutions, not proletarian ones. The results are well known. The imperialists and the bourgeoisie found favorable terrain for massacring the Chilean working class and revolutionary movement.

Those who say that what Panama needs is a democratic revolution, not a socialist one, are totally ignorant of the real situation in the country.

They think the problem of the Panamanian masses flows more from lack of capitalist development and obstacles created by feudal or semifeudal relations than from the effects of the bourgeois system of exploitation and domination that exists in our country.

Those who propose a bourgeois-democratic revolution think that impe-

rialism is something foreign against which all classes of the nations—the people as a whole—must fight. They do not understand that imperialism is intimately linked to the internal structure of the country and closely associated with the bourgeoisie. They leave aside the fact that in Panama, as in any other country of Latin America, the struggle against imperialism is inevitably linked to the struggle against the national bourgeoisie.

The FSR maintains that the decisive force in the process of revolutionary transformation is the working class. What is on the agenda is the struggle to overturn the capitalist economic system.

A grave defect in the position favoring a democratic revolution is that it leads to political attitudes in the workers movement and in other sectors of defending conciliation with the bourgeoisie (national unity).

Solving the country's economic and social problems and building socialism requires that we first build a political power that can make workers democracy a reality.

The bourgeoisie and imperialists are opposed to this.

The FSR calls for a struggle against the capitalists, the imperialists, and their objective allies—the reformists and opportunists.

CIA, CONEP, CAPAC²: The people will smash them.

Military bases out.

Socialist revolution or caricature of the revolution.

2. Consejo Nacional de la Empresa Privada—National Council of Private Enterprise; Cámara Panameña de la Construcción—Panamanian Chamber of Construction.

Despite pledge to end criticism

Bandaranaike expels LSSP leaders from her cabinet

By Caroline Lund

Sri Lanka's Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike on September 2 kicked out of her cabinet all three ministers from the Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society party), an organization that claims adherence to Marxism. She charged the LSSP with making too many public criticisms of her policies and of her husband, the former prime minister, who was assassinated in 1960.

This ended an eleven-year class-collaborationist alliance between the LSSP and Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom party (SLFP), a capitalist party. The SLFP and LSSP, together with the small, pro-Moscow Communist party, have ruled the country in a popular-front-type coalition government since 1970.

Expelled from the cabinet were Finance Minister N.M. Perera, Plantation Industries Minister Colvin R. de Silva, and Transport Minister Leslie Goonewardene. They were replaced with three members of the SLFP. The SLFP has a majority of 97 members of parliament out of a total of 157. The LSSP has 18.

The pro-Moscow CP, with one cabinet post, remains in the Bandaranaike government.

In press accounts of the ouster, the LSSP is frequently referred to as "Trotskyist." This is false, since the party betrayed the program of revolutionary socialism when it crossed class lines and accepted cabinet posts offered them in 1964 by Bandaranaike. Because of that betrayal, the LSSP majority was expelled from the Fourth International, the world party founded by Leon Trotsky.

A minority group split with the LSSP and carried forward the struggle for revolutionary socialism. This group, now called the Revolutionary Marxist party, is the Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International.

The immediate frictions that preceded the ouster of the LSSP from the ruling coalition centered on a government plan for nationalization of the tea estates. The nationalization plan is expected to be passed by parliament later this month.

The big tea estates, almost all formerly controlled by British companies, bring in 80 percent of the country's foreign exchange. British companies still own directly 30 percent of the tea acreage.

At a rally August 12 in commemoration of the powerful 1953 *hartal* (general strike) in Sri Lanka, LSSP leader Perera was reported to have said "that if the nationalisation of estates was not going to be done in a satisfactory way the LSSP would leave the United Front government" (as paraphrased in the August 14 issue of the *Ceylon Daily News*). He also asserted that such nationalizations as had already taken place resulted from the pressure of left parties like the LSSP and from mass actions like the 1953 strike.

In a reference interpreted as aimed at the SLFP and its former leader S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Perera charged that "some persons" had "embarked on nationalisation in order to perpetuate their names" (again, as paraphrased in the *Ceylon Daily News*).

In its public statements the LSSP has claimed to support a faster pace of

nationalizations. The party adopted the slogan, "There can be no halting places on the road to socialism." It has also criticized the vagueness of the current nationalization plan in leaving open whether the British-owned companies that market the tea crop would also be nationalized.

This demagogic stance reflects the mass pressure from the working masses of Sri Lanka for action to halt the rapid decline in their standard of living. Earlier this year the progovernment trade unions also called for faster nationalizations.

The immediate conflict with the SLFP, however, involved jurisdiction over the nationalized tea estates. Bandaranaike had decided that control over them would go to the minister of

agriculture, who is a member of her party, rather than to the LSSP minister for plantation industries, Colvin de Silva.

Control of the tea and rubber plantations, which employ about one million workers, is a big political plum. "The Sama Samajists resent a powerful political weapon and a means of patronage being taken out of their hands," wrote B.H.S. Jayewardene in the August 29 *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

The lack of real differences between the LSSP and the SLFP on the question of nationalization was evident from a public exchange of letters between Bandaranaike and LSSP leaders Perera and de Silva in August. The letters set the stage for the ouster of the LSSP.

In her letter of August 14 to Perera, reprinted in the August 28 *Ceylon News*, Bandaranaike referred to the speech by Perera two days earlier:

"The attempt by your party to show that the Sri Lanka Freedom Party headed by me is opposed to nationalization as you are perfectly well aware is without foundation. The programme of nationalization commenced in 1956 with the Government of the late Prime Minister at a time when your cooperation was not available to the late Mr. Bandaranaike, because of ideals you held then but which you have since abandoned on questions such as parity of status on language and citizenship for all persons of Indian origin not to mention the armed struggle and proletarian revolution." *

Bandaranaike concluded by warning that "this kind of vituperative politics must cease. . . if we are to continue to work together as a front."

In his reply, also printed in the August 28 *Ceylon News*, Perera claimed that his party is equally sincere in its desire for nationalizations. In his belly-crawling he ended by reaffirming his loyalty to the capitalist Bandaranaike government and pleading for a deal:

"In any event I am sure I did not indulge in what you term 'vituperative politics.' I have never done so. You have said in your letter to Dr. Colvin R. de Silva: 'I am willing to overlook and forgive a great deal for the sake of left unity as indeed I have done already where attacks have been made against me personally.'"

"I myself have tried to observe the same principle. In that context I should like to emphasise that it has always been the view of both my Party and myself that public attacks should not be made on each other by the constituent parties of the United Front."

"I assure you that my Party and I will co-operate in helping the rule of refraining from public attacks to be observed thus helping actively to preserve the unity of the parties who have already achieved so much

*. The reference to the LSSP's position on "parity of status on language and citizenship for all persons of Indian origin" is an allusion to the party's pre-1964 stand in support of equal rights for the oppressed Tamil people. The Tamils, who came to Sri Lanka from southern India, are among the lowest-paid agricultural laborers.

As part of the price of its coalition with the SLFP, the LSSP dropped its criticism of the chauvinist, anti-Tamil policies of the SLFP, a party that is based on the Sinhalese-speaking Buddhist majority.



Sri Lanka Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike decided LSSP was no longer necessary to her regime.



From top to bottom: N.M. Perera, Leslie Goonewardene, Colvin R. de Silva were kicked out of government. LSSP, often called 'Trotskyist,' was actually expelled from Fourth International for entering government in 1964.

through the United Front."

This was not good enough, however, for Bandaranaike, who had clearly reached the conclusion that the LSSP's usefulness to her regime had come to an end. When the three LSSP ministers refused her request that they resign, Sri Lanka President William Gopallawa simply removed them from office.

The service the LSSP had provided to the SLFP was to use its influence in the labor movement to hold back working-class struggles. The September 12 *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted that "there has been an erosion of support for the Sama Samajists, because they were associated with the Government's severe anti-strike measures."

With the country in the grip of inflation and facing severe shortages of food, the coalition government was becoming discredited. This was reflected in a decline in support for the government parties in by-elections earlier this year. A right wing within the SLFP has been gaining strength, as has the United National party (UNP), a bourgeois opposition party that has traditionally been most directly associated with British colonial interests.

Correspondent Harvey Stockwin speculated in the September 12 issue of the same publication that Bandaranaike's next move will be to try to form a coalition with the UNP for the 1977 general election. Another possibility, he suggested, is that "Mrs Bandaranaike may well follow Indian Premier Indira Gandhi's example" in dealing with the growing discontent with the SLFP regime.

The Bandaranaike regime has already employed such methods. In 1971 she declared a state of emergency and moved to militarily crush a movement of radical youth led by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front). Thousands were killed, censorship was imposed, and 18,000 persons were arrested. JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera still remains in prison, condemned to twenty years imprisonment.

The LSSP, as part of the government, gave full backing to this ferocious repression. Now, shoved out of the coalition, the LSSP could well become the target of new repressive measures made possible by the eleven years of faithful service to Bandaranaike performed by Perera, de Silva, and Goonewardene.

Veteran of many battles dies at 73

Georg Jungclas: German revolutionary Marxist

[The following statement was issued September 11 by the Political Bureau of the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group), the German section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Georg "Schorsch" Jungclas died today in the early morning hours at the age of seventy-three.

The German workers movement, as well as the international movement, has lost a comrade. Georg Jungclas, perhaps more than anyone else, embodied revolutionary continuity. He was active in the German and international working-class movement for more than half a century. His activity was directed to the struggle for a socialist—and thus humane—society. He carried out this struggle consistently: against capitalist society, against fascism, against restoration and rearmament, and also against bureaucratic and Stalinist currents in the workers movement. This is best illustrated in the basic facts of his life.

Georg Jungclas was born February 22, 1902, in Halberstadt near Magdeburg. Before the war he was a member of the Social Democratic youth organi-



Caroline Lund/Intercontinental Press

GEORG JUNGCLAS

zation in Hamburg. However his group was disbanded by the SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—Social Democratic party of Germany] leadership, and later, during the First World War, by the military command, because of the group's antibureaucratic and antimilitarist policies. In the last years of the war Schorsch worked underground.

In the period of the rise of the German revolution, Georg Jungclas stood in the front lines. In 1919 he joined the newly founded Communist party. During the revolt in central Germany in March 1921, he took part in the occupation of the Blom and Voss shipyards in Hamburg/Altona. In the "Hamburg Uprising" two years later, Schorsch participated in the occupation of the police station of Hamburg-Eimsbüttel.

For all revolutionists, the years 1924 to 1933 were above all marked by the struggle against the Stalinization of the KPD [Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands—Communist party of Germany] and against fascism. When the growing influence of the Stalinist bureaucracy cast its first shadow on the German Communist party, Georg Jungclas took the side of the Zinoviev (head of the Communist International, later executed by Stalin) group. In 1928 he was expelled from the KPD for his

antibureaucratic stand and joined the Leninbund. In 1930 he, together with other comrades, founded the Left Opposition in Germany, the organization of German Communists who supported Leon Trotsky. Schorsch met Leon Trotsky for the first time in 1932. He accompanied the latter to Copenhagen, where Trotsky delivered his famous speech in defense of the October revolution.

After the fascists took power, Georg Jungclas worked for a short time underground and then emigrated to Denmark. In Copenhagen he built a group comprised of German emigrants. Following the German invasion of Denmark he was active in the resistance movement for four years. In 1944, while in the midst of preparations for the "Danish people's strike," he was arrested by the Gestapo and sent to the concentration camps in Germany (Hamburg, Berlin, Bayreuth).

Schorsch continued his revolutionary activity immediately after the Second World War. He played a leading role from the very beginning in the construction of a German section of the Fourth International. The newspapers *Unser Weg* [Our Path], *die Internationale* [The International], *Sozialistische Politik* [Socialist Politics], and *Freies Algerien* [Free Algeria] were strongly marked by his contributions.

The struggle against German rearmament had a very special meaning to him, as did the antimilitarist movements such as the "ohne mich" ["count me out"] movement, the Paulskirchen movement, and the anti-nuclear-weapon movement, as well as the movement of solidarity with the Algerian revolution.

Schorsch Jungclas was secretary of the German section of the Fourth International until 1967 and is a longtime member of the leadership bodies of the Fourth International. His main goal was always to build a revolutionary party of the proletariat in Germany—a party that holds upright the banner of revolutionary Marxism against the Social Democratic and Stalinist currents.

Schorsch was among the best and most steadfast of revolutionists. He was respected by the German left and by revolutionary Marxists throughout the world for his courage and his firmly principled conduct through half a century. Schorsch embodied the unbroken continuity of the best traditions of the German socialist and communist movement.

We have lost a comrade. But his life and his struggle were not in vain; he will continue to be an example for us. And his goals are our goals. For us, his death can only bid us: Struggle on!

SWP message

[The Political Committee of the Socialist Workers party sent the following message to Helene Jungclas, Georg Jungclas's widow, and the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten* September 19.]

No working-class leader in Western Europe has kept aloft the red banner of revolutionary Marxism so tenaciously as Comrade Georg Jungclas. His life and his work will remain as an inspiring example of courage and conviction. The Socialist Workers Party salutes the memory of this staunch veteran of the class struggle with whom we have collaborated for so many decades in the world Trotskyist movement.

Long Live the GIM.

Long Live the Fourth International.

*Those who wish to send messages of condolence may address them to Helene Jungclas, Hermann-Löns Strasse 19, 5159 Sindorf, West Germany.



'Death to Marxism,' says banner in Nazi demonstration. Jungclas worked in German underground and during World War II was in resistance movement in Denmark.

...the struggle for democratic rights in Portugal

Continued from page 19

clock back and begin to restrict some democratic rights, it will only help to disarm and demobilize the entire movement in Portugal. The same arguments that claim too much democracy in the camp will only cause a lot of turmoil and division will be used tomorrow in Portugal as a whole to limit dissent, reestablish censorship, and ban groups that are considered too militant."

The officer from Copcon responded that he too disagreed with the "fascist laws." "In Portugal, we do not have any laws that go back before April 25. However, we do not yet have any other laws for the campgrounds. While we completely disagree with these rules,

why don't you just agree to obey them until the management gets around to adopting new ones?"

This we refused to do. It soon became clear that the crowd supported our rights. After more than an hour of debate the soldiers withdrew, promising to get a ruling from higher Copcon authorities. It came within half an hour—the Salazarist rules were to be enforced, and the table had to be closed down.

The manager then demanded that I be taken to his office for a "private" meeting. The crowd gathered around me to make sure that the campground guards would cause no problems. Finally, the Copcon officer agreed to personally accompany me to make sure I returned unharmed.

The crowd was extremely suspicious of the manager's intentions. The woman who had previously identified herself as a member of the PCP reiterated her view that the manager was a reactionary, that he was harboring PIDE agents in the camp, and that he had to be stopped.

It was only in the private meeting of myself, the manager, the Copcon officer, and one of the campground guards that the real reason behind the incident became clear.

The manager, after demanding my expulsion from the campground, introduced himself as being "probably more left" than me. He was, in fact, "not a reactionary but a Communist" and a member of the PCP. Furthermore, it quickly became clear that this was

known to the Copcon officer. The two had apparently collaborated on similar occasions in the past.

To top it off, the officer said he did not disagree with the 1967 Salazarist regulations, as he had told the crowd outside. Quite the contrary: There was too much dissent already on the campgrounds, he believed, and the laws would help "avoid trouble."

"Don't those same arguments apply to Portugal as a whole?" I asked. "Isn't the logic of that to restrict all democratic rights throughout the country?"

He admitted, with a chuckle, that "there is a certain tendency in the army like that."

That closed all further debate on the subject. I was expelled from the campground.

Restrictive Calif. ballot laws challenged

By Bob Golden

SAN FRANCISCO—The 1976 elections are a little over a year away. Already the Democrats and Republicans in the California state legislature are maneuvering to make certain that independent candidates and third parties are kept off the ballot again this year.

Nowhere in the United States today is there an election law as undemocratic as the one in California. The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) filed suit in 1973 challenging this law on behalf of five political parties—La Raza Unida party, the Socialist Workers party, the Socialist Labor party, the Prohibition party, and the Libertarian party. The Peace and Freedom party, which does have ballot status, has filed a supporting affidavit attacking the law as unconstitutional.

"The main problem is that many people are unaware of how blatantly undemocratic this law is," Byron Ackerman, California secretary of CoDEL, told the *Militant*.

To qualify for the ballot in the next election in California, a party must collect more than 640,000 signatures of registered voters, compared with a requirement of 20,000 in New York State. While California requires signatures equal to 10 percent of the last vote, the average required in the other forty-nine states is less than 0.5 percent.

Alternately, new parties can achieve ballot status by convincing 64,000 voters to change their voter registration and affiliate with the new party. This is an expensive and cumbersome process.

The affidavit filed by the Peace and Freedom party in support of the CoDEL suit contends that it was only under unique circumstances and with tremendous expense that it was able to

comply and obtain ballot status in 1968.

While keeping smaller parties off the ballot, the discriminatory California law guarantees the Democrats and Republicans permanent ballot status. Democratic and Republican candidates for U.S. Senate from California need collect only sixty-five signatures to get ballot status. The presidential candidates of these parties will get on the ballot without filing a single signature.

The law is also rigged to keep parties based on particular communities off the ballot. A political party cannot be listed on the ballot in any district for state assembly, state senate, or the U.S. Congress unless it first meets the statewide qualification requirements. This provision keeps parties such as the Raza Unida party off the ballot, even though it has broad support in many communities.

In 1972 La Raza Unida party was able to register 20,000 voters in Los Angeles County alone. But because it was not able to gain the 64,000 required statewide, it was not allowed on the ballot anywhere.

In the technically nonpartisan elections in East Los Angeles last November, one Raza Unida party candidate outpolled the Democrats. It is precisely because independent candidates and parties would be able to seriously challenge the Democrats and Republicans on a local level that the statewide qualification requirement is part of the law.

There have been several proposals to change these laws, but the Democratic and Republican-controlled legislature has turned down every one of them. And now, the major party politicians are particularly fearful because of the growing voter disillusionment with their parties.

According to a recent Gallup poll, the number of Americans who identify themselves as independents has reached an all-time high. There are

more voters who consider themselves independents than Republicans, and almost as many as consider themselves Democrats. A second poll by Hart Research Associates reported

that 57 percent agree that "both the Democratic and Republican parties are in favor of big business rather than the average worker."

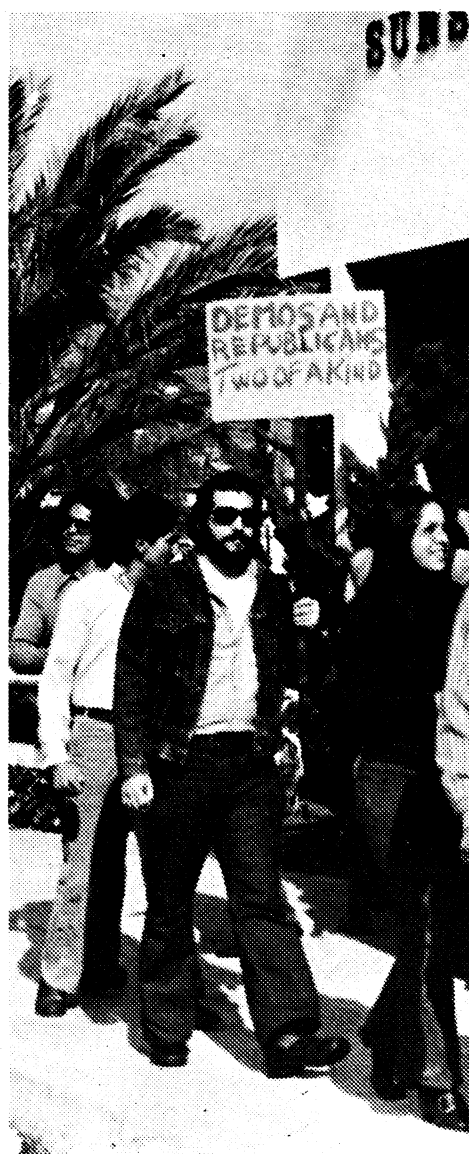
This August, the California Senate effectively killed the latest attempt to reform the election laws. The Senate Elections Committee tabled until January a bill that would have reduced the number of signatures required by an independent candidate. Even if passed, this reform would not go into effect until January 1977, too late for the presidential election.

In this case the Democrats on the elections committee led the fight against reforming the law. They were afraid that a candidate such as Eugene McCarthy would take votes from the Democratic presidential nominee in 1976. Currently, independent candidates running without party affiliation must collect the signatures of 320,000 voters in twenty-five days in order to qualify for ballot status.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws expects to get a hearing scheduled for its suit sometime either in December or January before a three-judge federal panel. In the meantime, it is working to build broad support for the case. Speaking engagements before unions, law associations, and civil liberties, student, and political-action groups are being organized to gain endorsement for the effort to strike down these undemocratic laws.

A focal point of this work is getting messages from trade unionists, lawyers, community activists, and others sent to California Secretary of State March Fong Eu demanding that these laws be changed immediately. In addition, CoDEL is seeking the support of all candidates for public office in California.

For further information about the suit and CoDEL's plans, contact the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, Post Office Box 17314, Los Angeles, California 90017.



Militant/Mariana Hernández
Raza Unida party demonstrators in Los Angeles. Ballot restrictions are used to hamper growth of such independent parties.

Cleveland socialists spark 'Militant' sales drive

By Pat Galligan

"Give me one of those papers, I like the headline!" the driver of a passing car called to the *Militant* salesperson. He was referring to the demand "Defend Black students! Action needed to stop racist mobs," on the front page of the September 19 *Militant*.

The motorist drove away with one of the 1,055 *Militants* sold by the Cleveland Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance that week to get out the truth about developments in Louisville, Kentucky, and in Boston.



Militant/Herman Kirsch
Cleveland sales teams sold both subscriptions and single copies.

As part of the effort, two Clevelanders, Phil Norris and Bruce Kimball, traveled to Louisville with 350 *Militants* and sold all of them.

Melissa Singler, organizer of the Cleveland SWP branch, explains that 700 copies were sold "during rush-hour blitzes each weekday, downtown at lunch time, and in housing projects."

Chris Remple, who coordinated the special effort, reports: "We sold 398 copies in Black neighborhoods and also sold twenty-three subscriptions in a housing project."

The Louisville YSA ordered 100 copies of the September 19 *Militant*—five times their regular bundle. Eighty copies were sold in the Village West Housing Project near downtown Louisville. Most of the remaining copies were sold at a meeting of Progress in Education, a coalition organizing a response to the antibusing forces.

"People were particularly interested in the Boston situation and how the Black community there has responded to racist violence," Charlie Rosenberg reported. "I met a number of high school students who are being bused. They wanted to know how socialists view the issues involved."

A total of 7,168 copies of the September 19 *Militant* were sold in local areas. This is 96 percent of the national goal.

Houston had a very successful week owing to sales of 319 *Militants* at Fiestas Patrias (Mexican Independence Day) activities in the barrios.

Charles Vivajala set the pace, selling eighty-nine copies. He tells us that many Chicanos who bought the paper were interested in how the United

Farm Workers would do in the union elections in California.

The Illinois, Ohio/Kentucky, and Wisconsin Young Socialist Alliance teams all met their quota of fifteen subscriptions last week.

Wisconsin team member Jane Harris reports that the team sold eighteen subscriptions at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. "Three from the literature table and fifteen more in the dorms—all were sold in minutes," she writes.

As of September 30, the number of new subscriptions stands at 574, short

of the 1,145 subscriptions we should have at this point in the drive.

Subscriptions have to be sent in at a faster pace to meet the national goal of 6,000 by November 30.

B.R. Washington from Detroit recently sold nine subscriptions to co-workers at Harper Hospital. Don Bechler, also from Detroit, sent in two subscriptions sold at his tenth high school reunion.

No matter where you are—at work, at school, at the laundromat—there are people who will subscribe to the *Militant*. All you have to do is ask.

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold last week	%
Louisville, Ky.	25	100	400
Cleveland	350	1,055	301
Newark, N.J.	100	145	145
Houston	350	472	135
Denver	275	340	124
South Side Chicago	250	278	111
San Francisco	325	351	108
West-North Chicago	250	271	108
Boston	300	314	105
Oakland/Berkeley	350	363	104
St. Louis	300	312	104
Pittsburgh	275	287	104
New Orleans	100	103	103
Baltimore, Md.	150	152	101
Norman, Okla.	11	11	100
Seattle	275	264	96
Portland, Ore.	200	175	88
Philadelphia	275	235	85
Washington, D.C.	325	272	84
Brooklyn, N.Y.	300	252	84
San Diego	200	154	77
Central-East L.A.	350	260	74
West Side L.A.	75	53	71
Detroit	375	251	67
Milwaukee	200	115	58
Upper West Side, N.Y.	325	183	56
Twin Cities	300	164	55
Atlanta	375	141	38
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	250	95	38
Total	7,500	7,168	96
YSA teams			
Texas	90	148	164
Ohio/Kentucky	90	120	133
Wisconsin	90	110	122
Rocky Mountain	90	103	114
Mid-Atlantic	90	97	108
Illinois	90	93	103
Upper Midwest	90	82	91
Pennsylvania	90	70	78
Southern Calif.	90	70	78
Southeast	90	64	71
Missouri/Kansas	60	39	65
New England	60	35	58
Pacific Northwest	90	50	56
Michigan/Indiana	90	40	44
N.Y./N.J./Conn.	90	35	39
Total	1,290	1,156	90

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PORTUGUESE WORKERS



SWP National Organization Secretary Barry Sheppard, who reported on Portugal issues at recent convention, addresses Militant Forum in New York. Militant/Lou Howort

SWP convention: issues in Portuguese revolution

By Caroline Lund

In the recent period the events in Portugal have been at the center of world politics. They were also a centerpiece of the deliberations of the twenty-sixth national convention of the Socialist Workers party, held last August in Ohio.

A full one-third of the convention time was devoted to grappling with the life-and-death issues of the Portuguese revolution.

In these discussions, convention delegates and guests had the benefit of hearing the views of revolutionists from other countries as well. Of the 1,600 convention participants, 265 were international guests from eighteen different countries, including two revolutionists from Portugal.

In preparation for the convention, Socialist Workers party branches held discussions on Portugal in which all members could participate. To supplement the extensive weekly coverage available to SWP members in the *Militant*, *Intercontinental Press*, and other sources, the party's national office published a special bulletin containing translations of some of the key articles on the recent events in Portugal from the press of other socialist organizations around the world.

SWP conventions usually open with a report and discussion on the world political situation as a whole. At this convention, however, the international reports focused on the issues in the Portuguese revolution.

The first reporter, SWP Organization Secretary Barry Sheppard, explained that this centering of the discussion was because of the extreme confusion and sharp differences on the left over these events and the crucial importance of the lessons involved, not only for the success or failure of the Portuguese revolution but also for building the Socialist Workers party and the international revolutionary socialist organization, the Fourth International.

The SWP is prevented by reactionary legislation in the United States from belonging to the Fourth International, but lends it its fraternal support and solidarity, and actively participates in the political debates within the world organization.

The discussion on Portugal continued in a second report by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, who took up the impact of the Portuguese events on the political debates within the Fourth International and the organizations sympathetic to it.

Among the highlights of these sessions were the greetings to the convention from representatives of the LCI (Liga Comunista Internacionalista—Internationalist Communist League) and the PRT (Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores—Revolutionary Workers party), the two groups supporting the Fourth International in Portugal. Both received prolonged ovations from the assem-

bled delegates and guests, who displayed a great interest and knowledge concerning the revolutionary upsurge taking place in Portugal today.

Greetings from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, brought by Alan Jones, a leader of the British International Marxist Group, were also warmly received. Jones recalled the central role played by the Socialist Workers party in the mass antiwar mobilizations that helped inflict a historic defeat on American imperialism in Indochina. He saluted the gathering as truly "a victory convention"—for the Vietnamese and for the American working class.

Main lines of report

The report by Sheppard for the SWP Political Committee centered on the analysis of events in Portugal since the fall of the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship in April 1974. The main political conclusions outlined in his report could be summarized as follows:

1. The April 25, 1974, coup in Portugal "was the result of a conclusion reached by the ruling class of Portugal that it could no longer control its colonial empire, or dominate its own working class, primarily through Salazarist repression." It decided to reorganize its forms of rule, to modernize its economy, and switch over to neocolonialist methods of domination in Africa. This reorganization was carried through by violent means in the April 1974 coup. The capitalists hoped to maintain their rule through the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), the political arm of the military hierarchy, which, because of the coup against the fascist-like old regime, was initially identified by the masses with their aspirations for democracy, an end to the colonial wars, and improved living conditions.

2. Since the coup, Sheppard continued, "the objective of the MFA has continued to be to modernize and strengthen Portuguese capitalism—not to overturn it. . . . The MFA has used socialist phrasemongering to put capitalist needs in a better light as a first step toward restoring the dominance of bourgeois ideology and of bourgeois law and order and repression."

3. Portugal is an imperialist country, dominated by indigenous monopolies and finance capital. Therefore the pro-Portuguese nationalist demagoguery of the MFA, which claims to be fighting for Portuguese "national liberation" from other imperialist powers, is at bottom reactionary and for Portuguese imperialism. The MFA has used this nationalist demagoguery to aid its attempts to maintain a neo-colonial grip on its colonies and former colonies, especially the richest, Angola.

The response of revolutionists must be to demand immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Portu-

gal from all of its colonies.

4. The 1974 coup opened the floodgates to a mass upsurge and radicalization of the Portuguese people. Hundreds of thousands joined trade unions and the Communist and Socialist parties. Anticommunism was discredited and all leftist groups were given a hearing.

"After the decades of dictatorial rule," Sheppard stated, "the masses of Portugal have made it clear, through their actions, that they want complete democracy—the opposite of totalitarianism. They view democracy in quite a practical way—as an assurance of their right to struggle for a better standard of living and to form a society offering increasing opportunities and abundance. And they swiftly came to the conclusion that the correct name for what they wanted was *socialism*."

When elections to the Constituent Assembly were held in April 1975, voters gave a majority to the main working-class parties, the Communist and Socialist parties, giving them a mandate to form a workers and peasants government.

5. In the face of this upsurge, the Portuguese capitalist class has set out to wear down and demoralize the masses and restrict their rights. The main instrument for this task has been the MFA, aided by the leaderships of the Communist and Socialist parties, who were both ready to politically endorse the MFA and subordinate the aspirations of the masses to the bourgeois military rulers. This popular-frontist, class-collaborationist policy of the CP and SP, said Sheppard, "represents the most important obstacle to the Portuguese revolution."

Since the fall of the Salazarist regime, the Communist party has played the more direct role as henchman of the MFA, as its cops within the labor movement, helping to divide the working class and tighten control by the military. This was seen in the Stalinists' role in closing down the newspaper *República*, which reflected the views of the SP, as well as in the CP's denunciation of the SP as "social fascist" and the main enemy of the working class. The Stalinists also joined in with the MFA's demagogic campaign against the rights of political parties and to hobble the Constituent Assembly in the name of "direct democracy" and "people's assemblies" to be controlled by the military.

The *República* take-over, said Sheppard was not an example of workers' control, as the CP and MFA claimed. "Real workers' control has nothing whatever to do with censorship," he stated. "This was not workers' control but bourgeois repression, utilizing the slogan of workers' control to sucker the gullible."

By acting as a cat's-paw for repressive government moves, Sheppard stated, the CP paved the way for a resurgence of anticommunism on a mass

scale. "They have succeeded in arousing one of the fundamental props of bourgeois rule—the fear among the masses that socialism means an end to their democratic rights and subjugation to a tyrannical machine."

6. While the fundamental policy of class collaboration of the SP leadership is the same as that of the CP, the SP was forced into opposition last summer, especially following the *República* affair, simply to defend its democratic rights.

7. The role of the various centrist groups to the left of the CP and SP had at the time of the report become one of strident supporters of the military regime, echoing the CP line on major questions, although from their own ultraleft and anarchist-type orientation. Their policy of emphasizing "rank-and-file organizing," and downplaying the big political questions facing the masses, led them to fall for the MFA's "direct democracy" plan as well as for the take-over of *República*.

8. Sheppard also discussed the line taken by many of the newspapers of sections and sympathizing groups inside the Fourth International in their coverage of events in Portugal. He pointed out that unfortunately some of the world Trotskyist press had been taken in by the MFA's demagoguery concerning "people's power," and had supported the ultraleft, progovernment demonstrations in July.

Broad discussion

The discussion following Sheppard's report brought to the fore a number of key issues.

The delegates voted to grant extensive discussion time under both international reports to leaders of sections and sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International to express their points of view. Equal time was given to the two major organized groupings within the Fourth International, the International Majority Tendency, and the Leninist Trotskyist Faction. The contributions enriched the discussion and the delegates' understanding of the key issues involved.

These two political currents inside the world Trotskyist movement did not arise from differences concerning the events in Portugal. They originated

democracy and soviets cannot be counterposed to the fight for democratic rights under capitalism, as some of the ultraleft groups in Portugal project.

The point was emphasized later by Jack Barnes that it is impossible to make an absolute division between supporting democratic rights and defending bourgeois democratic institutions that are under attack.

"Democratic rights do not just float around in the air," he noted; they are either institutionalized, or they don't exist. For example, he said, "the Bill of Rights is part of the American capitalist constitution. But it lays down fundamental democratic rights which will probably be lifted right out and put into the constitution of a workers state in this country when one is created. The SWP has always advocated this since our founding."

United front tactic

Another difference centered on how to forge a united front between the CP, the SP, and the smaller parties that are part of the workers movement.

The united front is a tactic elaborated by the Third International under Lenin and Trotsky. The idea is that when the revolutionary party does not yet have the support of a majority of the working class, it can still spearhead the struggle for the needs of the oppressed, and thereby prove its program most correct, through calling for and building united class-struggle actions by all the workers parties around issues they can agree on. The goal is to win a majority of the masses to the revolutionary party.

The CP and most of its ultraleft hangers-on were at that time campaigning against united-front action with the SP, which they characterized as the spearhead of imperialist reaction in Portugal.

Sheppard denied that the SP was the main danger to the Portuguese revolution. "To say so cuts across the necessity of building an urgent united-front defense of the needs of the masses," he said, citing the problems of unemployment and skyrocketing inflation. "If this is not done, no amount of rhetoric about socialism and soviets will win the

Secondly, events in Portugal have shed new light on a longstanding debate within the international over minority actions and an orientation to what has been labeled the "new mass vanguard." The "new mass vanguard" in Portugal has primarily been the various ultraleft centrist groups.

"Adaptation to the 'new mass vanguard,'" said Barnes, "and the substitution of minority action for the need to win the majority of the working class, has led not to outflanking the traditional workers parties and constructing a new Marxist vanguard, but to the disorientation of the vanguard and to their tail-ending after the CP and even the capitalist government."

The main question, to which all the others are related, remains how to construct a Leninist party capable of leading the Portuguese revolution, said Barnes. "That is our central task."

Strengthen the international

Barnes concluded on the meaning of the Portuguese debate for the Fourth International. Although the political character of the discussion makes it especially sharp, he said, if the debate is carried forward correctly it can add to the prestige of the Fourth International among militants throughout the world. If the international can continue to carry out a democratic discussion, subordinating organizational frictions to political clarity, "it can be a chance for major regroupments and strengthening of the forces of the revolutionary international."

The struggle in Portugal is by no means over, and the Portuguese Trotskyists still face a historic opportunity, he continued. "We're convinced that new forces, revolutionary forces, who are learning from their mistakes, will be attracted toward the international around the tests in Portugal just as they were around the tests of the Spanish civil war, the Cuban revolution, and other big revolutionary events."

He stressed that the Fourth International "cannot let any routinism, sectarianism, or dead-end factionalism stand in the way of extending a hand to any forces that show motion toward Trotskyist positions on the Portuguese events."

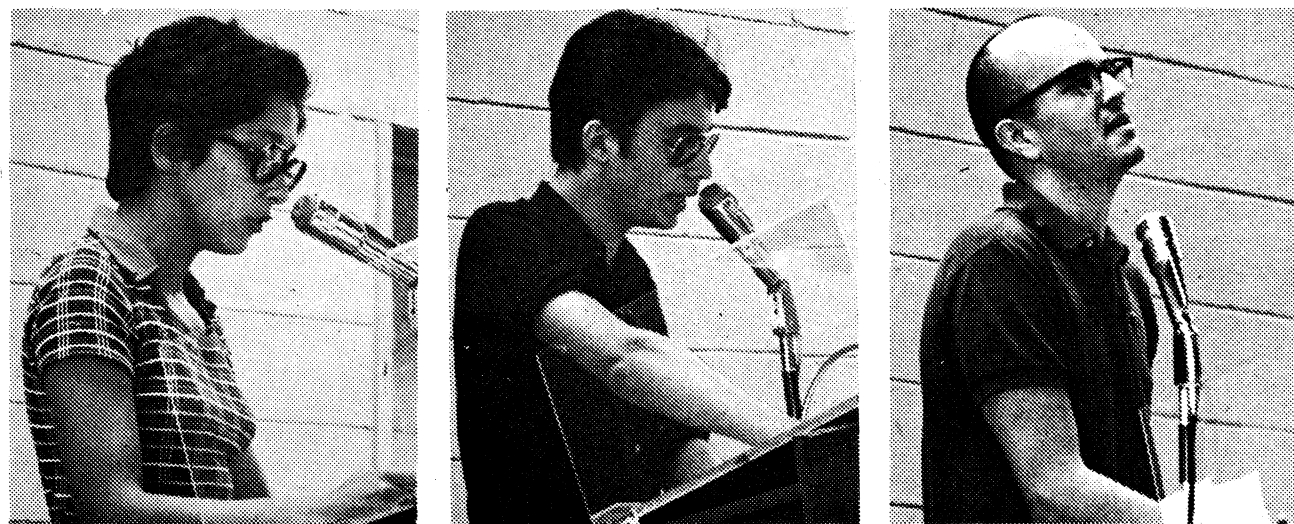
Barnes ended his report with some remarks about the importance of the weekly newsmagazine *Intercontinental Press*, which was one of the main achievements of the reunification of the Fourth International that took place in 1963 after a ten-year split. *Intercontinental Press* has become a key organizer and educator for the international revolutionary socialist movement.

Barnes noted that one of the main contributions of *Intercontinental Press* is simply to provide all-sided, accurate translations and information about world events. Such information is "the first condition of party democracy," he said. It provides the basis for the membership to make up their own minds on the issues.

The general line of the reports by Sheppard and Barnes were approved by the delegates after nearly two days of searching discussion.

International concerns were not limited to the conventions sessions. During the week, workshops were held on the defense of political prisoners in Latin America, in Iran, and in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Discussions were organized on the Puerto Rican struggle in the United States and Puerto Rico, as well as on cooperation with Mexican militants in defending the struggles of farm workers along the Mexican border.

Jack Barnes summarized the attitude of the delegates when he stated that "there is no party that needs international collaboration and understanding of the lessons of the international class struggle more than does the SWP. We need this to help equip ourselves for the massive tasks that we are determined to accomplish."



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

Left to right: Representatives of Liga Comunista Internacionalista and Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores, two groups in Portugal supporting Fourth International; Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary.

in a debate that began in the late 1960s over the place of guerrilla warfare in revolutionary strategy in Latin America.

However, many similar and closely related political issues have been raised by the unfolding revolution in Portugal, and the debate over these questions has become a public one, reflected in the pages of the world Trotskyist press.

Readers of the *Militant* who are interested in following this discussion are urged to subscribe to *Intercontinental Press*, the weekly newsmagazine of the world Trotskyist movement, where they can read and study the different points of view, as well as follow the rapidly unfolding developments in Portugal.

At the SWP convention, the reports by Barry Sheppard and Jack Barnes on behalf of the SWP Political Committee also reflected the point of view of one of the two currents in the Fourth International, the Leninist Trotskyist Faction. Alan Jones of the British section of the international presented the point of view of the other current, the International Majority Tendency.

A main area of difference was on the question of democratic rights and their relevance to the struggle for socialism, as raised in the *República* take-over and in the MFA's attempt to hamstring the Constituent Assembly.

Another point of disagreement was whether revolutionists should today call for a government based on the elected CP-SP majority in the Constituent Assembly and counterpose this to rule by the military.

Sheppard stressed that the fight for workers'

masses to actually struggle for socialism."

Since the SWP convention, the views of the International Majority Tendency that were developed by Alan Jones have been explained at length in an article by three of the tendency's leaders, Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, and Ernest Mandel, entitled "In Defense of the Portuguese Revolution," which was published in the September 8, 1975, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

In his report on the world Trotskyist movement Jack Barnes placed the differences on Portugal in the context of the seven-year debate that has taken place inside the Fourth International. This debate has been a rich one, covering the whole range of issues facing revolutionary militants today.

Barnes noted that the new state of the discussion on Portugal involves *political* differences, as opposed to theoretical or organizational ones. That is, they concern questions of what to do next in a fast-moving revolutionary process. With this test of the living class struggle, the discussion has acquired greater urgency and the need for clarity has become more imperative. Demagogic arguments lose their effectiveness; what counts most is what you do, not what you say. The test of Portugal, he said, can be the occasion for drawing a balance sheet on the past years of discussion in the international and lifting the debate to a new level.

Barnes emphasized two key points of difference: First, revolutionary Marxists must never forget, he stated, that "no revolution can be made without a majority, or in spite of and in opposition to the struggle by workers to defend their democratic rights."

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MASS TRANSIT IN PITTSBURGH. Speakers: Kurt Stepling, coauthor of new mass-transit plan; Neil Berns, SWP candidate for Allegheny County Commissioner; others. Fri., Oct. 17, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call: (412) 682-5019.

SAN FRANCISCO

REPRESSION IN SPAIN. Panel discussion. Panel: Juan Dura, Spanish student; a representative of Amnesty International; others. Fri., Oct. 10, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call: (415) 864-9174.

...Tibbs

Continued from back page

Tibbs is light-skinned with a smooth complexion.

When confronted with this, Nadeau testified, "Maybe he changed colors."

Neither the green truck that Nadeau claimed the murderer drove nor the murder weapon has ever been found. During the trial it came out that there is no lake anywhere near the alleged attack scene into which Tibbs or anyone else could have thrown a gun and Nadeau's purse.

Moreover, a police lieutenant testified that the attacker would have had to be familiar with the Fort Myers area to find the secluded field where the crime supposedly took place.

Even Nadeau's account of how Milroy was shot was contradicted by the autopsy report of the path of the bullet.

Furthermore, it was disclosed that Nadeau was fleeing with Milroy from another man, Jim Garner, with whom she had been living up until the day Milroy was killed. Garner was never questioned by police about his possible involvement in the crime.

To bolster the "evidence" against Tibbs, the prosecutor brought forward a second "witness"—Sylvester Gibbs, who is serving a life sentence for rape. He testified that Tibbs "confessed" to the crime while they were cellmates.

Gibbs had earlier offered this story to sheriff's investigators who rejected it as a lie, but in the effort to railroad Tibbs to jail the state's attorney picked

it up. Under oath, Gibbs placed Tibbs's "confession" as having taken place two weeks before Tibbs was even brought to jail!

At the end of the trial, with Nadeau's and Gibbs's testimony ripped to shreds, the prosecution suddenly introduced a registration card bearing Tibbs's name from a Salvation Army mission in Orlando. Dated February 4, it was offered as "proof" that Tibbs had lied about being in Daytona Beach at the time.

At the post-trial hearing, Judge Shands refused to allow testimony from handwriting experts who had determined that the card was a forgery.

Represented by attorneys George Howard and Howard Moore, Tibbs is appealing the racist frame-up to the Florida Supreme Court.

A massive effort, like the effort that freed Joanne Little, is needed to save Delbert Tibbs from the electric chair.

Contributions toward the cost of Tibbs's legal defense can be sent to the National Defense Committee for Delbert Tibbs, 3245 South Calumet, Chicago, Illinois 60616. The committee is urging that letters of solidarity be sent to Delbert Tibbs, 046450 R-2-S-12, Post Office Box 747, Starke, Florida 32091; and that letters of protest be sent to Gov. Reubin Askew, State Capitol, Tallahassee, Florida, and to Chief Justice James Adkins, Florida Supreme Court, Tallahassee, Florida.

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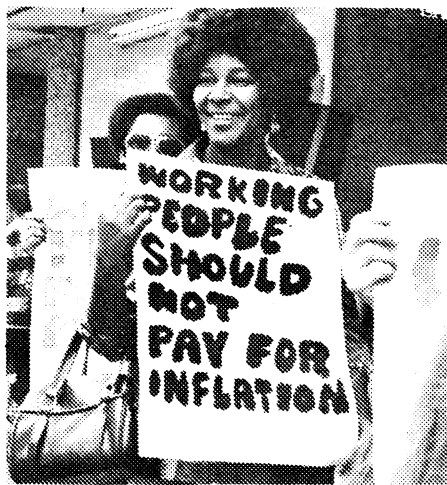
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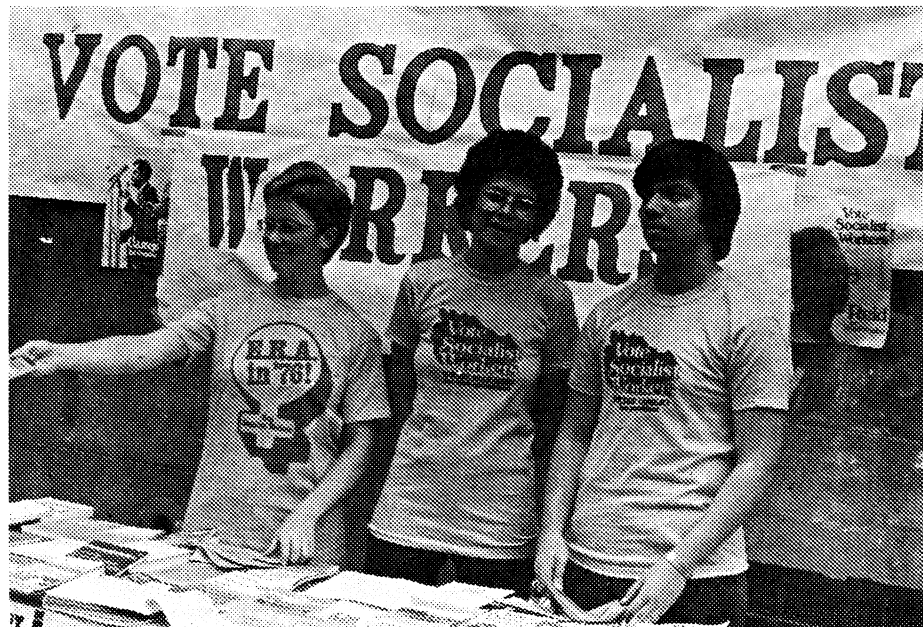
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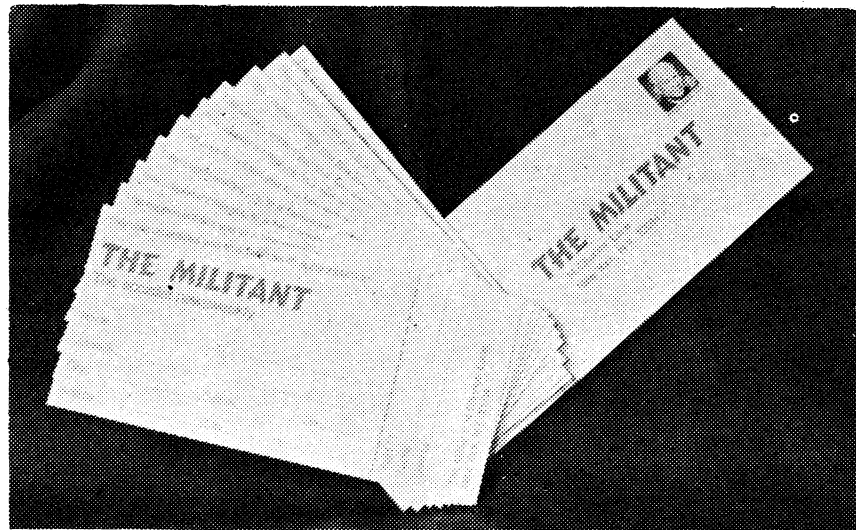
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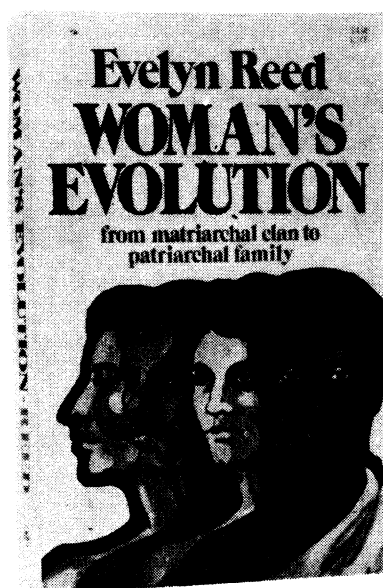
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Free Delbert Tibbs!

U.S. 'justice' claims another Black victim

By Judy Hagans

CHICAGO—The story of Delbert Tibbs is a bizarre nightmare that any Black man in America could experience.

Tibbs, a thirty-six-year-old writer from Chicago, is on death row in Florida State Prison. He was convicted by an all-white jury of raping a white woman and shooting her white male companion to death.

On March 24, 1975, he was sentenced to life imprisonment for rape and death in the electric chair for murder.

"I am convicted of a crime of which I'm innocent," says Tibbs. "I'm guilty only of being Black and poor. Neither is a condition of which I am ashamed."

At a September 18 news conference here, Joanne Little explained that Tibbs is a victim of the same racist system of "justice" that led to her own frame-up on murder charges.

Little, who won massive public support in her victorious fight to be acquitted, urged all-out support for Tibbs.

"A year ago I was basically in the same position that Delbert Tibbs is in," she said. "Now is the time for people to start doing something. In Delbert Tibbs's case there was not enough press and publicity and therefore it was a closed case. I know that the system is not out to help him. Black people deserve a fair trial."

Accusations

Tibbs's trial was anything but fair. At the trial, sixteen-year-old Cynthia Nadeau claimed that on February 3, 1974, she and Terry Milroy, who were hitchhiking to Marathon, Florida, were picked up by a Black man driving a green truck. She said the man took them to a field in Fort Myers where he raped Nadeau and shot Milroy in the head.

After the shooting, Nadeau claimed, the man threw the murder weapon and her purse into a lake and drove her back to the highway. She said the man told her he worked in the area and was in "serious trouble."



Delbert Tibbs is on death row for a crime he never committed

Alarmed by the lights of a car coming down the highway, Nadeau claimed, the man told her to stand in the glare of his headlights. She got out of the car, she said, and ran to a nearby house where she called the police.

Within minutes after her call, deputies set up roadblocks and sealed off the city in search of a man with a green pickup truck. Neither the man

nor the truck was found.

On February 4, Nadeau worked with a police artist on a composite drawing of the alleged attacker. The resulting sketch bears no resemblance to Tibbs.

How then did Tibbs, who has never been to Fort Myers, become the accused?

How Tibbs was victimized for being a Black man in the "wrong place at the wrong time" can best be explained by

a review of his life and the saga he had embarked upon at the time he was arrested.

Tibbs was born in Shelby, Mississippi, and moved with his family to Chicago while a teen-ager. About the time he moved north, he began to read the works of the great Afro-American writers. Recognizing his own talents, Tibbs began writing himself.

Increasingly interested in philosophy and religion, Tibbs enrolled at the Chicago Center for Black Religious Studies and the Chicago Theological Seminary. Before journeying to Florida he had never been arrested in his life.

Tibbs recently decided to leave divinity school and devote himself to being a full-time writer. Works of his have been published in *Black World* magazine.

Writing a novel

At the time of his arrest, Tibbs was on a solitary sojourn, hitchhiking through the South gathering material for a novel. He did farm work from place to place to sustain himself.

On February 3, the night of the murder, he was in Daytona Beach, Florida, 225 miles from the scene of the crime. Out of money, Tibbs slept on a beach that night along with other young people.

On February 6, Tibbs began hitchhiking west toward his Mississippi hometown. The next day he was stopped by police in Ocala, Florida. Harassment of hitchhikers is routine in Florida.

Following their usual procedure, police photographed Tibbs, checked him out, and gave him a "safe conduct" statement to show that he had been cleared. He then proceeded to Mississippi.

Meanwhile, the Ocala photograph was routinely distributed throughout Florida. On February 13, Nadeau claimed that the man in the picture was the alleged killer-rapist, and Tibbs was picked up in Mississippi.

His trial was a classic example of the vicious bigotry of Southern "justice."

In a judicial district that is 16 percent Black, the jury that heard Tibbs's case was all-white. Judge Thomas Shands ordered extreme security measures throughout the trial and restricted the testimony of character witnesses for Tibbs to yes-and-no answers.

The list of witnesses who testified on Tibbs's character was impressive. It included Illinois state legislator Robert Holloway, Chicago Alderwoman Anna Langford, and Rev. Charles Mack, professor of religion at Mundelein College.

Nadeau, who gave a false name when she first approached the police, had described the attacker as very dark-skinned with a pock-marked face.

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Joanne Little joins in Tibbs defense

CHICAGO—Joanne Little and Angela Davis added their voices to a "Free Delbert Tibbs" rally here September 20.

Little, recently acquitted on the charge of murdering a prison guard who raped her, told the 700 people assembled at Operation PUSH headquarters that the Tibbs case was just as important as hers and called for a massive effort to free the Black writer.

Davis, speaking for the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, said the Little and

Tibbs cases were "two sides of the same coin"—one a Black woman victim of rape by a white jailer and the other a Black man framed up on charges of raping a white woman.

Bill Hampton, brother of slain Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, solidarized with Tibbs and announced that a suit seeking damages for the murderous police raid which led to his brother's death in Chicago in 1969 will finally be coming to trial in November.

Willie Barrow, vice-president of

Operation PUSH, gave a rousing collection speech. The enthusiastic audience responded by giving \$2,600.

Other speakers included Celia Sánchez, Puerto Rican Socialist party; Pam Graves, Chicago Women's Defense Committee; former state legislator Peggy Smith Martin; and Norman Roth, former president of United Auto Workers Local 6.

Singer Terry Collier and the McCarty Nucleus contributed their musical artistry to the effort to free Delbert Tibbs.