

THE MILITANT

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

HANDS OFF LEBANON!

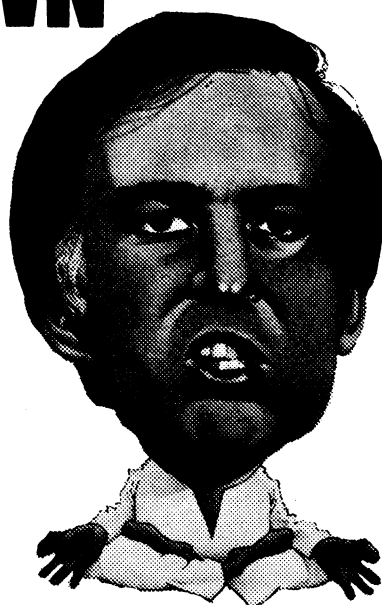
**Syrian invasion threatens
new Middle East war**

—PAGE 18

JERRY BROWN

**SKINFLINT
GURU
OF THE
RULING
RICH**

—PAGE 17



Nelson

GARY TYLER

- **Thrown in solitary**
- **Klan harasses family**
- **Night riders terrorize
New Orleans Blacks**

—PAGE 3



NEW YORK CRISIS

**BITTER FRUITS OF UNION
SUPPORT TO DEMOCRATIC
PARTY. PAGE 6.**

BLACK LEADERS AND BUSING

**SOCIALIST ASSESSES
STRATEGY THAT HAS LED TO
SETBACKS. PAGE 9.**

GOV'T QUESTIONS SOCIALIST

**WHAT MAKES A REVOLUTION?
TO FIND OUT. . . PAGE 13.**

IRAN

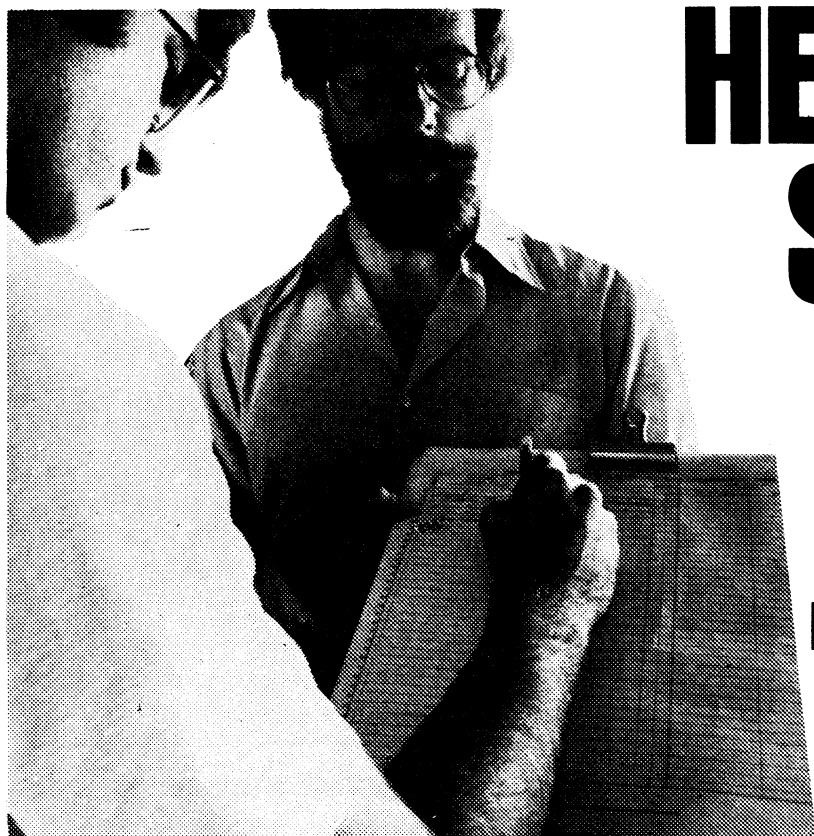
**REZA BARAHENI EXPOSES
SHAH'S TORTURE. PAGE 20.**

PLYUSHCH

**REPLY TO CP SLANDER OF
SOVIET DISSIDENT. PAGE 23.**

SOCIALIST CONVENTION

**SWP GATHERING SET
FOR AUGUST 8-13. PAGE 24.**



HELP PUT SWP ON BALLOT

**Thousands sign
petitions in Mass.;
mammoth Calif.
drive set for July**

—PAGES 4,5

Militant/Susan Ellis

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Guards abuse Gary Tyler on death row
- 4 Good pace set for Mass. petitioning drive
- 6 Bitter fruit of union support to Democrats
- 7 Thousands rip CUNY closing
- 8 Ford campaigns for antibusing legislation
- 9 The Black leadership on busing
- 13 SWP national secretary answers government
- 17 Jerry Brown: skinflint guru of the ruling rich
- 18 Syrian attack on Lebanon: new Mideast war threat
- 23 Answer to CP slander of Plyushch
- 24 SWP convention set for August 8-13
- 25 Frobén Lozada: story of a Chicano socialist
- 28 400 attend national Chicano forum in Utah

2 In Brief

- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 National Picket Line By Any Means Necessary
- 12 The Great Society Their Government American Way of Life

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 19 Canadian trade unions threaten general strike
- 20 Washington's crowned cannibal: shah of Iran
- 22 Ex-agent reveals spying on Australian socialists

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DEFEND DOMINICAN LONGSHOREMEN: Answering a call for solidarity from the Dominican longshoremen's union, Sindicato Portuario de Arrimo (POASI), the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and the POASI Defense Committee have announced plans to support POASI's democratic rights. Public meetings, rallies, and picket lines will be organized in this country to pressure the Dominican government to withdraw its police from POASI headquarters, which have been occupied since October 1973.

Since then, no union meetings have taken place. Union militants have been blacklisted from the ports and jailed.

For more information contact: USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 254-6062.

NOW calls ERA vigil at White House

CLEVELAND—The National Organization for Women (NOW) has called for a July 4 through August 26 vigil at the White House in support of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The vigil will be followed by a march in Washington, D.C., on Saturday, August 28.

NOW decided to call this action at its national board meeting here June 5-6. The proposal for the vigil reads in part:

"With 2 1/2 years left in which to ratify the ERA our effort can no longer be solely on a local, state by state level. National support and attention is imperative. . . .

"The struggle for equal rights is continuing as was demonstrated by the ERA Express and Rally in Springfield, Illinois, on May 15-16, 1976. But in 1976 we have not come much further than the suffragists had in 1917 when they maintained a vigil in front of the White House for one and a half years to demonstrate support for the right of all women to vote."

Modeling this summer's protest after the suffragist actions, NOW will organize delegations from different states, celebrities, and other ERA supporters to participate in the vigil. To top off the ERA support activities there will be "a 'Shoulder to Shoulder' march around the White House as part of Women's Equality Day activities planned by the Washington, D.C. area NOW chapters on August 28."

NOW has already designated August 26 as "ERA Action Day," urging local NOW chapters to hold pro-ERA activities.

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BLACK FEMINISTS: On Monday, May 17, a Chicago press conference announced the formation, philosophy, and program of the National Alliance of Black Feminists (NABF). The new group, an umbrella organization for Black feminist groups in Illinois, hopes to form chapters nationwide.

An NABF press release explains that the concept of the organization grew out of a cross-country speaking tour by NABF founder and executive director Brenda Eichelberger.

The organization has issued a "Black Woman's Bill of Rights." It states, "We now feel the need to organize around our own priorities as Black women against both racism and sexism." The document raises demands in ten areas of concern to Black women, including education, job rights, and child care.

Membership is open to any Black woman interested in advancing the cause of Black feminism. The group is located at 202 S. State Street, Suite 1024, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

S-1 PROTEST: On May 22, 100 people picketed in opposition to Senate Bill 1 at the federal courthouse in Cleveland. If passed, S-1 would drastically curtail the rights of political dissenters and trade unions. The protest was sponsored by the Cleveland Coalition to Stop S-1. Among the coalition's members are the American Civil Liberties Union, National Lawyers Guild, Young Socialist Alliance, Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice, the president of District 7 of the United Electrical Workers, and the chairperson of the local Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. The coalition also sponsored a May 5 meeting of 300 at Cleveland State University.

As a result of the coalition's efforts, the Cleveland city council has unanimously adopted a resolution against S-1.

'MESSAGE OF INSPIRATION': The following statement was issued by a workshop of minority women held aboard the Freedom Train returning from the May 16 national march for the Equal Rights Amendment:

"Good morning! The Freedom Train brought an awareness of the beautiful multiplicity of interests represented by

the people who came to show their support for the E.R.A. This diversity included Asians, Latins, American Indians, Blacks, lesbians, older women, teenagers, working women, housewives, fat women, women on crutches, and with seeing-eye dogs, independent political groups, women from all walks of life. This diversity was further exemplified in Springfield with women and men in wheelchairs, among demonstrators from thirty states. Such diversification has been demonstrated at other E.R.A. events; yet the media has repeatedly focused on the false concept that the feminist movement is one of young, slender, white, middle class women. Let us resolve on our return to work to eliminate these discriminatory practices which result in the alienation of these people from the struggle for the E.R.A., and to pressure the media to correct this false image they have been projecting. Thank you."

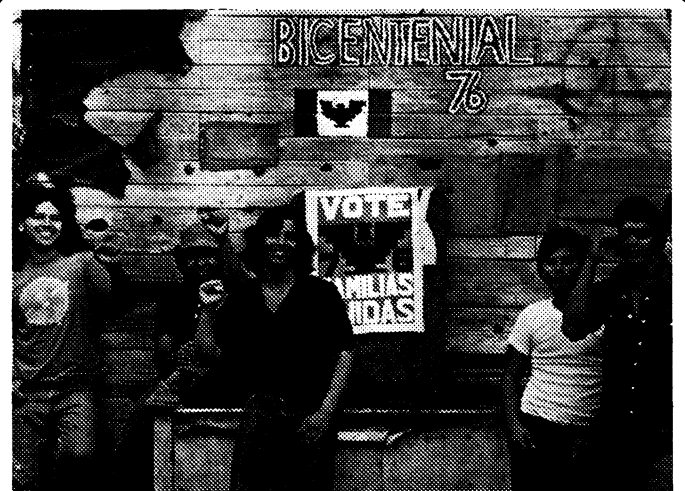
WHAT THE MEDIA SAID: Unlike the media's treatment of many women's liberation events, coverage of the May 16 national ERA demonstration was predominantly accurate and extensive. National TV and radio news reported the event. The Chicago *Daily News* compared the march to "civil rights and antiwar rallies of the 1960s. . . ." The *New York Times* described the broad participation in the march: "There were contingents representing lesbian groups, housewives, church groups, labor unions, the Socialist Workers party. Democratic and Republican speakers were heard." The *New York Daily News* ran a full-page story. The *Minneapolis Tribune* gave editorial endorsement to the march.

Several radical and campus papers printed enthusiastic reports, including *Majority Report*, a bi-weekly feminist newspaper published in New York, and the *Guardian*. The *Guardian* also ran a forceful editorial headlined, "ERA, all the way."

One paper that neglected even to take note of the march was the *Daily World*, the newspaper of one of the ERA's most ardent opponents—the Communist party. Perhaps, due to the widespread dissemination of news on the march, the CP did not dare to discredit it with the old Stalinist trick of rewriting history. So, they modified the trick—if you can't rewrite history, don't write about it at all.

5,240 NEW READERS: The final results of the *Militant's* spring subscription drive are now in. A total of 5,240 new subscriptions were sold. This represents 95 percent of our goal of 5,500. Next week the *Militant* will print an area-by-area scoreboard and highlight some of the accomplishments of this circulation effort.

—Ginny Hildebrand



Special Offer For New Readers

This week Southwest Bureau head Harry Ring continues a series on Chicano struggles in the Southwest, based on discussions with leaders and activists there. Raza Unida party . . . farm workers movement . . . bilingual education . . . fight against deportations . . . Keep up with the struggle for Chicano liberation. Subscribe to the *Militant*.

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() \$4 for six months () \$7.50 for one year
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'Twenty days in the hole'

Guards abuse Gary Tyler on death row

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—"Twenty days in the hole" is the latest inhuman treatment being meted out to seventeen-year-old Gary Tyler. Authorities at the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola have put Tyler in an isolation cell for twenty days, beginning June 2.

His alleged offense was having a spoon in his death-row cell. Prison guards claim the spoon was a "weapon" because it was "twisted."

Gary Tyler was sent to death row last November following his conviction by an all-white jury for a murder he did not commit. The Louisiana Supreme Court is expected to hear the appeal on his death sentence this fall.

Actions by prison officials are only part of the escalating racist abuse of Gary Tyler, his family and supporters, and the entire Black community of St. Charles Parish. Sometimes the intimidation is carried out by deputies hiding behind silver badges, sometimes by bigots hiding beneath white robes.

Gary's parents, Juanita and Elyos Tyler, drove from their home in St. Rose to City Park in New Orleans for a quiet family picnic May 23. A van parked behind the Tylers' car and kept its motor running. Then the Tylers observed two white-hooded Klan members in the park. As the Tylers left the park, the van shined a floodlight on their license plate and began to follow them.

When Juanita Tyler got home that evening her twelve-year-old son, Ricky, told her that a sports car had driven through the community that afternoon. The sports car had two riders—one wearing a T-shirt imprinted with the letters "KKK," the other wearing a white hood and robe.

The Klan was again observed in the Black community of St. Rose May 31.

Meanwhile, Black youths in St. Charles Parish have been subjected to increasingly frequent police harassment. Gary's younger brother Terry and Donald Files, a defense witness at Gary's April hearing for a new trial, were arrested on trumped-up burglary charges May 17.

Sheriff's deputies have repeatedly stopped the cars of Gary Tyler Defense Committee supporters for phony traffic offenses. Last month they took *Mili-*

tant photographer Greg Nelson to jail because his driver's license had expired.

Walter Collins, coordinator of the Gary Tyler Defense Committee, told this reporter, "Someone high up in the state government has given the white officials of St. Charles Parish carte blanche to do whatever they want to the Black community out there."

Collins and Marie Galatas of the Grass Roots Organization for Women lodged a formal protest against the harassment with Louisiana Attorney General William Guste in Baton Rouge June 2. While returning to New Orleans, Collins noticed a state police

helicopter hovering overhead.

State prison authorities at Angola have subjected Gary Tyler to many petty abuses. Guards have threatened to take away his right to receive mail. They've removed letters and personal papers from his cell. For the second time in the past two months, prison officials have confiscated copies of the *Militant* from Tyler.

"But Gary is keeping his chin up," his lawyer, Jack Peebles, told the *Militant*. "He's not despondent."

Support for Gary Tyler has spread from Louisiana to many cities across the country. Last month a demonstration of 150 in Louisville, Kentucky, demanded Tyler's freedom and on

June 5, about 200 supporters rallied in downtown Brooklyn. Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, who has successfully fought frame-up charges with the aid of massive public support, addressed the Brooklyn demonstrators.

Gary Tyler's eighteenth birthday will be July 10. On that date supporters from coast to coast are planning fund raising and publicity activities that will help force the state to grant him a new trial.

For more information about the July 10 activities contact: Gary Tyler Defense Committee, 1610 Basin Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70112. Telephone: (504) 522-2244.

Night riders strike in Black community

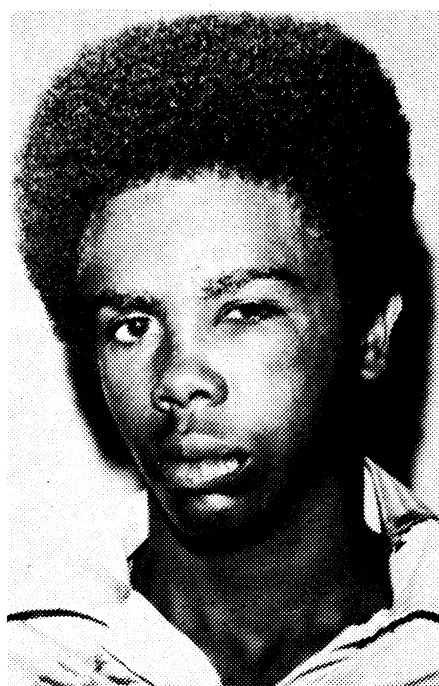
NEW ORLEANS—A rising tide of terrorist attacks against Black people is sweeping the Pontchartrain Park-Gentilly section of New Orleans. Six incidents of armed assault by whites, including two murders, have been reported since February.

The most recent target was fifteen-year-old Michael Green. He was walking near a relative's house May 2 at 7:30 p.m. when an old white Chevrolet pulled up. Four young white men rushed out and jumped him. Green suffered a broken tooth, multiple contusions of the face and neck, and head injuries before escaping his attackers.

The assault occurred less than four blocks from where sixteen-year-old Richard Dunn was killed by white night riders March 27. Dunn and a friend were returning home from a benefit dance held that evening for the defense of Gary Tyler.

In a *Militant* interview, Michael Green's aunt, Minerva Foster, described the attack on her nephew: "You couldn't see his face for all the blood."

"Before they used to just pass in cars and throw bricks," Foster said, "but now it's increasing because the police don't do anything."



Michael Green, victim of racist beatings.

She pointed out that the attacks by racist thugs had escalated since the announcement last month that two thousand Ku Klux Klan members will have a Southwide convention here July 24.

In addition to the assault on Michael Green and the murder of

Richard Dunn, the following incidents have been verified by New Orleans's major Black newspaper, the *Louisiana Weekly*.

•On February 14, Linda Rae McDermott and Kenneth Aubert were fired on by whites in a passing car. Aubert had one of his legs amputated as a result of the gunshot wounds.

•On March 19, a white youth in a car pointed a shotgun at a fifteen-year-old woman and drove off.

•On March 26, sixteen-year-old Linda Marie Guyton Egana was killed by a white hit-and-run driver in the same area.

•On April 1, a group of whites shot at Aaron Davis from a passing car.

"There's never been a law down here for white people," Minerva Foster said. "The law is definitely for Blacks. If someone calls and says a Black person has attacked a white, the whole police force will be out there. But if you call and make a complaint about a white person, the law might never come."

"I think people need to unify and fight this racism," Foster continued. "Everyone should participate . . . because if they get away with these racist attacks once, you may be next." —J.A.

Camejo exposes lies of Spanish king in U.S.

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—At a news conference June 7 Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president, accused King Juan Carlos of "continuing Franco's repressive dictatorship in Spain."

Camejo had just returned from a nine-day speaking and fact-finding tour of Spain. He had addressed 4,000 workers and students at meetings in Barcelona, Valencia, and Madrid on topics ranging from the political situation in the United States, to women's liberation, to the need for all working-class political tendencies to unite in fighting for democratic rights.

He promised his enthusiastic audiences to use his presidential campaign to "expose King Juan Carlos's efforts to convince the American people that democratic rights exist in Spain."

"King Juan Carlos is lying," Camejo told the press. "I spoke with people from all walks of life—journalists, students, professors, and trade unionists—who revealed the true situation in Spain: all political parties except the fascist Falangist party are

banned; only police-approved meetings are allowed; hundreds of political prisoners remain in the king's jails; marches and demonstrations are prohibited; and the proposed government reforms will deny universal suffrage."

Also illegal, Camejo said, are the Workers Commissions and the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT—General Workers Union), which at its recent convention received greetings from the AFL-CIO and United Auto Workers. Camejo met with leaders of these workers organizations and with Father Luis Xirinacs, a prominent figure in the struggle to free political prisoners.

Camejo scored the Democrats and Republicans in Congress who cheered the address of Juan Carlos during his recent visit to the United States.

He demanded that the Senate "repudiate the \$1.2 billion treaty and aid package to Spain" now under consideration. He also called for "the immediate release of all political prisoners and the end to all arrests of dissidents" in Spain.

Stop Francoist repression!



Militant/Kendall Green

A crowd of 200 people picketed at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York June 7, where King Juan Carlos was meeting with Vice-president Nelson Rockefeller. Demonstrators demanded freedom for all political prisoners. A large contingent of Basques carried signs calling for independence for this oppressed nationality. Other participants included Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the U.S. Committee for a Democratic Spain.

Sunny Massachusetts Saturday sets good pace for June socialist petitioning drive

By Baxter Smith

BOSTON—The straw hats, floppy, wide, and conical, provided—for those who had them—some relief from the two o'clock sun that was beating out a war dance on the sidewalks of Codman Square. Even so, the people who stopped to sign petitions to place James "Mac" Warren and other Socialist Workers candidates on the November ballot instinctively stepped toward the shelter of a shady building.

It was June 5, mobilization day for supporters of the socialist campaign,

and the temperature was flying high without a pilot's license. But dozens of petitioners were out on the streets helping to amass signatures to assure a spot on the Massachusetts ballot. Ed Heisler, a cochairperson of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, is campaigning here full-time until the socialists' ballot goal is met.

Boston was not the only Massachusetts target city. Scores of petitioners signed up voters in Worcester, Springfield, and New Bedford as well. The

mobilization produced 9,014 signatures, boosting the total to 25,397.

Restrictive election laws for smaller parties here require some 37,000 signatures for a statewide candidate to land a slot in the voting booths next fall. Discriminatory treatment by election officials in the past has prompted the socialists to set their sights well above that figure.

Besides their presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the socialists are fielding Carol Henderson Evans for U.S. Senate and Warren for Congress.

Some petitioners say that it is easier to get signatures this year compared with previous ones. Others believe it is about the same. In the more affluent areas of the state, and in the borderline antibusing areas, petitioners report that some people they approach tend to fix their vision on the ground and speed up their gait. But in the Black areas around Roxbury's Dudley Station, and around Codman Square, which straddles Dorchester and Mattapan, petitioners find different, usually friendly, attitudes.

In a blue-plaid sports jacket and aviator shades, Warren worked the streets outside a Codman Square grocery store. Watermelons were stacked in the window, and a sign advertised chicken wings for sixty-nine cents a pound, and a sale on spareribs and fresh maws.

"Yeah, I'll sign. Who's running?" inquired a young Black man. He had a hunk of glass on his pinky that could once have been the eye of a pagan idol. "Me. You're registered?" asked Warren.

The man said no, so Warren explained that he was only seeking signatures from registered voters. He gave the man a short rap about his campaign and the need for Blacks to break from the Democratic party and launch independent campaigns. "Hey. Good luck, brother," the man said.

Many of the Blacks approached for



Militant Anne Teesdale

Petitioner collects signatures in Cambridge's Harvard Square.

their signatures replied that they were not registered. Most of these appeared to be young voting-age adults. When a few were questioned, they replied that voting just didn't produce any changes for the better.

"Hope you get in," a woman told Warren, "and maybe you can help us out."

A number of Blacks offered a similar response that more Blacks were needed in office. Others would sign quickly when they learned that Warren was Black.

To help with the petitioning effort, contact the Socialist Workers Campaign, 510 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02215. Telephone: (617) 262-4621.

Rally kicks off ballot effort

BOSTON—Socialist Workers presidential candidate Peter Camejo, a recent visitor to Spain, told an audience of 140 June 4 that "Spain is in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle today."

Camejo was in town to help kick off a mobilization of campaign supporters the following day to put SWP candidates on the fall ballot in



James 'Mac' Warren's ballot rights are defended in open letter signed by several Boston Black leaders.

Massachusetts.

Supporters at the rally contributed more than \$2,000 to aid in the petitioning and other campaigning efforts.

"Our programs are the only ones that represent the interests of the working people and the Black community," said Carol Henderson Evans, the party's nominee for U.S. Senate.

James "Mac" Warren, the party's nominee for U.S. Congress in the Ninth District, said that his opponent, Joseph Moakley, "is a prime example of why we can't depend on the Democratic and Republican parties to defend Black rights. Because he is the chief antibusing figure in Congress."

Warren read an open letter supporting his right to ballot status.

"Help this young Black man, who is a socialist, win the right to be on the ballot, so everyone can hear what he has to say in the fight for our rights as Black people," the letter said. Among others it is signed by Black leaders Ruth Batson, coordinator of Boston's Crisis Intervention Teams, and Ellen Jackson, director of the Freedom House Institute. —B.S.

Set new June 30 target

Camejo & Reid Fund tops \$10,000 goal

By Andrea Morell, director, 1976 campaign committee

The Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund reached its \$10,000 goal nearly a month ahead of its June 30 deadline. Contributors last week sent in \$905 to push the fund total to \$10,056.

This victory for the Socialist Workers campaign was made possible by hundreds of contributors who responded generously to our appeal. Launched April 9, the drive has enabled the Camejo and Reid cam-

**Camejo & Reid
'76 Campaign Fund**

aign to carry out many important projects.

During the drive, however, new opportunities arose that were not budgeted into the original \$10,000 goal. The enthusiastic response to the fund convinced us that to meet these new expenses it is possible to continue the drive until the original June 30 deadline. We are now aiming for a final total of \$15,000.

A few of the projects that the fund has already financed this spring include Peter Camejo's tour of Puerto Rico last April; both candidates participation in the May 16 march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Illinois; and the printing of new campaign

literature—especially the brochure entitled "The Fight for Black Rights."

Chief among our new opportunities is the decision by California socialists to petition for ballot status in that state. The national campaign committee incurs expenses in helping to make this and other petitioning efforts a success.

The new goal will help offset the costs of Peter Camejo's recent nine-day speaking tour in Spain. It will also allow the campaign to participate fully in upcoming events, such as the national convention of the NAACP. Willie Mae Reid—an NAACP member—will attend that convention, which will be held in her home town of Memphis, Tennessee.

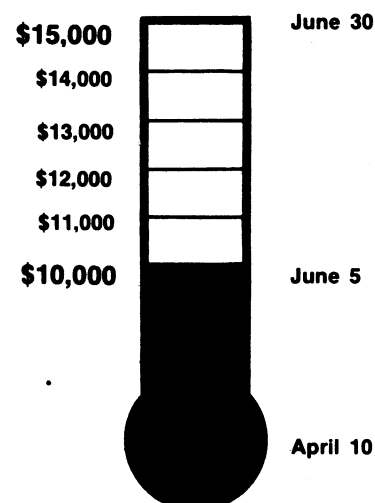
And of course the fund will allow us to build up a small "campaign chest" for the intensive period of socialist electioneering we plan this fall.

How was our initial \$10,000 goal reached? Campaign supporters in thirty-one states mailed in hundreds of contributions ranging from \$1 to \$100. In addition, many individuals contributed to local campaign committees, and a share of those donations was forwarded to the fund.

Militant readers responded to the weekly appeals in this column and to a special mailing to subscribers by sending in a total of \$1,961—so far.

A letter that accompanied a \$10 contribution to the fund is the best

On to \$15,000!



testimonial to what the Camejo-Reid campaign has already accomplished and the promise it holds for the months ahead. The letter reads in part:

"Greetings: I would like to join the Socialist Workers party. I've held socialist beliefs for a while now and I can never remember looking favorably on the capitalist system. The fact that I am a female and the fact that my parents were unskilled factory workers (as were our neighbors) were the reasons I never had any great love for the system.

"For the past three years, I've been working full-time as an office clerk and I've also been going to school full-time at night. . . .

"I started reading the socialist newspapers of the various parties and I found by reading the *Militant* that the Socialist Workers party is the party I want to join. I was drawn to the SWP because of the concern it shows for the real issues of the various oppressed groups. No other party I know of encourages action by these groups as the SWP does.

"P.S. Please send me thirty copies of 'A Bill of Rights for Working People.'"

Please fill out the coupon below to help the Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund reach its new \$15,000 goal.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Occupation _____

Business address _____

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

Summer holds key to SWP ballot efforts

By Lucy Burton

Honoring the old cliché that a picture is worth a thousand words, the *Militant* is unveiling a new feature this week: a map of the United States charting the progress of the Socialist Workers party's ballot drive.

Backers of SWP presidential and vice-presidential nominees Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are working hard to put their candidates on the November ballot in thirty states and the District of Columbia. The map, which will be run periodically in the *Militant*, will help readers keep track of the SWP's achievements in the most ambitious nationwide ballot drive of its history.

June and July mark the high point of this effort. Undemocratic ballot laws in five states alone will require the collection of a minimum of almost 200,000 signatures this summer. Camejo and Reid supporters in these states—California, Massachusetts, Texas, Illinois, and Missouri—intend to file many more than 200,000 signatures all combined to assure ballot status.

Other summer drives are slated in Indiana, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Delaware, Washington, D.C., and Virginia. The Virginia, California, and Missouri drives are all-time firsts for an SWP presidential campaign.

The California drive, scheduled to begin in July, will account for nearly one-fifth of the total signatures collected nationally.

In addition to the states already mentioned, there will be fourteen other ballot drives, including New York, Alabama, Mississippi, Wisconsin, and Washington state.

Petitioners have found that signature collection and campaigning for the socialist candidates go hand in hand. They have already distributed thousands of copies of Camejo and

Reid's 1976 election platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

Campaign committees around the country report that petitioning is more fruitful if volunteers have previously tacked up posters about the socialist candidates in areas around petitioning sites.

Many state governments stall for months before certifying minority candidates; the SWP is currently facing such bureaucratic foot-dragging in several states. Over the summer and early fall, state officials will either certify the SWP ticket or attempt to deny the socialists ballot status.

Earlier this year, the Michigan state legislature enacted a law that poses a serious threat to the constitutional rights of smaller parties and their supporters. The law requires these parties and candidates to first collect 18,000 signatures and then compete in a so-called "minor party primary" in August. Each party must capture .04 percent of the total vote in order to appear on the November ballot.

The Michigan American Civil Liberties Union is challenging this law on behalf of several parties, including the SWP and the Communist party.

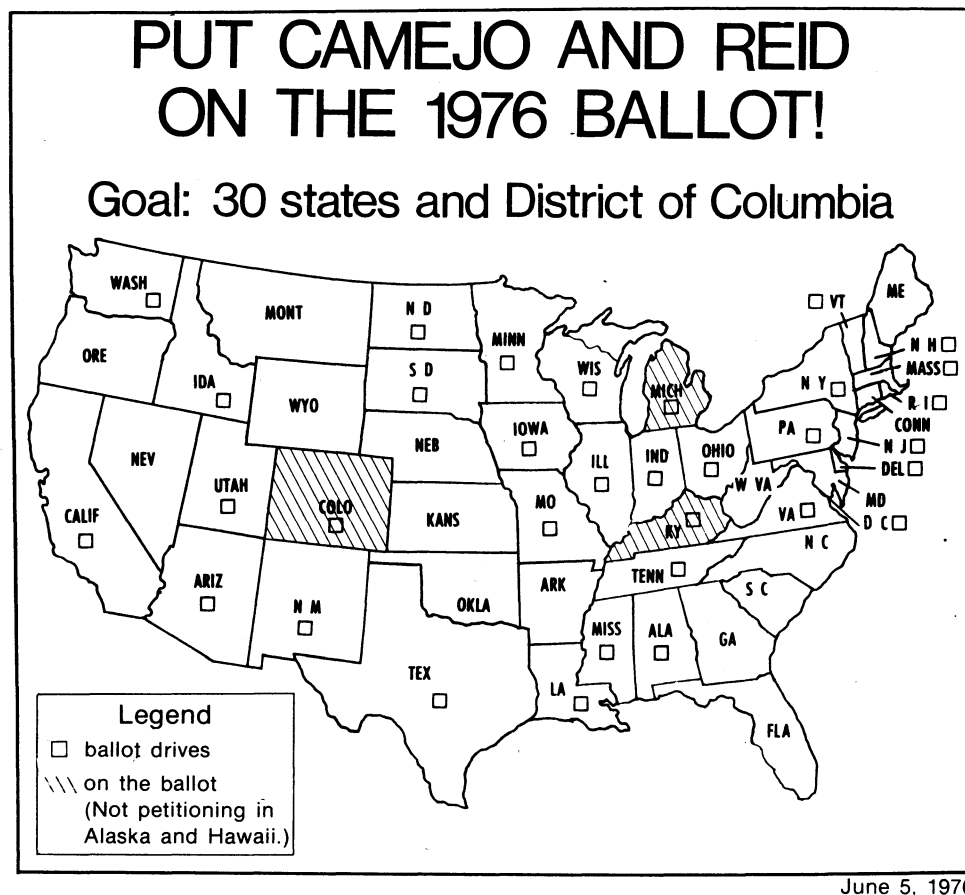
In Utah, state officials are also attempting to keep the CP and SWP off the ballot.

The "U.S. Labor" party (USLP), a bizarre right-wing political sect, challenged SWP petitions in Pennsylvania. However, it failed to show up in court on the appointed date to back up its phony charges.

The USLP (also known as the National Caucus of Labor Committees) has challenged petitions of the SWP, CP, Socialist party, and Socialist Labor party in New Jersey. These right-wing fanatics have admitted at state hearings that they as yet have no evidence to bolster their challenges.

In 1972 the SWP met election requirements in Illinois, Ohio, Delaware, and Tennessee but was undemocratically ruled off the ballot by state officials. The party intends to meet these requirements again this year and fight for its right to take on the Democrats and Republicans in the voting booths next fall.

Now is a good time to volunteer to help with the ballot drive in your home state. Contact the SWP branch nearest you (listed in the Socialist Directory on page 27), or write: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



June 5, 1976

Currently petitioning:

Illinois
Indiana
Massachusetts
Missouri
South Dakota
Texas
Virginia
Wisconsin

Filed but not certified:

Arizona
Idaho
New Jersey
Ohio
Pennsylvania
Utah

SWP defends CP ballot rights

By Steve Clark

Both the Socialist Workers party and the Communist party have faced substantial harassment in their efforts to achieve ballot status in the November presidential elections. In addition to the instances cited in the article elsewhere on this page, attacks on the democratic rights of CP petitioners have also occurred in Kentucky and Alabama.

According to the June 6 *Daily World*, two Black petitioners for the CP slate of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner were arrested in Kentucky and held for four hours without charges. Their petitions

were taken from them, and their wallets and personal belongings were photographed.

In Alabama, according to the May 6 *Daily World*, "The most serious incidents were the arrest of Brian Verdin on trumped up charges of threatening the life of Vice-President Rockefeller, and an incident at Bishop State College in which a university official drew two loaded .45 revolvers on petitioner Rodney Brown."

Verdin, an unemployed Chicano youth, had earlier been cornered and subjected to a half-hour of verbal abuse by two racist white males. The bigots

then swore out a warrant for Verdin's arrest.

Verdin was released on \$10,000 bail; an Alabama grand jury will convene this month to hear arguments on the outrageous charges against him. The alleged death threat was played up by the Birmingham press at the time of Verdin's arrest.

Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid have condemned these attempts to deprive the Communist candidates of a ballot spot.

Continued on page 26

California revs up to collect signatures

By Kathleen Fitzgerald

BERKELEY, Calif.—Members of the Socialist Workers party here are making plans for this summer's massive petitioning effort to place the party's presidential slate—Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid—and Omari Musa, SWP Candidate for U.S. Senate, on the California ballot.

The official petitioning period opens July 5. California socialists will collect well over 100,000 signatures to ensure ballot status. The Berkeley SWP plans to contribute heavily toward that goal.

The first step is to get out the word about the "Socialist Campaign Summer" to the party's growing number of supporters. Joe Lombardo, who is working on involving party supporters in the petitioning effort, told the *Militant*, "We put together a list of all the people we wanted to contact. The list included campaign supporters, readers of our newspaper, people who have attended Militant Forums, people we met campaigning in the Black community, and people we work with

in various unions.

"We found that, far from being the couple hundred we thought it would be, the list actually totals 448 people."

A mailing was sent to these people asking for their help. Some students at the University of California at Berkeley, who are working on a project on the elections for cable TV, came down to the Berkeley campaign headquarters, filmed party supporters putting out the mailing, and interviewed Ernest Mailhot, campaign manager.

Supporters are excited about putting the socialist alternative on the ballot. Before the Berkeley mailing even went out, two supporters had volunteered to petition full-time for the three-week period, and nine others had agreed to help on weekends.

To gather more support, plans are under way for a series of Berkeley house meetings with local SWP candidates. Two such gatherings will be at homes of people the socialists met

while campaigning in the Black community. Another will involve activists in the Berkeley Federation of Teachers.

An important aspect of the petitioning plans is the work being done by the members of the Young Socialist Alliance on the University campus here. The YSA chapter is setting up daily tables to solicit volunteers and is mass-distributing a special leaflet that describes the ballot drive as "a giant step for socialism."

As the California primary brought Democratic and Republican candidates to campaign on the campus, the YSA deluged the crowds with materials on the socialist alternative and the ballot drive. Each day the young socialists are also visiting professors and campus groups, asking them to endorse the SWP candidates' right to ballot status and collecting financial contributions. A number of professors and student groups, including the student government, have already endorsed.

The central focus for the Berkeley

socialists—and for socialists up and down the state of California—is publicizing the series of rallies that will launch the petitioning drive. The Northern California rally will feature Peter Camejo and will be held at 8:00 p.m., June 25, at the First Unitarian Church in San Francisco.

How you can help

Volunteers are urgently needed for the California drive. Anyone able to help with petitioning, distributing literature, or other campaign activities should write to: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11, Los Angeles, California 90018; or phone (213) 732-8197. For the locations of SWP campaign offices throughout the state, consult the Socialist Directory on page 27.

N.Y. wage freeze

BITTER FRUIT OF UNION SUPPORT TO DEMOCRATS

By Lynn Henderson

NEW YORK—The working people of New York City suffered a stunning blow this May when the Emergency Financial Control Board successfully dictated a new policy for all collective-bargaining agreements with the city.

The control board's sweeping anti-labor edict proclaimed that no agreement shall provide for any increase in wages, salaries, or fringe benefits, or for cost-of-living increases unless such increases are funded by additional layoffs and cutbacks.

Each agreement shall provide for a mechanism to permit cuts in pension costs or other fringe benefits.

This policy was then immediately applied to declare the contract reached in April between the Transport Workers Union (TWU) and the New York City Transit Authority null and void. The new contract imposed by the control board in effect wiped out the meager gains provided by the union's cost-of-living clause.

Big business and government officials openly crowed over the extent of this latest victory in their year-long offensive to drive down the wages and

living standards of New York workers. "It's a zero contract," Stephen Berger, executive director of the control board, jubilantly announced.

"We view this as solving one of the most chaotic variables of the austerity plan—labor—right through to the end of the plan in '78," one high city official boasted.

Sweeping implications

The *New York Times* bluntly explained the sweeping implications of this new attack and the control board's ability to impose it on the potentially powerful Transport Workers Union:

"The result of all this is that realistically there now appears to be little to bargain about. What is a union to negotiate for with the city across the table? The final terms are known to start with, and anything that strays from them faces rejection by the Control Board."

But the real source of this setback lies in the complete capitulation of the trade-union leadership with hardly a whimper. The TWU leadership accepted this disastrous and precedent-setting contract with merely a "state-



CLOSED: Democratic party politicians closed city university to force end to free tuition as part of their sweeping attack on New York workers.

ment of reluctance."

Matthew Guinan, president of the 34,000-member transit union, was primarily concerned with getting a face-saving language for the agreement, which he used to claim that the contract had not been fundamentally changed. This eliminated the risky step of resubmitting the contract to a rank-and-file vote.

This dead-end strategy was echoed by Victor Gotbaum, chairperson of the Municipal Labor Committee and head of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

"I am delighted that my brothers in transit were able to sign a contract based on the guidelines," he cheered as AFSCME contract deadlines drew near. "I am hopeful we can sign a contract based on the guidelines. I believe we can."

Big-business leaders, bankers, and politicians of both capitalist parties lost no time in grasping the significance of this default by the union officialdom and pressed the offensive with a startling series of new cuts in badly needed social services over the following two weeks.

Labor immobilized

What has become clearer and clearer during the past year is that in the face of massive layoffs and wage cuts the New York trade-union movement stands as immobilized and powerless as a paralyzed giant. Potentially a very strong labor movement, its leadership has completely failed to fight for even the most elementary rights of its members.

Why have the trade-union officials been so universally blind to the reality that the capitalist ruling class is attempting to solve its growing economic problems at the expense of the working class? Take a look at the economic conditions under which the public employee unions were created and have flourished. During the long post-World War II economic boom, the wealthy and powerful owners of this country found it useful and possible to allow for a gradual rise in working people's standard of living. The trade-union movement that had emerged in the 1930s was too strong to be crushed. Concessions were made, but always with an eye to weakening and conservatizing the unions.

It was made to appear that gains for working people were not the result of

the potential power and militancy of their mass trade-union organizations but came instead from benevolent Democratic party officeholders.

The trade-union leadership depended on these Democratic "friends of labor" and used tens of thousands of dollars of their members' dues to help elect them. This was especially true of public employee unions, many of which came into existence directly as the result of ties with the Democratic party.

The only game and strategy these union bureaucrats have known is trading votes and money to politicians in the hope that they will use their influence to help labor. This policy of *collaboration* with Democratic party politicians is the decisive factor in determining how the Gotbaums and Shakers approach virtually every question facing the unions—economic, social, and political.

Even the key weapon of the strike is only seen in the context of this subordinate relationship to the Democratic party. The strike is not seen as a test of strength in which the union mobilizes its independent, mass power, and attempts to win support from potential allies—other unions and community organizations of the oppressed national minorities.

Instead the strike is seen as a gigantic bluff, a device to be used to create the necessary political atmosphere to allow their friends in the Democratic party to deliver some concessions.

But the post-World War II prosperity is over. The ruling class, in order to maintain its own profits, is no longer willing to pass on a few crumbs to working people through a conservatized union bureaucracy. The role of the Democratic party is to help drive through massive cuts in the standard of living of working people.

Wurf's testimony

The truth is that even during periods of prosperity the Democratic party delivered very little to working people and the trade unions. Jerry Wurff, international president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, in a recent interview by *Skeptic* magazine, complains that "labor, for all its vaunted power, has been unable to get a pro-labor law passed for as long as I can remember."

It is no wonder Wurff has a hard

\$3,000,000 in Pay Cuts Restored in Social Services—P. 3

Carey Interview, Endorsements

AFSCME

This is our biggest opportunity in sixteen years.

Public workers can strike a blow for themselves and all New York by voting for Carey-Krupsak on Election Day.

Your votes Nov. 5 can oust Wilson and bring respect for public workers in Albany, concern for rising costs and the problems of working people. Vote on Nov. 5 for Carey-Krupsak!

Hugh Carey

—Vic Gotbaum

DEAD END: Front page of October 25, 1974, 'Public Employee Press,' AFSCME District Council 37 newspaper. Carey was elected governor with labor's help, and heads board that dictated wage freeze.

time remembering. The last specifically pro-labor social legislation passed by the U.S. Congress was the Social Security Act of 1935. For more than forty years Congress, which for most of that period has been controlled by the Democratic party, has not passed one other such piece of legislation.

"Sometimes I'm ashamed to admit it," Wurf continues, "but the most labor can accomplish is just to stop the imposition of total indecency upon working people. Its vaunted political power is just a load of nonsense. . . . What I've found, essentially, is that the only people who seem to know how to elect candidates and maintain their loyalty are big business."

What a damning admission from a man who has been one of labor's most vocal advocates of the strategy of relying on the Democratic party and electing "friends of labor."

Wurf, Gotbaum, Shanker, and virtually the entire trade-union leadership draw no lessons from this dismal record. Right now these bureaucrats are mobilizing the resources of their members and the trade-union movement to elect a Democratic president in November. This is the pitiful arsenal they are mustering against the war the ruling class has declared on organized labor.

Class-struggle strategy

The only effective strategy to counter this attack is to chart a course toward mobilizing the *independent* collective strength of the labor movement and oppressed minorities. This requires first telling the *truth* about the ruling-class goals and how the Democratic and Republican parties are implementing them.

It means developing a program of solidarity with all sectors of the working class—a social program—to help achieve the broadest possible unity in the face of the ruling-class attacks. This means championing the struggles of the most oppressed sectors of the working class—Blacks, Puerto Ricans, women, and undocumented workers.

A union leadership following a course of struggle, rather than collaboration, would call a city-wide meeting with rank-and-file representatives of unions, community organizations, and students to launch a counter-offensive against the cutbacks and layoffs.

This could include a massive united demonstration of all those who are suffering from these attacks. Dozens of smaller protest rallies organized each week by union locals and community groups show that there is a great willingness on the part of thousands to fight back and that the response to a united city-wide rally would be overwhelming. This would help build up the self-confidence of working people and lay the basis for further militant actions—including strikes that are well-prepared, draw mass public support behind them, and are carried out with the fullest rank-and-file participation in all the key decisions.

Break from Democrats

Breaking from the Democratic party and beginning to exercise their independent mass power, of course, poses the question of whom the unions should support in the elections. Whom can they count on in the legislative bodies to fight against the onslaught of antilabor legislation?

The answer is that labor needs to run its own candidates, working men and women, who have no interests other than those of working people. They need candidates who do not ask working people to rely on them, but who are genuine spokespersons for the independent struggles of labor itself. The fact that many workers are already organized into unions provides the organizational basis on which to form a political *party* to run candidates and help lead the struggles of working people and champion the demands of the most oppressed.

Thousands rip CUNY closing

By Susie Winsten

NEW YORK—Thousands of angry faculty, students, and workers surrounded city hall here June 9 with a noontime picket line protesting the shutdown of the twenty-campus City University of New York.

The picket line and the rally that followed were called by a June 4 delegate assembly meeting of the Professional Staff Congress, the union of the 16,000 faculty at CUNY. At that meeting, rank-and-file members mobilized to demand that the PSC leadership take measures against the payless payday and payless shutdown professors are suffering.

CUNY teachers were not given their monthly check at the end of May when the city and state governments refused to give CUNY the money it needed to operate. The university system was then closed in the middle of final exams by the administration. The Board of Higher Education followed this up by ending the 129-year-old policy of free tuition.

The demonstration received broad backing from labor and anticutback groups.

Speakers at the rally included PSC President Irwin Polishook; Lillian Roberts, associate director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Sam Meyers, president of local 259 of the United Auto Workers (UAW); Ramón Jiménez, spokesperson of the Community Coalition to Save Hostos, a bilingual college in CUNY that has been scheduled to close permanently; Louis Arce, of the June 8 Coordinating Coalition, a group that has been fighting cutbacks in child care; and Maynard Jones, head of the city-wide University Student Senate.

Lillian Roberts captured the sentiments of other speakers and the crowd in urging unity of working people against cutbacks. "Workers and students are beginning to learn that we have an awful lot in common," she said.

Sam Meyers of the UAW was

cheered when he said, "I came here to tell you that the kids of our workers—Black, white, Chicano, and Puerto Rican—are being deprived of an education, and we're suffering too."

And the cheers were even stronger when he said, "Let the bankers pay tuition!"

Meyers pointed out that the cutbacks have affected oppressed minorities the most. The UAW leader urged that organized labor and other people affected by the cuts "join together in one mighty movement so that there will be no more retreats."

Demonstration organizers announced from the podium that they estimated 10,000 people were present at the rally.

A delegation of about twenty Asian and Puerto Rican women came from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. They held signs in English, Spanish, and Chinese that read: "Free tuition—Open admission—Educate our children."

Set June 16 protest of hospital cuts

By Roberta Frick

NEW YORK—The Coalition to Save the Municipal Hospitals has called a city-wide demonstration against cutbacks and layoffs in the municipal hospital system. June 16 was the date set for the action.

The decision to form a coalition and call the protest was made at a June 5 meeting of thirty representatives of anticutback groups from seven different hospitals. Activists came from Gouverneur, Sydenham, Morrisania, Bellevue, Kings County, Harlem, and Goldwater hospitals.

The meeting was called in response to the Health and Hospitals Corporation's decision to close four city hospitals by the end of June.

The coalition decided to organize the June 16 protest around the slogans "No closings of any hospitals," "No cutbacks in hospital services," "No layoffs," and "No compromises."

Demonstrators will assemble at 10:00 a.m. in Bryant Park at the corner of Forty-second Street and Sixth

Avenue, and then march to the offices of New York Gov. Hugh Carey. Carey heads the Emergency Financial Control Board, the state body that ordered city officials to close the hospitals.

In addition, the coalition voted to endorse a June 8 demonstration against day-care cutbacks and to send speakers to other activities in support of maintaining social services.

Protests focused at each of the individual hospitals have been only partially successful. That was one factor that motivated activists to form a city-wide coalition.

For example, at Gouverneur Hospital in the Lower East Side, a sit-in and other actions have forced the city to put off closing the facility's inpatient section twice—originally it was to have been closed May 7. But the city still insists that the closing will come.

Another factor was a desire to link up with workers at the hospital, particularly American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 420. That union

represents the municipal hospitals' nonprofessional staff.

About 3,200 workers were scheduled to be laid off and local 420 had originally threatened to strike as soon as pink slips were handed out.

A strike by the largest union representing municipal hospital workers had the potential to unite the communities and other hospital unions in the fight and might have forced the city to reverse its plans.

But on June 3, top AFSCME leaders and city officials agreed to submit the question of layoffs to nonbinding arbitration, and the strike was called off.

AFSCME leaders all along have accepted reduced city funding of social services as the way to solve the budget crisis, instead of taking a firm "No cutbacks—No layoffs" position. It is unclear as of this writing whether the AFSCME leadership will support the efforts of the new coalition and urge Local 420 members to join the demonstration.

Puerto Rican Day parade



Militant/Ethel Lobman

'Bicentennial without Misery' read one of the signs carried by members of a 'People's Contingent' in the annual Puerto Rican Day parade held June 6 in New York City. Participating in the contingent were a group from Hostos Community College, a bilingual college in the city university system that is being threatened with closing; parents from Public School 122 in the Lower East Side, which has also been scheduled to close down; and other anticutback groups. Also, supporters of Puerto Rican independence demanded a 'Bicentennial without colonies' and the release of five Puerto Rican Nationalists imprisoned in the United States. The idea for the contingent was initiated by the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

OKs racist private schools

Ford campaigns for antibusing legislation

By Baxter Smith

BOSTON—Momentarily stymied by the recent outcry that forced Attorney General Levi to back off from intervening against busing in Boston, the Ford administration is nonetheless continuing to search for a way to upset court-ordered school desegregation.

Ford said June 1 that he seeks congressional legislation that "could avoid most of the busing that takes place."

What Ford's proposed legislation is designed to do, according to White House spokesperson Ron Nessen, is "to use busing as a remedy to correct those cases of segregation brought about by the official action of a school board or governmental body and to prevent busing as a remedy to correct racial imbalance brought about by events other than official governmental actions."

Ford's proposal makes no allowance for the fact that a wide range of government policies underlie the segregated housing patterns that result in the need for busing as a means to provide equal education for Black youth.

Federal appeals courts have already overruled arguments aimed at restricting busing orders on the basis of Ford's argument. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit already turned down a challenge to the Boston busing plan on this basis earlier this year.

In its ruling, the court said that "to require a district court to preserve intact every scrap of segregated education that somehow can be separated from governmental causation is to involve the Federal courts in planning continued segregation. . . ."



FORD: seeks 'alternatives' to busing while on campaign trail

The administration's attempt to curb busing through passage of legislation shows that the Republican president is banking on the racist compliance of the Democratic-controlled Congress.

The president says he hopes for a three-to-five-year maximum time limit on federal court interventions on behalf of desegregation. And in a crude ploy to give heart to the racist vote, the Republican presidential candidate says he hopes his bill will have a retroactive effect on already-ordered busing plans.

Going still further, on June 6 Ford defended the continuation of private, white academies that exclude Blacks and other minorities because of race. Numerous schools of this type have been set up here in Boston by parents

who have withdrawn their children from the public schools to avoid desegregation.

Asked in a television interview whether he approved of such schools, Ford replied that "individuals have rights," and that it's all right for parents to send their children to segregated schools as long as they are "willing to pay whatever the cost might be."

Civil rights figures have sharply disagreed with Ford's racist proposals.

Ed Redd, executive secretary of the Boston NAACP, condemned the administration's moves and charged that Ford was using busing to gather the racist vote.

"Ford's ultraconservative position

has become almost an anti-Black one," said Gloster Current, national director of NAACP branches. "The president is speaking as a candidate and using the busing issue to send a message to bigots everywhere."

Ford's message was received and acted upon several times last week by antibusing bigots in Boston.

The president's message egged on a dynamite attack on Plymouth Rock the night of June 1. A resident whose home is about 100 yards from the monument marking the spot where the pilgrims first stepped ashore in 1620 said the force of the explosion "nearly knocked me out my chair."

The next morning, the *Boston Globe* received a call from a man who referred to the previous weekend's racist attack on the Boston Tea Party Museum. "We did the Tea Party," he said. "We did the rock." The caller threatened future violence and concluded: "Stop busing."

Ford's message prompted an arson attack on the Bradford House, a famous historical site, on June 4.

An antibusing group here calling itself the Defense League has vowed to destroy all bicentennial exhibits in the area and burn downtown department stores and banks. State officials have placed additional security around bicentennial exhibits as a precaution.

Reports also indicate that Ford's message was received in antibusing Dorchester the day after the Bradford House fire. At Dorchester Day festivities, an annual exhibition of civic pride and responsibility, a Black photographer for the *Boston Globe* who was sent to cover the event had beer poured over his head and a bottle broken across his face.

Editor speaks at N.Y. meeting

Silber explains 'Guardian' stand on China

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK—More than 900 people turned out here June 4 to hear *Guardian* executive editor Irwin Silber explain the *Guardian's* new thinking on Chinese foreign policy. The size of the crowd underlined the widespread inter-

est in the discussion on China that the *Guardian* has opened.

The *Guardian*, which describes itself as an "independent radical newsweekly," has in recent years identified itself with the policies of the Chinese Communist party. The paper has been looked to by many who are sympathetic to Peking.

More clearly than in any article that the *Guardian* has yet published, Silber rejected as a "most profound historical error" Peking's characterization of the Soviet Union as the "main danger" in world politics.

For the *Guardian*, Silber explained, "The struggle against U.S. imperialism is the main objective." The United States is the "chief prop" of Western imperialism and the "most powerful oppressive and exploiting force in the world."

Silber said that it had been apparent to the *Guardian* for some time that the ideas expressed by William Hinton accurately reflect Peking's position in foreign policy. In an interview published in the May 5 *Guardian*, Hinton, chairperson of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association, stressed Peking's international campaign for strengthening the imperialist military forces of the United States, Western Europe, and Japan against the Soviet Union.

While agreeing that "there is something damn wrong with the Soviet Union," Silber explained that the *Guardian* is unwilling to go so far as to say that "capitalism has been restored" in the Soviet Union. In the

question-and-answer period Silber put forth a number of questions about the Soviet economy that Marxists would have to answer before arriving at the conclusion of capitalist restoration espoused by Peking.

Silber queried to what degree private property has been restored in the USSR; whether there is production for private profit; whether a "capitalist" economy can have no unemployment; and whether private property is inherited in the Soviet Union.

The *Guardian* has not reached a position on the answers to these and other, related questions, Silber said.

Silber emphatically attacked the position, held by some pro-Mao groups, that Puerto Rico faces the threat of "Soviet superpower" intervention. "The Puerto Rican independence struggle is against U.S. imperialism," Silber said.

The *Guardian's* position marks a turning point in the attempt to regroup pro-Peking forces in this country. Since 1972 the *Guardian* and others have tried to bring together different groupings that support Peking into a single party.

Silber underlined that at the moment there is an "irrevocable demarcation" between the *Guardian* and those groups who defend Peking's foreign policy. The latter include, most importantly, the October League (OL) and the Revolutionary Communist party (RCP—the new name of the Revolutionary Union).

From the audience, former *Guardian* staff member Carl Davidson, who is

now a member of OL, attempted to answer Silber. Davidson asserted that William Hinton's position is not Peking's and that it is slanderous to say that it is. But Davidson did not offer any examples of Peking's foreign policy that depart from Hinton's description.

Silber replied that anyone who follows Peking's daily news dispatches can see that whatever the "superpower" rhetoric, Peking's main axis of attack is directed against Moscow.

The audience reaction at the meeting indicated that there is widespread sympathy for the *Guardian's* stand among the relatively large layer of radical-minded people who in the past have seen China's positions as a revolutionary alternative to the politics of the Soviet bureaucracy. The OL and the RCP have been able to draw in only a small part of this milieu.

Silber expressed the sentiment of most of the audience, and undoubtedly thousands of other people across the country, in expressing sharp disagreements with certain policies of the Mao regime, while supporting the Chinese revolution as a great advance.

He also articulated the views of many when he held that it is necessary to read all sides of the question and to hold this give-and-take in an open and nonsectarian manner.

The initiatives taken by the *Guardian* should lead to a serious discussion about Peking's policies among all those who defend the Chinese revolution and want to build the revolutionary movement in the United States.



Militant/Lou Howort

SILBER: "Read all sides of the discussion."

The Black leadership on busing

By Malik Miah

On May 29 the Justice Department issued a statement saying that "the United States will not file a brief in the Supreme Court at the present stage of the Boston school desegregation case."

This decision was welcomed by supporters of school desegregation across the country. Public pressure, particularly from civil rights organizations such as the NAACP, led Attorney General Edward Levi to reverse his initial plans to intervene in the Boston school desegregation case.

But the threat to "limit the scope" of busing to achieve school desegregation did not pass. On June 2 President Ford announced plans to draft legislation that would limit court-ordered busing to achieve racial desegregation of schools.

The attack on school desegregation in Boston is the spearhead of a systematic national drive to cut back gains won by Blacks in education, housing, and employment.

Thus, a big task lies before the main civil rights organizations and other supporters of school desegregation in Boston and nationwide: to construct a mass movement to defend busing and school desegregation.

What strategies have been projected by the major Black civil rights organizations?

Positions on busing

The most significant group is the NAACP, the largest and oldest civil rights organization in the country.

Since its formation more than sixty years ago, the NAACP has made the fight for school desegregation a central aspect of its national and local activities. The historic 1954 Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education* was based on a legal suit filed by the NAACP. The Boston desegregation order is also based on the legal work of the NAACP.

The National Urban League is also more than sixty years old. The Urban League has done extensive research on unemployment, inadequate housing, and other social ills affecting Black people.

Like the NAACP, the Urban League's goal is to fully integrate Blacks into American society.

Both the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) support busing to achieve school desegregation. Both are based on Black churches.

The SCLC is identified with the direct-action tactics of Martin Luther King, who led the organization during his lifetime. It is much less influential than it used to be. SCLC figures such as Andrew Young and Hosea Williams are today full-time elected Democratic party officeholders.

Leaders of the SCLC have come to Boston to speak at rallies and demonstrations for busing.

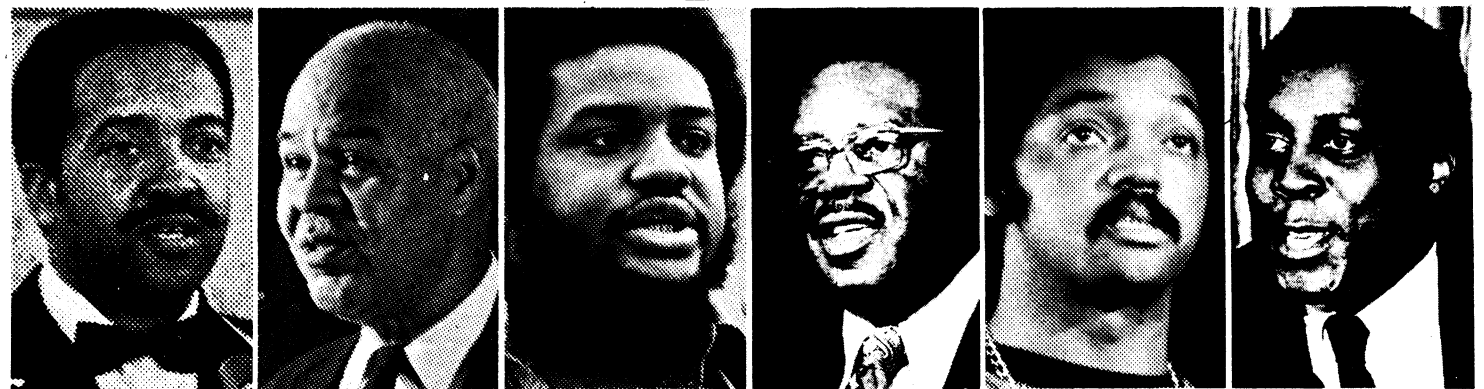
The A. Philip Randolph Institute and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists are affiliated with the trade-union movement. Both back busing.

Finally, the Nation of Islam, since Wallace Muhammad assumed its leadership less than a year ago, has turned to greater involvement in Black community struggles. It now favors busing. But to date the Nation has not endorsed any probusing marches or held any activities of its own in support of busing.

These civil rights organizations hold the allegiance to one extent or another of the majority of Blacks active in the fight for Black equality.

Their strategy

This Black leadership, however, has failed in its essential job—to effectively lead and organize the Black community into a powerful political force to



Wallace Muhammad

Roy Wilkins

Maceo Dixon

Ralph Abernathy

Jesse Jackson

Vernon Jordan

press for the needs of Black people. Neither the NAACP nor any of the other groups have been able to initiate or build a broad coalition to effectively defend busing and school desegregation.

Why has this happened?

The answer lies in the political strategy all the groups project to fight for Black equality. Although some of the organizations have tactical differences on how to advance the struggle for Black liberation, they all have political illusions in the Democratic or Republican parties and the government.

The NAACP's focus on the legal arena and the SCLC's direct-action tactics, when used, fit into this political framework.

This strategy of relying on the capitalist candidates and government to solve the problems of Blacks is why the Black movement is leaderless today.

The old leadership has been more concerned with which Democrat is elected to public office than with building an independent movement in defense of busing and school desegregation in 1976.

The reality is that the majority of Blacks can be mobilized to fight for equality if the present leadership and new leaders make such a call. There is little doubt that thousands of Blacks and others are willing to march on Boston or Washington, D.C., to demand enforcement of the law.

The strategy of the Black leadership leads to a dead end. There is a good illustration of this: An important factor leading up to the cancellation of the April 24 march on Boston for school desegregation was the orientation of the Black leadership toward the elections and toward the government.

Not one of the major civil rights organizations was willing to actively build the April 24 march.

Although both the Boston A. Philip Randolph Institute and the SCLC endorsed the march, neither threw their forces behind it.

The NAACP refused to support the demonstration.

This default in political leadership set the stage for the anti-Black violence days before the march and for the government's failure to do anything to stop it. That state of affairs forced the April 24 march organizers to call off the action—a necessary and correct step.

However, if these big organizations with national followings had backed the march from the start, a political climate could have been created that would have isolated the racists. The wave of racist violence would have therefore been much less likely.

And if the racist terror had erupted anyway, under conditions of strong Black support for the action the government would have been under great pressure to put a halt to it and to protect the demonstration.

The NAACP and the others should have built the hell out of this planned march. And that's still what they should do. (The need for such an action has not diminished.)

But instead of doing that, they encouraged the initiators of the march—local Black community leaders and the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR)—to call it off soon after it was announced.

The NAACP said registering Blacks to vote was the most important thing supporters of school desegregation could do during the 1976 elections.

Margaret Bush Wilson letter

Margaret Bush Wilson, chairperson of the NAACP Board of Directors, explained her organization's stand in a letter to three leaders of Boston's Black community.

"In response to your letter of February 20, 1976," she wrote, "for tactical reasons I express reservations about your suggestion for another march in the near future in support of public school desegregation in Boston. . . .

"Instead," she argued, "I see an urgent need for us to organize massive

voter registration and education campaigns on college campuses across the nation, and in minority communities around the country. NASCAR, with its nationwide network, can play a key role in this regard. In a critical year, like 1976, we cannot allow a repeat of the experience of 1972, when voters stayed away from the polls in large numbers. The political process offers immeasurable opportunities to bring about positive social change, but such opportunities can only be realized if the people most affected appreciate the value of their vote."

This decision—to counterpose voter registration and reliance on capitalist candidates in 1976 to building a demonstration and a movement in defense of busing—dealt a blow to the April 24 march.

A demonstration would have been the best way to force the candidates to speak about busing and other Black issues. The fact that not one Democratic or Republican presidential candidate has campaigned in favor of busing shows where Margaret Bush Wilson's strategy—essentially the same as that followed by the rest of the Black leadership—has gotten us.

How to move forward

The political impotence of the Black leadership has been glaringly obvious this year. At fault is their dead-end strategy. They have been unable to do anything effective about busing—or about jobs, housing, or any other issue of concern to Blacks.

Black people should not wait until November 2 before taking action to defend school desegregation in Boston, Louisville, or elsewhere. The bigots are attacking us now.

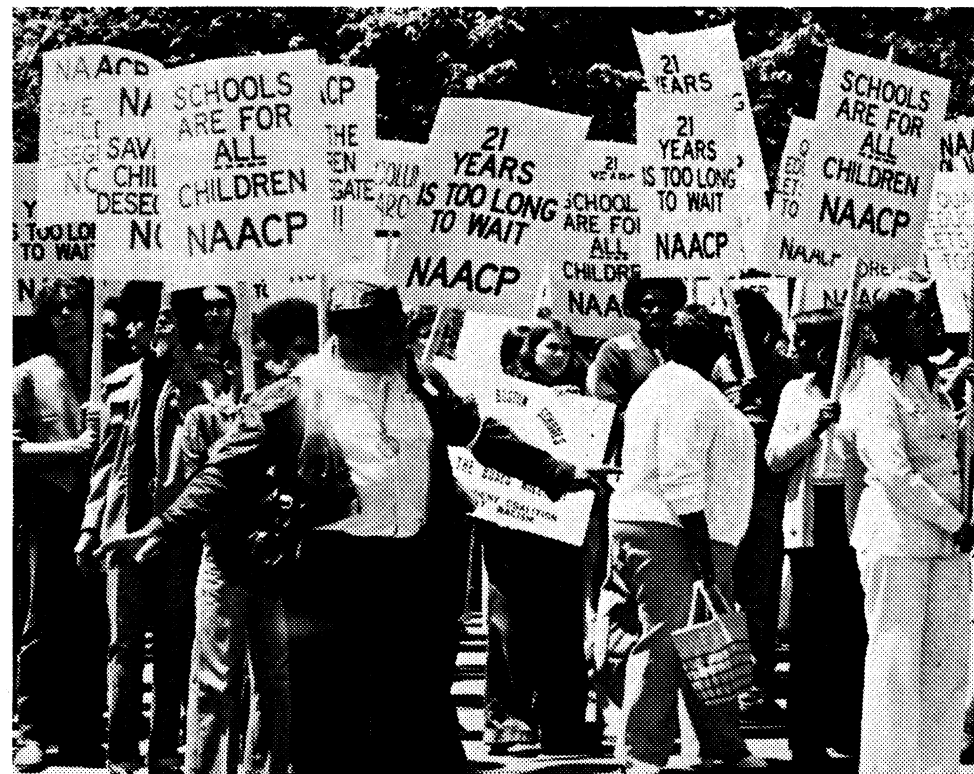
We need the NAACP, Urban League, SCLC, and other Black civil rights groups and organizations like the National Student Coalition Against Racism to unite together and build a new social movement in defense of busing and school desegregation.

If Black leaders like the NAACP's Roy Wilkins, the SCLC's Ralph Abernathy, and the Urban League's Vernon Jordan would issue a call for a big march on Boston, that act alone would pressure the Fords and Levis to seriously consider enforcing the laws protecting Black rights. This could have an impact much like the march on Washington in 1963 called by the major Black groups. That action led the government to quicken its pace in passing important civil rights legislation.

Such a call today would also put the racists on the defensive. It would give some confidence to the Black community. And it would win over many people confused by the busing debate to support of busing.

Until this happens supporters of busing must continue to educate on the issues and push for a mass-action strategy. Since the setback around April 24, getting out the facts has become even more important.

The challenge facing the Black movement today is to overcome the crisis of leadership.



May 17, 1975, desegregation demonstration in Boston

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Kissinger in Chile

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger went to Chile early this month to attend a meeting of the Organization of American States. While there, Kissinger said human rights violations had "impaired our relationship with Chile."

The meeting was hosted by Gen. Augusto Pinochet, who came to power a little less than three years ago in a blood-soaked military coup that was inspired, organized, and financed by Kissinger and his operatives.

Since coming to power, Pinochet's regime has murdered thousands of people; imprisoned more than 100,000 dissidents; driven 50,000 people into exile; and left tens of thousands of children homeless.

More than twenty-five torture centers operate around the clock.

For the whole time that this has been going on, Washington has generously assisted the Chilean butchers. Kissinger has given them economic aid; Kissinger has given them diplomatic support; Kissinger has given them technical assistance.

Now Kissinger wants to wash the blood from his hands with a few crocodile tears about "fundamental standards of humane conduct."

The United States is currently giving \$1.8 billion in aid to Chile, including money funneled through international organizations.

The American people should demand that Washington end all economic, military, and political support to the butchers of the Chilean masses—and end it now!

The Chicano Forum

Over the past several years there has been a growing realization among Chicano activists of the need to discuss and clarify where the movement is going in terms of ideology and program. The National Chicano Forum in Salt Lake City was an important step in the development of that necessary discussion.

The organizers insisted that all points of view within the movement be heard and that ideas be exchanged in a calm, reasonable way.

This was particularly important since at some previous Chicano movement gatherings, rival groupings and individuals have engaged in the kind of heated rhetoric that prevents a serious consideration of differing viewpoints.

The results showed that the most divergent groupings within the movement can sit down in the same room and argue for their point of view, giving those attending the democratic right to consider all ideas.

The result was positive and educational. People went away with a deepened understanding of the nature of Chicano oppression and a lot of food for thought on what is needed to win liberation.

By engaging in such an exchange of ideas, the conference provided a good example for the entire Chicano movement and, for that matter, for all who are struggling for social change.

Eldridge Cleaver

Since former Black Panther party leader Eldridge Cleaver returned to the United States last November, he has been in a federal jail in California. His imprisonment stems from a 1968 police assault on an Oakland home where some BPP supporters had gathered. When the Panther supporters tried to surrender, the cops opened fire, killing an unarmed Black youth and wounding Cleaver.

Frame-up charges of attempted murder were brought against Cleaver and his parole was revoked. Unwilling to return to California's hellish prison system, Cleaver fled the country.

Cleaver recently reversed his political views. Having once advocated "picking up the gun" as a means of liberating Black people, he now hails U.S. "democracy" and denounces "Communism."

If Cleaver thought that his conversion might incline his captors to deal fairly with him, he seems to have guessed wrong. On his arrival in the United States, he was instantly clapped into jail and exorbitant bail of \$100,000 was set.

Whatever differences one may have with Cleaver's past or present views, his imprisonment is a continuation of the government's campaign against the Black liberation movement. Cleaver must be set free and all pending frame-up charges must be dropped.

Milwaukee's 'new image'

In 1967 Milwaukee made the headlines when Blacks and supporters of civil rights were met with bottles and stones as they tried day after day to march into the all-white South Side to demand an open-housing law.

Mayor Henry Maier was in office then and he resisted all their protests. Today he is still mayor and he's trying to project a new image—Milwaukee is a friendly city, free of its racist, segregationist image of the past.

But the reality is revealed in an exchange of letters between Black County Supervisor Clinton Rose and Deputy County Medical Examiner Joseph LaMonte, who wrote that "the Negro should be thankful for his slave forebears or they wouldn't be here enjoying the 'giveaway' programs of the politicians."

Robert Schwarz

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The good fight

Barney Josephson owns a jazz club in Greenwich Village. *Militant* readers who have been following the revelations about police harassment of antiracists may be interested in a conversation I recently had with him.

Some forty years ago Barney opened the first integrated club in the country, the Cafe Society, also in the Village. Billie Holiday came downtown from Harlem to sing to a mixed audience. "If anyone said 'nigger' I threw him out," said Josephson who, incidentally, offered Billie "Strange Fruit," the antilynching song she made famous.

The New York cops closed Cafe Society down.

Today at age seventy-four Barney is still fighting the good fight, with grace and conviction. He now runs the Cookery and employs Helen Humes, perhaps the world's finest female jazz singer.

When she sings a number reminiscent of some of Billie's songs, one is thankful to Josephson for doing what is right and for keeping at it when a man of his age could have justifiably retired.

Michael Smith

New York, New York

Feminist science fiction

I have been a subscriber to the *Militant* now for about four and a half years. I voted for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley in 1972 and I will be voting for Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid this year.

Since graduating from college in 1974, I have worked as a token newswoman at three different radio stations. I got fired for union organizing at one of them. (That is in the courts.) I am also an avid science fiction reader.

I just finished reading the review by Linda Jenness of Ursula Le Guin's book *The Dispossessed* (*Militant*, May 28). I was thrilled. Among others, I have read all of Le Guin's science fiction works. I have for several years made a point of reading all the science fiction written by women that I can get my hands on.

It's slow in coming and still scarce, but feminist science fiction is starting to make itself heard. Le Guin is one of, if not *the*, best in her field, male or female.

I would like to recommend another Le Guin book. It's called *The Left Hand of Darkness*, and it is her first work of feminist science fiction. It takes place on a world called Winter, where all people are of one sex. During periods which she calls "kemmerer,"

partnered Winterans take on maleness and femaleness (one male, the other female), and they never know beforehand which it will be.

In this way, each person is capable of being mother to some children and father to others. She weaves her story around the fascinating ramifications of a culture oriented thus.

I recommend this book highly.

N.R.

Denver, Colorado

Meeting more socialists

Your newspaper is a credit to the socialist school of thought.

The American working class is slowly awakening to its rights as human beings.

Praised be the day when they reach out and take them for their own. Each day I meet more socialists or people on their way to becoming socialists.

Congratulations on your newspaper, keep up the fight.

Robert Marshall

San Jose, California

'Militant' I—interest in South

Could you please send me more *Militant* subscription cards—perhaps ten or fifteen? I have found a great deal of interest in the paper.

Mostly Blacks and poor whites are interested in the coverage of strikes, denial of civil liberties, police crimes, and international labor struggles.

Money comes hard to people in the South (bourgeoisie excluded) and when I see friends who are interested and willing to spend hard-earned money I realize there is a great need to spread such a paper to all that can possibly receive it.

I enjoy the paper.

G.W.

Wilsons Mills, North Carolina

'Militant' 2—good things

I have chanced across your paper often, but never really read it. I have only heard good things about it. So I think it must be time to at least purchase a trial subscription.

As you know, the United Farm Workers union has come to the realization that they cannot expect to be an issue in the bourgeois media and have looked elsewhere for the rest of the facts.

I want to order two trial subscriptions to the *Militant*—one for the Brooklyn Boycott House and one for a very interested political friend of mine.

I hope that you will send him a subscription to the *Militant* since he is looking for an unbiased, nonauthoritarian perspective of U.S. events, also worldwide.

F.F.

Brooklyn, New York

Two suggestions

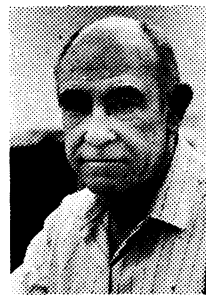
I'd like to give you two suggestions for the *Militant* which I think would make it stronger and more persuasive.

I think there should be an article in every issue of the paper that explains in a basic form what socialism is. My experience of being on a Young Socialist team and other experiences convince me that most people have misconceptions as to what socialism is and what socialists stand for.

The *Militant* can help correct this by publishing such an article.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Un-Hatching gov't workers

[The following guest column is by Steve Beck, secretary of Local 3369 of the American Federation of Government Employees, which represents Social Security field office employees in the New York metropolitan area.]

The latest effort to expand political rights for federal workers ended in failure April 29 when the House of Representatives sustained President Ford's veto of a bill to amend the Hatch Act. Under the law nearly three million workers, including postal employees and workers in federally funded local projects, are denied the right to run for office or campaign for candidates of their choice.

The vote was twenty-six shy of the two-thirds majority needed to send the bill to the Senate, where another override vote would have been needed. Although Missouri Democrat William Clay led the floor fight for overriding the veto, forty-seven of the "nay" votes were cast by Democrats.

The April 30 *New York Times* noted that "except for a letter-writing effort by some labor groups urging representatives to override, there was little evidence that the Administration or the Democratic leadership had engaged in any intensive lobbying on the issue."

The Hatch Act was passed in 1939 allegedly to block patronage abuses in the growing federal work force. Instead of outlawing coercion of civil servants, they outlawed most political activity by the federal workers themselves. Cabinet-level appointees were exempted, naturally.

The defeated amendments would have reversed this by allowing political activity on the part of employees and punishing administrators who tried to coerce them into political service.

In his April 12 veto statement, Ford cynically tried to portray this as a potential rebirth of the spoils

system, saying that "politicizing the civil service is intolerable." Clyde Webber, president of the American Federation of Government Employees, which represents more than 700,000 workers, ridiculed Ford's statement, saying, "This is the same president who recently turned the regional directorships of a number of federal agencies to the political 'spoils system,' over the protests of the Civil Service Commission."

The weekly *Federal Times* also ran a series of articles last October revealing a patronage ring that found jobs for the political faithful recommended by figures in the White House, Congress, and even by civil service commissioners.

The real reasons why Congress and the administration want the Hatch Act intact are less lofty than concern about an honest civil service. All the leading presidential candidates, even Ford, have been running against "Washington bureaucrats," in effect promising huge layoffs. Raises promised to federal workers have been denied, and Ford threatens to limit this year's increase to less than 5 percent. And recently the comptroller general tried to impose a limit on the time union officials could take off to represent members on grievances. The Hatch Act helps to blunt the political backlash of federal workers.

The Democratic and Republican politicians especially fear that this reaction might be channeled through the unions. This was indicated by Republican Rep. Edward Derwinski's charge that "the national union officers here in Washington" were behind the anti-Hatch amendments. While the union leadership undoubtedly hoped to increase its clout in the Democratic party, an "un-Hatched" federal work force might someday support a movement for independent political action through a labor party based on the trade unions.

There should be more articles in the paper that explain why it is in the interest of white workers to support desegregation, Black rights, etc. We should have some statements to explain the relationship of the Black struggle to the class struggle as a whole—in addition to the articles already run.

In general, I think that the *Militant* is making great strides in popularizing socialist ideas and concepts. At this point in the development of the radicalization I think that it should begin to play more of a *Socialist Appeal* role than before.

As the paper expands and reaches more and more newly radicalizing people—people unaccustomed to Marxist or even political terminology and concepts—it must play that role.

Douglas Pensack
Detroit, Michigan

Baltimore—"Give us jobs"

Two hundred fifty people attended a May 22 rally in downtown Baltimore, demanding "Give us jobs." The crowd, a majority of which was Black, came in response to a call for the rally by U.S. Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Speakers at the rally included a wide range of union leaders and Black elected officials. The major speaker was U.S. Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.), author of the proposed "Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1976," more commonly known as the Hawkins-Humphrey bill.

In his remarks Hawkins called for an immediate program of public works to guarantee full employment for all, including young people. "The government says that some percentage of unemployment is the same as full employment," Hawkins said. "We reject that concept. Everybody should be able to have a job, and now." Hawkins urged support for his bill in Congress.

Hawkins neglected to point out, however, that his Hawkins-Humphrey bill will provide for none of the things he called for. It will not create a single job. It will not create public works programs. It does not apply to those under twenty. And it sets the figure of 3 percent unemployment as being equal to full employment.

Other speakers included Joseph Bradley, president of AFL-CIO Region 3; local leaders of the American Federation of Government Employees, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers; Rudelle Martin of the Baltimore Welfare Rights Organization; and others.

Mitchell announced plans at the rally for a march on Baltimore City Hall in late June, and a possible march on the statehouse in Annapolis later in the summer.

Gordon Fox
Baltimore, Maryland

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

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Black Democratic caucus-I

BOSTON—The other day I saw Joe Blow, a Black Democratic elected official I know, walking down the street.

"Twinkle, twinkle, little star," he was singing under his breath. "How I wish—"

"Joe," I yelled, giving him a star. "How're you doing? What were you mumbling about wishing on a star?"

"Er, it's nothing."

"C'mon, Joe. What's the matter? Hey, you look sad. What is it?"

Something profound was troubling Joe, normally a devil-may-care guy.

"You can tell me about it," I assured him.

"Well, I read your story in last week's *Militant* about the national Black Democratic caucus meeting at the beginning of May in Charlotte, North Carolina," he said. "I went to it."

"Oh, I didn't know that."

"Yeah. And I didn't feel right with your description of how we looked like Black Ponce de Leons in search of a political fountain of youth."

"Why, Joe?" I asked, my grubby hands hot to get hold of something. "Is it that you don't speak Spanish?"

"No, no. That's not it. It wasn't your description that I disagreed with. I thought it was accurate, and it's that I don't feel right going around looking like a Black Ponce de Leon."

"Oh, I see."

"The Democratic party isn't trying to meet Black needs. And I think our efforts in Charlotte were not as fruitful as some had expected. Not that it was a total waste. But it didn't map out anything except for our

positions on some issues that all of the presidential candidates said they supported. But without something, you know, more dramatic, I just don't think the party's going to respond to us anytime soon."

"Uh-huh. Go on."

"Well, that's just it. November looks pretty hopeless for Blacks. A lot of other Black elected officials realize it too, and so some are talking about getting ready now for 1980 and just trying to weather out November."

"That was the point I was trying to make, Joe. The Democrats realize that it is unlikely that Blacks will support Ford or Reagan. And in the absence of any sustained pressure on the government by Blacks like there was in the 1960s, the Democratic party has no reason to pay any attention to us."

"Well, I don't know," Joe said. "Some are talking about boycotting the Democratic convention, but I think it's just an empty threat. Others are moving on voter registration. With the low voter turnout at the polls Blacks can be the factor determining whether the Democrats win. In 1960, remember, Kennedy won by just 120,000 votes."

"Yeah, Joe. But Black voter turnout in the primaries has been very, very low—"

"I know."

"And the only thing that looks like it will generate the interest of Blacks is a campaign that's willing to honestly deal with the problems Blacks face. So here. Cheer up," I said, handing him Socialist Workers campaign literature.

Joe buried his face in one of the brochures. "Socialist, eh?" Then his sad eyes smiled.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



No nonsense—Illinois officials removed Aurora Judge William Vanderwater from the bench for sentencing a man to eight months in jail without a trial. The complaint said the good judge allegedly removed the victim, Flor López, from an apartment building in which he had an interest after tenants complained López had made a disturbance. The judge reportedly took López to the station, filed a theft charge against him, got his signature on a guilty plea, and sentenced him.

Left them gasping—A scandal erupted in Italy with the charge that the country's world championship bridge team was acing out competitors by exchanging smoke signals from their coffin nails.

Army mess—The person who said an army marches on its stomach may

have offered a clue as to why the U.S. Army hasn't done so well in recent times. Senate probers said a spot check showed that 80 percent of 1.5 million pounds of meat bought by the Pentagon did not conform to military specifications.

A ghostly rattle—President Ford deliberately avoids using Nixon's name in campaign appearances. He generally refers to him as "my predecessor," or "Lyndon Johnson's successor."

Can't be unreasonable, can we?—The Food and Drug Administration gave food processors until January 1976 to stop labeling foods containing additives or preservatives—often carcinogenic—as "pure" or "100 percent." The deadline was extended to July 1 when manufacturers explained

they had large stocks of old labels and would lose money if they had to throw them out.

Give him time to spend it—Jake Jacobsen, former aide to Lyndon Johnson, pleaded no contest to stealing \$825,000 from a savings and loan company. He was given seven years' probation.

Anti-tube?—Dr. Koprowski, a professor of business, says TV is largely responsible for the millions of Americans who hate their jobs and despise their bosses. "If they don't happen to like the program," the prof explained, "they can change the channel. This is what managers say many young people are doing today." Furthermore, he added, they "feel absolutely no guilt about not earning their wages honestly. They feel in fact that they are the ones being cheated."

Sounds reasonable—Louisville police feared foul play when cab driver Ricky Kruse was reported missing and his cab was found abandoned. Kruse was finally located at the Churchill Downs racetrack. He told police he was tired of working.

Chopping block—A congressional subcommittee probing medical malpractices estimated "there were approximately 2.4 million unnecessary surgeries performed in 1974 at a cost to the American public of almost \$4 billion . . . and led to 11,900 deaths last year."

Scab wages—President Ford's election committee recruited people at \$7.50 a head to watch a film of Reagan's national TV speech to determine its effectiveness. They should at least include insurance for residual brain damage.

Their Government

Nancy Cole



The campaign finance follies

WASHINGTON—There they were, waiting with their hands out. Those gaunt, bedraggled Democratic and Republican presidential candidates, the products of two months of financial starvation. A cruel Congress and an even crueler President Ford had dillydallied around since March with reconstitution of the Federal Election Commission. Meanwhile, all the tax-subsidized public matching funds were frozen.

They thawed May 21 when the six commission members were sworn in. The candidates were there at the door, and they carried away \$3,209,783.31.

But the suffering showed, and alas, the months of deprivation may have affected the ultimate outcome of the primaries, the ultimate outcome of the '76 presidential race. Why, we may end up with a Carter when we could have had a Humphrey! A Ford instead of a Reagan!

The tragic tale began in January when the Supreme Court ruled on the federal campaign finance law. The justices said it was basically okay, but the commission had to be appointed by the president, not Congress. So Congress went to work

on an amended law, but took until the beginning of May to get it approved. Then Ford refused to allow any funds to be doled out until he got around to appointing all six commissioners and they were all approved and sworn in.

Things got rough. Fred Harris's telephones were shut off when he couldn't pay the bill. He dropped out of the race. Morris Udall had to cut his advertising budget in half in the Pennsylvania primary. He lost. Henry Jackson had to spend more than two hours in a car traveling from Wilkes-Barre to a Philadelphia suburb because he couldn't afford a chartered flight. He lost too. And Ronald Reagan couldn't buy all the TV time in Texas and Wisconsin that he had his heart set on.

Ford's campaign apparatus thrived, having the White House staff and the authority of the presidency to back it up. Thus, he was accused by the nation's capitalist press and politicians of having "political" motives in stalling on the commission.

So we were subjected to weeks of editorials and columns bemoaning the circumstances that forced

Democratic and Republican candidates to spend valuable time riding in cars when they could be jetting. To the *New York Times*, it was "dirty pool"; to the *Washington Post*, "grossly unfair." All agreed that the outcome of '76 may have been affected by the inaccessible funds, and that access to the funds was an inalienable right of the capitalist candidates.

But nobody railed against the provision that allocates this tax money solely to Democrats and Republicans. You didn't see the *Times* crying over the fact that the Socialist Workers party or any other independent party will never see a penny of matching funds.

Sure, Ford stalled to increase his chances against Reagan. And maybe Humphrey didn't announce because Carter won the Pennsylvania primary so overwhelmingly because Jackson had to ride in a car for two hours. But it's all got precious little to do with the choice the American people will face on November 2: between Tweedledee and Tweedledum. That's the real "dirty pool."

The American Way of Life

Teaching genocide

[The following article appeared in the "Inali's Wigwam" column of the May 13 Eastside Courier, a New York weekly. Inali is a Cherokee Indian.]

The John Wayne Indian is still alive and scalping. This bloodthirsty barbarian still rides roughshod through late night movies and the educational and legal system of New York.

The red skinned savage charged through S.M. Barrett's "Geronimo: His Own Story." And Siba Baum spotted him.

About a year ago, Siba was a seventh grader out in Queens, and she wrote a book report on the Barrett volume. In the report, the youngster suggested the book was racially biased and Indians are not necessarily cold-blooded murderers with neither intelligence nor compassion. In fact, Siba, a Blackfoot Indian herself, had never taken a single scalp in any of her dozen years.

But teacher Carol Duarte didn't like Siba's report. Rather, she attacked her student's attitude saying Indians, "got what they deserved."

Upset, Siba brought the teacher's written comments to her mother, Jeanne Baum, who in turn asked the teacher for an explanation.

Teacher Duarte's explanation was reportedly that Indians are, "drunk and lazy and had committed atrocities against white settlers."

Astonished, Jeanne took her daughter out of school, demanding the teacher's censure, her remarks labelled as racist, and the local school board required to prevent future occurrences of the episode by drafting guidelines for teaching racially delicate subjects.

Mrs. Baum and the school board became stalled at an impasse, and the issue was brought to the New York Family Court.

Judge Arthur Abrams heard the case and sided with the school board in defense of its teacher. The judge said the teacher's remarks, "can be interpreted

ed as a learning device, in the role of devil's advocate, to stimulate the student's thinking."

The judge's April decision ordered Siba's return to the classroom. Keeping the youngster out of school, the judge said, will result, "in the retardation of the child's educational process."

Mrs. Baum is now refusing to return Siba to the classroom and fears the court may attempt to take the youngster from her custody.

Ted Thompson, at the American Indian Community House, said, and we truly agree, that this is a study in institutionalized racism.

Thompson points out that if a larger, more vocal minority had been the subject, thunders would have rolled from the classroom to Washington.

As an example, Thompson asks for us to imagine what sort of response we'd hear if a teacher said Jews "got what they deserved."

He asked, "are we sending our children to school to learn the justification of genocide?"

What makes a revolution?

SWP national secretary answers government

[Following are concluding excerpts from testimony by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers party, under questioning by John Siffert, a government attorney.]

[The transcript below is continued from last week's Militant. This week's portion picks up with Siffert questioning Barnes about the SWP's collaboration with the Fourth International, the world revolutionary organization founded by Leon Trotsky.]

[Further explanation of this stage of the proceedings in the socialist suit against the government is contained in an article on the next page.]

[Barnes's deposition was recorded by a court reporter. We have condensed it and corrected garbled words and phrases in the transcript.]

Q. Is there, in fact, certain examples of people who are members of the Fourth International who go to a country in order to aid the revolution in that country?

A. Revolutions begin because of intolerable conditions that grow up in a country, not by people going from country to country. In that sense the answer to that is no. There are socialists who go to other countries and learn the politics of that country and share experiences with socialists in that country.

I, for instance, spent a year or so traveling in Europe, spending a lot of time speaking with fellow socialists. It makes me a better American socialist.

Q. In Portugal or Latin America to your knowledge has the Fourth International ever used its dues or any other funds that it came into possession of for arms?

A. Absolutely not. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Has the Fourth International sent people with the funds not only to study but also to help organize for the purpose of rioting or creating terrors?

A. Absolutely not. Not to my knowledge. It would be a breach of the program and principles of the Fourth International if they had done so.

For anyone of the Fourth International to send anybody to a country to initiate rioting would be a mockery of the way social change comes about.

Q. Didn't you spend a period of time in late 1971 to early 1972 in Europe on Fourth International business?

A. No, Mr. Siffert, not on Fourth International business. I did spend a lot of time in France and Belgium.

Q. What did you do in France?

A. I wrote articles. I had discussions with socialists. I observed events in that country. I attended a lot of meetings of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International during that period but none of them was held in France because of the reactionary legislation there.

Tariq Ali

Q. Do you know Tariq Ali Khan?

A. Yes, I know Tariq Ali Khan. He is a good friend.

Q. When have you met him? Have you had lunch with him?

A. Numerous times in the last seven

years. I have had lunch with him in London several times recently.

Q. I believe I am asking about September of '74.

A. If I was in London in 1974, November, it is possible I had lunch with Tariq.

Q. Is Mr. Ali Khan a member of the International Marxist Group?

A. Yes. I think he usually uses the name Tariq Ali. He is a public leader of the International Marxist Group in Britain.

Q. What is the position that group takes with respect to violence?

A. It, like everyone except pacifists, takes no abstract position with respect to violence. It considers itself a Marxist organization. It is absolutely opposed to terrorism, anarchism, and to the use of individual violence.

I don't know of any document that it has written on this, but this is its long-standing position as a Marxist organization. If I remember correctly, Tariq Ali wrote a letter to the *London Times*

were limited. The military was not going to allow it to go on much longer. The overthrow eventually came a year or so later.

What was probably discussed was the state of the labor movement in Argentina, the state of opposition to the military overthrow of Perón, and the importance of warning the Argentine workers not to depend on the Perón regime.

If they depended upon the Perón regime, they would be defenseless in the face of the military take-over, which would put Argentina more directly under the heel of United States capitalism. It was necessary for the working class to form their own party, a party that could fight to defend democratic rights, could run their own candidates, could fight for socialism, etc.

Q. When you talk about fighting for democratic rights, would that include contemplating violence that might accompany such a fight?

A. Well, it was not a question of

lence with violence? Was that discussed?

A. No one there to my knowledge had the illusion that any small party could prevent the military from overthrowing the Perón regime. Only the labor movement itself standing up and saying no to any restrictions on democratic rights could do it.

Democratic rights

Q. Do you recall words to the effect or the sentiment being expressed at that conference that the Fourth International does not defend the democratic rights in general but rather the rights of the working class and in doing so any cooperation of classes whether directly or in the shape of a popular front or indirectly by defending bourgeois institutions is to be avoided. Do you remember language to that effect?

A. That is not a quote from anything. The political debate was to what degree does one collaborate with even bourgeois parties in the defense of democratic rights. This is a different thing from supporting the programs of



Villas Miseria of Argentina: 'Revolutions begin because of intolerable conditions in a country.'

Literary Supplement [April 16, 1976] which answered in some detail the false accusation that he, the IMG, and the Fourth International are advocates of terrorism. I would be glad to furnish you with a copy.

Discussions on Argentina

Q. What do you recall being discussed [at the meeting of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International in February 1975]?

A. Well, probably, that was the meeting where extensive discussion was held on the world economic recession. It is also possible at that meeting that there was a discussion on Argentina.

Q. Was there any discussion of the overthrow of the regime?

A. What was discussed was that the days of the Perón regime in Argentina

contemplating violence. Violence was wracking Argentina. People were being shot. Hundreds of trade unionists and socialists and progressive attorneys were being dragged out of their homes in the middle of the night. Seven of my own comrades were murdered.

There were death squads such as the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance, who had a working relationship with the police. They operated as assassination squads and created violence all over the place.

The question we were discussing was how to explain to the workers the strategy for turning this situation around, and the need not to count on Eva Perón to protect them against the military coup and the right-wing terrorists.

Q. How about the Fourth International contemplating response to vio-

bourgeois forces or parties, which we consider not only to be ineffective but which will lead to the opposite results.

There was also a debate about the question of defending democratic institutions from being overthrown by the right or by the establishment of a dictatorship. It is the elementary obligation of any socialist to work with any party, any force, willing to defend these rights.

After the return of Perón to Argentina, a number of rights that had been denied in previous military dictatorships were institutionalized. The Argentine Socialist Workers party was fighting for a constitution to be written which would include, among other things, a bill of rights. One has never been promulgated.

Some thought the way the Argentine party was fighting for these rights gave the impression they had political

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page
confidence in the institutions as they existed under Peronism or in the bourgeois parties that were a majority in the legislature.

I held the opinion that they basically conducted themselves correctly. I spoke along that line.

Q. Does this noncooperation [with bourgeois institutions or parties] require violence?

A. No, it does not in any way, shape, or form. I have no confidence in the Democratic and Republican parties to advance the economic or democratic rights of the American people. I don't cooperate with them. I oppose them. This does not require me to use violence.

What is wrong, and what we consider a breach of principles, is to express political confidence in either the institutions or the parties of the ruling class. Because these institutions will never defend the democratic rights of the people against the right. They will divide and collaborate with the right.

Marxism versus terrorism

Q. Would terrorism or guerrilla warfare be considered a possible tactic that would be taken as a strategy by the Socialist Workers party?

A. Once again I can only do what I did on earlier questions like that, to refer to what can be learned from a study of history. History teaches us that guerrilla warfare played a role in certain social revolutions. One of the most prominent is the First American Revolution and the struggle for independence from the Crown.

Q. Are there recent examples that you can point to that you would consider acts of terrorism which benefit the social revolution?

A. Terrorism does not benefit the social revolution. It stands in the way of progressive social change. The real

problem from a political and not a moral point of view is that terrorism takes the ideal of the bourgeois hero, the individual, the man on horseback, and turns it around so that there is a small group of heroic people who commit acts of terrorism and this will help liberate you.

This is the opposite of the point of view of socialism and Marxism. We say to the masses of people that it is your own self-organization and self-confidence, not counting on saviors, that not only can defend democratic rights but can move toward getting rid of the evils of capitalism.

The terrorism that is propagated is that carried on by the ruling class—the terror bombings in Vietnam, the use of terror in Chile, the terror against the Black Panthers and other Black groups, and the assassination of their leaders. Terrorism is alien to the workers movement.

Q. Isn't it necessary in order to have the socialist revolution for there to be a radicalized body politic?

A. Yes.

Q. Is not one of the means to have a radicalized body politic to have acts of terrorism?

A. Just the opposite, Mr. Siffert. You are expressing the delusion of the terrorists themselves.

In my opinion, acts of terrorism, far from giving you a radicalized body politic, do two things. One, they convince the masses that they do not need to be involved in politics.

Second, acts of terrorism are always used as an excuse by the ruling powers to impose restrictions on the left and on the working-class movement.

A question of facts

Q. Mr. Barnes, have you ever been arrested?

A. I received a ticket for going through a stop sign in Chicago, Illinois. Is that an arrest?

Q. No, sir.

A. No, I have never been arrested, Mr. Siffert.

Q. Were you ever arrested in Paris?

A. No, I have never been arrested in Paris, in New York, or anywhere else on this planet.

Q. Were you ever expelled from France?

A. Many colleagues and associates of mine were expelled from France. I was concerned about being expelled from France, but I never was, no.

Q. Directing your attention to May 15 or May 16, 1971, were you present in France during the 100th Anniversary of the Ligue Communiste?

A. The Ligue Communiste was formed in 1969. If it had a 100-year anniversary two years later I would want to attend because I would want to know what kind of anniversary that was. I can assure you I did not attend the 100th anniversary of the Ligue Communiste.

Q. You never were expelled from France?

A. Unless one is expelled without being informed of the expulsion. I have to my knowledge never been expelled from France.

Q. Specifically on April 13, 1972, were you ever expelled?

A. Whoever is informing you of these "facts" is off their rocker, Mr. Siffert.

Guerrilla warfare

Q. In 1968, did differences within the Fourth International arise regarding guerrilla warfare?

A. In late 1968 or early 1969 different points of view began to be expressed in the various publications and internal bulletins of the different groups of the Fourth International concerning the place of guerrilla warfare in the defense of the rights of the masses in Latin America.

Q. Did the differing positions that were taken become solidified in effect into two major groups, the Leninist Trotskyite Tendency on the one hand, which opposed guerrilla warfare, and

the International Majority Tendency, which favored it?

A. No. The difference was not between those who favored and those who opposed guerrilla warfare. No socialist could make such an abstract statement.

Clearly, Americans favored guerrilla warfare as carried out by the Sons of Liberty. They would oppose guerrilla warfare as carried out by a small group against democratic institutions as being foolhardy.

Q. What are the Sons of Liberty?

A. They were one of the organizations of the First American Revolution 200 years ago. They organized guerrilla ambushes of British troops and held illegal meetings. They had slogans



Attica, 1971: Prisoners 'riot' for the sam

About the testimony

By Diane Rupp

Jack Barnes described his questioning by the government as "a long eight hours."

What was it like? Barnes sat on one side of a table, accompanied by Syd Stapleton from the Political Rights Defense Fund and Herbert Jordan, Dorian Bowman, and Margaret Winter, three of the attorneys working on the socialists' case.

Facing them across the table were three men. John Siffert was the U.S. attorney who asked questions. Beside him sat Thomas Moseley, another government lawyer. "He's their anticommunist expert," Barnes said of Moseley. "He can spell

Bakunin and knows there were two Russian revolutions in 1917."

The third man was one of their clients, an FBI agent. The FBI is a target of the socialists' suit. Apparently, Barnes said, the FBI has assigned an agent to each Socialist Workers party member being questioned by the government. This agent sat there all day, stone-faced, hugging a huge yellow file.

"You'll think this is made up," laughed Barnes, "but the FBI agent had a red-and-white-striped pencil with blue stars at the end."

"It was one of those oversized pencils children get in first grade. The agent would wrap his hand

around this pencil and scrawl notes to the attorney, telling him what to ask me.

"It was a funny thing," Barnes recalled. "Every once in a while Siffert would slip and call us the 'defendants.' Then we'd remind him that it's his clients—the FBI and other police agencies—on trial this time."

"The FBI never dreamed they would ever have to justify what they do to Blacks, to socialists, to dissidents," said Barnes.

Looking for 'evidence'

"Now they're trying to reconstruct back from today some excuse for their decades of so-called investigation."

"They're having a hard time coming up with anything that would justify, to the average working person in this country, their spying and harassment against the SWP," Barnes said.

Barnes's testimony, given under oath, was one of a series of depositions the government is taking from SWP members. These depositions are part of what is known as pretrial discovery, during which each side in a lawsuit is entitled to obtain information from the other side about the issues in the case.

In addition to depositions, discovery takes the form of turning over documents and answering questions, known as "interrogatories," in writing.

It is through pretrial discovery that the government has been forced to turn over thousands of pages from secret FBI files, which have made headlines around the world.

The SWP has provided copies of the party's documents, resolutions, speeches, and pamphlets. "Of course, they had all this stuff anyway," Barnes added.

The socialists are refusing, however, to provide lists of names of members of the SWP or the Young Socialist Alliance. "The purpose of this suit is to stop government harassment," said Barnes. "We're not about to give them more names for their enemies list."

The socialists are also declining to turn over



Jack Barnes (center) and attorneys Margaret Winter and Herbert Jordan outside federal building before making deposition.

such as "Live Free or Die." We are celebrating that this year, 1976. No American is for or against guerrilla warfare in the abstract.

The difference revolved around a more fundamental question. There were political tendencies in Latin America who, under the influence of the way they viewed the course of the Cuban revolution, were organizing or talking about organizing guerrilla warfare.

No one in the Fourth International would say that under conditions of dictatorship, with the total absence of democratic rights, people do not have the right to defend themselves and have the responsibility to take up arms to free themselves.



Sons colonists 'rioted' 200 years ago

Those of us who later became the Leninist Trotskyist Faction believed that the tendencies who thought they could end that exploitation in Latin America by organizing guerrilla bands had drawn the wrong lessons from the Cuban revolution.

The International Majority Tendency differed from us in two basic ways. One, they estimated that the dominant form of social struggle in Latin America for an extended period would be rural guerrilla warfare against the dictatorships.

Secondly, the IMT thought that the guerrilla struggles would hasten the downfall of dictatorships, lead to the reinstitution of democratic rights, and hasten the advancement of economic and social emancipation of the people of the various countries in Latin America.

We were quite dubious about this. We thought that the guerrilla warfare strategy practiced by many of these young people would lead to their isolation and ultimately their death and defeat.

Q. Did the IMT ever condemn the illegal acts of terrorism that did occur?

A. I believe the record of the IMT is impeccably clear in opposition to terrorism. Some very prominent international spokespersons identified with the IMT, such as Ernest Mandel, have written extensively on the question of terrorism, some of which I know to be in the record in this case.

Sallustro affair

Q. Have you ever personally condemned any act of violence in the course of terrorism?

A. I'll give you an example. The Socialist Workers party released a statement that was published in some newspapers—in the *Militant*, for instance—on the occasion of the execution of a man named Sallustro in Argentina in 1972. It was an accurate presentation of our view on terrorism. It was a dissociation from not only the self-defeating strategy but the event itself. You could take it as a prototype

of our view on this.

Q. Under the Sallustro incident, to your knowledge, did the Fourth International condemn it?

A. The Fourth International's program is clearly and publicly contrary to the strategy and the method used in the Sallustro affair.

I know of no one in the Fourth International leadership, not a single person, who would say that either the strategy utilized by the group that was involved in the kidnapping and execution of Sallustro or the act itself was anything but wrong politically. This is unambiguous.

Q. Do you recall saying something to this effect—not these words but something to this effect—that the Socialist Workers party should continue the support of the Black and Chicano radicalization, the women's liberation movement, and the gay liberation movement, and prisoner rebellions should be supported by the Socialist Workers party?

A. No, I don't remember saying anything like that. It is possible that I would say that the Socialist Workers party champions and supports struggles of the Black and Chicano people for their rights, and the struggle of women for the right to abortion and equal rights, for an end to their oppression as a sex.

We support the demands of prisoners for just and humane conditions. We make this very public.

Prisoners' rights

Q. Did you ever say you support not only prisoners' rights but prisoners' rebellions?

A. No, I don't think I would ever use that sentence. I would explain that prison rebellions are caused by the terrible deprivations that the prisoners suffer. Anyone with any human decency should champion the struggles of American prisoners for humane conditions and their full rights.

Q. What about riots of prisoners?



'One of the most important things about the Chicano movement was the development of La Raza Unida parties.'

A. What about riots of prisoners, Mr. Siffert?

Q. Do you support them?

A. No. It is not the policy of the Socialist Workers party to instigate rioting of any kind. I repeat what I said. I understand why prisoners "riot." It would be like why the colonists "rioted" 200 years ago. I champion their demands.

One of the signs of the great changes in this country is that the prisoners have the courage and will to protest the conditions they face. I am proud that the *Militant* newspaper is one of the most widely read newspapers in the prisons.

Some of my best and closest colleagues
Continued on next page

names of revolutionaries in other countries. As Barnes explained in replying to an earlier written interrogatory, "To do so would expose them to a serious risk of injury, including torture and death." Many who have met with SWP members come from countries under the heel of military dictatorships or Stalinist bureaucracies.

The deposition, Barnes explained, is quite different from the testimony that will be presented at the trial itself. Then SWP leaders will have a chance to explain their ideas and activities—which are, after all, at the heart of the case—under questioning from their own attorneys. Reading the depositions, however, is like reading only the cross-examination part of the testimony.

Some misinformation

What were some high points of the questioning? "One of the funniest," Barnes recalled, "was when Siffert thought he had caught me in a lie about my arrest record." The U.S. attorney was sure Barnes had been arrested or expelled from France on April 13, 1972.

"The CIA probably had arranged to have me expelled," Barnes said. "The French police stopped and searched the train I was scheduled to be on. But I had left a day early to visit friends."

At that point in the questioning, Barnes said, Siffert scowled at the FBI agent and tossed away his note. "I seem to have some misinformation," the lawyer said, off the record.

"All you have is misinformation," replied Barnes.

Barnes pointed out, for an example, the gross distortions in *Trotskyite Terrorist International*, a book put out by a witch-hunting Senate subcommittee. Siffert was fond of quoting from this book of lies, based on testimony from Herbert Romerstein, head of a group calling itself Friends of the FBI.

One photograph in this book is labeled "Charles Michaloux," a leading French Trotskyist. But the man in the picture is actually Giscard d'Estaing, France's president. The rest of the book is equally absurd.

"Another striking thing," Barnes said, "is how embarrassed they are by American history.

"When I mentioned the Sons of Liberty [from the First American Revolution], Siffert thought I was in contact with some underground group. I guess he thought it might be a wing of the Weatherpeople.

"They just don't see any continuity in history," Barnes pointed out. "They seem to think fighting for freedom is just a patriotic story for the bicentennial.

"Anyone who takes history seriously and applies its lessons is fair game for harassment by the government."

Why did the lawyer spend so much time on whether the SWP is plotting to "create a revolution" and foment terrorism? It's not merely that they are trying to falsify and distort the SWP's views, Barnes explained.

"The fact is that they really see politics in conspiratorial terms," he said. These lawyers and FBI agents really think social change is the result of secret conspiracies of small groups of people.

They see it that way, in part, because they themselves operate that way. "They do all the things they say we do," said Barnes. "These police agencies have to act in secret, oppressive, and violent ways.

"But what marks revolution above all things is the opposite of conspiracy. It's millions of people coming into active politics for the first time. This is the heart of a revolution. This idea is completely alien to these agents."

What was the government trying to get from their questioning? The FBI agent—with his huge red, white, and blue pencil—kept passing notes to Siffert based on material in the file he had in front of him. He was trying to get some kind of "violent" quote into the official record, Barnes explained.

Games with words

One thing the government hopes to do is build a case on words socialists use—"fight," "combat party," "defense policy."

Barnes drew a comparison: It is as if two FBI agents walked past a church, heard people singing "Onward Christian Soldiers," and called out the troops because they thought an army was preparing

to march.

What else might the government try in court? They will try to smear the SWP's collaboration with the Fourth International, Barnes explained. "But there's nothing illegal about the kind of discussion and collaboration we have with socialists around the world. The SWP has always been open about this."

The government also tries to picture the Fourth International as a terrorist organization. But the program and record of the Fourth International are clearly opposed to terrorism.

"They also may try to picture SWP and YSA members as dangerous because some have been arrested," said Barnes. "Sure, some socialists have been arrested when cops have attacked demonstrations for civil rights or against the war in Vietnam, or when scabs have assaulted striking unionists. They won't be able to get very far with that in a public trial."

The government may also try to make something out of the fact that members of the SWP were convicted in 1941 for violating the Smith Act. But the U.S. Supreme Court subsequently ruled unconstitutional the interpretation of the Smith Act that was the legal basis for that prosecution.

Debating a risk

The government is very likely debating whether to take the gamble of putting some informer on the stand to lie about what the party is and what it stands for. "They could have some agent they've planted in the party get up and testify that the SWP secretly planned to blow up some building or some monument," Barnes said.

But they will have a hard time convincing a judge or a jury of such a lie, Barnes added, much less the American public. It would contradict everything the SWP has ever done or said.

Barnes summed up the government's case. "What they really have to prove is that if you're a revolutionary, or a socialist, or a dissident of any kind, or just not reactionary—if you disagree with the government at all—they have a right to investigate and harass you."

Continued from preceding page

leagues have been in American prisons and I have been taught a little about that.

Raza Unida parties

Q. In 1971 what was the state of the Chicano movement?

A. The Socialist Workers party adopted an extensive resolution at our August 1971 convention. This resolution has been turned over to you. It will give you a broad feel for the movement at that time.

One of the most important things we discussed about the Chicano movement was the development of the independent parties of the Chicano people, called La Raza Unida parties.

Q. Translated it would be what?

A. United People. This to us was of great importance. It is our firm conviction that one of the greatest obstacles to progressive social change is the support which the working class and the Chicano people, the Black and Puerto Rican people, give the Democratic and Republican parties.

We think one of the most important steps will be the breaking of the Chicano people, as well as the Black and Puerto Rican people, from support to the Democratic or Republican parties, the parties of their oppressors. We thought it was very important that this process had actually begun in Texas, Colorado, and a few other places.

Q. Specifically did you support at any time the Black Panther party?

A. The Black Panther party ran candidates for public office. In some cases the Socialist Workers party urged voters in those districts to vote for the Black Panther candidates.

When an independent Black or



'Malcolm X will go down in history as one of the greatest of all persons.'

Chicano or Puerto Rican candidate runs for office, even if we have disagreements with the program on which they run, we will often urge a vote for them.

Q. Other than in the context of voting at an election, was there any specific action taken in support of the Black Panthers?

A. Very much so. We supported the Black Panthers in the actions they took to defend themselves from what I think was the most organized campaign of government harassment ever carried out against any group in the United States.

We supported them in their efforts to expose the plot by police agencies, and particularly the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which set them up to be shot down and murdered.

We supported their attempt to defend

themselves against this, even though we disagreed with the Black Panther party on a whole range of things.

Attica defense

Q. With respect to Attica, did you take any public action with regard to the prisoner action?

A. Yes, we did. We considered the shooting of the prisoners in Attica under the orders of Rockefeller one of the most horrendous crimes of this century. It symbolized the conditions that the prisoners suffered under. We encouraged support for the just demands of the prisoners for their rights.

We sent reporters to Attica and organized speaking tours in defense of the Attica prisoners. We wrote articles explaining the history of Attica and the conditions there. Our candidates stressed the brutality of Rockefeller's orders and the responsibility of the ruling class for the murder of the Attica prisoners.

Q. Did you ever teach at a summer school of the YSA on preparing for the coming American revolution?

A. I have taught at numerous summer schools.

Q. Did you ever teach that topic?

A. It is conceivable that a Young Socialist Alliance chapter gave that title to their summer school. I don't remember.

Q. In 1968?

A. Where, what city, and what was my speech on?

Q. I don't know. That is what I was about to ask you.

A. You must understand that I have given hundreds of classes to summer schools.

I think it should be noted for the record that each of the two times I have asked Mr. Siffert for the concrete place and character of the quote, he has asked the FBI agent present to show him a dossier that I am not privy to.

Q. It would be New York City in 1968, the summer school of the YSA. What is the American revolution that is being taught about?

Three American revolutions

A. Three possibilities, Mr. Siffert. I have spoken on all three. The First American Revolution, we celebrate the 200th anniversary of its opening this year. The Second American Revolution is also known as the Civil War. It abolished slavery ownership. I believe there will be a third revolution in property relations that will go from capitalism to social ownership.

Q. How would one prepare for the coming revolution?

A. One prepares for the coming American revolution by doing exactly the things described in the SWP resolution entitled *Prospects for Socialism in America*.

Q. Do you train for the use of guns?

A. No, Mr. Siffert, the Socialist Workers party does not train people in the use of guns. We think that it is silly and foolish and a caricature of the revolution.

Q. Do you train the state of mind?

A. Train a state of mind?

Q. Train for a state of mind to achieve a consciousness or radicalization.

A. No, I don't think one would say we try to train for a state of mind. We try to analyze the course of history and educate about its possible variants. We urge participation in progressive movements. We explain our program. We urge people to join the Socialist Workers party. No other kind of training makes any sense to Marxists, to socialists.

Q. What was your relationship with Malcolm X?

A. I admired Malcolm X greatly. I met and had discussions with Malcolm X a couple of times. Malcolm X spoke at a free speech forum that I spoke at



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

'We say to the masses of people it is your own self-organization and self-confidence that can defend democratic rights and move toward getting rid of the evils of capitalism.'

called the Militant Labor Forum.

I wrote an article about my discussions with Malcolm X, which was published in a pamphlet by Pathfinder Press entitled *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. In this article I described what I thought of Malcolm X and described my discussions with him.

I spoke at a memorial meeting for Malcolm X. I spoke about not only what he stood for, but how he will go down in history as one of the greatest of all persons. I think Malcolm X is one of the people in American history that I can truly say I loved. He was a magnificent revolutionist.

A falsified quotation

Q. In New York, do you recall saying anything to this effect, although not necessarily the words themselves, "The American revolution will take place on the streets in a large metropolitan city by the masses and will be non-non-violent." Did you say that?

A. No, I did not ever make that statement.

There is a problem with the quotes you read me. Many of them come from FBI agents inside the Socialist Workers party. They don't grasp what we are talking about. Secondly, they have the propensity to exaggerate and make up things for the purpose, I assume, of justifying their pay from the FBI.

I have a number of examples in the FBI reports turned over to me stating that I advocated violence. These kinds of "quotes" contradict everything we do, we have done, everything we stand for, and everything we write and publish.

Q. If someone had that piece of information, though, would you think him reasonable to be fearful that you might be violent?

A. If someone paid an agent to come inside the Socialist Workers party and falsify records and give them material, no, the entire thing would be a fake and fraud.

To the contrary. I would say if something like that, something of that banal a level and falsified a character, is used as an excuse for the Federal Bureau of Investigation to investigate the SWP, it would be pure harassment.

It does not make sense, Mr. Siffert, to think that people who think, act, and engage in politics 365 days a year, who have published thousands of pages, and who have led thousands of people in a course of politics over decades—that all of a sudden we would say something like that. It is out of character.

FBI's so-called facts

The only thing I can say is that you received it from a provocateur who was paid to falsify the reports. There is no other explanation for such a crazy thing attributed to me.

Q. Assume it could be proven that the FBI did not ask the informer to

falsify or exaggerate but rather insisted that the informer accurately report what happened. Assume that set of facts.

And if the FBI received information to the effect that you said that the revolution would be non-non-violent—would the FBI be unreasonable to be fearful of the fact that the SWP might be violent?

A. There are two things that should be noted in the response to that question. One is that if an individual said to a group of people, "I believe the American revolution will be non-non-violent," there would be absolutely no reason whatsoever for any police agency to interfere at all with that individual's life.

A judgment about future events and the course of revolution is no cause for denial of equal opportunity of the law to any citizen in this society. That is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

Number two, what the FBI was doing in the Socialist Workers party was shown by its burglaries of the SWP headquarters. This is part of a campaign of harassment and a denial of rights of citizens going back more than four decades.

For instance, that file right there which the agent handed you. You should understand, Mr. Siffert, that if I had access to that file, I would make such a devastating rebuttal of it that not even you would be able to get up in a court and present it as evidence.

I look forward to getting a hold of this collection of quotes that you have been reading to me all day—quotes that I never said or wrote.

The exhibits

Q. How would one prepare for the coming revolution?

A. One prepares for the coming American revolution by doing exactly the things described in . . . *Prospects for Socialism in America*.

Prospects for Socialism in America. Special sale price: \$1.50. This book includes the major political resolution adopted at the 1975 SWP convention.

Other books referred to in the testimony include:

Malcolm X Talks to Young People. \$.35

Socialism on Trial (includes Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial). Cloth \$5.00, paper \$2.25

Dynamics of World Revolution Today. Cloth \$10.00, paper \$2.25

Available from the bookstores listed in the Socialist Directory on page 27 or by mail from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

By Steve Clark

Backed up by a dazzling public relations barrage, California Gov. Edmund (Jerry) Brown has recently gained a few laps on Democratic party front-runner Jimmy Carter.

Brown's admen peddle their product as a post-Vietnam, post-Watergate "antipolitical" politician. "What is plain [from the spring primaries] is that the electorate is trying to express dissatisfaction with 'Washington,'" is how the British financial weekly the *Economist* explained Brown's appeal.

The most accurate yardstick of this dissatisfaction has been the low voter turnout this spring. More than two-thirds of those eligible have sat out the primaries. But Brown hopes to turn a bit of this disgust to his own account.

He talks about a "new generation of leaders." Brown is young—only thirty-eight; sleeps on a mattress on his bedroom floor; drops in at the San Francisco Zen Center; listens to Joni Mitchell and Linda Ronstadt; and has read Allen Ginsberg, Hermann Hesse, and the *Whole Earth Catalog*.

Lots of image, few issues: that's Brown's campaign strategy. "In this business, a little vagueness goes a long way," he philosophizes.

'Closet Reaganite'

There is another side to Brown's image, however. The California governor has favorably impressed America's ruling rich as a ruthless Scrooge where government-funded social programs are concerned. *Newsweek* called him a "closet Reaganite."

Brown has won the enthusiastic backing of wealthy California businessmen such as Los Angeles construction baron Eli Broad, and Justin Dart, who invested heavily in Ronald Reagan's political career. Dart told *Village Voice* writer Joel Kotkin, "Brown's just great. He shows how both parties can be responsible."

The *Wall Street Journal* agrees. A May 17 editorial explained that Brown's "new generation" of politicians "looks like a refreshing change of the political scene. . . the body politic can use any injection it can get of fiscal responsibility and skepticism about government's ability to remake society."

To "set an example" for other Californians, Brown has ostentatiously refused to take up residence in the state's luxurious governor's mansion; and he has eschewed his official limousine for a Plymouth from the state motor pool.

Brown also tries to sugarcoat his austerity measures in verbiage borrowed from the ecology movement. "People in their own heart of hearts know that we are in a limited world," he says. "We all sense it in our own personal vibes."

Or, "We must bring into our consciousness planetary realism . . . knowing that there is a bottom line to our resources . . . that are planetary limits."

For American banks and corporations, Brown's talk about "lowered expectations" comes as a welcome bit of sermonizing at a time when workers' expectations are rising rapidly.

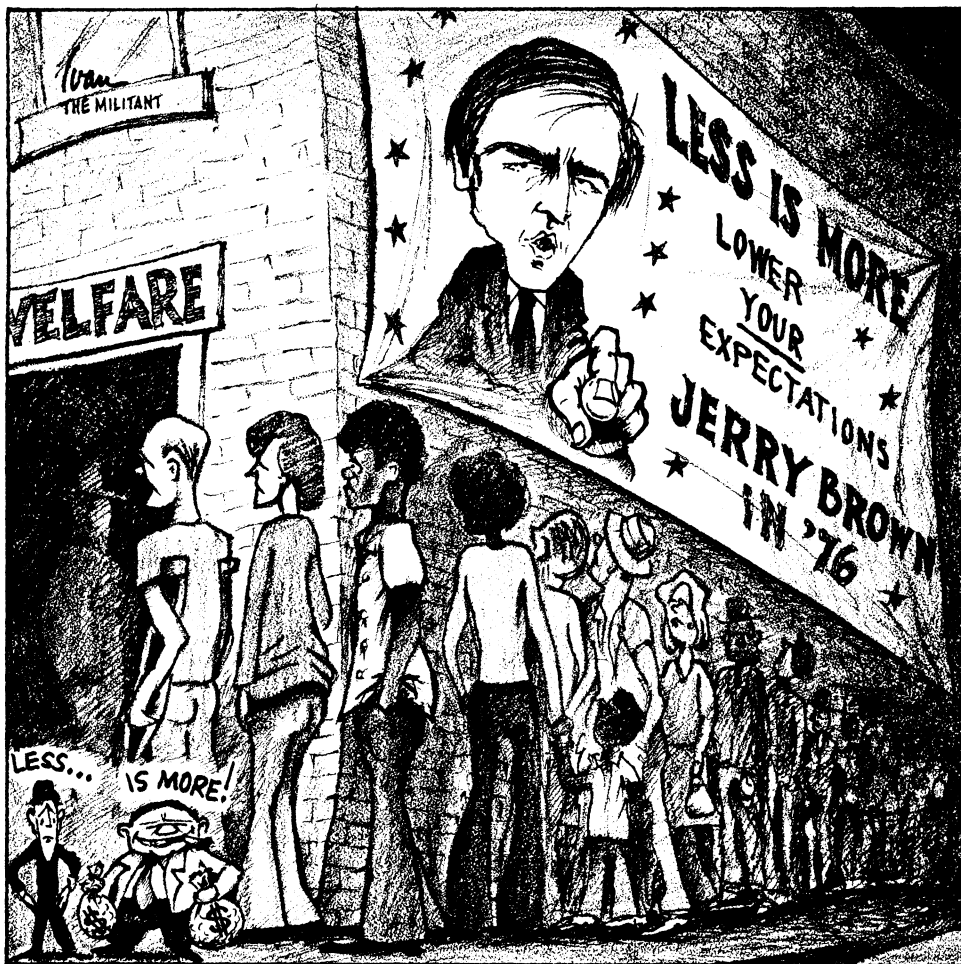
Cutbacks record

However ethereal Brown's rhetoric may often be, his cutbacks in California have been painfully down-to-earth. He conspired with Democratic state legislators to slash a proposed school funding bill from \$220 million to \$115 million. He then used his veto power to lop another \$27 million when the bill crossed his desk.

Brown also vetoed funding of learning centers for autistic children and opposes increased expenditures for Medi-Cal, a state medical plan, and other services. "People don't want to give something for nothing," he explained. "They don't want to help do-nothings and ne'er-do-wells."

The wealthy elite to whom Brown caters clearly don't "want to help"

Jerry Brown Skinflint guru of the ruling rich



anybody or anything other than themselves.

Brown boasts about his "pro-labor" record, pointing to legislation giving teachers certain collective bargaining rights. This gain, however, was won through struggle by teachers, not given by Brown.

The governor's concern for teachers is more accurately gauged by the layoffs and school cutbacks caused by his tight-fisted budget.

Brown is so "pro-labor" that he has won the backing of one of California's top strikebreakers, Quentin Kopp. Kopp, Brown's Northern California campaign manager and head of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, recently orchestrated a brutal assault on municipal unions to force city workers to accept a pay cut.

Unemployment

Brown claims he would put "a paycheck in every pocket" if he were elected. But his only proposal to lessen unemployment is the Democratic party's Humphrey-Hawkins bill. This bill—despite voluminous election-year promises—doesn't commit Washington to creating even one job for America's 10 million unemployed.

The governor's own record in California is no better. "If we have a dramatic jobs program for, say, 30,000 persons," he says in his own defense, "it might just attract 30,000 more people to California."

What about the crisis of the cities? Brown told *New York Post* reporter Robert Bazell that cities like New York may be "things of the past." After all, he explained, cities are a relatively recent development in human history.

Brown is not nearly such a skinflint when it comes to America's \$115

billion war budget. "Military costs have gone up," he told *Playboy* magazine, "and I don't realistically think the budget will be cut."

In the same interview Brown explained, "I get the impression that we're being pushed around a lot and that America has become a big sap for the rest of the countries." He pointed to recent condemnations of Israel by the United Nations General Assembly and the cooperation among Arab oil-producing nations to win a fair return for their resources.

"And I don't like it," he continued. "We have a lot of strength, so I don't see why we should have guilt feelings and act like we're always the fall guy."

While Brown opposed the Vietnam War, today he refuses to support unconditional amnesty for those exiled or dishonorably discharged for resisting that war. When two *Village Voice* columnists asked him, "Would you support liberation movements in Rhodesia diplomatically and militarily?" he replied, "I'm not prepared to say that."

Asked about CIA and FBI crimes, Brown told *Playboy*, "There've been abuses; these agencies have gotten out of control and have to be brought back into control. But in the process, we may end up throwing out the baby with the bath water."

So Washington and Wall Street can rest assured that Jerry Brown will be a rough-and-ready defender of imperialist interests around the globe.

Civil rights fighter?

What about Brown's record on issues of special concern to oppressed national minorities?

The governor's admirers point with pride to Brown's role in passing a law

banning redlining, the practice of denying personal and commercial loans to Blacks, Chicanos, and other minorities. What is the truth about Brown's role in putting this legislation on the books?

The governor's contribution was primarily to water down an originally tougher bill to make it more palatable to California's savings-and-loan interests.

Bernie Michael, until recently chief lobbyist for the California Savings and Loan League, was pleased by Brown's efforts. Michael said, "They know they need us. They have a more realistic attitude than anyone thought." Last April Brown made Michael the chief counsel of California's Housing Finance Agency.

The California governor is also opposed to busing. This has undoubtedly lifted the spirits of racist opponents of court-ordered desegregation plans in Los Angeles and Pasadena.

Brown pretends that he is a "friend" of California's hundreds of thousands of farm workers. He bases this claim on compromise legislation worked out under his administration authorizing elections to secure union representation. Farm workers are not covered by federal collective-bargaining rights.

Friend of farm workers?

Since passage of the California law, however, Brown and his Democratic party cronies have crippled it. Leo McCarthy, Brown's national campaign manager and speaker of the California State Assembly, has conspired with California agribusiness to deny funding to the new Agricultural Labor Relations Board. As a result, union representation elections—the majority of which have been won by the United Farm Workers—have ground to a halt.

McCarthy also pushed through a bill denying UFW organizers access to the fields during the workday. Commenting on this pro-employer move, Brown said, "I believe the assembly acted wisely and with courage." The governor has refused to back a UFW-initiated referendum to restore this and other essential rights to agricultural workers.

Brown's touted concern for the earth's environment is also phony. For example, he did not support Proposition 15, an initiative on the June 8 ballot to place stiff safety restrictions on the nuclear power industry. The Sierra Club, a leading environmentalist group, rates Brown's record as only "fair."

What is left of Brown's accomplishments as governor?

To deflect attention from his pro-industry policies, Brown plugged up one or two loopholes in corporate tax laws. Under the pressure of popular support for gay rights, he signed a bill repealing anti-homosexual statutes. And to distract attention from his inaction on the needs of working people, especially the most oppressed layers, Brown has appointed women and nonwhites to many state offices.

The truth is that Jerry Brown is not a guru, not a "child of the sixties," and not a friend of the farm workers—or of anyone else who works for a living. He is a sly, smooth-talking capitalist politician gunning for a chance to apply his home-state austerity measures on a national scale.

Rising expectations

There are two candidates this year who don't share Brown's view that working people should lower their expectations. They are Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid of the Socialist Workers party.

Camejo and Reid champion the rising expectations of working people around the world. Never before in history have scientific and technological advancements promised such a bright future for humanity: a future without hunger, disease, and inequality; with expanding wealth and leisure time; with unbounded potential for the

Continued on page 26

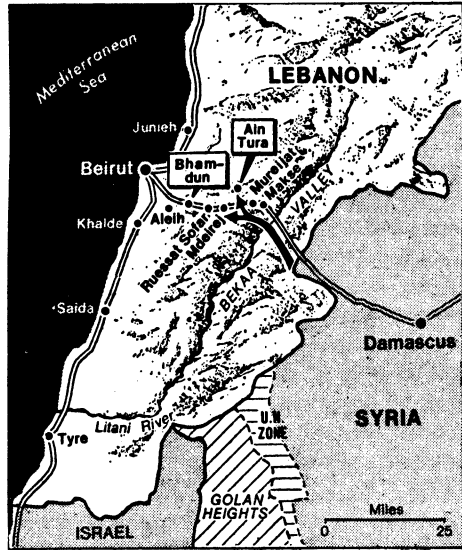
Syrian attack on Lebanon aids rightists; sparks new threat of war in Middle East

By David Frankel
From Intercontinental Press

Claiming he was doing it to help the Lebanese people in a period of extreme crisis, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad ordered an invasion of Lebanon May 31. Radio Damascus claimed that the "assistance" of Syrian troops in northern Lebanon "led to the establishment of law, the calming of the situation and a stop to all types of fighting."

The truth is that Assad's invasion will not help solve the crisis in Lebanon, it will not help save lives, and it increases the danger of a new Middle East war.

Rather than "a stop to all types of fighting," the *New York Times* reported in an unsigned article June 7 that



Map shows progress of Syrian advance as of June 8.

"air strikes and shelling attacks were reported last night on Palestinian and Lebanese leftist positions in eastern Lebanon, where Syrian troops lately entered the country in strength."

Farouk Kaddoumi, a leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), charged that hundreds of persons were killed when Syrian forces bombarded Palestinian refugee camps. In Beirut, soldiers of the pro-Syrian Saïqa Palestinian guerrilla organization—including Syrian troops in Saïqa uniforms—fought with rockets, artillery, and grenade launchers against Palestinian and leftist forces opposed to Assad's invasion.

The new Syrian move to back the rightist forces in Lebanon's fourteen-month-old civil war has aroused vehement opposition among the Muslim majority there and its Palestinian and leftist allies.

New York Times correspondent Henry Tanner reported in a June 3 dispatch from Beirut that a general strike called to protest the Syrian invasion "was nearly 100 percent effective" in the city's Muslim-controlled districts. "Stores, groceries and even sidewalk

stands and money changers, who are among the hardest businessmen here, were closed," Tanner said.

Assad has two basic objectives in Lebanon, neither one of which has anything to do with the interests of the Lebanese or Syrian masses. He wants to preserve a balance of power favorable to the Christian rightists, and he wants to assert his control over the Palestinian liberation movement.

From Assad's point of view, the old discriminatory governmental system in Lebanon had many advantages. This system, which was devised by the French imperialists as a prop for their rule, guaranteed the Christian minority—and the Maronite sect in particular—dominance in the government. The Maronite rightists, as a result of their shaky position, could be counted on to be deferential to their more powerful Syrian neighbor and not to challenge its policies. The same would not necessarily be true if the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition were victorious in the civil war.

Assad wants to maintain a weak and divided Lebanon in order to maximize his regime's influence there.

The threat to the Palestinian liberation movement posed by Assad's intervention is clear.

A June 7 Reuters dispatch from Damascus reported that the Syrian regime "described Al Fatah, the Palestinian guerrilla organization, and its allies as conspirators against the unity of Lebanon and the Palestinian cause and pledged that it would take a firm stand against them."

Evidence of opposition inside Syria to Assad's reactionary policies in Lebanon is increasing. "Riots occurred in at least one Palestinian camp outside Damascus, where protesters carried placards attacking Assad by name," *Time* magazine reported in its May 31 issue. "Said one placard: ASSAD FIGHTS LIKE A LION IN LEBANON, BUT A CHICKEN ON THE GOLAN."

Dana Adams Schmidt reported in the June 1 *Christian Science Monitor* that Syrian police arrested about 200 persons during the last week in May. Previously, Reuters had reported the arrest of 300 to 400 officials of the ruling Baath party.

Assad has carried out his intervention into Lebanon step by step, testing to see the reaction. His aggressive plans were given a boost when Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin arrived in Damascus June 1, just as the main body of Syrian troops was entering Lebanon. On June 4, Kosygin and Assad issued a joint communiqué praising the role of their respective governments in the Lebanese crisis.

Assad's blows against the Lebanese masses, the Palestinian liberation movement, and the left-wing forces in his own country have been warmly

applauded by the Ford administration and by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The White House issued a statement June 1 saying that "the Syrians have played a constructive role in Lebanon."

Rabin, referring to the Syrian invasion, told Israeli students June 2, "... I will not stand in the way of anyone who wants to subdue Arafat's terrorists."

The imperialists are well aware of the fact that Assad's policies are weakening the ability of the Arab masses to resist future Israeli aggression. If Assad is successful in subduing the resistance of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses to the reimposition of the discriminatory governmental system, he will also have dealt a blow to the main force opposing an Israeli take-over of southern Lebanon.

In Syria also, Assad's attacks on the Palestinians and the most militant sectors of the Syrian masses will help Israel in its next assault against the Arab peoples.

While applauding Assad's attacks on the Palestinian liberation fighters in Lebanon, the Israeli regime has made clear that it reserves the option of declaring the Syrian intervention a threat to its "national interests and security needs" at any time. The Israeli regime is perfectly capable of standing by while Assad does his dirty work, and then using the presence of Syrian forces as a pretext for taking over southern Lebanon, which has been one of its long-standing objec-

tives

While the Israeli colonial-settler state maneuvers for a free hand in order to grab more Arab land, more powerful imperialist forces are also threatening to step in. The Ford administration has supplemented the threat of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean by enlisting French aid.

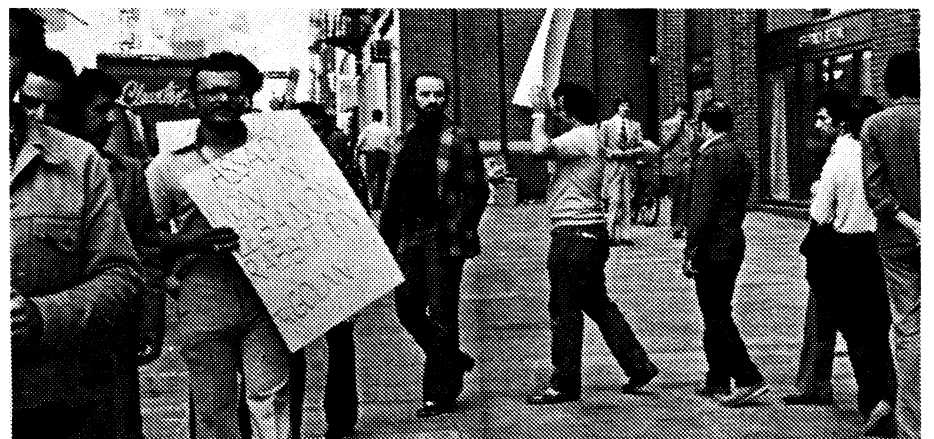
The offer of French "peace-keeping" troops made May 21 by President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing after talks with Ford and Kissinger was renewed June 3 when French Foreign Minister Jean Sauvagnargues met with Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam. Sauvagnargues declared that the French and Syrian regimes have "identical" objectives in Lebanon.

The call for French troops was previously limited in Lebanon to the rightist forces, but on June 1 Kamal Jumblatt, one of the leaders of the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition, reversed his position.

But it was precisely French imperialism that laid the groundwork for the bloody struggle now tearing Lebanon apart. The purpose of French forces in Lebanon would be the same as that of Assad's troops—to back the rightists there.

Regardless of any miserable maneuvers carried out by Jumblatt or other misleaders, it is necessary to back the demand of the Lebanese and Palestinian people that the Syrian troops get out now and that Israel and the imperialists stay out.

NY demo hits Syrian invasion



June 7 protest outside Syrian mission to the UN

Militant/Kendall Green

By Kendall Green

A sharp escalation of air strikes and shelling attacks on Palestinian and Moslem leftist positions June 7 led Palestinian Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat to charge that Syria has launched an all-out offensive in Lebanon.

Supporters of the Palestinian struggle and of the Moslem leftists demonstrated their opposition to

these new Syrian attacks with a picket line outside the Syrian mission to the United Nations on the same day. Other demonstrators occupied the mission offices.

Picket signs and chants at the demonstration demanded "Syrian troops out of Lebanon," "U.S. troops out of the Middle East," and "Victory to the Palestinian people."

UFW initiative wins Calif. ballot spot

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The farm labor initiative sponsored by the United Farm Workers has been officially validated for the November ballot. California officials said the union had filed 515,000 valid petition signatures, far in excess of the 312,000 required. The union had submitted more than 700,000 signatures, collected in only a month—a record.

If approved by the voters, the initiative would take the place of the present Agricultural Labor Relations Act, which provided for union representation elections in the fields. The law was permitted to become defunct for lack of funds when the UFW began consistently outpolling the grower-aided Teamsters in the elections.

Meanwhile, the union has been

gaining some ground in its organizational efforts. Despite the scuttling of the farm labor board, a number of contracts have been signed in the past period.

In a telephone interview with the UFW headquarters at La Paz, Eliseo Medina, a longtime organizer, said that four contracts were signed during the first week of June and that the union expected to sign another ten in the days ahead.

Medina said that a year ago, the UFW held only ten contracts and that the number now stood at forty-one. These contracts cover some 17,000 workers throughout California. About nine lettuce growers in the Salinas and Imperial Valley areas are under contract now, as well as tomato growers in Stockton. (It was in Stockton that

ultraright vigilantes tried to hold off UFW organizers at gunpoint.)

The new contracts cover just about every fruit and vegetable crop "from artichokes to kumquats," Medina said. The agreements all establish a \$3.10-an-hour minimum wage and other benefits, including medical and pension plans, pesticide control, and recognition of elected union ranch committees.

Ten new contracts the union now expects to sign are all with apple growers, Medina said. UFW contracts covering this crop will mark an extension of the UFW's base.

Medina estimated that the year's organizing effort resulted in a 400 percent increase in dues-paying membership.

World Outlook

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

JUNE 18, 1976

Militant protests hit wage controls

Canadian trade unions threaten general strike

By David Russell

Under pressure from an increasingly militant rank and file, the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) is moving toward a direct confrontation with the Liberal government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. Since his election victory last September, Trudeau has imposed wage controls, ordered cutbacks in government services, and attacked the right to strike.

On May 17, the 2,400 delegates at the CLC's convention voted almost unanimously to authorize the CLC executive to call "a general work stoppage, or stoppages, if and when necessary" in order to back the CLC campaign against wage controls.

Although no date for such an action was set, Wilfred List, the labor writer for the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, said that sentiment by delegates for a strike "was so overwhelmingly in favor that the congress would need some compelling reason not to do so."

The vote for a one-day general strike comes after months of more limited strikes and demonstrations protesting Trudeau's attack on the working class. Thirty thousand workers demonstrated against wage controls at the seat of the Canadian government in Ottawa March 22 in an action called by the CLC.

On collision course

While 30,000 workers rallied outside the parliament, a statement by the CLC was presented to the government. It called Trudeau's wage-control program "unparalleled in its callous and brutal treatment of all who must toil for a living," and warned Trudeau that:

This government has demonstrated by its actions over the past six months that it cares nothing for working men and women or their organizations. By persisting, your government has placed itself on a collision course with the labour movement of this country. We do not welcome this, but we do not intend to back down either.

In Québec that same day, 120,000 public employees walked off their jobs in a one-day strike called in solidarity with the Ottawa protest. All Montréal schools were shut down, hospitals were reduced to emergency staffs, and the public workers were joined by trade unionists in the auto and construction industries. In Québec City, a demonstration of 5,000 was held, and protests

took place in eleven other Québec cities.

The Québec working class has been in the center of the struggle against the government offensive. Public employees organized in the Common Front—numbering more than 175,000—have been locked in combat with the Québec government over their right to strike and their right to a decent contract.

One-day strikes by public employees in Québec again brought out more than 120,000 workers on March 25 and April 5. Québec Premier Robert Bourassa responded by pushing Bill 23 through the Québec National Assembly. This measure, which makes strikes by teachers illegal, followed an earlier law aimed at hospital workers.

On April 13, immediately after Bill 23 went into effect, more than 145,000 public employees, including 90,000 teachers, went out on strike. Another one-day strike on April 30 involved 160,000 to 200,000 workers. (There are about 250,000 public employees in all of Québec.)

Labor militancy has been growing in the rest of Canada as well. For example, after the provincial government in British Columbia proposed legislation May 4 banning all work stoppages on the government-owned rail network, the head of the British Columbia Federation of Labour announced that a general strike "was considered as an option" by the federation staff.

"Six months ago a general strike didn't have much credibility," labor leader George Johnston said. But now, he added, the climate is changing, with the antistrike bill acting "as a catalyst."

In Ontario, more than 15,000 workers demonstrated April 28 against government cutbacks in a protest called by the Ontario Federation of Labour.

Pressure

The decision of the CLC convention to authorize a one-day general strike thus came as a result of considerable pressure from across Canada. Jean-Claude Parrot, vice-president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, expressed the sentiment of many when he told a labor rally in Ottawa:

... time is important and the rank and file of this movement wants action now.

I think the Canadian Labour Congress



Labor Challenge/Darrel Furlotte

April 28 demonstration in Ontario. Canadian workers are threatening to unleash even more powerful actions in defense of their living standards.

will be providing the bold leadership we need when it organizes a one-day general strike all across Canada in protest against the Trudeau wage controls.

An editorial in the April 12 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto, also pointed out the need for a general strike. But *Labor Challenge* added:

In its fight against wage controls the CLC has a second major task. Its preparation for a one-day general strike must be combined with a campaign to build the NDP [New Democratic party] as labor's alternative to the Trudeau regime. Not in decades have the class lines been so sharply drawn in Canadian politics. Never since the NDP's formation has it been so clear that labor needs a political party independent of the employers.

Challenge

The challenge facing the NDP was outlined by George Addison in the April 26 *Labor Challenge*:

As the only force in the legislature opposing the cuts, the NDP has become a rallying point for all victims and opponents of the government's attacks. In the recent period, the NDP has been looked to as a voice for communities fighting hospital closures, miners striking against occupational hazards, small farmers concerned about the big-business takeover of prime farmland, people opposed to the 45 percent rise in medical insurance premiums, tenants facing rent increases despite the cumbersome Tory "rent review" program, welfare recipients, and other victims of the cutbacks.

But the NDP leadership appears to be doing little to utilize this favorable situation to win new support for the party. . . .

Rather than building a mass movement that is involved in the day-to-day struggles of working people, the NDP leadership acts as if the party is little more than an

electoral machine, to be mobilized only at election time to knock on doors for hand-picked candidates.

The CLC convention's vote for a general strike provides an excellent opportunity for the labor movement to make its strength felt, and for the labor party to take its rightful place in the fight for the interests of the Canadian working class. As the editors of *Labor Challenge* said May 24:

The task now is to get this protest under way. A date for the strike must be set. Organizing bodies must be set up. A schedule must be worked out for an educational campaign, including mass rallies and demonstrations across the country, to build support for the general strike. . . .

Quebec labor federations have made clear their support for a general strike. The Canadian Labour Congress must move immediately to organize the general strike jointly with the Quebec federations.

The CLC must bring the New Democratic Party into the general strike protest, and urge it to play a prominent role in building and carrying out the action. . . .

It's time to set the date, and begin the preparations.

Coming soon

Militant staff writer Andy Rose is now in Canada to provide a first-hand account of how Canadian and Québécois workers are fighting wage controls, cutbacks, and strikebreaking. Rose is meeting with union leaders and activists in the New Democratic party, the Canadian labor party. His forthcoming series in the *Militant* will draw lessons of the Canadian labor upsurge for workers in the United States. Don't miss it!

Speech by Reza Baraheni

Washington's crowned cannibal: the shah of Iran

[Reza Baraheni, Iran's most prominent modern poet and literary critic, spent 102 days in the shah's prisons in 1973. He was released as a result of a worldwide protest campaign. Baraheni, who is currently living in exile, has been touring the United States under the sponsorship of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI)*, telling the truth about repression in that country.]

[Recently Baraheni supplied information that was a key part of a widely publicized report by the International Commission of Jurists that exposed the widespread use of torture in Iran. (See box.)]

[The following are major excerpts from a speech given by Baraheni at Columbia University in New York on February 26.]

* * *

About 550 B.C., according to Herodotus, the father of all historians, a ritual took place at the court of the king of the Medes. No one knew anything about the nature of this ritual except the king himself.

A few hours before the ritual was to begin, the king ordered his favorite minister to send his son to the court. The minister's son was supposed to play with Cyrus, the king's grandson.

When the minister arrived, he was seated next to the king. He was surprised and honored when he was served before the king. He ate, and with great appetite.

The others, a few ministers and advisers, the young, sturdy grandson, and the king himself, did not eat anything. They watched until the minister had finished his meal. Then the king clapped his hands.

A gold pot was brought in, covered with a gold cap. The cap was raised. Lying there in the pot was the head of the minister's son. The body had been spiced and cooked according to the customs of the court and fed to the father.

The minister had been ordered to kill Cyrus at birth because it was prophesied that Cyrus would rule in place of his grandfather. The minister had not obeyed this order, so his son's body had to be fed to him.

Cyrus, the fruit of this ritual, lived to found the Persian monarchy, which is only a milder title for cannibalism.

About 1,400 years ago, an Iranian king, who was actually called "The Just," invited to his court 10,000 adherents of a new religion that advocated an anticaste law. The king told their leader that he was going to accept their progressive ideas and that he would give a big feast to celebrate

his conversion to this casteless ideology.

All 10,000 guests were buried alive by this king. This was the just king—there were others who could not afford to be that just.

About 500 years ago, a king who was called "Great" was actually flanked by two cannibals whenever he held open court. When the shah did not like a minister, a poet, or a writer, he would simply turn to his right or left and say: "Eat him!" The ritual would take place right then and there. The king's order could not be delayed.

About ninety years ago the shah of the time found out about a gathering of about two dozen intellectuals who advocated educating the people. The shah attacked the gathering personally, took these intellectuals prisoner, and ordered his men to throw them down a deep well. Then he took a rifle and shot them to make sure that they did not crawl out of the well or were not saved by others.

Full cycle

But the ritual of cannibalism had not yet come to its full cycle until our own time.

Reza Shah, the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty and the father of the present shah of Iran, was very tall and almost as illiterate as he was tall. He wore jackboots rising up to his knees. The British helped him gain power. He suffocated the Iranians in such a way that there isn't even one readable newspaper remaining from his reign of twenty years.

Around 1935, Reza Shah found better masters than the British—Hitler and Mussolini. The Iranians were declared pure Aryans and the Turks, Kurds, Arabs, and Jews—the whole non-Persian population of the country—were subjected to an unprecedented racism.

While the king surrounded himself with Aryanomaniacs and worked at purging the Persian spirit—which had supposedly been corrupted by non-Aryan elements—local, tribal, and provincial leaders were shot or beheaded. Intellectuals were killed or imprisoned. The tyrant wielded his sword against everyone.

When World War II came, Iran was invaded by the Soviets and the British. The army that had been created solely to shoot the people surrendered in less than two hours, and the shah went off to die on the coasts of Africa.

He was succeeded by the present shah, who was a minor when he took the throne. He preferred women's perfume to the stench of dirty politics, and buried himself in the bosoms of court women. The papers of those days are full of stories about his affairs and those of his numerous brothers and sisters.



Shah Reza Pahlavi

Brought up in a castle, an ivory tower of corruption with no connections with the real people of the country, educated in La Rosey in Switzerland, the young shah hardly knew how to pronounce the Persian words of his addresses to parliament. These were written for him by his prime minister, while the shah flirted with the women of his court in French and English.

Oxford accent

Even now when he speaks Persian, almost every sentence is wrong in structure. After all, you don't have to learn Persian! Persian is obsolete. When you talk to American reporters and politicians, you can surprise them with your precise Oxford accent. And here in the United States, people think it entrancing to hear an oriental king speak with a British accent.

But whatever the world war may have brought to Iran, one thing is irrefutable. A fresh breeze blew across the country. Parties arose, meetings took place, and the reeducation of the people about the rights taken away during the Reza Shah era was initiated by the writers, lawyers, and progressive parties.

New genres in prose and poetry and new modes of writing in journalism and criticism reflected the dynamism of the time. Iran had seen only one such example of freedom in the past, during the constitutional period from 1906 to 1911.

Almost 60 percent of the Iranian population is not Persian, and for the first time the question of national rights for non-Persians was faced. The Kurds of Kurdistan and the Turks of Azerbaijan demanded their rights. Iran started to speak and write in most of its major languages.

Women

For the first time in Iranian history, the women of Azerbaijan struggled for equal rights. They demanded and won the right to vote for and to serve on all the associations of the nation of Azerbaijan.

The frozen muscles of the Iranian working class thawed in the heat of this universal political awakening. Long suppressed in the oil fields, the mines, and the factories, the workers rose and carried out strikes, gathered in parties, and mobilized for their demands.

The demonstrations of this era were the biggest the Middle East had ever

witnessed. Hundreds of thousands marched in the streets of Tehran, Tabriz, Isfahan, and Abadan.

Meanwhile, the politicians surrounding the shah replaced each other like sleepwalkers, bending now to this big power and now to that one. Their confusion contributed to the spread of new ideas among the people.

The most vigorous and hopeful period of the life of my own generation was from 1941 to 1953. I took part in all sorts of associations created for teen-agers, read all sorts of books in Persian and Turkish, and looked hopefully towards the future.

Having been born to a poor family, I didn't feel that I was poor. The whole wealth of the world could be mine if I wanted.

To write your first poem in your mother tongue, and to read it to a mother who understands no other language; to take that poem to school and read it to the kids and have it published in the school paper and hear your words being read by others in your own language; to recite it to the peasants in their huts, the workers in the factory, to the businessmen in the bazaars, and see that they don't need translators to understand the meaning of your simple syllables! What richness! What riches!

And then someone puts a bayonet at your throat and tells you to forget about your mother tongue, tells a whole people to forget about their language and speak in the language ordained by the bayonet. Someone appoints himself the patron of your throat and tells you your language is filthy, it is no good, speak in mine. Someone forces you to change the form of your throat, jaws, and lips, the rhythm of your teeth and cheeks, and tells you to imitate his jaws and cheeks and lips and teeth. Oh! Oppressors and tyrants and shahs, my curse on you!

Oh! Racists! I spit on you!

Reaction

The defeat of the Democratic party of Azerbaijan and also the Kurdish Republic of Kurdistan at the hands of the Iranian government in 1946 was a great setback for the national liberation movements in the area. The Turkish and Kurdish languages were immediately prohibited, the land reform initiated in Azerbaijan was undone, and women were again deprived of their natural rights. Some twenty years later, however, the shah was to declare himself the liberator of women.

*853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

The reaction was checked during Dr. Mossadegh's premiership [1951-53], when the mass movement gained momentum once more around the issue of nationalizing the foreign oil monopolies. But the CIA moved in and mobilized all the reactionaries, the fascists of the Reza Shah era, and the coup of 1953 put an end to democracy.

Hundreds of people were arrested and shot right after the coup. Then there came months during which everyone in Tehran could actually hear in the morning the country's young men being shot. These were the country's most precious men. But even these shootings were not enough.

A system had to be created for the brutal suppression of dissent in the country. Suppression had to be systematic, otherwise it would not work. The CIA created Iran's secret police, the SAVAK, in 1956.

From 1958 to 1963, there were still demonstrations in the streets of Tehran reminiscent of the precoup period. Student strikes had to be crushed by commandos from the Iranian Army Special Forces, which were trained by American military men.

The year 1963 witnessed the mass murder of more than 6,000 men and women in the streets of Tehran and other cities in a single day. From then on, the country was submerged in a total blackout.

The royal family was in the center of the repressive forces. Right after the coup, one of the princesses lined up the journalists of the country in front of her, slapping and kicking them indiscriminately and shouting, "You bastards! The day is done when you could write dirty things about me and the court!"

And one day, she and one of the princes drove up to the prison where Karim-pour Shirazi was being held. They poured a bucket of gasoline over that brave journalist and burned him to ashes. Later this very princess became the head of the UN Human Rights Commission, one of the advocates of women's liberation elsewhere in the world, and a good friend of Betty Friedan. Now we are exporting our cannibalism.

Torture

SAVAK trains its agents on the assumption that everyone in Iran is a potential or active member of the opposition. There is only one way for people to prove their innocence. They have to be tracked down, blindfolded, and taken to one of the hundreds of SAVAK stations scattered around the country, or to one of the dozens and dozens of prisons in the major cities, and interrogated under torture.

Torture chambers have been dug like tunnels under the peaceful façade of the cities.

One can be called to any one of the hundreds of stations located mysteriously in almost any corner of the city and questioned on almost anything.

No appointment can be made anywhere in the universities, in the ministries, or in the factories without the approval of SAVAK. Anybody who arrives in the country after finishing his studies abroad and applies for work in the universities is kept under complete surveillance for one year. He is considered an enemy of the shah until he proves through his actions that he is a nobody and that he doesn't really care what happens to the people of his country.

Standing on any crossroad leading to the center of the city of Tehran, one can see, almost by the hour, cars passing in which five persons are sitting—two in the front, three in the back. The one in the middle of the

backseat has a black blindfold on his eyes. The cloth has been cut to the size of ordinary sunglasses. That man is a prisoner and he is being taken to the Joint Committee for Campaign Against Terrorism in Iran.

The man sitting in the middle of the backseat will be tortured within less than an hour. No one in the world knows where he is being taken, except his adversaries.

He has been picked up from the street, or from his office or factory job, or from his farm, or from his bed. Nothing has been shown to him that could tell him why he has been kidnapped. Someone may have mentioned his name at random under torture.

He may even be taken to prison, never to be let out. Qasr, one of the biggest prisons in the country, has political prisoners who were taken there on the eve of the 1953 coup. Hundreds of others have been brought there, only to be taken out and shot afterwards.

The prisoner knows nothing about his future, and when the questions are put to him he will find that he hardly knows anything about his past either. He will feel suspicious of his closest friends and relatives. He will suddenly wake up in the middle of the night and say: "I know, it was my fiancée who told them that I read Maxim Gorky's *Mother*."

You may think I am joking, but be sure to check it with others who have been in an Iranian prison. They will tell you that you get at least one year in prison if you possess a copy of Gorky's *Mother* or any one of Jack London's novels. Since Lenin read Jack London novels, no one in Iran should read them. They may suddenly decide to become Lenin, and that on the basis of reading three novels.

Ally of the West

The prisoner searches in vain for the reasons for his arrest and torture. The more he thinks, the more suspicious he becomes of his friends. When he comes

out, he decides, he won't talk to anyone. He will live alone, speak about nothing. Later, he will even lose the habit of thinking. That is how you keep another nation an ally of the West.

Don't misunderstand me! You may think I suppose there is no surveillance in the Soviet Union. I think as you think that there is and the worst kind, otherwise the Soviets would not tolerate the kind of surveillance that goes on in Iran and elsewhere.

But the fact is that I see a relation between the surveillance in Iran and Watergate. A coup made in Iran by American agents to topple the legal and constitutional government is in no way different from efforts made by American agents to topple democracy in this country.

Once you get used to overthrowing other people's democracy, there is no reason why you shouldn't try to overthrow your own democracy for a change.

If you create terror in someone else's home, you will terrorize your own home as well. Frantz Fanon tells us in his great book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, that French torturers of Algerian militants would find themselves beating their own wives and children as well.

Slapping someone else, you slap your own face. In destroying my democracy, you took the first step towards the destruction of your own democracy.

Shadow of God

I will quote two passages to show you the nature of the person who gained power as a result of American intervention. The first is from an interview given by the shah to the famous Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci. In this interview, published in the December 30, 1973, *New Republic*, the shah gave his view of women, saying:

I wouldn't be sincere if I asserted that I'd been influenced by any one of them. Nobody can influence me, nobody at all. And a woman, still less. In a man's life, women count if they are beautiful and

graceful and know how to stay feminine. This women's lib business, for instance. What do they want? Equality, you say? Indeed, I don't want to be rude, but . . . you may be equal in the eyes of the law, but I beg your pardon for saying so, not in reality. You have never produced a Michelangelo, or a Bach. You never even produced a good cook.

The second passage I am going to quote is from a pro-shah book written by E.A. Bayne and called *Persian Kingship in Transition*. It reminds me of the theater of the absurd of Beckett, Ionesco, and Adamov:

"Well, yes," he said. "They call the king the Shadow of God. . . ."

"Wasn't that title abandoned some years ago?"

He nodded. "A long time ago. I never use it, but there are people who still do."

He considered the subject for a moment, and then asked: "Incidentally, what does it mean when the Pope washes and kisses the feet of the people?"

Briefly, I reported the origins of the ceremony. Christ had washed the feet of his disciples before his passion.

"Why did he do it?"

"To symbolize his humanity. The Pope now similarly dramatizes his equality with men when he holds power to the keys of the Kingdom."

"All right, could I not say that these people kiss my feet because they want to make me feel equal to them?"

I replied: "I think not. Theirs is an act of homage. However, if you were to wash their feet. . . ."

"Yes?"

" . . . then that could relate to the Pope's ceremony."

"But if they do it to me . . . ? . . ."

"Perhaps," I suggested half seriously, "such a symbolically humbling act might serve for the coronation. Your present image as a reforming king suggests that it might not be altogether out of character."

"Yes, perhaps." He hesitated almost imperceptibly and then continued. "Well, we could not copy the Christian formula."

He has written in his books and told reporters from the West that God spoke to him in private and told him how to run his country. He tells Bayne that whoever kisses his feet becomes free.

But he doesn't say what happens to those who decline to kiss his feet. God didn't tell me in private. I have seen with my own eyes what happens to them. The cannibal eats them up. Or he feeds them to us.

Let me give you an example.

We were given no meat in prison. The prison diet, cheap and cold rice with some obnoxious thing poured on top of it as sauce, gives you either constipation or diarrhea.

Then one day they brought in a young boy to our cell, thin and cadaverous. The next day he was taken out to the torture chamber. I never met him again. Two days later one of the guards whispered into my ear: "That thin boy died under torture."

The next day I was in my cell with a new man called Ali. When they gave us food, there were pieces of thin, colorless meat in it. Ali was surprised: "How come? I have been in this jail for the last two months and there has been no meat, and suddenly there is this meat."

Almost by instinct, another prisoner said, "Maybe this is the boy's flesh we are eating."

We could no longer eat the food.

Ask the cannibal

I know that I may be quite wrong in supposing that it was that young man's flesh which was being fed to us. But I have a question: Where are the bodies of the 400 people who have been killed during the last three years?

They were either shot or died under torture. Where are they buried? How

Continued on next page

Jurists hit Iran torture

On May 28, the International Commission of Jurists, made up of law experts from thirty countries, released the results of a survey on human rights in Iran.

The survey found "abundant evidence showing the systematic use" of torture in Iran. It said that the shah's secret-police force, the SAVAK, is "a law unto itself" directed against all critics of the government.

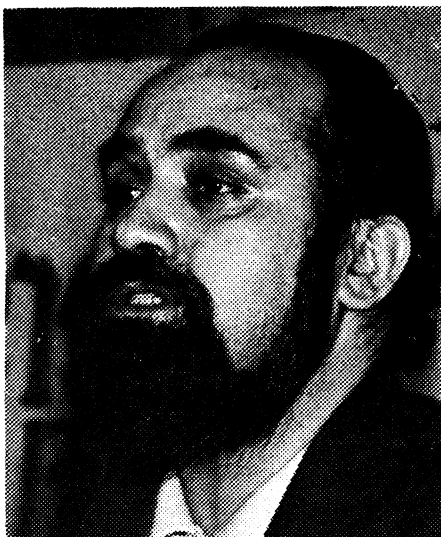
The survey found that despite legal guarantees of individual rights in Iran, "Each of these guaranteed rights . . . is subject to the proviso 'except in conformity with the law,' a clause which has come to mean 'except when the Shah determines otherwise.'"

Commenting on the report, nationally syndicated columnist Jack Anderson notes that the document's "most sickening information came from a courageous Iranian poet, Reza Baraheni, who at great personal risk furnished a statement on his own observations in a SAVAK dungeon. He was 'beaten, whipped and exposed to the sounds of screaming prisoners.'"

"From his own experiences and talks with other inmates," Anderson continues, "the poet described how prisoners were lashed to the top of

an iron, double-deck bed, which was transformed into a human toaster. They were also questioned by agents applying . . . an electric baton to the genitals."

The May 28 report is an important victory for those seeking to educate the American public, as well as world public opinion, about the brutal policies of the shah of Iran, one of the U.S.'s chief allies in the Middle East.



Militant/Dave Warren
BARAHENI: 'Courageous Iranian poet'

The case of Lisa Walter

Ex-agent reveals spyplot on Australian socialists

By David Russell

In November 1975 Lisa Walter, a nineteen-year-old laboratory assistant, came into contact with the Australian Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA) in Adelaide. Walter became active and soon joined the socialist youth group. By March she was also a provisional member of the Socialist Workers party (SWP), which has the same Trotskyist politics as the SYA and which cooperates closely with it.

Then, on April 20, Walter walked into the SWP's Adelaide headquarters and informed the party leadership that she had been operating as an undercover agent for the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (Asio).

Walter was the second Asio agent to surface in the SWP. In February 1975 Asio informer Max Wechsler, frustrated by his inability to find the slightest evidence of illegal activity on the part of the Australian Trotskyists, attempted to smear the SWP as a terrorist group in a sensational story carried by the gutter press.

Walter was told by her Asio contact, Keith Hancock, that the members of the SYA and SWP were moral and political "filth." Moreover, Hancock insisted that behind the façade of legal political activity the socialists were engaged in a sinister terrorist plot. But Walter found that the real situation was different.

"She was concerned that the SWP and SYA did not seem to be the political filth Hancock believed them to be," John Edwards reported in the

May 24-29 issue of the *National Times*, a liberal weekly with a wide readership throughout Australia.

Nice, friendly image

"I often questioned Keith," Walter recalled. "I asked him why he was wasting his time with this group which seemed so outwardly peaceful. He told me that it was only the front image I was seeing; behind that nice friendly image were terrible people; what I was seeing was just the front, it might take three years to get behind it."

Asio was interested in collecting information on activities that had nothing to do with the supposed terrorism of the SWP and SYA. Walter was asked to list the names of people at meetings, where they worked and lived, their automobile license numbers, and any personal gossip she heard about them. Asio also wanted information on the finances of the two groups, on the sales of *Direct Action* (the weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the SWP), and on the participation of the SWP and SYA in movements defending the right of the Palestinian and East Timor peoples to self-determination, in the women's liberation movement, and in the defense of Chilean political prisoners.

'Expense' money

While feeding Walter lies about the "terrorist" character of the SWP and SYA, Asio provided her with a steady supply of "expense" money. At first Walter was given A\$20 (A\$1=US\$1.23) a month and a "Christmas bonus" of A\$60. In March Walter's "expense"

payments went up to A\$40, and just before she quit they were raised again to A\$60.

However, the more Walter found out about the SWP and SYA, the more she agreed with their socialist politics. In an article in the May 27 issue of *Direct Action* Jim McIlroy asked her how her attitude to socialism and the Socialist Workers party changed. She replied:

It started way back when I read the Socialist Workers Federal election manifesto last year. The manifesto just seemed to formulate my own ideas. I agreed with it. I thought: "I agree with their basic policy that they show to the public. But I'm still trying to get behind the facade."



WALTER: Joins Australian Socialist Workers party.

It was just a slow crackdown. I agreed more and more with events that came up like Timor where the party took a stand. I just agreed more and more with the party's policy. It became increasingly obvious that there were no terrorist activities.

I was learning things from talks, gathered ideas from educationals, read *Direct Action*, started to read books. I read the *Transitional Program, Socialism and Feminism*, and *Socialism on Trial*. Later I even began to read *Co-Intelpro*.*

Another factor in Walter's growing uneasiness with her role as a spy was the attitude of her family. Her parents, longtime supporters of the Labor party, were not enthusiastic about Asio's work, and both her brother and

* *COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*, the book detailing the secret-police campaign against movements for social change in the United States.

sister-in-law urged Walter to break with Asio. ("She and my brother read *Direct Action* and think it's really good.")

Finally, Walter decided to tell her story to the SWP leadership. The SWP contacted the *National Times*, and in cooperation with reporter John Edwards obtained photographs and a tape recording of Walter meeting her Asio contact.

Asio tried to intimidate Walter. It sent an agent to visit her parents and warned that if she stuck by her story she would have difficulty getting jobs in the future. Responding to Asio's threats, Walter said: "I hope my story will help to publicise what Asio does and cause people to take action to prevent their operations in future."

Publicity

The exposure of Asio's infiltration and surveillance received widespread publicity in Australia. Daily newspapers such as the *Sydney Morning Herald* and Melbourne's *Sun*, *Age*, and *Herald* all carried stories on the case. The story was also featured on radio and television.

It is particularly important to note that Asio first used Walter to spy on the SWP and SYA when a Labor party government was in power. "Did the Whitlam Government authorise undercover spying against opponents in the trade unions and elsewhere?" asked Jim McIlroy in the May 27 issue of *Direct Action*.

When Malcolm Fraser's Liberal party came to power, Hancock told Walter not to worry because, "The ruling government doesn't affect us."

National Times reporter Edwards noted that the government spying was directed against persons who were "exercising their rights in a completely legal and proper way." Edwards said:

There is no more reason to collect files on these people [in the SWP and SYA] than there is to collect it on members of the Labor Party, and certainly during the fifties and the sixties ASIO did collect files on Labor politicians and party members, an activity confirmed by the then Attorney-General, Senator Murphy, when Labor was in office.

Pointing to the fact that Asio's surveillance of the SWP and SYA was not affected when the change in government led to changes in Asio heads and the ministers responsible for the operation of the secret police, Edwards continued: "One can only conclude that no matter which Government is in power, no matter who is its permanent head, ASIO continues to collect files on left-wing groups. . . ."

...Iran

Continued from preceding page

are these bodies going to be identified and handed to the relatives?

The number of people killed under torture or by firing squads during the last six years in Iran—this so-called island of stability—is much higher than all the men and women killed in calamity-ridden Ireland. Where are the bodies of our young men and women?

You should ask the cannibal, the archcannibal, his imperial majesty, the shah of shahs, the Light of the Aryans. Or you should ask Kim Roosevelt, the former CIA agent who has now become a go-between in the sale of arms to the shah.

Ask General Harvey Joblonsky, former commander of the American military advisers in Iran, who is now an agent of Northrop. His job was taking bribes to Switzerland to be given to the Iranian authorities.

You could ask Shahram, Princess Ashraf's son, who received \$705,000 to find an architect for an American firm. Now that the agent for the architect gets \$705,000, what does the architect get? And who is the architect?

Nine people were shot by the shah three weeks ago. Where are their bodies?

Earlier, nine prisoners who had been tried years ago and given between eight and fifteen years in prison, were tortured to death or shot. Where are their bodies?

Earlier, two Iranian writers were shot. Where are their graves? And

where are the bodies of those killed in Siyahkal, and those killed in the streets of Tehran and Tabriz and Qum? The cannibal has eaten them up.

The CIA crowned a cannibal as the king of kings for our country. Ask the head hidden under the crown. That divine head is nothing but a cannibal's head. The cannibal with a machine gun, the cannibal with a whip, the cannibal with an iron mesh heating your bottom and spine until you vomit your brains out—yes, this cannibal is here.

If, as *Nation* magazine suggests, "A covert Iranian contribution to Nixon's re-election campaign" was made by the shah, then the cannibal was here four years ago.

We know that he has been here for some time now. The cannibal has bought courses on atomic reactors at

MIT. Wayne O'Neil, the head of the English department there, has called him the shah of MIT.

The cannibal is also the shah of UCLA and Harvard. He has also passed through Columbia; and Pahlavi Foundation, the center of Iranian espionage in this country, stands right here in New York. The cannibal tempts everybody in the name of free enterprise.

I cannot contribute to developing a guilty conscience in you, because the guilty conscience is already there. I can only say that your government created and supported the cannibal. Now, the cannibal thinks if he is good for the Iranians he must be good for the Americans too. In this bicentennial year, of all years in your history, you should be conscious of the existence of this U.S.-crowned cannibal.

CP slanders Plyushch

Is it 'counterrevolutionary' to fight for socialist democracy?

By Peter Seidman

Two recent articles in the *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Communist party, have tried to cast Leonid Plyushch, a leading Soviet dissident and fighter for socialist democracy, in the role of a right-wing opponent of socialism.

These CP attacks on Plyushch were extended by the author of the articles, Erik Bert, into attacks on the *Militant*, the Socialist Workers party, and the Young Socialist Alliance for collaborating with Plyushch.

For the revolutionaries of the SWP and YSA, Plyushch's example is an inspiring one.

Plyushch helped found, in 1969, the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. For the "crime" of being a member of this organization, which has helped defend the democratic rights of those expressing dissenting views in the Soviet Union and those fighting against national oppression, Plyushch was convicted in 1973 of conducting "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Although perfectly sane, Plyushch was confined in a mental institution. An international campaign that even won grudging support from the French CP resulted in Plyushch's release. He was allowed to emigrate to the West.

Unlike some other Soviet dissidents, who have been driven by the undemocratic practices of the bureaucracy to become right-wing opponents of socialism, Plyushch has remained a staunch defender of socialism and an advocate of pro-Marxist views.

Anyone so unfortunate as to have no other source of information but Bert's *Daily World* articles, which appeared April 16 and May 4, however, would have no way of knowing the truth about Plyushch.

Bert's articles center on two meetings addressed by Plyushch.

The first meeting, held March 27, was organized by the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. Unfortunately, the sponsors of the meeting saw fit to include on the speakers list, in addition to Plyushch, Sen. Henry Jackson, Rep. Edward Koch, and a number of anticommunist refugees.

Because such a speakers list could discredit pro-socialist opponents of the bureaucratic misrulers of the Soviet Union by tending to confuse their revolutionary views with anticommunism, the SWP and YSA did not support the March 27 meeting.

A flagrant lie

Typically, Bert begins his hatchet job by falsely claiming that the meeting was supported by the SWP and YSA. He asserts that this support flowed naturally from the "anti-Soviet" line of the "Trotskyites."

This flagrant lie, which seeks to equate the SWP's opposition to Stalinism with opposition to the workers state established in the Soviet Union by the Russian revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, is basic to the *Daily World's* case against all revolutionary opponents of Stalinism.

Bert needs to maintain that there is no principled way to oppose the Kremlin from the left. This technique, first perfected by Joseph Stalin in his efforts to purge his left-wing opponents, allows apologists for the bureaucracy to make an amalgam between

their critics on the left and the camp of reaction.

Bert is willing to go so far with this amalgam method of slander that he attempts to convince his readers that at this meeting Plyushch actually "associated himself with the murder of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg."

Bert makes this despicable charge despite Plyushch's expression of support at the meeting for the demand of the Rosenbergs' two sons that all the government's secret files on the witch-

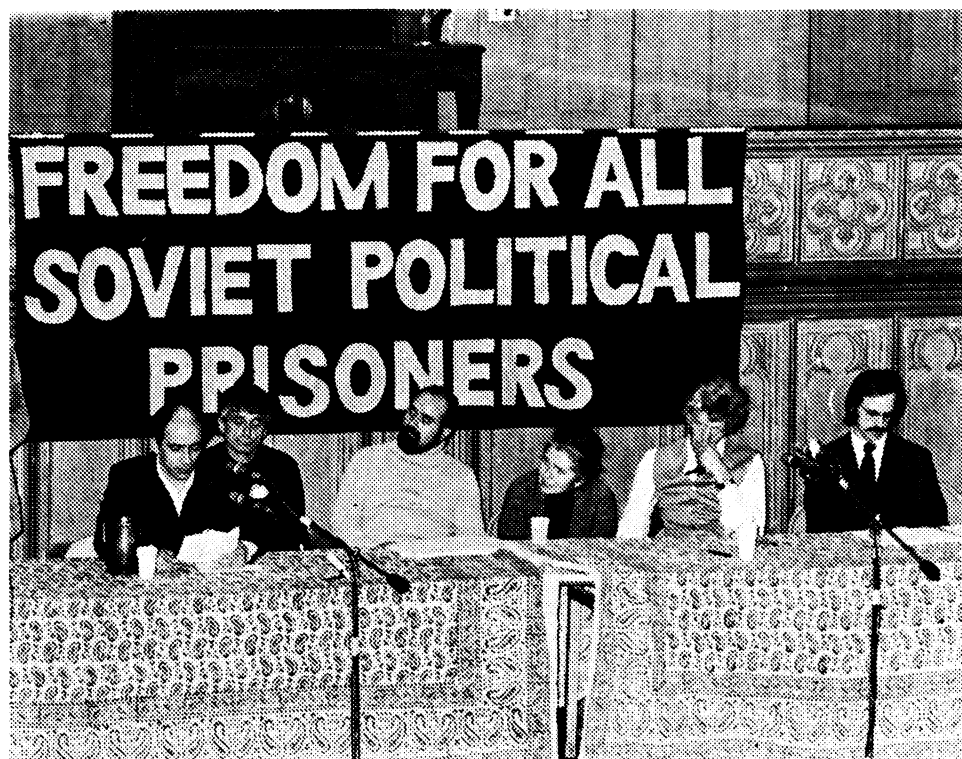
uine moral ones."

Jackson's cynical silence in the face of Plyushch's remarks made clear where the senator really stood.

Bert's own cynicism is underscored by his failure to even mention—let alone welcome—Plyushch's appeal on behalf of Massera, Bert's Uruguayan comrade.

A hard one for Bert

In an article in the May 4 *Daily World*, Bert returns to his attack on Plyushch. This time he reports on a



On panel at this April 3 protest meeting were (left to right): Plyushch, Daniel Berrigan, Reza Baraheni, Grace Paley, E.P. Thompson, and George Saunders. Even French and Italian CPs joined in protest against the treatment of Plyushch.

hunt trial and electrocution of their parents be made public. Bert indicts Plyushch because the recent Soviet exile, who has had no access to material on the case, chose not to take a position on the question of the Rosenbergs' guilt or innocence.

Bert's attempts to repeat Stalin's lie-machine efforts in the United States reflect far more on his own lack of revolutionary integrity than upon the fighter for democratic rights that he is seeking to discredit.

What really happened

The facts are that despite the right-wing character of the March 27 meeting, Plyushch did not accommodate himself at all to his hosts. He acquitted himself so well, in fact, that his remarks drew hisses from anticommunists in the audience.

Bert omits mention of this, as well as Plyushch's scathing attack on what he called the "cannibal morality" of hypocritical capitalist politicians like Henry Jackson.

The facts are that Plyushch called on Jackson to defend José Luis Massera, a Uruguayan CP leader imprisoned and tortured by the Bordaberry dictatorship. He called on Jackson to demand freedom for the Chilean political prisoners as well as those in the workers states. And he demanded that Jackson support the right of the Rosenbergs' sons to see their parents' files.

Plyushch challenged Jackson to act on these demands if he really wanted to "show that he is speaking in behalf of human rights, not out of expedient political considerations, but for gen-

meeting held April 3 on the subject "The Left and the Soviet Union."

Unlike the previous event, at this meeting Plyushch shared the platform with such well-known activists in the fight against the Vietnam War and political repression as Daniel Berrigan; Grace Paley; the Iranian poet and former political prisoner Reza Baraheni; and George Saunders, editor of *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition*.

This meeting must have been a hard one for Bert to deal with. How could this Stalinist liar convince his readers that such speakers would appear with Plyushch, if it were true, as Bert declared in his April 16 article, that Plyushch is "on the side of the executioners" of the Rosenbergs?

The SWP and YSA *did* support this meeting because such a broad left defense of Soviet dissidents is the proper way to defend Soviet political prisoners.

It is a mistake to link defense of Soviet dissidents with Democratic and Republican party politicians—the representatives of American imperialism.

These capitalist politicians are not fighting for an extension of democracy as a step toward improving conditions for Soviet workers. Quite the contrary, their attacks on the undemocratic practices of Stalinism are only aimed at laying the groundwork for imperialist political and military attacks against the workers states.

It is not revolutionaries in the SWP and YSA who play into the hands of these imperialist politicians, as Bert charges. Rather, it is apologists for the

Kremlin such as Erik Bert—who justify Moscow's undemocratic policies by claiming they are a necessary part of socialism—who help win a hearing for the reactionary, anticommunist views of politicians like Jackson and Koch among the American workers.

'Counterrevolutionary'?

Is Bert, speaking for the CP, maintaining that the prominent radical figures who spoke that evening are all part of Plyushch's "counterrevolutionary" alliance with Jackson, Koch and "the Trotskyites"? If this is so, how does Bert explain the CP's active collaboration with a number of these radical leaders during the anti-Vietnam War movement?

Moreover, the views expressed by some of the speakers April 3 paralleled the published criticisms made by the French and Italian Communist parties on the Kremlin's unjust treatment of Plyushch. Is it now the position of the American CP that its sister parties in Europe also stink of what Bert called the "foul smell . . . acquired in bed with Plyushch?"

Hypocrisy

Bert's polemic is not only built on lies. It also reeks of hypocrisy.

This is precisely because it is the CP that argues, most strongly of all the organizations on the American left, that radicalizing workers should spend their time trying to form an "antimonopoly coalition" with "progressive" forces allegedly to be found not only in the ranks of the Democratic party, but in its leadership.

This leads the CP to actually participate in the Democratic party—the party of Jackson, Wallace, Carter, and other racist, right-wing capitalist politicians. (In 1964, for example, the CP ran no candidate and supported Democrat Lyndon Johnson in his presidential race, claiming he was a "peace candidate.")

This also explains why the CP uses its supposedly independent and "anti-capitalist" election campaigns largely as a pressure tactic aimed at influencing the Democratic party. (In 1972 CP presidential candidate Gus Hall, who is running a similar campaign for president this year, actually bragged that he "got more votes for McGovern" than did Sargent Shriver, the Democratic presidential candidate's vice-presidential running mate.)

Hence, Bert's attempt to lump Plyushch, Jackson, and the SWP and YSA together turns reality on its head.

It is the responsibility of those revolutionaries in the West who wish to see the return of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union to do everything they can to help defend Plyushch and other Soviet dissidents.

This makes it necessary not only to refute the lies of hacks like Erik Bert, but more importantly, to help dissidents such as Plyushch build a powerful defense for the victims of Stalinist repression in the USSR. Such a defense cannot be built in alliance with capitalist politicians of the ilk of Henry Jackson, but, as Plyushch says, only in an action alliance against all repressive regimes.

In this way, a powerful example will be set that can help convince American workers that Stalinism and socialism are not the same—that in fact, socialism does not represent a limitation of human freedom. On the contrary, it will bring new freedom on a scale not yet imagined.

National Committee meets in N.Y.

SWP convention set for August 8-13

By Tony Thomas

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers party met in New York April 29 through May 2.

The National Committee is the highest party decision-making body between SWP conventions.

One of the main tasks of the National Committee meeting, or plenum, was to evaluate the decision of the last SWP convention, held in August 1975, to make a "turn" to greater activity in the working class and among oppressed nationalities.

That decision was prompted by an analysis of the deepening crisis of American and world imperialism and its reflection in the beginning of the political radicalization of American workers.

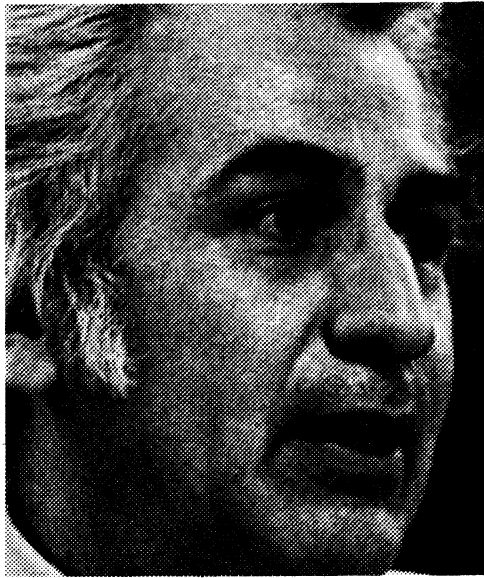
Not only did the National Committee meeting judge the turn a success, but it decided to call a national SWP convention this August to discuss the expanded opportunities and experiences accumulated since the last convention.

The August convention—and the three-month national discussion period leading up to it—will take a new look at the analysis contained in *Prospects for Socialism in America*, the political resolution adopted at the last convention. This document outlines the changes in the class struggle internationally and in the United States that led to the party's turn.

This resolution, along with other articles, reports, and resolutions on the fight for socialism in the United States, is available in *Prospects for Socialism in America*, a book published by Pathfinder Press.

At the National Committee meeting, Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, presented a report outlining the world political situation.

Barnes's report focused on how the world crisis of capitalism is producing explosions of the class struggle in



CATARINO GARZA

European countries such as Portugal, Italy, and Spain that provide important lessons for the upsurge of the class struggle in this country.

Barnes's report will be published in the next issue of the *International Socialist Review*.

Chicano resolution

One of the signs of the success of the SWP's turn has been its increased participation in the struggles of the oppressed nationalities.

This was reflected by the National Committee's decision to adopt and submit to the preconvention discussion resolutions on the Chicano and Puerto Rican struggles.

Olga Rodríguez, the SWP's national Chicano liberation director, presented a report to the National Committee on a draft resolution analyzing the Chicano movement.

The National Committee discussed and approved the resolution and sub-



OLGA RODRIGUEZ

mitted it to the SWP preconvention discussion.

Rodríguez pointed to mounting deportations of undocumented Mexican and other Latin American workers, discriminatory layoffs of Chicanos, and cutbacks in social services in Chicano communities as examples of the "tightening of the screws" by the ruling class.

She said the Ford administration is trying to overturn court decisions on bilingual-bicultural education for Chicanos just as it is trying to overturn busing and desegregation rulings.

Rodríguez pointed to the importance of defending the United Farm Workers in California and other states from attacks by the big farm owners.

"The strength of the UFW," the SWP leader said, "lies in its appeal as a social movement fighting for justice for the superexploited Chicano and *mexicano* farm workers in the Southwest."

In that way, she said, "The UFW



LEW JONES

has begun to transcend the narrow business unionism of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy."

However, Rodríguez pointed out that the farm workers' struggle has been weakened by the illusions UFW leaders have in Democratic party politicians.

All of the struggles of the Chicano people point to the need for Chicanos to break from the Democratic and Republican parties and chart a course of independent action on every level of struggle, both political and economic, Rodríguez asserted.

The Raza Unida parties in New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, and other states provide a significant example of independent political action, she said.

Rodríguez hailed the fact that none of the main leaders of these parties is in favor of accommodation with the Democrats or Republicans.

She indicated the need for these parties to mobilize the Chicano masses outside the electoral arena if they are to meet the needs of the Chicano movement for a mass, independent Chicano party.

Puerto Rican resolution

Catarino Garza, a member of the SWP Political Committee and the party's candidate for Congress in the Lower East Side and Chelsea in New York, presented a report on *The Emerging Puerto Rican Struggle in the U.S. and its Perspectives*.

Like the Chicano resolution, this draft document was approved and introduced into the preconvention discussion by the National Committee meeting.

Garza reported that the appearance of this resolution, the party's first on the Puerto Rican struggle, was made possible by the SWP's deepening participation in the Puerto Rican struggle.

Recently SWP branches have been set up in predominantly Puerto Rican areas in the Lower East Side, Chicago, and the Bronx, New York.

While the resolution centers on the struggles of Puerto Ricans in the United States as an oppressed national minority, it affirms complete support to the struggle for independence for Puerto Rico.

The SWP will also continue to support unconditionally the right of Puerto Ricans to self-determination in the United States.

Garza discussed the discrimination in employment and housing Puerto Ricans face, as well as the disproportionate way cutbacks in education, health care, welfare, sanitation, and other social services have hit Puerto Ricans in this country.

The resolution showed how Democratic politicians such as Herman Badillo, as well as such forces as the Catholic Church, the poverty pro-

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grams, and the representatives of the Puerto Rican colonial government, have tried to keep the Puerto Rican people under the thumb of the capitalist class.

To overcome these obstacles, Garza pointed to examples of significant direct action for Puerto Rican liberation, such as the struggle for bilingual-bicultural education and community control of schools in New York's District One.

This type of action, he said, must be expanded to include independent political action. The resolution urges a break by Puerto Ricans from the Democratic party and supports the running of independent Puerto Rican candidates.

Observers from the leadership of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (Internationalist Workers League), a recently formed Puerto Rican Trotskyist organization, participated in the discussion of the Puerto Rican struggle in the United States.

The National Committee meeting was also attended by socialist leaders from Canada and Mexico.

SWP growth and expansion

Lew Jones, a member of the party's Political Committee, presented a balance sheet of the organizational impact of the SWP's turn to the working class and oppressed nationalities.

Jones reported that expanded membership and opportunities in this new period had prompted the SWP "to take a fresh look at all aspects of the party to see whether our organizational functioning is in tune with our political needs."

Among several examples, Jones noted the positive reception SWP campaigners and sales teams had received in two new party branches in Black communities in Brooklyn as well as the success of a socialist discussion group party activists established among union workers at a Detroit hospital.

One of the most exciting aspects of the meeting was the section of Jones's report on the growth of the SWP.

The party has shifted away from larger city-wide units to smaller branches based in specific working-class, Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities.

Jones said, "At the time of our last plenum, the party had twenty-nine branches and six locals [units where the SWP has several branches in one city]. Very soon the party will have fifty-nine branches and thirteen locals."

In New York, for example, where there had been three branches last summer, there are now seven branches.

Jones also reported that it is now much easier to set up SWP branches in cities where the party has not been before. He reported on plans to establish branches in additional cities, including Kansas City, Missouri; Cincinnati; Louisville, Kentucky; Tacoma, Washington; and Toledo, Ohio.

Jones also described increases in the SWP's membership. At the last National Committee meeting in January, the party had established a "provisional membership" program to make joining the SWP easier. More than 200 provisional members had joined between the January meeting and April 1, Jones reported.

"This is slightly less than double the rate of increase in membership for the three months following our convention in August 1975," Jones said.

At the present rate, he added, "we are taking in two provisional members each day somewhere in the country."

Reflecting the decision to turn to the most oppressed layers of the working class, thirty-eight of the new members are Afro-Americans, eighty-four are women, and thirty-seven are trade unionists.

An important topic of discussion under Jones's report was the SWP campaign of Peter Camejo for presi-

Continued on page 26

Froben Lozada: the story of a Chicano socialist

By Jeff Powers

OAKLAND, Calif.—The Oakland Socialist Workers party is running Froben Lozada for U.S. Congress in the Ninth District.

Lozada heads Chicano studies at Merritt College in Oakland. He was hired in 1969 at the insistence of students after a successful struggle to establish the Chicano studies department on campus.

Froben Lozada is well known among Bay Area activists as a supporter of bilingual-bicultural education, as a defender of undocumented Mexican workers, and as a socialist campaigner who has run for office several times. He is widely respected as a man who has stood up for human rights and justice on many fronts.

Not as well known, however, is his earlier history of political activism.

Lozada was a Chicano who marched beside Blacks in the civil rights movement and was an early opponent of the Vietnam War.

In a recent interview with the *Militant*, Lozada talked about his life and the events that eventually brought him to the socialist movement in the late 1960s.

El valle

Lozada was born in Brownsville, Texas, and grew up in neighboring Donna. The entire area, the southernmost part of Texas adjacent to Mexico, is known as *el valle*—the Rio Grande Valley.

His parents owned a small general store with a *molino* to grind corn for tortilla dough. They were poor. "On a good week my father would gross about sixty dollars," Lozada says.

The Rio Grande Valley was then, as it remains today, a severely depressed agricultural area. "While I was going to school there, I recall that many of my people were forced to migrate every year to places such as Fresno and Tulare in California, to Kansas, and Minnesota."

This constant migration, Lozada added, meant that "Chicanitos would miss at least four months of the school year." But he was able to make it through high school. After graduation he studied electronics at a technical institute in Chicago.

In 1953, Lozada was drafted into the army, where he trained to be a radar repairman. When he got out of the service, he was able to use the GI Bill to go to Pan American College, located in the area he grew up in.

While in college in the late 1950s, Lozada began to be politically active. "We organized a student demonstration protesting the visit of an ambassador to the U.S. from Yemen. We knew he came representing an oppressive regime."

Civil rights fight

After graduating from Pan American, he went to the University of Missouri to obtain a master's degree in Spanish. He quickly joined the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), then a leading civil rights group, and the Student Peace Union. He remembers taking part in many protests.

Lozada recalls that "at one place where we had a sit-in, the owner turned on the fumigating machine while we were sitting in. At another place, in mid-summer, the owner was so furious that he locked us in his establishment—after he had turned on the heater."

After obtaining his master's degree, Lozada acquired his first full-time teaching job at New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas. "That year I loaded my car with students and went to the Selma, Alabama, civil rights march."

"We felt that it was very important that some Chicanos be there," Lozada explained, "at least to show Blacks that there were other minorities in the same boat and who also cared about the plight of Blacks."

A year later, Lozada accepted a job teaching Spanish at the University of Southern Mississippi.

"I had heard and read about the plight of Blacks in the Deep South but I was soon struck by the fact that *la raza* in the Rio Grande Valley was living in worse economic conditions than the Blacks in Mississippi." That year he took part in several civil rights protests.

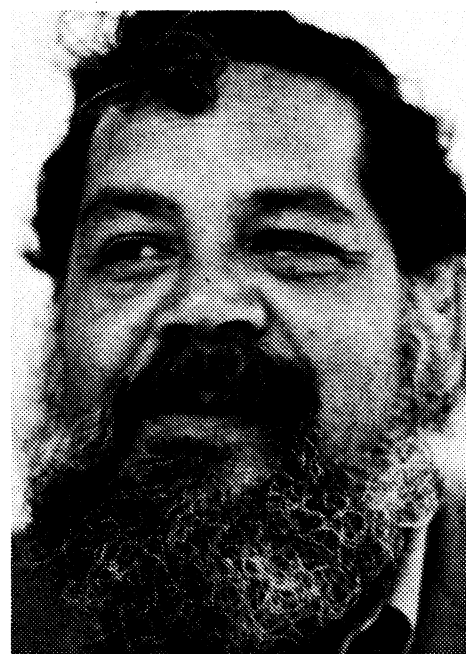
Loses job

He lost his job at the University of Southern Mississippi after trying to stop harassment of students from Latin America by local cops.

A year later, Lozada recalls, "I was teaching at the state college in Oshkosh, Wisconsin. I was the faculty adviser for the Peace Forum, the most radical group on campus at that time."

The group organized teach-ins against the Vietnam War and also took a contingent to a New York antiwar demonstration.

Lozada was not rehired at the end of his first year. Although the administration wouldn't admit this, Lozada is convinced "it had to do with my antiwar activities."



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Froben Lozada, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in California's Ninth District.

For a couple of years he had been considering returning to the Rio Grande Valley and finally did so.

He managed to get a job with the McAllen, Texas, school system.

"In the state of Texas, there is no doubt that I was the first Chicano to come out against the Vietnam War and do something about it publicly," he says.

Lozada was eventually fired by the McAllen school authorities for antiwar activities.

"With the help of Gilberto Padilla, United Farm Workers organizer in the area, we got hold of an American Civil Liberties Union attorney from Corpus Christi, 140 miles away. We won the case in court with back pay."

"A little later in the same academic year," he remembers, "Martin Luther King, Jr., was murdered. I again put out leaflets, denouncing the assassination and saying those responsible were the white racists."

This caused him to be fired from his job once again. But this time he won reinstatement without having to go to court.

"I remember an important Chicano conference that took place in San

Antonio in 1968. There were around 800 of us there. I set up a table with photographs of napalmed Vietnamese children along with my leaflets," he continues. "And I was very surprised with the reception I got."

Most of the young people and students he talked to were against the war and wanted to organize antiwar activities, Lozada said.

"One of my few critics there was Albert Peña, Sr., who was then recognized as the biggest Chicano liberal in Texas. I heard his booming voice tell others at the end of the hall about me, 'He's way out! In the boondocks!'"

Some Chicano leaders from California whom Lozada had met at the San Antonio conference helped him obtain a job at Napa Junior College in Northern California, and he moved there in mid-1968.

"Even before I lived permanently in the city of Berkeley, I used to go there two to three times a week," Lozada says. "The activism there had a great appeal for me."

Joins socialists

At the end of June 1968, the Berkeley Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers party organized a demonstration of 1,000 in solidarity with French workers and student activists. The French militants were being victimized after a general strike had been put down that almost toppled capitalism in France.

The Berkeley protest, a totally peaceful and legal demonstration, was savagely attacked by police. A sharp week-long civil liberties fight took place with the focus on the right to demonstrate on Telegraph Avenue, one of the main streets in Berkeley.

The socialists were in the thick of the fight. Berkeley SWP organizer Peter Camejo was the central leader of the movement.

Demonstrations were held almost every day of up to 2,000 people. The city authorities were forced to back down.

A victory celebration of 5,000 people on Telegraph Avenue convinced Lozada the SWP was his party. He searched out Camejo on the spot and asked to join.

"I was impressed with the work of the SWP," Lozada says, "but actually the demonstration was just the icing on the cake."

"I had been reading all the diverse newspapers on the left and found the *Militant* had more views that coincided with mine."

Malcolm X

Lozada explains that a major influence on his political thinking for several years had been the writings of Malcolm X.

"I saw that everything that Malcolm X said about Blacks held true for Chicanos—the same racism, the same economic deprivation, the same enemy."

Lozada was also influenced by Malcolm's ideas on Black nationalism—the idea that Blacks should have the right to control their own affairs, that Blacks had a common heritage and a common struggle. He felt that the ideas Malcolm had expounded for Blacks were also applicable to Chicanos.

The SWP's support for the nationalism of oppressed minorities was a major factor in his decision to join the SWP.

"Many things that I had thought about throughout my life seemed to come together," he concluded. "And I realized that Chicano liberation couldn't come without the overthrow of capitalism."

Cleve. steelworkers: 'Give back our union'

By Chris Rayson

CLEVELAND—More than 100 members of Local 1157, United Steelworkers of America, packed the union's District 28 office June 2 to protest the placing of their local in receivership.

They were there to attend public hearings on allegations by USWA international officers that local union leaders may have mismanaged funds. On May 17 International President I. W. Abel "relieved" 1157's elected officers of their duties and placed the local under an appointed administrator. This action was taken on the recommendation of Joseph Kender, District 28 director.

In a letter to Al Forney, suspended president of the local, Abel said the action was taken to "correct the many discrepancies, misappropriations and false charges to Local 1157."

It appears, however, that the real reason for Abel's action is to strip Forney, one of the few Black USWA local presidents, of the mandate his slate received in local elections last April. Forney's slate swept into office by a two-to-one margin.

Local 1157 has 1,800 members and is based at the big Republic Steel plant in Cleveland. This makes it a very important local in the district. Forney's reelection there placed him in a position to challenge Kender for district director next February.

Forney has taken his distance from Kender and the top union brass. His independence and skin color have made him a target for Kender.

There is no constitutional basis for the international's action against Local 1157. To date no formal charges have been made.

In December 1975, the international

performed a regular audit of the local's books and pronounced everything satisfactory. In April, however, *after the election*, the books were called in for a special audit. International investigators spent a good bit of time in company offices with company permission searching for a union violation.

Audits are also regularly done by the local trustees. Right before the elections, Robert Green, a local trustee who ran on Forney's slate, asked for the financial books from Chris Stamatis, who was then financial secretary. Stamatis was subsequently a member of the losing slate in the April election.

Stamatis refused to turn over the local's books to Green. He offered instead to allow the trustees—who are all Black—to look at the books while he was watching, if the union compensated him for lost time. The trustees refused these preconditions, since trustees in the past have conducted such audits on their own.

The way the June 2 hearing was conducted exposed the trumped-up nature of the charges against Local 1157. The hearing was before a committee handpicked by the international. To back up their allegations, the committee members presented "exhibits" for nine hours. But local leaders were not even allowed to have copies of these "exhibits."

At the close of the hearings, everything remained as before: no formal charges had been made, but the union was still in receivership.

During the lunch break, fifty of the Local 1157 members, led by Forney, picketed the district offices to demand that the international "return 1157 to the membership."

...SWP sets convention

Continued from page 25

dent and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president.

Petitioning to put the socialist candidates on the ballot has provided a chance for socialists to discuss their ideas with thousands of working people.

The National Committee meeting decided to launch the biggest petitioning drive in the party's history. The goal is to collect more than half a million signatures in more than thirty states.

The expanded role of SWP members in the fight to defend desegregation in Boston and other cities was a focus of a report by Malik Miah, Black liberation director of the SWP.

Cindy Jaquith, SWP women's liberation director, reported on a resurgence of feminist activity among unionists and on the campuses, symbolized by the May 16 pro-ERA demonstration called by the National Organization for Women.

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, reported on the progress of the suit the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance have launched against the government for its spying, harassment, and disruption of the socialist, antiwar, and Black liberation movements.

Stapleton pointed to the massive exposure of the government's illegal attacks on the socialists and how these disclosures and other aspects of the suit have advanced the civil liberties of all Americans, not just members of the SWP and YSA.

Gus Horowitz, a member of the party's Political Committee, presented a report on the debate on Portugal and other developments in the ongoing discussion in the world Trotskyist movement.

The discussions at the National Committee meeting are now being taken into the SWP preconvention discussion.

Oral debates on the resolutions and other subjects scheduled for discussion at the convention will take place in party branches over the next three months. A written discussion open to articles and resolutions from all SWP members will also take place in the party's internal bulletin.

At the close of the discussion the branches will elect rank-and-file delegates who will have the sole decision-making power at the national convention.

The convention itself is the highest body of the party, deciding policy on basic political questions, determining priorities for action, and electing the national leadership.

The agenda for the August convention will include the political situation in the United States, resolutions on the Chicano and Puerto Rican struggles, the world political situation, the fight for Black liberation, perspectives for building the socialist movement, and the discussion in the international Trotskyist movement.

Given the rising interest in socialist solutions for different problems facing working people, the growth and expansion of the SWP, and the importance of the discussions taking place within the SWP, the convention will be one of the most important events in the struggle against oppression and exploitation in the United States this year.

People interested in finding out more about joining the SWP and attending the SWP convention this summer should contact their local SWP branch (see Socialist Directory on page 27) or write to the SWP's national headquarters at 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Calendar

CINCINNATI

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. First session. **Building the revolutionary party. The early radical movement in America.** Speaker: Melissa Singler. Mon., June 14, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of Cincinnati, Student Center Room 424. Donation: \$5. 75¢ per session. Ausp: YSA, SWP. For more information call (513) 321-7445.

RICHMOND, VA.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Featuring Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate, on **The attacks on Black rights and the '76 elections.** Greetings from Bessida White, Va. Women's Political Caucus and National Black Feminist Organization, and Barbara Tinsley, president-elect of Richmond Education Association. Sat., June 19, 8 p.m.

SAN DIEGO

HELP PUT THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES ON THE BALLOT IN CALIFORNIA RALLY. Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate; Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Sat., June 19, 8 p.m. City College Library, Room 112. Donation: \$1. Ausp: 1976 Socialist Workers California Campaign. For more information call (714) 234-4639.

SAN FERNANDO VALLEY, CALIF.

WHAT DO SOCIALISTS STAND FOR? A three-part class series on the prospects for socialism in America. Begins June 13. For information on time and place contact SWP: P.O. Box 4456, Panorama City, Calif. 91412. Telephone: (213) 894-2081. Ausp: SWP.

...CP

Continued from page 5

"These attacks on Communist party petitioners demand condemnation by all supporters of civil liberties," Camejo and Reid said in a joint statement. "We offer our complete solidarity to the Communist party in its efforts to exercise its rights in the electoral arena."

"The SWP too has run up against the undemocratic practices of the Democrats and Republicans in our ballot drive. Our supporters, supporters of the Hall-Tyner campaign, and those of other small parties must stand together and fight these attempts by the big-business parties to maintain a total monopoly at the ballot box."

According to the May 29 *People's World*, the CP's West Coast weekly, "The goal of the CP is to get on the ballot in at least 30 states. . . ." This parallels the SWP's 1976 ballot projections.

So far the SWP has filed nominating petitions in nine states and is petitioning this month in another ten. The June 3 *Daily World* reported that the CP has filed in seven states and is currently petitioning in eleven others.

Both the SWP and CP have announced plans to collect more than the 100,000 signatures required to qualify their candidates for ballot status in California. These drives were made possible by legislation passed this year lowering the required number of signatures for independent candidates, although not for political parties. Under the old California law, 320,000 signatures would have been required.

...Brown

Continued from page 17

enrichment of human civilization and culture.

It is not "planetary limits" that are holding us back from this future, Camejo and Reid contend. The shackles on human progress have been placed there by the capitalist system.

A vote for Camejo and Reid is a vote to replace that system with a democratic, socialist society based on human needs. A vote for Brown or any other Democrat is a vote to preserve the capitalist system and enrich the tiny minority who profit from it.

Next November you can take your pick.

...Chicanos

Continued from back page

nization has taken the position that socialism must be the goal of the Chicano movement. He emphasized, however, that the party continues to fight around immediate, general issues of concern to Chicanos and seeks to mobilize broad layers in struggle

around these issues.

Other leading figures urged support for building La Raza Unida party. Among these were Guadalupe Youngblood, chairperson of the Texas party; Raul Ruiz of the City Terrace, Los Angeles, RUP; Fred Aguilar of the La Puente, California, RUP; and Andres Torres, state chairperson of the California party.

The conference also reflected the growing interest in women's liberation inside the Chicano movement. A workshop on "The Role of Chicanas in the Struggle" was one of the largest.

Almost all of those outside the various organized socialist tendencies would probably agree that their anti-capitalist views are still in the process of development. At the same time, most of these activists did not seem to feel that there was any contradiction between a socialist perspective and the Chicano nationalism to which so many of them are committed.

Speaking from the floor, one Northern California community organizer said he did not feel he could organize people around a socialist perspective. But, he added, "Ninety percent of us here agree liberation won't be won under this system." Nobody argued the point.

It would be unrealistic to suggest that the anticapitalist thinking that prevailed at this conference is typical of the Chicano community as a whole. But there can be no question that it does reflect to a substantial degree the growing conviction of a significant layer of movement activists. Many of the political ideas being considered remain to be probed more deeply. But clearly that important process is under way.

A closing plenary session agreed that a similar gathering will be held within a year in Las Vegas, New Mexico, to be hosted by Juan José Peña.

A display of Pathfinder Press books and pamphlets was busy throughout the conference. More than \$200 worth of revolutionary literature was sold. The best seller was the recently published book *Prospects for Socialism in America*. Twenty-nine copies were sold. It includes an SWP political resolution and reports on various aspects of the tasks facing socialists today.

Following the panel on the struggle of Chicanas there was a good sale of the book *Feminism and Socialism*.

After one workshop where a panelist urged people to accept "Marxism-Leninism-Maoist Thought," several people bought copies of the pamphlet *Marxism versus Maoism*.

The *Militant*, featuring an interview with Peter Camejo on Chicanos and the 1976 elections, was particularly well received. In addition to fifty-five individual copies, fifty-three subscriptions were sold. Pedro Vázquez, Texas SWP candidate for U.S. senator, said a good many more could have been sold if it weren't for the "problem" that many of those present already were *Militant* subscribers.

Battery Park Community Center (Overbrook and Hawthorne). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Virginia Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (804) 232-3769.

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San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285.

San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Libreria Socialista, 3284 23rd St. San Francisco, Calif. 94110.

San Jose: SWP, YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

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400 attend national Chicano forum in Utah

By Harry Ring

SALT LAKE CITY—More than 400 Chicano activists gathered here May 28 for three days of intensive discussion of the ideology and program necessary to win Chicano liberation.

The conference registered the deepening conviction among Chicano activists that liberation cannot be achieved within the framework of the capitalist system.

Initiated by faculty members and students in the Chicano studies department at the University of Utah, the gathering was organized as a National Chicano Forum. Its purpose was to bring together activists of all political persuasions for a free exchange of views. It sought to promote greater unity within the movement by clarifying goals and methods as well as initiating united action where it can be achieved.

A wide spectrum of political ideologies and tendencies were present. It is significant that despite the deepgoing differences between various participants and the hostility that has marked some of their relationships, a comradely atmosphere prevailed throughout the entire weekend.

Credit for this was due in good measure to the conference organizers, including Professors Armando Navarro and Abelardo Delgado, cochairpersons, and the steering committee that worked with them.

The comradely atmosphere that prevailed was particularly impressive in that the gathering was held under intense pressure.

In the days prior to the conference, support by moderate and conservative Chicano groups in the area was diminished after a red-baiting campaign was opened by a group of conservative Chicanos calling themselves "Concerned Citizens." They offered conference endorsers and financial supporters "dossiers" purporting to show that "communists" were behind the gathering.

On the Saturday night prior to the conference, Salt Lake City police unleashed dogs against several hundred Chicanos emerging from a dance. Fourteen people were injured and sixteen arrested in an ugly display of police brutality that evoked sharp protest from the American Civil Liberties Union and others.

Although there was no relationship, the media sought to convey the idea that the dance was somehow related to the coming conference.

Combined with the red-baiting campaign, this led to the concern that the police would seek a pretext to attack the conference participants. However, forum organizers in several media interviews emphasized the legal, peaceful nature of the gathering. Coupled with an extensive marshaling system, this sufficed to carry through the gathering without incident.

The main conference discussion was carried on in a series of workshops. The two principal ones were titled: Ideology—What Direction Will the Chicano Movement Take? and Organization and Action—How Shall We Get There?

In both sets of workshops many



Activists gather in Salt Lake City for Chicano conference, weekend of May 28

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

panelists and participants from the floor spoke of the need for an anticapitalist perspective. Among those taking this stand were several leading figures from La Raza Unida parties (RUP) in the Southwest.

There was strong sentiment for independent political action in opposition to the Republicans and Democrats. Perhaps the largest single grouping at the conference were the Raza Unida party activists, who argued effectively that the *partido* be recognized and supported as the political arm of the Chicano movement.

In addition to the general prosocialist sentiments of many of the conference participants, there were supporters of particular ideological currents. Among these were the Socialist Workers party, the Communist party, several Maoist groupings, and the Los Angeles Chicano organization CASA. There were also people from MECHAs and other Chicano student and community organizations.

The largest group of participants came from California, but there were delegations and individuals from New Mexico, Texas, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah, with smaller numbers from Washington, Oregon, and Idaho.

All the differing ideas were carefully listened to and considered. There seemed to be particular interest in the views of various Raza Unida leaders and activists who spoke for an anticapitalist perspective.

Dr. Armando Gutiérrez, a leading figure in the Texas RUP, urged the participants to consider the relevance of Marxism to the Chicano struggle. He explained why he did not see Marxism as contradictory to Chicano nationalism. He viewed that nationalism as having given an impulse to the Chicano liberation movement.

Juan José Peña, chairperson of the New Mexico Raza Unida party, was another panelist presenting a socialist perspective. He spoke of the strong socialist movement that existed in this

country in the 1930s, including Chicano socialist organizations. That movement had been derailed, he said, but could now be rebuilt.

He also insisted that to be effective, proponents of socialism had to be clear supporters of democratic rights. He argued for a socialism clearly linked with democracy and humanism.

Peña did not propose that the various Raza Unida parties adopt socialist programs. He read to the workshop parts of the "Declaration of Human Rights" adopted by the 1975 convention of the New Mexico RUP. The declaration calls for basic social change and a fight around such key issues as the right to jobs, education, medical care, and other social needs.

At its recent 1976 convention, the New Mexico RUP voted to endorse Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers party nominee for president.

Eugene Hernández of the San Fernando, California, RUP said his orga-

Continued on page 26

Not the time to talk about socialism?

SALT LAKE CITY—Perhaps excepting a few traditional Democrats, the most conservative force at the National Chicano conference seemed to be the Communist party.

Space was available to all tendencies and groups for literature tables. The CP had a small table with a few pieces of literature occasionally on display. Neither of its newspapers, the *Daily World* and the *People's World*, was to be seen. Nor was there any indication that party General Secretary Gus Hall is running for president.

Lorenzo Torres, chairman of the CP's Chicano Commission, was a

substitute participant in one of the ideology panels. He opened his presentation by attacking other panelists who spoke positively of Chicano nationalism, offering the tired CP argument that nationalism divides the workers. This argument is a cover for the CP's concern that Chicano nationalism leads to such developments as La Raza Unida party and helps break Chicanos away from the Democratic party.

Torres also tried to defend the CP's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, echoing the argument of right-wing ERA opponents, who

say it would end protective labor legislation for women.

He also took his distance from those urging a socialist perspective. Declaring that he too was a socialist, Torres asserted that "now is not the time" to be talking about socialism. Instead, he argued, the movement should be building an "anti-monopoly coalition." Because of the radical views evident among the participants, he did not bother to explain that the CP sees "progressive" Democrats and Republicans as key partners in such a coalition.

—H.R.