

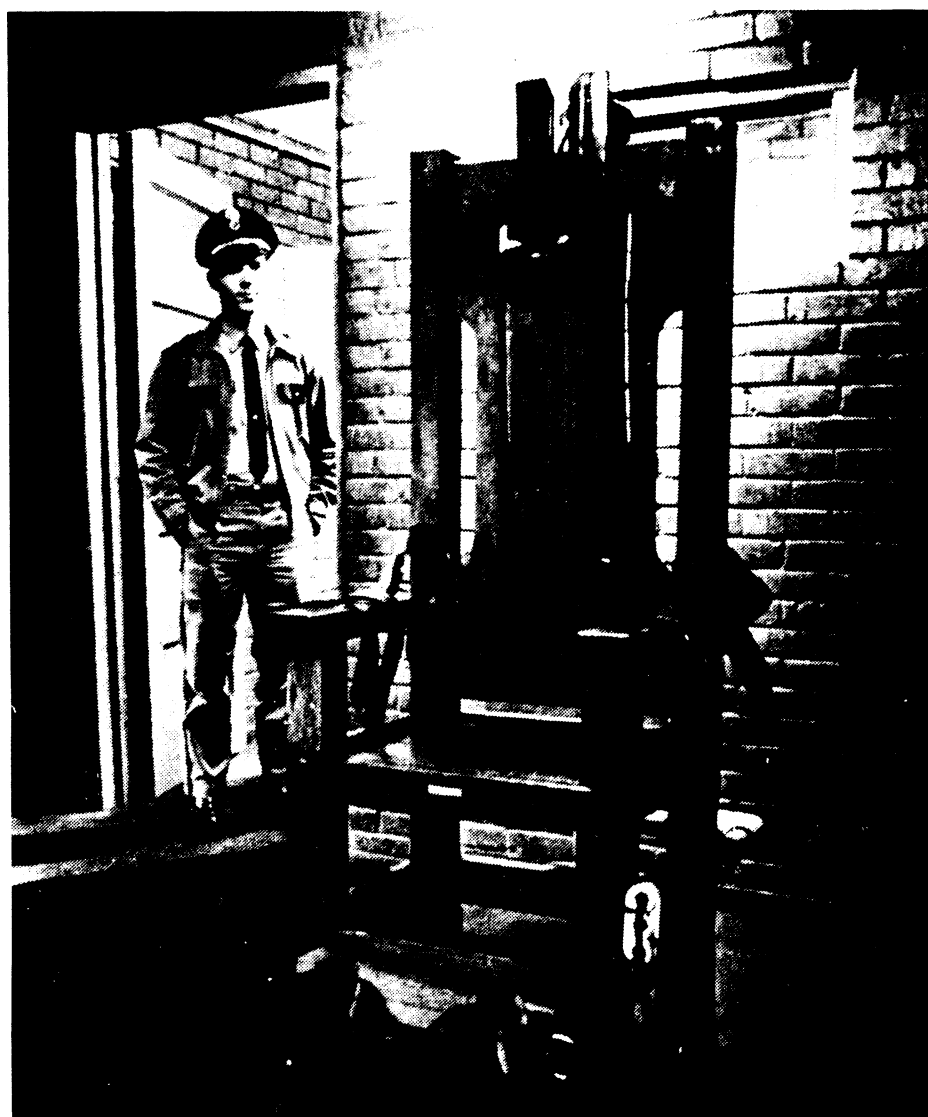
THE MILITANT

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

SUPREME COURT LEGALIZES MURDER

- Blacks are chief victim of death penalty
- Gary Tyler: how court ruling will affect his case
- Reactionary decision sparks broad opposition

—PAGES 4-6



Danny Lyon



Militant/Lou Howort

Socialist candidates blast death penalty

•Hit Ford, Carter stands

[Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, released the following statement July 7.]

The Supreme Court ruling upholding the death penalty is a stunning setback for all working people.

It is bitterly ironic that on the two hundredth anniversary of the American revolution the men in black robes sanctioned a practice that has more in common with the Dark Ages than the ideals of the revolutionaries of 1776.

Continued on page 5

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Jury weighs fate of San Quentin Six
- 4 Supreme Court okays 300 executions
- 8 Why socialist suit gets files Congress missed
- 13 Calif. ballot drive: 'Historic occasion'
- 16 Texas leaders discuss state of Raza Unida party
- 17 Who needs child care?
- 18 Rubber workers up against big money
- 24 Québec unions debate need for labor party
- 25 NY meeting says: Free Soviet Tatar dissident
- 26 Can Peking build socialism in one country?
- 27 Marches demand gay rights
- 29 Communist party slanders SWP petition drive

- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 National Picket Line By Any Means Necessary
- 12 The Great Society Women in Revolt American Way of Life
- 14 Campaigning for Socialism
- 28 In Review

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 19 Banzer imposes state of 'exception' in Bolivia
- 20 Arab League aids Lebanon intervention
- 21 Portuguese left caught in election trap

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PETER CAMEJO TO ANSWER DEMOCRATS: Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo will answer the decisions of the Democratic party convention at a public meeting July 16. He will also outline his party's perspective for independent political action at the rally, which will begin at 7:30 p.m. at the Community Church, 40 E. Thirty-fifth Street, in New York.

Outside the Democratic party convention, demonstrations will be organized by supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights; ecology activists; advocates of gay rights legislation; and opponents of FBI harassment and the repressive Senate Bill 1 (S. 1).

Socialists will be on hand to distribute literature and urge activists to back the candidates of a party that fights for their interests—the Socialist Workers party. *Militant* readers can help spread the word of the socialist alternative and publicize the Camejo meeting. Campaign teams will be organized from the Chelsea SWP headquarters, 200½ W. Twenty-fourth street, every day from July 12 through July 15. You can also stop by on those days from 4:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. and talk with SWP candidates.

Hugo Blanco arrested in Peru

Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco has been arrested by the military regime of Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez. At 1:30 a.m. July 3, the Policía de Investigaciones del Perú, the political police, took Blanco from his brother's home in Cuzco. Blanco had spoken at a public rally in Cuzco on June 24. On July 5 the police transported him to Lima. Upon arrival at the Lima airport a friend was able to speak to Blanco. The friend reports that Blanco was unharmed at that time. Since then, the police have held the Trotskyist leader incommunicado and his condition is unknown.

Officials refuse to explain the arrest or their intentions. The junta has suspended constitutional rights under the current state of seige.

Several months ago authorities allowed Blanco to return to Peru after five years of exile. Prior to his deportation he had been imprisoned for leading a massive peasant struggle for land.

Telegrams demanding Blanco's immediate release should be sent to: Gen. Morales Bermúdez, Government House, Lima, Peru.

FREE THE 'CHARLOTTE THREE': Jim Grant, the last of the "Charlotte Three" to walk out of jail, was released on \$50,000 bond in North Carolina June 24. T.J. Reddy was released two days earlier on \$10,000 bond. Charles Parker was paroled last December. They are awaiting a federal district court ruling on their petitions for freedom or a new trial.

In 1972 the three Black men were convicted on frame-up charges for the 1968 fire bombing of a riding stable. Two individuals who admitted responsibility for the arson gave the only testimony against the three. In addition to immunity, these star witnesses each received \$4,000 "relocation payments" from the U.S. Justice Department.

Prior to their arrest, the three political activists had been targets of police harassment. Grant, Reddy, and Parker had been draft-counseling Black youth and protesting an experimental military recruitment program launched in the Black communities of Charlotte and Nashville, Tennessee.

ERA DEFEAT IN LOUISIANA: On June 16 the Louisiana state legislature rejected the Equal Rights Amendment for the fifth time since it was passed by Congress in 1972. The House Committee on Civil Law voted ten to six to kill the bill. This defeat came in spite of recent polls that show most Louisianans supporting the ERA.

At the committee hearings, speakers for the ERA included Fran Bussie of the Louisiana AFL-CIO. Speakers against it came from Young Americans for Freedom, STOP ERA, Catholic Daughters of America, and Females Opposed to Equality (FOE). FOE stands out in this pack of right-wingers for its call to repeal the Fourteenth Amendment!

Women's rights supporters have reacted to this defeat by calling for ERA activities on August 22 to commemorate ratification of the woman suffrage amendment on August 26, 1920.

'U.S. OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA': On June 26 several hundred people in Washington, D.C., protested the wave of repression and murders of Black South Africans. Chants of "Stop the murders," "Down with apartheid," and "U.S. out of South Africa" could be heard as demonstrators marched to the South African embassy. The action was sponsored by a group of thirty organizations calling themselves the June Sixteenth Coalition. (June 16 was the day that protests began in Soweto, South Africa, sparked by government moves to force students to study in the Afrikaans language.

'WOMAN'S EVOLUTION' AT HARVARD: Even the ivy-covered bastion of male academia is not impervious to a feminist view of the origins of women's oppression. This fall Harvard students in Natural Science 36, the course on "Biological Determinism," will be reading selections from *Woman's Evolution* by Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed.

This course has stirred up controversy. Its teachers—Stephen Gould, professor of geology, and Richard Lewontin, Agassiz professor of zoology—agree with Reed that biology does not determine destiny. This has brought them into conflict with the theses of Prof. Edward Wilson's book *Sociobiology*. Wilson is curator in entomology and a member of the same Harvard department. Also, Gould and Lewontin's policy of uncompetitive grading in their course has provoked criticism from the faculty council.

Woman's Evolution has already been adopted in some thirty college classes. *Problems of Women's Liberation*, another book by Reed, is used in more than sixty university courses throughout the United States and Canada.

PUERTO RICO LIBRE: *Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean* (thirty-five cents), written by *Militant* staff writer José Pérez, was a popular item in Philadelphia on July 4. Demonstrators at the "Bicentennial without Colonies" march bought 175 copies. Interest in socialist literature was high—\$179 worth of books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press were sold, including ten copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* (regularly \$2.95, now on sale for \$1.50). Both are available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN SPREADS TO TOLEDO:

Socialist Workers party campaign supporters in Toledo, Ohio, will hold their first rally Friday, July 16, at 7:30 p.m. Featured speakers will be Melissa Singler, the socialists' candidate for U.S. Senate, and John Hawkins, a member of the SWP National Committee. Parts of the rally will be conducted in Spanish as well as English. It will be held in the Chicano community at Swiss Hall, 735 S. St. Clair.

The next day at Bowling Green University, the socialists will sponsor an educational series. The first session at 11:00 a.m. will be a talk on rape given by SWP member and ERA activist Allyson Kennedy. At 1:30 p.m. John Hawkins and a representative from the Paul X Moody Defense Fund will speak on "In Defense of Black Rights." Both discussions will be in Room 112 of the Life Science Building. For further information call (419) 474-6541 or (419) 242-9743.

—Ginny Hildebrand



Special Offer For New Readers

The Supreme Court has sanctioned the murder of hundreds of prisoners on death row. The *Militant* will bring you the reactions of the men and women inside the prisons. It will cover protest actions against this barbaric ruling. And it will continue to report on the struggles of Gary Tyler, J.B. Johnson, Stanton Story, and other victims of racist frame-ups. Subscribe today.

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Jury deliberates fate of San Quentin Six

By Michael Schreiber

SAN FRANCISCO—A jury in nearby San Rafael will soon decide the fate of the San Quentin Six, two Latino and four Black prisoners who stand accused of assault and murder of prison guards during a rebellion in San Quentin on August 21, 1971.

Prison activist George Jackson was slain by guards during an alleged escape attempt shortly before the rebellion.

For the past fifteen months the one Black and eleven white jurors have watched a parade of prison guards and state officials leap over each other in their haste to finger the defendants. Their testimony, however, suffered a corresponding leap in unbelievability each time a part of the prosecution's story was contradicted.

The patchwork quality of the state's evidence seems to bolster the defense's contention of a cover-up designed to mask its conspiracy to assassinate Jackson.

Louis Tackwood, former member of a squad of Los Angeles police agents who were assigned to infiltrate radical groups, testified on April 12 that his last assignment was to "get George Jackson."

Tackwood told the jury that three weeks before the August 21 incident he witnessed Robert Sharnett of the criminal conspiracy section of the Los

Angeles Police Department hand over a .38-caliber pistol in a paper bag to two San Quentin guards. The witness said that the gun was to be given to Jackson to set him up in an escape attempt.

Prisoner Charles Johnson told of seeing Jackson on August 21 about to enter the prison's "adjustment center." Johnson said that guard Paul Kraesnes, who accompanied Jackson, had a pistol bulging from his pocket.

Defendant Hugo Pinell demonstrated to a hushed court how Kraesnes pulled a gun on Jackson as he was about to enter the adjustment center. Pinell said that Jackson aimed a blow at Kraesnes and wrenched the gun from his hand.

During the trial, pathologist John Manwaring changed his analysis of the entrance and exit wounds on Jackson's body. His new testimony lent evidence to the defense's belief that Jackson was still alive on the ground when he was murdered at close range—probably by prison guard Eugene Ziemer.

The testimony of defense witnesses radically contradicts the battered tale that prosecutor Jerry Herman tirelessly repeated in his final arguments.

According to the state, Jackson received a .38-caliber pistol in a tape recorder carried by attorney Stephen Bingham, and hid it under an Afro

wig. He then pulled the gun on a guard and ordered the other prisoners released. Jackson was allegedly shot down when he was "escaping" into the prison courtyard, expecting—like a human fly—to scale the twenty-foot walls ringed by snipers' towers.

Witnesses demonstrated, however, that a .38-caliber pistol could not fit inside the tape recorder Bingham carried. Moreover, guard Edward Fleming testified that he thoroughly searched Jackson's hair before he approached the adjustment center.

Prisoner Council McCoy backed up defendant Pinell's observation that Jackson was not wearing a wig but a tight-fitting cap. According to guard Carl Umland, a truckload of evidence, including George Jackson's clothes (and perhaps the cap), was carted off to the county dump to be destroyed.

It appears that the defendants—Willie Tate, Johnny Spain, Pinell, David Johnson, Fleeta Drumgo, and Luis Talamántez—were singled out for prosecution because they were among the most active in their opposition to oppressive prison policies. Defendant Drumgo, for example, was indicted solely on the testimony of a guard who said he kicked Kraesnes before Kraesnes was killed.

Manwaring, however, testified that there was no way the bruises on Kraesnes's face could have resulted



Defendant Fleeta Drumgo, one of San Quentin Six, who face charges of assault and murder.

from Drumgo's alleged kick. Later it was revealed that Drumgo had not been wearing any shoes at the time.

Supporters of the San Quentin Six are urged to participate in the vigil that will take place each day of the jury's deliberations at both the Marin County Civic Center and the office of the San Quentin Six Defense Committee, 3169 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco.

Indian leader beats one charge, faces another

By Stacey Seigle

PORTLAND, Ore.—Fugitive charges against American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks were dismissed here at a July 2 hearing before a county circuit court judge.

Judge Pat Dooley, in ordering the dismissal, expressed anger that neither Gov. Robert Straub of Oregon nor Gov. Edmund Brown, Jr., of California had yet made a decision on whether Banks would be extradited to South Dakota.

Banks is wanted in South Dakota for sentencing on trumped-up riot charges. He was convicted almost a year ago and fled the state.



DENNIS BANKS: Charged with being in prison at the wrong time.

Banks says he fears for his life in South Dakota, a state where dozens of Indian activists have been murdered in the past three years. He also says he can't get fair treatment in South Dakota courts.

In addition to dismissing fugitive charges against Banks, however, Judge Dooley also ordered that a bench warrant be prepared for Banks's arrest as a result of the fact that the Indian activist was not present at the July 2 hearing. The judge also ordered that Banks forfeit the \$1,000 bail that had been posted in the case.

Banks was unable to be in Portland July 2 because he was in jail in San Francisco, unable to raise bail.

Banks is facing fugitive charges in California similar to those just dismissed in Portland.

At the July 2 hearing, the prosecution said that an agreement that would have permitted Banks to attend the Portland hearing fell through because the defense would not go along with it.

Banks's attorneys explained that they couldn't guarantee California authorities that Banks could attend San Francisco court hearings if released under the agreement.

Portland District Attorney Harl Haas is not content with stealing Banks's bail money and effectively banning him from Oregon. In addition, he is considering filing criminal charges against Banks for failure to appear at the July 2 hearing.

If criminal charges are filed against Banks he could face up to five years in prison, in addition to a contempt-of-court sentence, for failing to attend a hearing on charges that were dismissed.

The vindictiveness with which Oregon politicians are persecuting Dennis Banks indicates that—at least for the time being—the AIM leader might be safer in a San Francisco jail than anywhere in the state of Oregon.

ERA vigil in D.C.



Militant/Nancy Cole

These women, dressed in suffrage costumes, are the first contingent in a fifty-five-day national vigil at the White House. Every day a delegation of women's rights supporters will be posted at these gates to focus national attention on the Equal Rights Amendment. Four more states must ratify the ERA before the Constitution will recognize legal equality for women. The National Organization for Women patterned the vigil after the daily suffrage pickets in 1917. In June the National Education Association convention, attended by 12,000 delegates and guests, voted to endorse the vigil and other summer ERA activities. The convention resolution read, in part: 'The National Education Association supports the National Organization for Women's call for designating August 26th as Equal Rights Amendment Action Day, with pro-ERA activities taking place around the country.'

Supreme Court okays 300 executions

By Nancy Cole

Delivering a startling blow to Blacks and all working people, the Supreme Court announced July 2 its approval of the death penalty.

In a seven-to-two decision, the court turned its back on the 1972 ruling that had judged the practice of capital punishment unconstitutional arbitrary. The justices decided this time around that three of the six prisoners whose cases were under consideration should die.

The other three gained a reprieve only because the statutes under which they were convicted and sentenced did not meet the court's standards.

There is nothing inherently wrong with sentencing people to die, the highest court of the land proclaimed.

The decision means that nearly half of the 600 prisoners on death row in this country could now be executed.

NAACP fund pledges action

The response was immediate from both proponents and opponents of the death penalty. The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, which had argued against the penalty before the court, pledged to pursue additional actions to stop the executions.

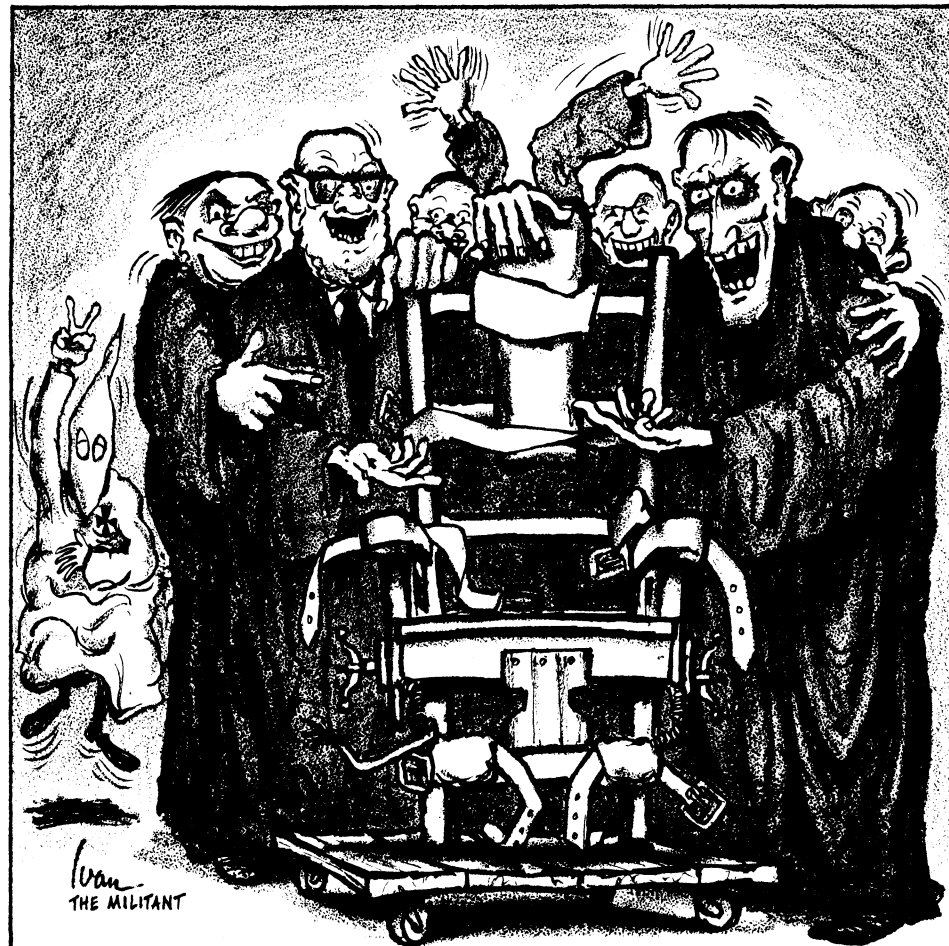
"We hope that this nation's 200th year—the bicentennial—will not after all be marked by a resumption of official electrocutions, gassings, hangings, and shootings," the fund's director-counsel, Jack Greenberg, said.

Former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg labeled the ruling "one of the worst decisions since the Dred Scott opinion [the 1857 pro-slavery decision], which marks a day of infamy in the court's history."

Georgia's Gwinnett County District Attorney Bryant Huff—who had argued in favor of Georgia's law—said that he was "ecstatic" with the decision.

Florida Gov. Reubin Askew promised to go right ahead and begin signing death warrants in that state.

The some 300 prisoners now facing death include those in Georgia, Florida, and Texas—those state laws specif-



A Bicentennial Gift from the Supreme Court

ically upheld—as well as more than 100 in states with similar laws.

Another twenty states have legislation similar to that of Louisiana and North Carolina, which the court struck down.

It is unclear how or if these nearly 300 prisoners will be resented.

1972 ruling

The last electrocution in the United States was in 1967. In 1972 the Supreme Court in a five-to-four decision found capital punishment, as

administered, a violation of the Eighth Amendment barring "cruel and unusual punishment."

The penalty was imposed in a "freakish," "arbitrary," and "capricious" manner, the justices said, and the state laws as written gave juries "unbridled discretion" in deciding the life or death question.

The National Association of Attorneys General promptly devised a way to get around the ruling: rewrite the laws imposing mandatory death sentences for certain crimes.

Thirty-five states proceeded to pass some form of the suggested legislation. Even the U.S. Congress got on the bandwagon, enacting a mandatory death sentence for airplane hijacking.

The July 2 decision declared mandatory death sentencing "unduly harsh and unworkably rigid." Since the first American revolution, the justices noted, "American jurors have, with some regularity, disregarded their oaths and refused to convict defendants where a death sentence was the automatic consequence of a guilty verdict."

Some states, however, tempered their statutes with certain qualifiers. Texas, for example, requires that three questions be answered in the affirmative before a mandatory death sentence be imposed. Was the killing unprovoked? Was it deliberate? Is there a possibility that the defendant would in the future "commit criminal acts of violence that would constitute a continuing threat to society?"

The Texas statute was upheld. And state officials are wasting no time in constructing legislation that will mirror such "acceptable" laws.

Some states that currently have no laws on the books imposing the death penalty began drawing up new legislation the same day the Supreme Court decision was released.

Maine legislator Stanley Laffin declared jubilantly, "We're going to live long enough to see capital punishment the law of the land."

Jails filled with oppressed

The jails of the United States are filled with the most exploited and oppressed. A 1974 government survey reported that 47 percent of those in

state prisons were Black, although only 11 percent of the population is Black.

Those prisoners working full-time before their arrests had a median annual income of only \$4,639.

The victims of capital punishment are even more heavily drawn from the most oppressed segments of society. Since 1930, 3,859 persons have been executed in this country. More than half—53.5 percent—were Black.

Dismissing charges of racial discrimination, the government argued in its brief submitted to the court that "although blacks are sentenced to death at an apparently high rate, they also commit a disproportionate share of the capital crimes."

In other words, contends the nation's "justice" department, Blacks get what they deserve. The concept that perhaps there is discrimination at the point of arrest, as well as in sentencing, never enters the argument.

Later the government brief states that any studies suggesting discrimination were "conducted in the South during a time when blacks were often excluded from grand and petit juries." Racial discrimination is no longer a factor, the government argues, "now that blacks sit in judgment on other blacks."

That might make a credible argument if it were true. But where were the Blacks on the all-white jury that condemned Gary Tyler to die in Louisiana? Why did no Blacks "sit in judgment" on Stanton Story as he was handed the death penalty in Pittsburgh?

'Retribution and deterrence'

In the majority opinion sanctioning death, the justices cite two purposes: "retribution and deterrence of capital crimes by prospective offenders."

They also contend that "a large proportion of American society continues to regard it as an appropriate and necessary criminal sanction."

Justice Thurgood Marshall, who along with William Brennan decided against the death penalty, took issue with this reasoning in a dissenting opinion. Arguing against the retribution claim, Marshall wrote, "It simply defies belief to suggest that the death penalty is necessary to prevent the American people from taking the law into their own hands."

Even the majority opinion was forced to admit that studies attempting to prove that capital punishment is a deterrent have been "inconclusive."

Dissenting, Marshall contended that "the American people, fully informed as to the purposes of the death penalty and its liabilities, would in my view reject it as morally unacceptable."

In arguing along these lines, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund had cited a poll published in 1974 that found 59 percent of the public in favor of capital punishment. But only 39 percent would vote guilty if they knew the defendant would be put to death.

'Law and order'

The hue and cry about "law and order," which has included demands to restore the death penalty, is aimed at diverting the attention of the American people, who face a rapidly deteriorating quality of life, from their real problems. It's the Blacks, the Puerto Ricans, the unemployed who are robbing you, declare this country's rulers. And, they continue, we need to terrorize them into good behavior with some "deterrents."

Meanwhile they hope that the real crimes—the police terror, the ravaging of the environment, the cutbacks and layoffs—will fade into the background.

Death row: majority Black



At the time of the July 2 Supreme Court ruling on capital punishment, 611 persons were on death row in thirty states, according to United Press International. Of these, 317 were Black, 15 were Chicano, 8 were Native Americans, and 1 was Puerto Rican. That adds up to 55.8 percent nonwhite.

North Carolina had the highest number with 122 prisoners sentenced to die. Only 40 were white. That state's law, along with the one in Louisiana where 47—39 Blacks—faced death, was struck down by the high court decision.

The fate of North Carolina's and Louisiana's 169 prisoners, and some 100-140 in states with similar laws, is unknown.

In the three states where the laws were upheld by the decision, 144 are on death row. That includes 73 in Florida (33 of them Black), 29 in Georgia (18 of them Black), and 42 in Texas (16 of them Black, and 5 Chicano).

Another approximate 150 prisoners still face death in states where the laws appear to meet the criteria set by the court's decision.

...socialist candidates hit ruling

Continued from page 1

The victims of this barbaric decision will be found disproportionately among Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans.

More than 600 prisoners sit on death row—56 percent of them nonwhite. An estimated 300 face execution because of the court's ruling.

Racist officials like Florida's Gov. Reubin Askew have already an-

The Militant is widely distributed among this nation's prison population. The Supreme Court decision upholding the death penalty will have its greatest impact on our readers behind bars. The Militant, in future issues, will open its pages to these prisoners by reprinting letters received in response to this barbaric ruling.

nounced their intention to sign death warrants as soon as they can be prepared.

Other states are rushing to enact laws that conform to the court's new guidelines on capital punishment.

It is a macabre race to dust off the electric chairs, in disuse now for nearly ten years.

This move by the highest court of the land must be condemned by all who support basic human rights. Yet there are politicians—candidates for the presidency of the United States—who have declined comment.

Both President Ford and Democratic contender Jimmy Carter have assumed

a stance of silence on the ruling. But their positions—as well as that of the third candidate, Republican Ronald Reagan—are a matter of public record.

It was Jimmy Carter who signed Georgia's death law as governor in 1973. The court upheld that law, giving the go-ahead for the execution of twenty-nine persons on death row in Georgia.

For whom did the pious advocate of "ethnic purity" intend the death penalty? Clearly not for criminals like My Lai mass murderer Lt. William Calley. In fact, Carter proclaimed American Fighting Men's Day in Georgia in response to Calley's 1971 conviction.

Former California Governor Reagan signed that state's law, under which fifty-seven prisoners have been sentenced to die.

While Ford has not had the opportunity to sign such a law, he has gone on record for the death penalty.

This is what the Democrats and Republicans have to offer the American people. They preach "law and order" while their secret police agencies carry out assassinations and their war machine commits mass murders.

The Supreme Court says the death penalty is necessary for "retribution." This "eye-for-an-eye" concept of justice is totally reactionary. It is lynch-mob justice.

Where is the "retribution" for the thousands of murdered Vietnamese, the Chileans, and the Attica prisoners?

The biggest criminals of all—the Henry Kissingers and Nelson Rockefeller—go scot-free.

There are two standards of justice in this country: one for the rich and one for the poor.

The Supreme Court says the death penalty is necessary as a "deterrent." But even government statistics fail to bear this out.

People are harassed, battered, and debased by a system that wants only to make a profit on their backs. Their acts of desperation will not be halted with more brutal and repressive laws. Only the alleviation of poverty, hunger, and unemployment will do that.

But while capital punishment will not serve as a deterrent, it will function as a weapon to terrorize and intimidate the people of this country, especially those who stand to suffer from it the most. It is one more warning to those who would fight for their rights and against their oppression.

The racist terrorists in Boston and Chicago, those who stone school buses and burn crosses, will take heart from the Supreme Court decision.

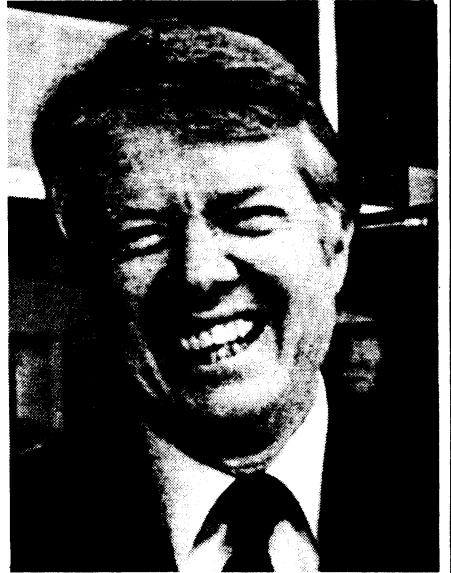
What is needed now is a massive outcry by the American people against the death penalty.

We must redouble our efforts to win freedom for victims of racist frame-ups, such as Gary Tyler, J.B. Johnson, Delbert Tibbs, Stanton Story, Ray Mendoza, and others.

The labor movement, groups and individuals from the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities, women's organizations, students, civil libertarians, and others must unite to abolish the death penalty.

We must join forces to stay the hands of the executioners.

Carter: signed death bill into law



One of the three state death penalty statutes upheld by the Supreme Court July 2 was signed into law by Jimmy Carter as governor of Georgia.

Carter has refused to comment on the Supreme Court decision validating his own murder law.

Asked about details of the death penalty statute that Carter had signed, his Atlanta campaign headquarters recommended that the Georgia government should be contacted.

There are currently twenty-nine people on death row in Georgia: eleven white and eighteen Black, including one Black woman.

Death penalty: 'A heavy blow to justice'

[The following is a sampling of reaction to the recent Supreme Court decision opening the way for states to once again use the death penalty.]

"The National Student Coalition Against Racism deplores the recent Supreme Court decision which stated that the death penalty is legal in the United States.

"Over 60 percent of the people on death row are Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and other oppressed nationalities. We see this as a direct attack on the status of Blacks in this country.

"With the Supreme Court decision in favor of the death penalty the opportunity is open for many states which have struck down this ruling to recant their decisions and come out in favor of capital punishment.

"This decision ironically comes at a time when this country is celebrating its bicentennial and 200th birthday. Just as this nation is celebrating the so-called rights of Americans to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the Supreme Court is speaking for death. For those people who face the death penalty this occasion means nothing to them except injustice, inequality, and murder.

"For Gary Tyler, a Black youth sentenced to death in Louisiana by a racist frame-up, the death penalty no longer holds at this time. However, this does not mean that Gary Tyler is free. The facts are not clear on the status of Gary Tyler or other Black brothers and sisters who are in the same situation.

"In the year of this bicentennial the

fight for justice and equality has been dealt a heavy blow. We must counter this by organizing peaceful rallies, teach-ins, and protests and continuing our fight for justice for all people in this country.

"The National Student Coalition Against Racism calls upon its chapters

to use the July 10 activity which is the day of Gary Tyler's birthday to organize protests and demonstrations for the release of Gary Tyler and show their opposition to the Supreme Court decision."—Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

'Militant' poll: Blacks say 'No!'

Seventy percent of Black respondents in a *Militant* opinion poll in New York City indicated that they are opposed to the use of the death penalty. The sharp opposition to capital punishment among Blacks reflects a recognition of the racist way the death penalty is applied.

Fifty-five percent of total respondents, Black and white, stand opposed to the death penalty, but 45 percent of the total sample of 378 persons replied affirmatively to the question "Should there be a death penalty?"

A large number of those responding affirmatively, however, did so with some hesitation, and many of them further indicated that each case should be weighed closely.

The sample involved 192 whites and 186 Blacks. It was conducted July 5 chiefly on the streets of the midtown Manhattan area.

Of those replying negatively to the question, 76 were white and 131 were Black.

Of those replying affirmatively to the question, 116 were white and 55

Black, with white women between the ages of twenty-six and forty having the largest number, 37.

Most of those who said they were against the death penalty cited moral or religious reasons. Some Blacks, however, pointed to a dual system for Blacks in the criminal justice system. Others replied that the death penalty is not a deterrent to crime.

Most who favored capital punishment expressed the belief that the death penalty is a crime deterrent. Perhaps a dozen of those responding affirmatively did so with vigor, a few indicating that the high court decision was overdue.

Negative replies included the following:

"Two wrongs don't make a right"; "The jury could be all white and stacked"; "A person could be wrongly accused"; "God should be the one to determine death, not man"; "The death penalty doesn't right wrongs"; "They just want to fry some niggers"; "Man should not put other people to death"; and "No state should take a life."

"We are opposed to it. Our belief is that there is no one unredeemable, or beyond the realm of rehabilitation. And our view is that since man cannot bring a life into the world really that he should not take a life from the world."—Rev. George Riddick of Operation PUSH, Chicago.

"I know my son is innocent. They never got their story straight at the trial and so we're waiting for the appeal. Any mother would be worried about the Supreme Court decision if her son was in the same situation as Stanton. I don't think twelve people should play twelve disciples, and I don't think nobody should play God. I think God is the judge as far as death is concerned. It hits the poor people anyway, and the poor people are the majority, and I don't think they'll go for it."—Catherine Raglin, mother of Stanton Story, a young Black man on death row in Pennsylvania, framed up for the murder of a cop.

"I view it as essentially racist. Coming from the people who are well off, the upper class, trying to repress the turmoil going on in the lower class. The people who have security in this society see the wave of resistance to unemployment, discrimination, and so forth. I figured they would restore the death penalty anyway because when a society starts losing control of their system they are going to have to reintroduce repressive measures."—Bob Anderson, a former prisoner and new member of the Socialist Workers party.

La. youth now faces life in jail

High court decision overturns Tyler death

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—Gary Tyler's life has been spared by a U.S. Supreme Court decision. But that same court decision gives a green light to the legalized murders of hundreds of other death row prisoners.

The high court's action adds historic importance to the campaign to free Gary Tyler, a seventeen-year-old Black youth convicted by an all-white jury for a murder he did not commit. His supporters plan a rally in front of the

Louisiana Supreme Court building July 24.

Louisiana legislators want to ensure that future Gary Tylers will not escape the electric chair. They are already busy drafting a new death penalty law to conform with the Florida and Georgia laws upheld by the high court.

Meanwhile, Gary Tyler's lawyer, Jack Peebles, told the *Militant* he believes the authorities will try to resentence Gary and the other Louisiana death row prisoners to life imprisonment.

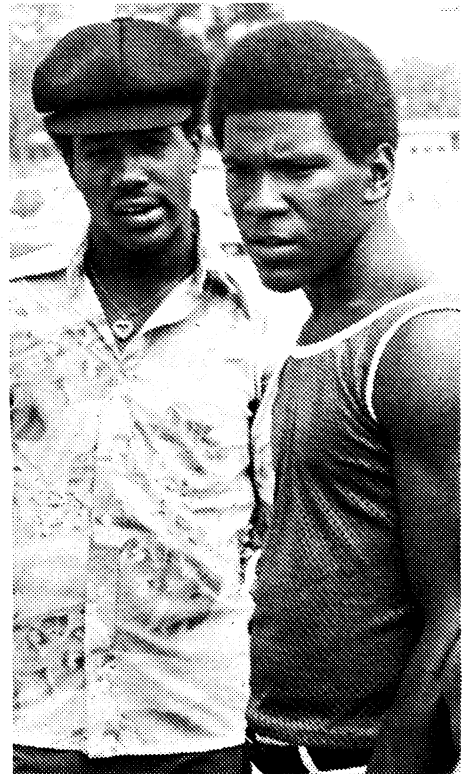
Forty-one prisoners in Louisiana had faced the electric chair prior to the Supreme Court action. All but six are Black. The majority were convicted of rape, and all of these are Black.

"I'm relieved," the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* quotes one death row prisoner. "It's a big pressure off my back. I guess it means I get to live. But now I'm gonna do a life sentence here—is that what it means? A life sentence at Angola?"

Conditions in the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola are inhumane, among the worst in the country. State officials are under federal court order to reduce the prison population at Angola and improve the sanitary conditions, but news accounts make it clear that little change has occurred.

Sixteen Angola inmates have been assassinated in the past year, allegedly by other inmates, the authorities admit. According to the New Orleans *States-Item*, the price of a hired assassin is fifty dollars at Angola. While the U.S. Supreme Court action frees Gary Tyler from the death penalty, the threat of death remains for him and every other Angola prisoner.

It is a three-hour drive from the New Orleans area to Angola. North of Baton Rouge, the road twists and turns through junglelike terrain. Along a bend of the Mississippi River, the prison sits in an isolated corner of the state surrounded by wilderness.



Militant/Joel Aber

Police campaign against Gary Tyler continues: denied visits from mother, Juanita Tyler (left). Brother Terry Tyler and hearing witness Donald Files (far right) arrested on phony charges of stealing two-dollar bill.

Gary's mother, Juanita Tyler, described to this reporter her most recent trip to visit her son. After the long drive from her home in St. Rose, prison officials told her there was a new regulation: "They said I couldn't see Gary because I'd already used up my two visits for the month."

Previously, Juanita Tyler had been visiting Gary twice a week. The authorities have also decided to prohibit visits by Gary's brothers and sisters.

The restriction of visits is the latest in a long string of incidents of harassment faced by Gary and the Tyler family. Gary Tyler has been tear gassed in his cell; put in "the hole" for twenty days for having an alleged

weapon—a spoon; charged with "defiance" because he broke his own pencil; and received threats on his life.

Almost every week recently, one of Gary's brothers or cousins is arrested by St. Charles Parish police on some petty frame-up charge.

Last week, Gary's brother, sixteen-year-old Terry Tyler, and Donald Files, a witness at Gary's hearing for a new trial, were arraigned on a burglary charge. Cops claim they stole a two-dollar bill May 16. On that date, however, Terry Tyler was not even in the state. He and his mother were in Detroit speaking for the defense of Gary. The trial for Terry Tyler and Donald Files was set for September 3.

Help free Gary Tyler

Things you can do to support Gary Tyler:

1) Come to New Orleans July 24; assemble at Duncan Plaza at 12:00 noon.

2) Sponsor a fund-raising activity or build a rally for Gary Tyler in your community or at your club, school, union, or other organization.

3) To obtain speakers you may contact Walter Collins, coordinator, Gary Tyler Defense Committee, 1610 Basin Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70112. Telephone: (504) 522-2244.

4) Contributions to the defense fund may be sent to Gary Tyler Fund, c/o Liberty Bank, 3939 Tulane Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118.

5) Write to Gary Tyler: Gary Tyler, Death Row, C-127, Angola, Louisiana 70712.

6) Send letters of protest at this injustice to Gov. Edwin Edwards or Attorney General William Guste, State Capitol, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Copies should be sent to Walter Collins at the defense committee.

7) Get prominent sponsors of the defense in your city.

'No place in civilized society'

Capital punishment and its opposition span

By Baxter Smith

A world must be turned upside down. But each tear that flows, when it could have been spared, is an accusation, and he commits a crime who with brutal inadvertency crushes a poor earthworm.—Rosa Luxemburg in "Against Capital Punishment."

Capital punishment and opposition to it span several centuries of recorded history.

The moral justification for the death penalty in most societies has been public revenge for criminal activity, and in earlier times, appeasement of the gods.

Doomed individuals have been burned alive, flogged to death, crucified, drowned, impaled, boiled in oil, cast before wild beasts, and had killer birds and insects set upon them.

Societies have designated any number of crimes as capital offenses. In the American colonies, aside from murder and the more severe crimes, hanging was prescribed if persons were found guilty of public drunkenness, being on friendly terms with the devil, stealing grapes, or being a rebellious son.

The beginnings of a reform movement against capital punishment appeared in Europe in the eighteenth century.

In the New World, Maine became the first state to end capital punishment except under the order of the governor in 1837.

The death penalty became a major issue in the 1840s in this country, with numerous prominent people taking up the cause for its abolition. Rhode Island abolished its death penalty in 1852 and Wisconsin in 1853.

The first electrocution in this country came in 1890 in New York. The event touched off a new wave of opposition to the inhuman practice, and in 1892 the federal government reduced its seventeen capital offenses to three—treason, rape, and murder.

Many states ended their death penalties in the period up to World War I. Through the twenties, thirties, and forties there were attempts to abolish the death penalty, but they drew less attention.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s public opinion here and abroad once again cried out for abolition of the death penalty. Today slightly more than one hundred countries still have death penalty statutes, but in many they are rarely or never used.

The drawing card for opposition to the death penalty in the early 1960s was the case of Caryl Chessman in California.

Chessman, convicted in 1948 of kidnapping and murder, was sentenced to die in the gas chamber. He spent eleven years on death row. His case went through seven "final" deci-

sions for execution and seven postponements.

Chessman's case was championed by students and others who marched and petitioned. Observers frequently



sentence

But "keep on keeping on" is the watchword around the Tyler home and in the defense committee office. "When I go to Angola, I try to make Gary feel good," Juanita Tyler explains. "I tell him how lucky he is to get free food and all that mail. And he laughs and tries to make me feel good." Last time she visited, Gary had received twenty letters in that day's mail from all over the country.

Gary Tyler has been in jail since October 7, 1974, when he was picked off a crowded school bus and framed up on a murder charge. He is a victim of white mob violence, a victim of racist resistance to school desegregation.

He was convicted last November of first-degree murder. The judge pronounced the mandatory sentence: "A current of electricity through your body . . . until you are dead."

After the trial, the lone witness identifying Tyler admitted she had been forced by police and prosecutors to lie under oath; she had not seen anyone fire a gun. Despite this overwhelming new evidence, the judge turned down Gary Tyler's motion for a new trial. That motion is now on appeal to the Louisiana Supreme Court, which is expected to hear it this fall.

The Gary Tyler Defense Committee is mounting a nationwide campaign to correct this miscarriage of justice. They expect a large turnout for the rally at the Louisiana Supreme Court in New Orleans July 24. Buses and cars are being organized to come to New Orleans from throughout the South.

Supporters of the defense effort believe that revulsion at the U.S. Supreme Court decision will result in new momentum for the effort to free Gary Tyler. A victory for Gary Tyler will be seen as a victory for all who oppose legal lynching and all victims of racist injustice.

centuries

cite it as one of the early protests against injustice giving rise to the radicalization of the sixties.

His execution—which could have been prevented had a misdialed phone call ordering a stay gotten through in time—touched off condemnations and protests around the globe.

In a Mexico City prison 5,000 prisoners observed a minute of silence to protest his death. In Ecuador and in other countries in Latin America, where anti-U.S. government feelings were already strong, there were student protests and bitter statements by officials.

Newspapers termed the execution an "inhumanity" and "an atrocious crime."

"The American ruling class can continue to clamor that Chessman was justly executed; mankind has formed a different verdict, and that verdict we believe will stand," wrote the *Militant* editors May 9, 1960.

A reporter once asked Chessman what had carried him through his many years on death row, and he replied:

"A fierce determination to win vindication, to do something creatively useful with my life, and to demonstrate that gas chambers and executions have no place in our civilized society."

Fight for socialist democracy in Poland sets example for E. Europe

By David Frankel
From Intercontinental Press

The Polish working class has no say in the basic economic decisions that affect it. This simple fact was graphically illustrated by the angry protests that swept Poland June 25 over increases in food prices. Even the tireless defenders of Stalinist "socialism" in the American Communist party were reduced to silence.

"Total silence" was how one correspondent described the way the strikes and demonstrations were handled in the East European media. In Poland itself, where the regime could not afford the luxury of silence, the mayor of Radom claimed that "drunken hooligans and hysterical women were the most active" in the protests. He did not explain why the government backed down if this was really the case.

But neither silence nor slander can hide the fact that the upsurge in Poland is a reflection of the overall crisis confronting the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the USSR. Viewed from this broader angle, it is particularly significant that the June 25 explosion took place in Poland.

If the disaffection of the population is so close to the surface in Poland, which has one of the more liberal regimes in Eastern Europe, what is the mood in countries like Czechoslovakia and East Germany? The fact that Soviet troops continue to occupy those countries is an indication of the Kremlin's opinion.

Since the massive upsurge in 1970 that ended Wladislaw Gomulka's career as chief of the Polish Communist party—and threatened to go even further—the Polish regime has followed a policy of placating the workers. Edward Gierek, Gomulka's successor, instituted a system of "consultation" with worker representatives, and cultivated an image of being open to suggestions from below.

Failure to communicate?

"To some analysts here," *New York Times* correspondent Raymond H. Anderson said in a June 11, 1973, dispatch from Warsaw, "the most promising aspect of the Gierek reforms is the opening of channels of complaint, permitting corrections before grievances reach the exploding point."

A similarly optimistic assessment was presented to *Times* reporter Henry Kamm. In a December 8, 1973, dispatch, Kamm reported that "an influential member of the [Polish] party's Central Committee" told him, "Gierek has established a partnership between

the party and the people. The people no longer say 'we' for themselves and 'they' for the party as in the past."

Apparently the people who burned the Communist party headquarters in Radom had not yet gotten the message.

Bureaucratic privilege

Gierek's attempt to give the Polish regime a face-lift never touched on the issue of bureaucratic privilege, and it was this issue that gave the workers' protest its explosive character. The resentment generated by the decision to raise food prices can be easily understood. The workers know that party officials and factory managers buy imported delicacies, wine, and liquors in special shops that ordinary people are excluded from. They see the bureaucrats living in fancy vacation houses and driving new cars. And then they are told that they have to sacrifice, that the needs of the economy demand higher food prices—a measure that hits the lowest paid workers the hardest.

The dissident movement in the Soviet Union has generally raised the issue of democratic rights in terms of artistic and intellectual freedom. The upsurge in Poland poses it in terms of abolishing the special privileges of the bureaucracy.

The issue of democratic rights for the masses is posed objectively in every Stalinized workers state because the political regime of bureaucratic rule is in contradiction to the optimum requirements of scientific planning.

As long as the workers are denied their right to determine economic policies through representatives of their own choice, there is no way of winning their full cooperation in carrying out the policies decided on. The alienation of workers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is reflected in low productivity of labor, high rates of absenteeism, and industrial sabotage.

The response of the bureaucrats was indicated in a November 18, 1975, Reuters dispatch from Warsaw that said: "In its war on absenteeism and job switching, Poland has introduced new penalties for state workers who go on unjustified sick leave or who walk out of their jobs."

Thus, the bureaucrats face a situation in which they cannot run the country without democracy, and in which they cannot stay in power with it. This dilemma explains the tendency of Stalinist regimes to swing back and forth between policies of repression and limited reforms.

Because of the contradiction between the parasitic role of the bureaucracy and the needs of the planned economy, bureaucratic rule is inherently unstable. A mass upsurge threatens to unseat it within days. Only Soviet tanks saved the Stalinist regimes in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Under capitalism the organization of production is in the hands of individual capitalists and corporations. This is an essential function under capitalism, but there is no economic necessity for an uncontrolled bureaucracy in a planned economy. Decisions now made by the bureaucracy could be better made in workers councils, the proletarian form of democracy, and carried out by technicians paid by the state.

Crisis hits workers states

In economic terms, the only function of the bureaucracy is to act as a brake on economic development and progress in general. This negative role has become especially burdensome because of the world economic crisis.

More than half of Poland's trade is with capitalist countries. Inflation has



Workers line up to buy food in Poland. They know that party officials buy imported delicacies in special shops that ordinary people are excluded from.

pushed Poland's bill for imports up by \$1.4 billion over the last two years, while the 1974-75 depression caused a loss of about \$1 billion in Poland's exports to the capitalist market.

Similar problems are faced by all the workers states. The Soviet Union has imported huge amounts of grain at inflated prices, and the USSR and East European regimes are also big importers of machinery and other complex technological products from the imperialist countries.

As a result, Poland is not the only workers state where the workers are being told to tighten their belts. Clyde H. Farnsworth reported in the June 29 *New York Times*:

In Czechoslovakia, what is called a "restructuring" of wholesale prices was supposed to have been introduced last Jan. 1, and is now expected to be applied at the beginning of 1977.

In Hungary, the Government has decided "in principle" on a 35 percent increase in meat prices to take effect on Sunday.

Last week, Viennese newspapers carried reports of food rationing in the Soviet Union.

The economic difficulties faced by the Stalinist regimes show that internal democracy has become more imperative than ever. Still more, the impossibility of "building socialism in one country" has received fresh confirmation.

The resistance of the Polish workers shows that gains can be won if the masses mobilize to fight for their rights. The example set by the Polish workers June 25 will be taken up by the working class elsewhere in Eastern Europe—and in the Soviet Union as well.



Edward Gierek



Poland New York Times

By Larry Seigle

The Socialist Workers party suit against the government has triggered a new round of FBI revelations and set in motion a chain of events with far-reaching consequences.

A federal grand jury has begun hearing evidence against FBI agents and officials involved in black-bag jobs since 1971. Some thirty G-men have been identified. According to newspaper accounts, hundreds may ultimately be implicated.

Although federal prosecutors are offering "street agents" immunity from prosecution in return for information nailing higher-ups, there is no way to grant them immunity from civil suits for damages.

The revelations have rendered "inoperative" FBI boss Clarence Kelley's earlier statements that the burglaries ended in 1966. Kelley's job itself is on the line, and there are indications he may be forced to resign.

Moreover, the new facts are casting a lengthening shadow of doubt on the report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, headed by Sen. Frank Church, the Idaho Democrat and onetime presidential hopeful. The latest disclosures may even force yet another congressional inquiry into the crimes carried out by the secret police against the democratic rights of the American people.

According to the *New York Times*, the current black-bag probe is "the broadest criminal investigation of the F.B.I. ever conducted."

The *Times* reported that "the legal liability of some of the street agents was 'astronomical,' one source said, because the burglaries were committed by special trained teams and some men made 'dozens' of entries. Another source said he knew of one agent who had made 60 entries, each of which could be the base for a criminal charge."

The disclosures are "beginning to give us all the shakes," said one Justice Department official. "This could go very high," an FBI source told *Newsweek*.

The *Los Angeles Times* reports that the events are "said by FBI sources to have crushed morale inside the bureau."

Good.

'Do not file' files

The crisis, according to news accounts, was set off by a search through secret files in the FBI's field offices, ordered by a federal judge in connection with the SWP suit.

Under orders from U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa, and faced with a pending motion for contempt of court filed by the socialists, Kelley sent out a teletyped order on May 13 to all field offices. He directed a search for "any documents containing information concerning surreptitious entries, break-ins, or burglaries" against the socialists.

"It is imperative that all information and documents be produced at this time," said Kelley. And he warned that "if it is subsequently determined that pertinent information has been withheld, judicial sanctions could be invoked and the FBI's credibility seriously harmed."

The SWP had specifically demanded that the FBI search include not just a review of regular files, but also the opening of the bureau's supersecret files. These included what the FBI calls the "personal folder" and the safes of the Special Agents in Charge of the fifty-nine field offices, as well as the so-called "do not file" files where sensitive information is stored outside the FBI's routine indexing.

Materials documenting illegal activities, such as burglaries, are kept in these files in the field offices. The corresponding files in the FBI headquarters in Washington contain only the information stolen as a result of these illegal spy operations, along with a phrase attributing the information to

Why socialists' lawsuit digs up FBI files Congress missed

CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT



The Church committee 'failed' to find out what it didn't want to know. And the FBI had no reason to tell the senators more than they were asking to hear.

"a highly confidential source" or some such euphemism.

This setup allows FBI officials in Washington to swear on a stack of Bibles that they have "no information in their files" on any illegal activities.

Document search

The search of the secret field office files, directed by Judge Griesa, is the first of its kind ever undertaken. Exactly what the searchers have turned up remains murky, since Justice Department officials aren't talking for the record and different "sources" have different information, judging from the news accounts.

Most of the inquiry seems to center on the New York FBI office, the bureau's largest. The *New York Times*, however, has reported that the probe will be "far wider" and already includes field offices in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Chicago.

There is also the possibility that crimes other than burglaries are being looked into. One FBI source told *New York Times* reporter John Crewdson

that the burglaries under investigation "constituted only a fraction of the extralegal activities he said had been engaged in by some F.B.I. agents, in many cases with the knowledge and approval of bureau executives."

Published reports differ on when the burglaries detailed in the new documents took place. In a written statement issued June 30, Kelley confirmed that burglaries occurred as recently as 1972 and 1973. One FBI official said that the break-ins stopped "no later than April 1973"—three months before Kelley took office.

However, *Time* magazine reports that "the last one on the list is believed to have taken place in 1974." And, according to Crewdson of the *New York Times*, "One F.B.I. source said the burglaries in some areas of the country continued up to last April."

Still another discrepancy concerns the victims of the black-bag jobs. One of the primary targets is reported to be people the FBI suspected were in

contact with members of the Weather Underground.

However, news reports differ on whether or not the SWP or the Young Socialist Alliance were targets of the recent break-ins. Some reports say no. But Associated Press correspondent Margaret Gentry, who talked with a Justice Department official who apparently has access to the burglary reports, wrote that "one target of the post-1971 burglaries was the Socialist Workers party."

If this is true, it is still more bad news for Kelley, as well as for the lawyers trying to defend the government in the SWP case. The only documents concerning burglaries of the SWP and YSA that have been produced so far concern burglaries between 1960 and 1966. These were turned over to the socialists last March along with a statement that they were the only documents "which have been located."

If any evidence existed then or has turned up since about more recent burglaries against the SWP or the YSA, it is being withheld in clear violation of court orders.

Kelley's last stand?

The affair may be Kelley's undoing. The shattering of his "plausible denial" comes just at the wrong time for a government agency desperately trying to restore credibility. *Time* concluded that Kelley "had either been misled by his colleagues or, as one of them suspected, been doublecrossed." Of course, he may just have been lying.

At a news conference in July 1975, Kelley had asserted that the FBI conducted no burglaries against domestic targets after 1966. FBI officials later testified before the Senate Intelligence Committee that they had no records of break-ins after 1968.

In last week's statement to the press, a strained attempt to defend his credibility in the face of the latest bombshell, Kelley limply claimed that when he had said there were no break-ins after 1966, "I knew of none." He said he had based his earlier denial on the "memories" of FBI officials and a 1966 memo from Hoover purportedly ordering an end to burglaries.

An indication of Kelley's problems is the decision by the Justice Department to bar FBI agents on the case from reporting their findings to Kelley or his assistants. The probe is being carried out by a team of twelve special investigators who report directly to the Justice Department, bypassing normal FBI channels.

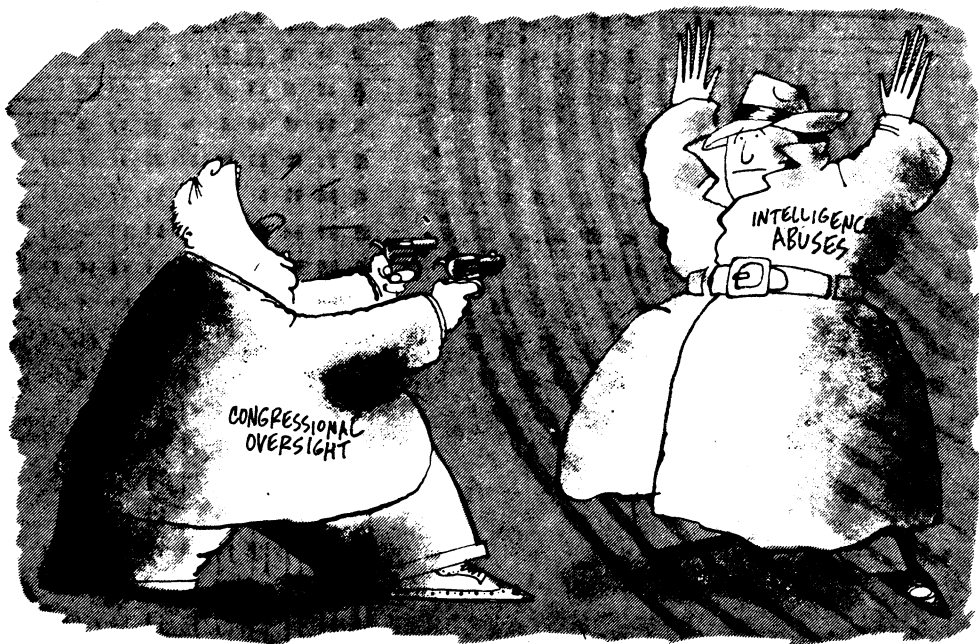
Church committee discredited

There is more than a little irony in the fact that the new disclosures came only weeks after the Senate Intelligence Committee issued its final report without turning up even a hint of these recent FBI crimes. The committee report, presented by politicians of both capitalist parties as bringing down the curtain on this unpleasant period of sagging confidence in government, is now itself being discredited.

In a June 25 editorial, the *Boston Globe* noted glumly that the new exposé broke "just when it appeared that the FBI was getting its act cleaned up in Washington. . . ."

"The disclosures are alarming, and not only because of the alleged burglaries against organizations and individuals of the New Left. . . . They cast doubt on the methods of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, which spent months investigating bureau operations but apparently never sought access to separate field office files."

The editors of the *New York Times* said that the revelations, resulting from the SWP suit, provide a "sobering lesson for Congress. The Socialist Workers Party lawsuit is prying out of the F.B.I. files information that was in



Philadelphia Inquirer/Author

'I give up!'

existence but was withheld from both of the committees expressly charged with investigating intelligence abuses."

But why is it that the Socialist Workers party has been able to unearth secrets that escaped the grasp of the entire United States Congress?

The *Los Angeles Times* summarized it this way: "The Senate committee failed to uncover evidence of the much more recent burglaries . . . because of a decision not to press the Justice Department and FBI for field office files."

"Instead, the committee relied on information in the FBI's Washington headquarters, gained primarily through interviews of all supervisors in the domestic security field."

Fishing expedition?

Staff members of the Senate committee repeatedly told representatives of the Political Rights Defense Fund, who urged them to request the field office files, that the committee didn't want to appear to be going on a "fishing expedition." The defense fund is sponsoring the suit brought by the SWP and the YSA.

Cathy Perkus of the PRDF staff told the *Militant* that the head of one of the Church committee task forces had told her, "We don't want to ask for any more than we can read through. We don't want to be buried by FBI files."

Perkus recalled that one committee staff member, an aide to Sen. Walter Mondale (D-Minn.), had even remarked that "Mondale doesn't disagree with FBI harassment of the Socialist Workers party because they harassed him while he was campaigning."

"What he meant," Perkus said, "was that socialists had asked Mondale questions at some public meetings, or had the nerve to run a candidate against him. It shows the mentality of those who carried out their investigation."

"In fact," she added, "as far as the FBI investigation was concerned, the

Church committee did very little that was new or independent. Nearly everything they looked into had already been publicly reported."

In other words, the Church committee "failed" to find out what it *didn't want to know*. And the FBI—which knew exactly what kind of an investigation the committee was conducting, what documents they were demanding, and what questions they were asking—had no reason to tell the senators more than they were asking to hear.

The FBI merely continued the decades-long policy of keeping Congress in blissful ignorance of the details of the bureau's heinous deeds.

This cozy relationship allows the hypocrites in Congress to act shocked and outraged at each new revelation. In the meantime, the FBI continues to spend the appropriations lavished on it by the members of Congress, and cooperates harmoniously with the committees supposedly supervising the secret police.

What a fraud!

Right to know

The politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties give lip service to the right of the American people to know the full truth about secret-police crimes. But their real aim is the opposite. Their investigations are tailored to give the illusion of full disclosure in order to bolster confidence in the integrity of the government and the two ruling parties.

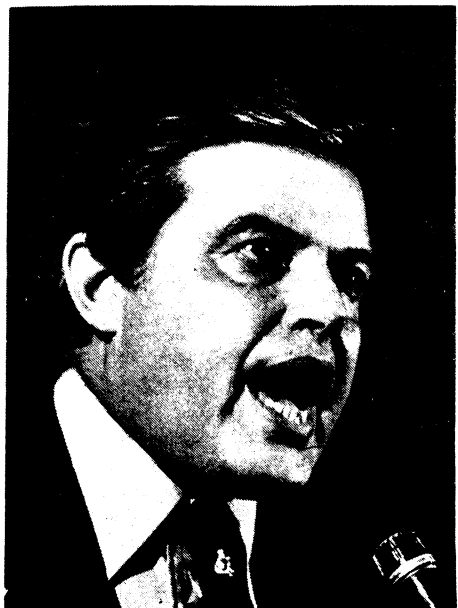
But they uncover only as much as they think they have to in order to patch up their threadbare image and eroded moral authority. Their problem is that each new stage of revelations, rather than dampening the demand for further disclosures, merely fuels the fire anew.

The Senate Watergate hearings, held in the summer of 1973, merely led to intensified demands that those responsible for crimes against the Bill of Rights be brought to justice. When Nixon was finally forced to resign in the fall of 1974, Ford proclaimed that the nation's nightmare was finally over.

But it wasn't.

Ford was soon forced to convene the Rockefeller commission to investigate illegal CIA activities. But this report, released in the fall of 1975, was thoroughly discredited soon after it was published. Now the Church committee report is losing its authority as a complete and final compilation.

As the rulers fail in each new attempt to put the lid back on the can of worms that Watergate opened, the suit filed by the SWP and YSA in July 1973 assumes greater importance and plays a bigger role. This suit is becoming a major weapon in the hands not just of the SWP and YSA, but of all those who have a stake in the fight for democratic rights and in the fight for the right of the American people to know the whole truth about the activities of the FBI and the CIA.



FRANK CHURCH: Wanted to avoid 'fishing expedition.'

G-men ask court order to gag press in lawsuit

By Diane Rupp

NEW YORK—"It strikes me that there is a very deliberate campaign here to feed information of a particularly venomous nature, personal nature, into the press," complained one lawyer for the FBI burglars in court on June 29.

Government lawyers and the private mouthpieces hired by the FBI burglars have opened a campaign to put a lid on press coverage of the Socialist Workers party lawsuit. The case against government spying and disruption is in too many newspapers, in their opinion.

Their opening shot came near the end of the June 29 hearing before Judge Thomas Griesa. William Brandt, a U.S. Attorney, asked to "just take two minutes" for "a very, very simple thing."

Brandt asked the judge to order the socialists to delay making testimony from a former FBI agent public.

Herbert Jordan, the socialists' attorney, argued that the American people have a right to know what's happening in this case, and newspapers have a right to report it. The socialists have given reporters accurate information when asked, so how could the government complain?

"There are quite serious First Amendment problems here," Jordan argued.

Brandt protested, "I don't think this is a First Amendment problem at all." The First Amendment guarantees freedom of the press. But objecting to an order limiting what can go to the press, said Brandt, "is to really blow the First Amendment out of all proportion."

The burglars' lawyers jumped in to support the government's request for a court order. John Malone, his lawyer claimed, had been called by a reporter at 3:00 a.m. and "grilled" about his work as former head of the New York FBI office.

The next day a "humiliating" story appeared in the papers about Malone's role as the one who approved the midnight break-ins against the socialists.

After the hearing, one courtroom observer commented that if the phone call did happen as the lawyer described, it may just have been a misunderstanding. The reporter probably assumed that 3:00 a.m. was a G-man's regular working hours. Most of the black-bag jobs, after all, occurred between midnight and 6:00 a.m.

The defense lawyers chose a bad time to ask for a gag order. On June 30, the very next day, the Supreme Court ruled against such restrictions

on the press. The court decided that "prior restraints on speech and publication are the most serious and the least tolerable infringement on First Amendment rights."

If their timing was bad, their arguments were even worse. The G-men are not in a good position to complain about manipulation of the press.

For a really vicious press campaign we can go back to 1961, for just one example. In October 1961, the FBI planted a story in a newspaper to smear Clarence Franklin, a Black candidate running on the SWP ticket in the New York elections.

FBI agents fed information about an old arrest record to the press to disrupt Franklin's campaign. An FBI memo urged planting the story so people would have "a lower opinion of the SWP."

Two weeks later the FBI reported that the New York *Daily News* had picked up the FBI story on Franklin. A memo bragged that the reporter had thought the story was "dynamite."

But that was in 1961. Now, in 1976, the FBI is complaining that the press is pestering them.

Brandt complained that another former FBI agent had also been called by a reporter. Brandt charged that this former G-man might suffer "embarrassment . . . annoyance or harassment."

Harassment is a serious charge. That is what the SWP lawsuit is about: a decades-long campaign to harass and—more than annoy—to destroy a political party.

The Cointelpro papers and other FBI files show what real harassment can be. They record how FBI and other government agents visited and, in some cases, sent poison-pen letters to socialists' employers and landlords.

Malone's lawyer summed up his protest, "I can't avoid the conclusion that the public interest is deliberately stimulated."

In reality, what have stirred the national concern about the government's campaign against democratic rights are the revelations that began with the Pentagon papers and Watergate, and are continuing now.

Judge Griesa concluded that there was no legal way to hush this case up.

"I think there would be serious First Amendment problems if I forbade a plaintiff here [the socialists] with respect to having discussions with the press," the judge said.

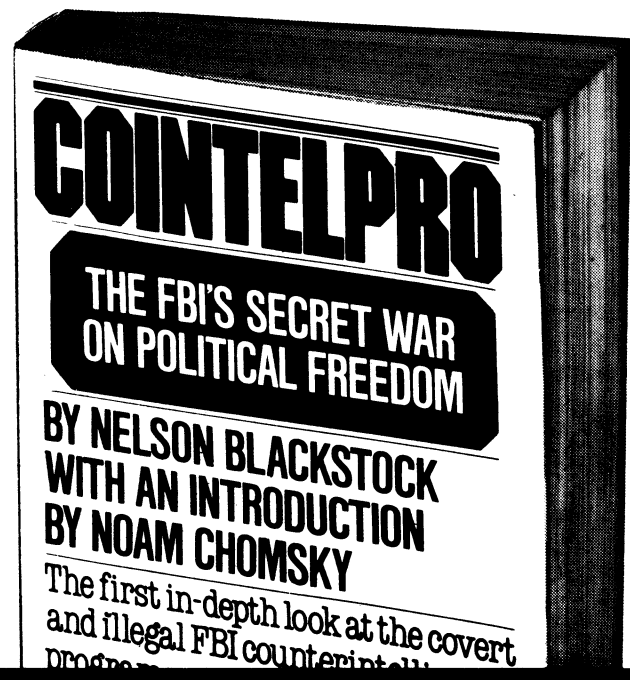
The government and FBI burglars will just have to live with the consequences of an open, public trial.

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Israeli raid

On July 4 an Israeli commando team staged an illegal raid into Uganda to rescue 103 hostages held by pro-Palestinian skyjackers. This racist swoop into Africa left twenty innocent Ugandan soldiers dead and many more wounded.

Nonetheless, the Israeli action was greeted by an outpouring of support by hypocritical defenders of Zionism.

The *New York Times* praised the "resourcefulness, determination—and guts" of the Zionist regime. President Ford expressed "great satisfaction." And the French ambassador to Israel said, "A moral victory has been won tonight, a victory over brute force."

This orgy of self-congratulation totally ignores Israel's role as the chief perpetrator of "brute force" and terrorism in the Middle East.

Israel came into existence by driving the Palestinians out of their homeland. It continues to survive with the support of Washington, and remains a warfare state constantly attacking the Palestinians.

The racist and brutal nature of Zionism has been dramatically exposed in recent months by the mass protests of Arabs inside Israel and its occupied territories. The murderous response of Israel to these protests has led to its growing isolation in world public opinion.

But the June 27 skyjacking by a small, isolated group played into the Zionists' hands by allowing them to obscure the real nature of their regime. It allowed these butchers of the Palestinian people to posture as brave and courageous rescuers of innocent hostages.

Abortion victory

On July 1, the U.S. Supreme Court reaffirmed the right of women to control their own bodies. The high court struck down state laws giving a woman's parents or husband a veto over her decision to have an abortion.

In the case of adult women, the ruling was categorical—the decision is hers. In the case of unmarried minors, the court said parents could not be given a "blanket" veto. However, the court hinted that some more limited restrictions might be approved.

Since the court's 1973 decision legalizing abortion, reactionary forces, led primarily by the Catholic church hierarchy, have sought to return to the days when thousands of women died from back-alley butcher abortions.

These self-proclaimed "right to life" hypocrites managed to pass restrictive legislation in at least twenty-six states. Now the court has given these efforts a sharp rebuff.

The decision came amid some reactionary court rulings. But in this case the Supreme Court bowed to public sentiment. Poll after poll has shown the majority of Americans support a woman's right to choose abortion.

The anti-abortionists have been set back. But they haven't gone away. They now say they're going to amend the Constitution. The majority that supports the right to abortion should be vigilant and ready to mobilize to defeat new right-wing attacks.

CP ballot slanders

Two articles in a recent issue of the Communist party newspaper the *Daily World* accuse the Socialist Workers party and other smaller parties of illegal practices in gaining ballot status. (See article on page 29.)

The *Daily World* charges that the government winks at such violations—even encourages them—because the SWP and the other parties are actually in its service.

Such irresponsible slanders have no place among those who claim to defend the interests and liberties of working people.

Minor parties must stand united in opposing the barriers to ballot status erected by the Democrats and Republicans. Accusations such as those leveled in the *Daily World* instead strengthen the hand of these politicians.

We urge *Militant* readers and all supporters of civil liberties to send letters and telegrams to the Communist party's Hall-Tyner Election Campaign Committee urging it to halt its slanders. Write to 156 Fifth Avenue, Suite 1100, New York, New York 10010, and send copies to the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Socialism—for efficiency

I noticed in the *New York Times* that Dr. Barry Commoner, the prominent ecologist, made some interesting remarks to a recent conference on "Working for Environmental and Economic Justice and Jobs."

The conference was sponsored by the United Auto Workers and more than 100 other labor, environmental, and civic organizations.

Commoner suggested the need to reorient the nation's economy away from inefficient use of both energy and capital.

According to the *New York Times*, Commoner said, "We face a big debate on how we're going to devote resources for the common good rather than for private profit. There's a whole question of inventing a new form of socialism." A.C.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Chicano history mural

More than 100 students and eight faculty members marched recently to show support for a Chicano mural at Santa Maria High School in Santa Maria, California.

The students and teachers, carrying signs and banners, chanted, "Give us our mural!" They marched during the lunch hour in the street in front of the school and through the lunch area.

All who marched agreed that it was a smashing success. As one student commented, "The last time this happened was never." To top it off, the march got local press and television coverage.

This action was the first of a general campaign by SOMOS (a Chicano student group) to force the school board to allow the mural to be painted on the electronics building.

At a meeting on May 10, the white, upper-middle-class school board decided that the mural could be painted on a piece of plywood and hung up. It could then be moved to the library if there were any "complaints" by the "community."

The reply by SOMOS was a definite "No!" It was decided to launch a school and community campaign to show that the real "community"—the thousands of Chicanos, students, and working people—supported the mural.

To the Chicano and white students involved, the racist power structure of capitalist America is really being exposed, and methods of fighting back are being explored.

At a recent SOMOS meeting, someone asked how racism can be overcome. A member answered, "By doing just what we're doing—getting Chicano and white students working together in these kinds of campaigns." Dale Bretches

Santa Maria, California

The 'Militant' and China

I have read your paper, the *Militant*, for quite a while now and I have greatly enjoyed the articles. But when it comes to China, it seems as if you have no education at all.

China's position of uniting against Moscow is the only sound thing to do. The Soviet presence in Eastern Europe is all too well known.

Soviet fishing fleets rape the fishing grounds all around the world and recent victories in Angola are merely a foothold. Soviet policy is to gain as many military and economic bases as possible.

To give a good example of China's

position, here is a quote by Hua Kuo-Feng, from the May 14 issue of *Peking Review*. "At present, the international situation is developing in a direction most favorable to the people of all countries but unfavorable to imperialism and hegemonism."

"The third world countries and peoples, strengthening their unity and supporting each other, have scored one victory after the other in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism and are playing an even greater role in international affairs."

"Their [imperialists and hegemonists] intensified global rivalry for spheres of influence and world hegemony is the cause of world intranquillity. But no matter how desperately they may struggle, they will not escape their ultimate doom. The people are the masters of history."

Gregory Worley

Wilsons Mills, North Carolina

Sold out in Toledo

While I was selling the *Militant* at a supermarket in a predominantly Black neighborhood, one *Militant* buyer commented, "You know, you're right about all this, but nobody cares anymore—I mean, look, how long have you been out here selling?"

"Oh, about twenty minutes."

"And how many have you sold?"

"Seven."

"Yeah?—WOW!"

A few minutes later something else happened that showed that the political consciousness in America is not as low as some think.

Three patrol cars and a paddy wagon screeched into the parking lot, surrounding a parked car occupied by one young Black man.

Several white cops piled out, ran up to the car, drawing their guns and yelling, "Get out of the way, lady!"

They cocked their weapons, obviously overly prepared to take any "necessary" action against this "potentially dangerous man."

The cops ordered the man from his car, only to discover a toy gun—probably belonging to his son, who was in the store shopping with his mother.

The cops began laughing as several onlookers commented: "I don't see anything funny about that shit." "You can bet if that dude's got one little traffic violation, they'll pull him in on it." "Yeah, that's why them coppers got his license plate number."

We left, though people were still requesting copies of the *Militant*, because we had run out of copies in a little over half an hour!

S.A. Skinner

Toledo, Ohio

Panthers endorse Democrats

The June 5, 1976, *Black Panther* newspaper contains the recommendations of the Black Panther party for the June 8 California elections.

They endorsed all Democratic politicians, including Gov. Edmund Brown, Jr., for president, whom they approvingly describe as "a fresh change upon the national political scene . . . able to re-evaluate failing governmental solutions to today's rampant social ills," and other such drivel.

It amazes me that these Panther-Democrats would even have the nerve to try to foist this "racist pig" on Black people nationally.

How can they justify, as self-

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



St. Paul AFSCME strike

[The following guest column is by Peter Seidman.]

This year the mayor of St. Paul, Minnesota, got a wage increase of \$1.08 per hour. And members of St. Paul's city council got a pay boost of \$.71 per hour.

But when approximately 1,000 city clerks, technical workers, and librarians in St. Paul demanded pay increases of \$.34 per hour so they could keep up with inflation, the city "fathers" had a familiar answer: "There's no money."

And so the mostly female members of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Locals 2508, 844, and 1842 found themselves the object of the same kind of attack on public workers that is taking place throughout the land.

The city hoped that it could quickly defeat the demands by its technical employees and staff. By defeating the "little people," the behind-the-scenes workers who actually make the city run, the city hoped to pave the way for even deeper attacks on other employees.

So when AFSCME's contract expired at the end of 1975, the city stalled for almost six months.

In negotiations, the city refused demands by AFSCME for salary and benefit increases comparable to those granted other municipal employees. It opposed even wage increases that would keep up with inflation. It proposed terms that would lengthen the workweek and make city employees absorb more of the cost of health and insurance plans.

The city clearly did this because it wanted to force St. Paul's relatively inexperienced AFSCME locals into a strike. (The clerks have been organized for only a little more than two years, the technicians for just a year and a half.) It hoped to break the new unions, rather than take advantage of a law that permits the city to prevent a strike by submitting disputed issues to binding arbitration.

Mayor Lawrence Cohen, like so many other Democratic party "friends of labor," helped set the tone for the city's anti-union drive when he explained his refusal to go to arbitration: "They thought that since they had endorsed me for office, I should give them the keys to the city treasury."

On May 26, Locals 2508, 844, and 1842 hit the bricks. An estimated 880 workers did not report to work and another 300 city employees honored their picket line. This was the first major municipal workers' strike in St. Paul since 1946.

The strike was militant and effective. For the first time in St. Paul's history, the city clerk's office was closed. Supervisors and "foremen" had to answer the phones. Because there were no typists, all memos were handwritten. Street cleaning and patching slowed down. Five of the city's thirteen trash collection trucks stopped operating. The zoo closed, as did all the branch libraries and dental health clinics.

The city responded by threatening to fire other municipal workers who honored the strike. But in St. Paul, the union movement stuck together—unlike New York and San Francisco—in meeting the bosses' offensive.

On May 26, ten unions filed for an injunction to prevent authorities from carrying out these unfair labor practices.

Finally, on May 28, the city began to back down. Mayor-elect George Latimer entered into serious negotiations with the striking workers for the first time.

On June 1, the unions ratified an agreement that resulted from these talks. They won a two-year contract that provided a 7 percent pay increase the first year and a 5 percent increase the second. They forced the city to maintain previous levels of health and insurance coverage. And they won a partial victory by getting fifteen minutes of a forty-five-minute lunch hour paid by the city.

For the moment, St. Paul's antilabor offensive has stumbled.

One union activist told the *Militant* that the settlement wasn't as good as she had hoped for. But, she explained, when you saw the sentiment of the workers at the meeting that voted on the settlement, you understood there was something more involved: "When you haven't had a union at all for years—when there has been no one to get anything for you, no grievance procedure, no raises or promotions for years on end, you don't expect to get everything all at once. This is just a beginning; we made waves!"

proclaimed "people's revolutionaries," not supporting Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid (the Socialist Workers candidates for president and vice-president) and picking Democrats over them?

Camejo and Reid have a real program to change "failing governmental ills," and really represent a "fresh change upon the national political scene"—not some reworded politico like Edmund Brown, Jr.

It just goes to show you the level of sectarianism in the American radical movement when one supposed "revolutionary" organization can endorse a capitalist candidate and refuse and condemn a true working-class candidate.

Or to put it this way: What is the difference between a Panther-Democrat and a Communist party-Democrat? I'd like to know!

A prisoner
Georgia

The payoff

New York City's financial guardian, the Municipal Assistance Corporation, has itself spent more than \$4.7 million in the course of "saving" the city from bankruptcy.

The June 14 New York *Daily News* pointed out an interesting item in Big Mac's expense ledger: "The legal fees went to nine firms, the largest share, \$1,207,592, going to the Park Ave. firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison.

"Former Federal Judge Simon Rifkind, a partner in the firm, was one of the four architects of Big Mac." Virginia Scott
Maplewood, New Jersey

Sexploitation in ads

Women Against Violence Against Women, a coalition of feminist groups and supporters, staged an early-morning picket line on the Sunset Strip June 22, protesting a billboard advertising the Rolling Stones' latest album, *Black and Blue*.

The billboard is part of Atlantic Records' promotional campaign depicting a woman strung up by her hands and spread-eagled, with bruises all over her body and her clothes in shreds. In between her legs is the Stones' album with the caption, "I'm black and blue from the Rolling Stones and I love it."

After a week of negotiations and protest, Atlantic Records authorized removal of the billboard a few hours prior to the scheduled demonstration.

Women Against Violence say they will continue to protest the ad, which is being used in national magazines and displays. They are demanding an end to the promotional technique that exploits violence against women to sell records and they are demanding an apology from Atlantic Records.

Sally Frumkin
Los Angeles, California

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

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



'You'd like the FBI'

MEMPHIS—Encamped among career opportunity and display booths sponsored by American Airlines, Pepsi-Cola, Kodak, the Office of Revenue Sharing, and others, was one festooned with pictures of white men in black baseball caps taking aim with guns at silhouette targets of human beings.

Two Black men staffing the booth had broken out career opportunity pamphlets and they served up a recruitment spiel as if they were serving up the gospel.

"You'd like the FBI," one told a participant at the June 28-July 2 NAACP convention. "We've changed our image."

Front-page stories in April disclosed that the FBI had kept the NAACP under a surveillance and disruption program for twenty-five years. But when one of the agents was asked about this, the seven danger signs of cancer couldn't have brought more alarm.

"Wha—where'd you hear that?" he Nervous Nellied. "That's a lie. We never spied on the NAACP."

The questioner, in all honesty, had the bureau's number, and was bending Scout's Honor as a gag.

"Some guy told me he read about it in the papers. He sounded like he was against the FBI."

"No. Not the NAACP," the agent insisted.

"Sure, we spied on the Black Panthers and SCLC, but the media is lying," the agent claimed, sticking to his guns. "Some of the things we did were wrong, and

Director Kelley has apologized for the abuses. We have to keep up with what is going on because we're out here in the public eye, and if anything like that had happened I would know about it. Besides, the NAACP invited us here."

When asked why the FBI had spied on the Panthers and SCLC, the agent, who wore a big Afro hairdo, said: "We can't let Black militants tell us what to do. So we have to spy on them. All over. . . ."

He paused, catching his error, then quickly added, "But we just do it here. The CIA spies overseas."

The CIA, as it turned out, also had a booth set up for minority recruitment. But a cursory search on the opening day by some delegates failed to turn it up, and there was snide and groundless speculation that CIA was doubling at the Lockheed and Peace Corps booths.

Eventually, though, the booth was sniffed out. It had no pictures of derring-do agents risking their lives in training to defend human rights, and the two Black agents who worked it were cagey and declined to answer probing questions.

A large photograph of a portion of Cuba, taken from a high-altitude spy plane, graced the CIA booth. One of the agents asserted that it was taken during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. A conventioneer, however, demurred and suggested that perhaps it was taken the day before.

(Next week's *Militant* will contain full coverage of the NAACP convention.)

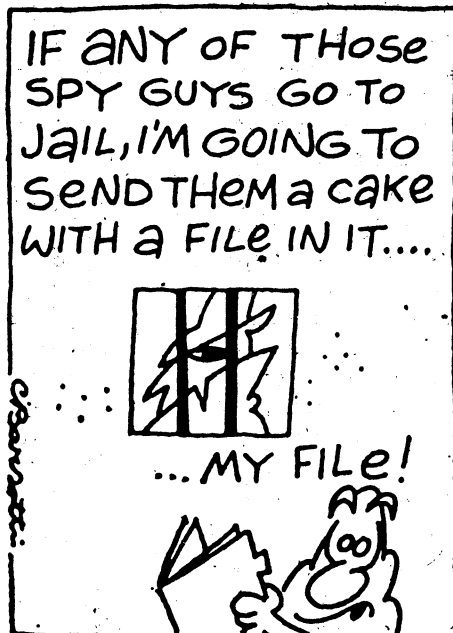
The Great Society

Harry Ring



Sorry about that—"BALTIMORE (AP)—The provincial general of the Pallotine Fathers has issued a public apology for the Roman Catholic order's recent balance sheet: \$20,431,344 received in contributions; \$1,084,526 spent on missionary work. 'We readily admit that serious mistakes and judgmental errors have been made,' the Very Rev. Domenick T. Graziadio said. . . ."

All that glitters . . .—Fifty million Americans are walking around with radioactive false teeth. For forty years uranium has been mixed in with porcelain to give false teeth "luster." Plain porcelain lacks good color in the ultraviolet light of a discotheque or under the mercury vapor lamps of a parking lot, a Food and Drug Administration official explained. The agency



said it's really not harmful but they are considering a reduction in the amount of uranium used.

Touching all bases—In an apparent bid to a new constituency, Jimmy Carter, the first presidential nominee to be born twice, confirmed that about a year before he became governor of Georgia he had the experience of seeing a UFO.

Daleygas—Some Chicagoans will be getting methane gas processed from cow manure. It's provided by an Oklahoma company called Calorific Recovery Anerobic Process, or, for short, CRAP.

Sounds subversive—Arguing in favor of a third water supply tunnel in New York, an editorial in *Engineering*

News-Record, a construction industry journal, suggests that the federal government do the job, adding: "Perhaps it could get the Central Intelligence Agency, specialists in underground activities, to work out some way to help finance the project. Best part . . . is that no one would know we had spent the money, because such an underground operation would doubtlessly be highly classified."

No security clearance—Unlike Nixon, Ford permitted photographers to snap him arriving and departing the White House via helicopter. This was discontinued when there were too many shots of the president bumping his head in the copter doorway and getting his feet tangled in his dogs' leashes.

Women in Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



Schlafly: All shook up

Phyllis Schlafly is furious. So furious that when she sat down to pound out the June issue of her antifeminist rag, the *Phyllis Schlafly Report*, she couldn't restrain herself. She had to let loose with a reactionary tirade.

What set her off? "On Sunday, May 16 the proponents of the Equal Rights Amendment had their biggest demonstration in history," she laments.

With a little shrewd calculating, Schlafly manages to whittle her estimate of the crowd down to 3,500. (I estimated there were 8,000 at least.) But even 3,500 is not quite low enough to save face for STOP ERA, Schlafly's outfit, which mustered only 400 demonstrators in a countermobilization in Springfield on April 27.

Well, if you can't outmobilize your opponents, try red-baiting, lesbian-baiting, and anything else you think might help discredit them and confuse people about their goals.

So, Schlafly's June *Report* is titled "The Pictures the Press Didn't Print"—three pages of photos of

May 16 demonstrators, with such banners as: Coalition of Atlanta Public Employees; Feminist Alliance, Urbana, Illinois; Louisville Young Socialist Alliance; Lesbians Support the ERA; and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

"Look for yourself at the pictures. . .," shrieks Schlafly. "See for yourself the unkempt, the lesbians, the radicals, the Socialists, and the government employees who are trying to amend our U.S. Constitution to force us to conform to their demands."

"Even these pictures don't tell it all, however, because they don't reveal the obscene language and the foul four-letter words that are part of the everyday language of the women's lib movement."

You know, four-letter words like "equal rights."

Schlafly singled out the National Organization for Women (NOW), which sponsored May 16. In case her readers aren't aware of the many "un-American" things NOW supports, she tells them in her own inimitable style:

"NOW is for abortion. . . ."

"NOW is for taxpayer-financed state kiddy-care centers for all children."

"NOW is for prolesbian legislation so that perverses will be given the same legal rights as husbands and wives. . . ."

How outrageous!

Schlafly's vicious attitude toward public employees is worthy of special note. Her remarks are right in tune with the escalating attacks on municipal unions by the Ford administration, city governments, and now the U.S. Supreme Court.

We have news for Schlafly. On future actions for the ERA, we're going to do everything possible to get more union banners and bigger labor contingents there. And more NOW members, socialists, students, Blacks, lesbians, and others who stand up for social justice in this country.

May 16 showed that a united effort by all who support the ERA is the best way to keep up the pressure on those who are still denying us our rights.

The American Way of Life

Custer had it coming

There's been a lot of hoopla about historical dates this bicentennial year. But there has been only one really worth celebrating, from the point of view of Indian peoples.

That's June 25. It's the centennial anniversary of the day the Indians rubbed out a column of invading U.S. troops under the command of Pahuska—Sioux word for Long Hair—a man also known as Gen. George Armstrong Custer.

By coincidence, I had been thinking about writing something on this when I went home one night and saw in *TV Guide* that "They Died With Their Boots On" would be played on the late show of a New York station. That's the 1941 Errol Flynn rendition of the way it was with Custer.

Flynn played a noble, heroic man of honor, who fights the Confederacy, Indians, Washington bureaucrats, and big business alike. Pahuska, according to the film, was the Indians' One True Friend. He gets the Great White Father to give the Sioux a great big hunk of land in a treaty, including Paha Sapa, the sacred Black Hills.

When thieving businessmen come along and try

to steal the Black Hills, Custer resists, losing his command for his efforts. Custer then goes to Washington. After a heart-to-heart talk with President Grant he is allowed to return to his beloved Seventh Cavalry and die with them in battle.

The night before Custer's Last Stand, he sends back a letter exposing how a big business-Bureau of Indian Affairs conspiracy has brought on the bloody war. The BIA gets purged, the company gets dismantled, the Sioux get their land.

But that's not how it was.

One thing they left out was the Washita Massacre, where—to the tune of "Garry Owen"—Custer led the Seventh Cavalry in butchering 103 human beings, peaceful Southern Cheyennes who were not at war with the government.

Another thing was left out. It was Custer who led the Seventh Cavalry in the invasion of Paha Sapa and made the Thieves' Road through which white settlers came into the Indians' country, in violation of an 1868 treaty.

Another is that the whites' land-grabbing has never stopped. It goes on to this day.

So the movie is kind of like making a flick about how much Hitler loved Jews and put them in nice camps to save them from racist pogroms. The gas ovens were just a tragic misunderstanding.

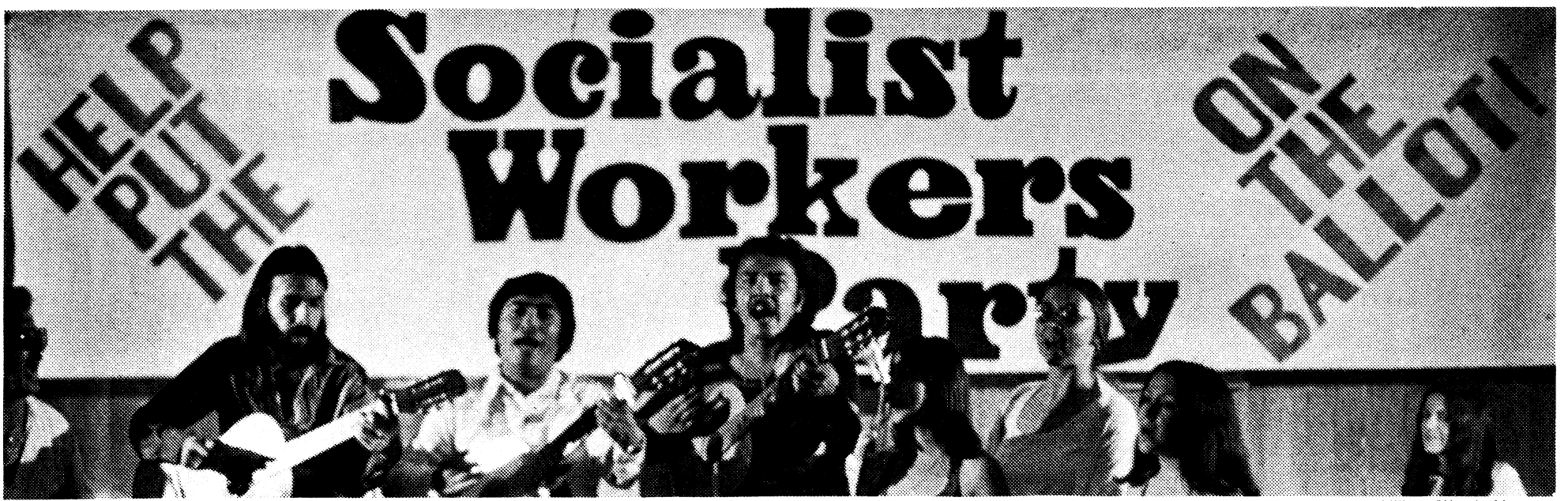
At the Custer Battlefield National Monument in Montana the National Park Service conducted a low-key memorial on June 24 this year.

Some in the mainly white audience were audibly apprehensive when they saw a band of about 150 Indians approaching led by Russell Means, the American Indian Movement leader. They had come to protest the exclusion of Indians from the official program, and the naming of the memorial after the hated Custer. "I couldn't imagine a Lieutenant Calley National Monument in Vietnam," Means said.

The Indians then held a victory dance around the "last stand" marker. The victory song, sung in the native language of the Sioux, was "Custer Died for Your Sins."

Reporters said some of the cars in which the Indians were traveling bore the bumper sticker "Custer had it coming."

—José Pérez



Militant/Wendy Mascaro

325 socialists rallied in San Francisco on night before Los Angeles meeting. Lucha y Paz, a Chicano musical group, performed at opening of Bay Area rally.

CALIFORNIA BALLOT DRIVE

'Historic occasion for socialists'

[The Socialist Workers party held a rally in Los Angeles June 25 to launch its drive to secure the 100,000 petition signatures necessary to place its presidential ticket on the California state ballot. A collection at the rally netted more than \$5,000 to finance the drive.

[Sherry Smith made the appeal for funds. Now active in the Los Angeles SWP, she was the party's candidate for governor of Texas in 1974. The following is an abridged version of her remarks.]

It's an historic occasion for the socialist movement tonight. Socialists are meeting together to map out a battle plan to win a place on the California ballot.

It's not that we haven't wanted to do it before. But there's something new in 1976. We're in the opening stage of an upsurge of radical activity in this country. And there's a tremendous openness to our ideas—our radical solution to the crisis created by this outmoded, decaying, corrupt system.

What's new is that we are gaining the power through our growing numbers to do the job. We look around this country, around this state, around this room—and we think the prospects for socialism look pretty good!

Eugene Debs was a mighty socialist of the early movement. He and those who stood with him found hundreds of thousands of socialist voters in this country. They found them in the daily struggles of the oppressed and exploited—and through their socialist election campaigns, just as we do today.

Masses of people were won to socialism because the socialists were on the ballot in so many places—challenging

the capitalists and their twin parties on the question of who should rule. And that's just what we're going to do.

I don't know exactly what the socialists of Debs's day had to do to get on the ballot. I do know that since that time, the Democrats and Republicans have done all they can—by hook or crook, and mostly by crook—to try to keep socialists off the ballot. They have passed restrictive ballot laws like the one in California, and they have used the FBI and CIA to do the seamier "black bag" work.

Well, neither the FBI, nor the CIA, nor reactionary election laws are going to stop us! We're going to fight, and we're going to win.

We're going to give California's 7



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

SMITH: 'It's worth a lot to us here in California to be able to vote socialist for the first time in forty years.'

million voters the opportunity—probably the first in their lives for most of them—to vote socialist.

We joined together with La Raza Unida party, the Peace and Freedom party, and others to challenge the law requiring 300,000 signatures to get on the ballot here.

We won a partial victory when our pressure resulted in the legislature lowering the requirement from 300,000 signatures to 100,000. That figure's still not low enough. We're going to keep on fighting this undemocratic law. And in the meantime we're going to beat their game. We're going to collect the 100,000 signatures—and more—to put Camejo and Reid and our senatorial candidate, Omari Musa, on the California ballot.

How are we going to do this enormous job? We can only do it with the help of everyone here. Our battle plan calls for launching this effort July 10 with everyone we can get out in the streets. And I mean everyone. We're going to keep at it—come hell or high water—until the job is done.

We socialists demand a lot of ourselves. And we ask little in return, in the ordinary sense. Being a socialist is not, so to speak, a paying business. But it's a job that's worth doing. That's because it's about building the future.

Our ballot fight is a fight to win a hearing for socialists who are for busing and Black rights, for bilingual-bicultural education, for passage and enforcement of the Equal Rights Amendment, for the farm workers, for a "Bill of Rights for Working People," for socialism.

And our cause is something more. Each of us who gives to the socialist movement receives something far greater and far better than we can ever

contribute.

We can only give our time, our effort, our material means. But the movement gives us a cause greater than any of us. It gives us a warrant for living in a world of poverty, disease, hunger, war, racism, and sexism. Being a socialist is like carrying a passport to the future. And that passport is inscribed with the names of all humanity.

Are we socialists because we're smarter than other people? I don't think so. We all became socialists the same way—because others before us explained, in speeches, books, and pamphlets, and we learned from them. That means we socialists can teach others. In fact, we have an obligation to do that. Who will speak for socialism if we don't? As Debs used to say, you can't do it by proxy.

While we don't underestimate the obstacles placed in our way, we are going to win our ballot fight. And in the process we're going to talk socialism to hundreds of thousands of people in this state. And we're going to distribute hundreds of thousands of pieces of socialist literature.

When we're through, millions of people will know there are socialists in California. People will want to know more about what we stand for. Many will join our ranks.

We have to raise a lot of money to do the job. How can we be so confident we'll do it? Because we know this: All people pay for their ideas what they think they're worth. And we think our ideas are the most important in this world, that they represent the future of humanity. That's why even if we have to pay a high price for our ideas, we do it without complaint.

And it's worth a lot to us here in California to be able to vote socialist for the first time in forty years.

Minor parties fight unfair Michigan election law

By Ron Jamgochian

DETROIT—Hearings were held here June 29 on a suit against the state of Michigan for attempting to keep minority parties off the ballot. The suit was filed in federal district court by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), representing the Socialist Workers and Communist parties as well as the Socialist Labor, Communist Labor, and Human Rights parties.

Last spring, Michigan passed a new and extremely restrictive election law requiring minority parties to participate in a state-organized

primary. This law threatens to ban most parties from the ballot in November. Every party in the state besides the Democrats and Republicans is contesting it.

ACLU attorney Ronald Reosti made his final arguments in the case June 29. Expert testimony was given by Dr. Warren Miller of the Institute for Social Research in Ann Arbor. Dr. Miller argued that since primaries are overwhelmingly used by the Democratic and Republican parties, requiring approval in a primary for a minority party could not reflect that party's support among the electorate.

Once this rationale for the law was questioned, the Michigan director of elections admitted that the purpose of the law was specifically to limit the number of parties that voters could choose from. In its closing arguments the state tried to justify the new law as an *experiment* with the constitutional rights of political parties.

It argued that even if parties were banned from elections for several years this would not have any constitutionally harmful effects. So much for constitutional rights in the bicentennial year!

Meanwhile, in a further attack on

the ballot rights of minority political parties, Michigan's board of canvassers disqualified the petitions submitted by the Communist party. This would rule out a place for the CP on the ballot.

Tom Dennis, Michigan CP state chairperson, said that there was no way that the state could have actually checked all the signatures the CP submitted. He called the state's move politically motivated and said that it occurred after the legally designated time limit for challenging nominating petitions. The CP says it is challenging this ruling in court.

Campaigning for Socialism

CAMPAIGNING IN BAYOU COUNTRY: "Help put the socialists on the ballot" was the theme of a meeting in New Orleans June 18 to launch a statewide Louisiana petitioning drive for the presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

Suzanne Weiss of the New Orleans Socialist Workers campaign committee reports that many rally participants turned up the next morning to canvass for signatures.

Speaking at the meeting, Minerva Foster, a leader of the Gary Tyler Defense Committee in New Orleans, described some of the injustices against young Blacks in Louisiana. "Unless we get out there, this world is going to be so bad that you won't be able to stay in it," she said.

Foster said that she for one is "100 percent behind" Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. "I'm more than sure we are going to do the best we can down here in New Orleans to make the petitioning successful," she said.

As the ballot drive heated up, so did the Louisiana weather. On Saturday, July 3—the final day of petitioning—the thermometer hit ninety-five degrees. Nonetheless, well over the required 1,000 signatures were collected during the drive.

ILLINOIS SOCIALISTS HIT THE STREETS: Illinois petitioners for Camejo, Reid, and the statewide Socialist Workers party slate are racking up impressive totals in their drive to collect the required 25,000 signatures.



PULLEY: Blasts Ford's support to apartheid regime and antibusing bigots.

Petitioners are also gathering well over the 4,500 needed to qualify Andrew Pulley for his race in the First Congressional District on Chicago's South Side.

Joyce Stoller, a member of a full-time Illinois petitioning team, has obtained 3,500 signatures alone, according to *Militant* correspondent Tom O'Brien. During a recent Saturday petitioning blitz at a shopping center in the Black community, two petitioners topped 400 signatures each, followed by a third petitioner who turned in 300.

With the drive more than half completed, more than 25,000 signatures have been collected for the state ticket and more than 4,000 for Pulley. The Illinois socialists will file thousands of signatures above the state requirements to help ensure their ballot status.

At a June 26 rally to celebrate the drive's halfway point, Pulley saluted the struggle of South African Blacks against apartheid.

He attacked the racism of the Ford administration, which backs both the white-supremacist Vorster regime in South Africa and antibusing bigots in Boston. The government's policies, Pulley said, encourage the Nazis, who have been carrying out attacks against Black people in Chicago's Marquette Park neighborhood.

The rally was also addressed by George Novack, noted Marxist philosopher and historian, who spoke on "Reform and Revolution in American History."

HOOSIER SOCIALISTS FIGHT FOR BALLOT RIGHTS: Fanning out to street corners and shopping center parking lots in Indianapolis, Gary, Bloomington, Ft. Wayne, and other cities, dozens of Indiana socialist campaign supporters are spending their Saturdays in an effort to gather well over the 8,000 signatures needed by state law to qualify Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid for the November ballot.

By early July the petitioning drive had netted 8,500 signatures.

In 1974 Greg Peterson, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, was undemocratically excluded from the ballot, even though his supporters had collected well above the signature requirement. Peterson was the only Black candidate in the race.

Ann Owens, statewide chairperson of the SWP campaign, told the *Militant*, "The response to our drive to get on the ballot has been overwhelmingly positive, particularly in the Black

communities of Gary and Indianapolis.

"Many people there are familiar with Willie Mae Reid's campaign," Owens said, "and as a result of the petitioning, the SWP is becoming a more visible part of Indiana politics."

RHODE ISLAND BALLOT DRIVE: According to Annette Gagne, Rhode Island petitioners found participants in the June 26 Gay Pride demonstration in Providence very willing to sign for Socialist Workers party candidates. So much so that several times four or five persons at a time were lined up to sign the petitions and pick up a copy of the SWP's platform, the "Bill of Rights for Working People."

Attempts by Providence cops to intimidate the petitioners were rebuffed. The police had originally said that in order to petition in Providence's Westminister Mall the socialists would have to turn in the names and photographs of all petitioners.

On the advice of an American Civil Liberties Union attorney the petitioners carried out a test day of gathering signatures at the mall. No resistance was offered by the local gendarmerie.

CANVASSING IN THE BADGER STATE: Ten thousand signatures, the maximum permitted by state law, have been collected and will soon be filed in Wisconsin for the SWP's presidential slate and for Robert Schwarz, socialist candidate for U.S. Senate.

The SWP petitioners recently had a successful day of campaigning and signature gathering at a commemoration of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation sponsored by the United Black Community Council and other Milwaukee Black groups.

PUTTING SOCIALISTS ON MINNESOTA BALLOT: The petitioning drive of the Socialist Workers party in Minnesota will begin this month. "This is the biggest ballot drive we've ever launched," Bill Peterson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, told the *Militant*. "But our movement is bigger than ever, with more people supporting our socialist campaign."

The Minnesota socialists plan to qualify eight candidates by collecting 7,500 signatures.

Campaign supporters will petition daily in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, and other cities. "And we'll be going door to door to bring our campaign into the neighborhoods," reports Jim Carson, candidate for state senate.

"People in these cities should expect to be seeing a lot of us during the next two weeks."

NEW MEXICO SWP CONVENTION: The June 13 convention of the New Mexico Socialist Workers party heard speeches by Ruth Getts, southwest coordinator of the Camejo-Reid campaign, and by Juan José Peña,



La Voz del Pueblo

PENA: La Raza Unida leader spoke at New Mexico Socialist Workers party convention.

chairperson of the New Mexico Raza Unida party. The Raza Unida party has voted to endorse the SWP presidential ticket.

The convention was called to nominate presidential electors for Camejo and Reid. Both Getts and Peña were interviewed by Channel 13, a local New Mexico television station. After the well-publicized convention, several people called the secretary of state's office asking how to get in touch with the SWP.

PETER CAMEJO SPEAKS: "The Profit System: Root of America's Crisis" is the title of a new four-page tabloid issued by the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. It contains a speech by Camejo given last December at the University of Chicago.

Copies of this new socialist campaign material can be ordered from the committee by writing: 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. The cost is three cents each, or two cents each for orders of more than 500.

—Lucy Burton

Socialist campaign fund tops \$15,000 target

By Andrea Morell, director, 1976 campaign committee

The Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund has shot over its new goal of \$15,000.

Originally launched April 9, the fund drive had an initial goal of \$10,000. The deadline was June 30.

The enthusiastic response enabled us

Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund

to meet our goal more than three weeks ahead of schedule. So we set a new target of \$15,000. And when June 30 rolled around, we had made it. We had even gone over the top by \$1,000!

During the week leading up to June 30, campaign supporters sent in the largest amount during any single week in the entire drive. We received \$2,574 in donations.

This victory was made possible by

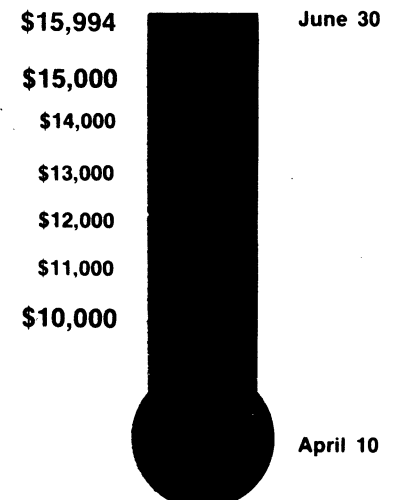
the generosity and commitment of hundreds of contributors in thirty-four states. The Camejo and Reid campaign committee wants to thank all those who responded to our fund appeal.

Nearly 200 supporters contributed to the fund as a direct response to articles in the *Militant* and a special fund mailing. These contributions accounted for \$2,858, or 18 percent of the total.

Hundreds attending socialist campaign rallies throughout the United States contributed to the Camejo-Reid campaign. These contributions added \$13,136 to the total of \$15,994.

The campaign activities this summer, together with the candidates' participation in the August Socialist Workers party convention, are the prelude to an intense period of campaigning leading up to the November election. Camejo and Reid will whistle-stop through more than thirty cities in less than two months. Many more thousands of dollars will be necessary

Over the top!



to tap all the opportunities open to the socialist campaign.

We hope that we can count on your continued support.

Missouri socialists gather support for ballot rights fight

By Barbara Tentaty

ST LOUIS—The Socialist Workers party's fight for ballot status here in Missouri won important new backing during the first week of July.

"The Socialist Workers should receive every encouragement and consideration," urged an editorial in the July 2 *Kansas City Times*, a major daily in that city. "The party is trying to get into the legal electoral system which is exactly what legitimate political causes are supposed to do. . . .

"Election officials exist to encourage participation in the system and to make voting and representation as easy as possible—not to throw up roadblocks. Election boards and offices are not there merely for the convenience of the established parties."

The editorial followed news conferences in St. Louis and Kansas City called to announce that the SWP had met Missouri's legal requirements for ballot status. The socialists are continuing to petition in order to file well above the 17,844 required signatures by the July 31 deadline.

At the Kansas City news conference, held June 29, Barbara Bowman, candidate for U.S. Senate, charged that Missouri's election laws are "written and enforced by Democrats and Republicans specifically to deny, rather than protect, the democratic rights of third parties."

"They are one way in which these two big-business parties protect their monopoly over the ballot at the price of denying all other Missouri citizens their right to hear and choose from the broadest spectrum of political opinion."

Bowman said that the Missouri SWP is "under no illusion that meeting the signature requirement 100 percent, 125 percent, or even 150 percent will by itself guarantee" the party a ballot spot next November.

Bowman's news conference was attended by all the major television stations and newspapers in Kansas City and also received extensive coverage in nearby Kansas City, Kansas.

Later in the week Helen Savio, SWP candidate for governor, spoke at a news conference in St. Louis. Savio condemned the bipartisan attempt to



Barbara Bowman (left) and Helen Savio, SWP candidates for U.S. Senate and governor of Missouri.

deny ballot status to the SWP by Democratic Gov. Christopher Bond and Republican Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick.

"In 1974 we were arbitrarily, undemocratically, and unlawfully ruled off the ballot by Secretary of State Kirkpatrick," Savio said. Not only did Kirkpatrick invalidate thousands of valid signatures, he even harassed circulators and signers of SWP petitions by phoning them at their homes and places of employment.

"I wrote a letter to Governor Bond dated June 9," Savio said, "informing him of what occurred in 1974 and demanding that he use his authority to ensure that the secretary of state performs his lawful duties this year. He has not responded."

"Does this mean that Governor Bond condones Kirkpatrick's acts?" Savio asked.

One of Bond's executive assistants told the press that the governor's office had no knowledge of the letter, but Savio has a postal receipt proving that Bond's office did receive it.



"In any case," Bond's assistant told the press, "I don't think the governor would have any comment. It's not his function to tell the secretary of state what to do. Either they qualify or they don't."

Such statements provide Kirkpatrick with a blank check to repeat his discriminatory treatment, Savio charged.

To mobilize pressure on the secretary of state's office, the SWP has launched a drive to sign up endorsers for its right to a ballot spot.

Among the more than sixty endorsements received so far are those of the Western and Eastern Missouri chapters of the American Civil Liberties Union; JoAnne Wayne, a St. Louis alderwoman; Bruce Sommers, an alderman; Gus Lumpe, editor of *Missouri Teamster*; Sheila Lumpe, University City Board of Education; and Kansas City Women's Liberation Union.

The endorsement drive will continue until the SWP has been certified for the November ballot.

Petitions of Mass. socialists okayed

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—On Tuesday, July 6, 47,410 of the 65,000 signatures filed by the Socialist Workers party were validated by state election officials here. This far surpasses the 36,000 signatures required to ensure a November ballot spot for the socialist presidential slate and for the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts, Carol Henderson Evans.

The Massachusetts requirement is among the most exorbitant in the country.

In addition, 3,051 signatures were validated for James "Mac" Warren, SWP candidate in the Ninth Congressional District, which includes the Roxbury Black community.

The secretary of state said in a news release that barring any challenge—the deadline for which is Friday, July 9—the SWP candidates will appear on the ballot next November.

Reid set to tour N.Z., Australia

By Matilde Zimmermann

Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid will tour Australia and New Zealand for three weeks in July speaking on the American political situation.

In Australia, Reid's tour will be sponsored by the Socialist Workers party and Socialist Youth Alliance. Her speaking engagement in New Zealand will be organized by the Socialist Action League and the Young Socialists.

Reid is slated to speak at a Black rights demonstration in Brisbane, Australia, on July 17. Aboriginal activists recently established a Black Embassy in Brisbane to help coordinate their struggles for land rights and against government spending cuts.

Vice-president Nelson Rockefeller recently visited Australia and was met by protests. The SWP and SYA expect that Australians will be interested in what a socialist vice-presidential candidate has to say about U.S. politics from a working-class vantage—rather than from the standpoint of the American super-rich.



WILLIE MAE REID

SWP wins exemption from disclosure law in Minnesota

By Kit Hansen

MINNEAPOLIS—The Minnesota Ethical Practices Board has unanimously approved an exemption for the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee from state regulations requiring the disclosure of the names and addresses of campaign contributors.

The ruling was an extension and expansion of the exemption granted in 1974. The earlier exemption covered only contributions to the statewide campaign; the current decision applies to all Socialist Workers campaigns run here in 1976.

The Ethical Practices Board said it was "acting on its own initiative" in renewing the exemption. This sets an important civil liberties precedent not only because it is the second consecutive exemption, but because the exemption was approved without the customary procedure of a public hearing.

In light of revelations since 1974 of massive illegal FBI activities against the SWP, the Ethical Practices Board was apparently satisfied with its 1974 ruling. The Minnesota socialists had argued that disclosing the names of their contributors would open these individuals to government harass-

ment.

During the 1974 hearings, the SWP produced hundreds of pages of affidavits and statements backing up the request. The socialists cited instances of burglaries of political documents from private homes; threats of job loss and discriminatory rejection of employment applications; anonymous phone calls; and mail tampering. They also pointed to the massive evidence already compiled at the time in support of the SWP's lawsuit against government harassment and surveillance.

The Ethical Practices Board (then called the Ethics Commission) subpoenaed local police and the FBI to testify at the 1974 hearings. The FBI refused to testify, while the cops provided contradictory and unlikely testimony. "We don't even know where the SWP headquarters is," one police official claimed.

The SWP also mounted a nationwide endorsement and telegram campaign in support of its exemption request.

Minnesota socialists were prepared to wage another campaign this year, but the recent decision has made such an effort unnecessary.

The SWP announced its exemption

victory at a widely covered June 17 news conference. Bill Peterson, SWP candidate for the U.S. Senate seat now held by Hubert Humphrey, said that the decision "upheld our right to express our views and to dissent free from government interference. In our view, the Ethical Practices Board has blocked at least one avenue of government spying and harassment."

Ralph Schwartz, candidate in the Fourth Congressional District, said that the campaign disclosure laws were put on the books by Democratic and Republican politicians in the hope that the American people would believe that the government was "cleaning up its act" after Watergate.

"The real target of these laws," Schwartz said, "is the labor movement and the Black and Chicano communities. The politicians in Congress want to make it as hard as possible for working people to break from the two-party system."

"The way these laws can already be used against parties such as the SWP today," Schwartz said, "shows how they could be used in the future against backers of an independent labor party or Black political party."

By Harry Ring

During a visit to Texas in late March and early April I talked with a number of leading members of La Raza Unida party. They had differing ideas on the state of the party and where they thought it should be going. All, however, seemed preoccupied with basic questions of political perspective, program, and ideology. In this they reflected a process that now seems almost universal among Chicano political activists.

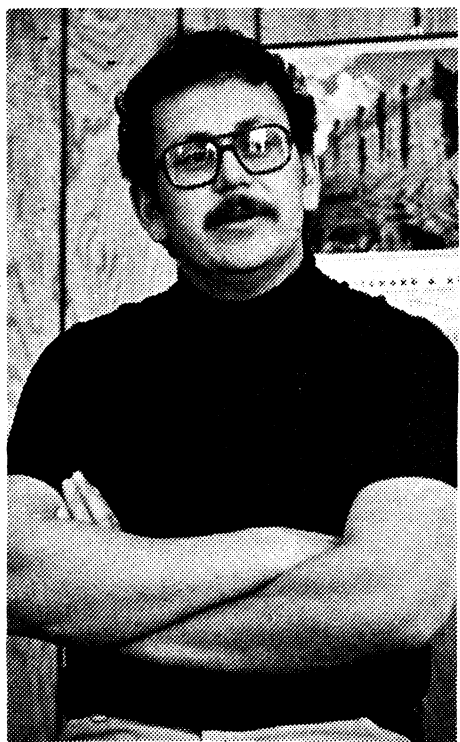
Future articles will report on the very significant activity—and political thinking—of Raza Unida party activists in New Mexico. Then I'll offer my own thoughts on some of the political issues discussed in this series of interviews.

While in Crystal City I talked with Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the party. Gutiérrez has critics within the movement, but I doubt that the harshest of them would argue that he doesn't say what's on his mind.

When I talked with him, it was on the eve of the April 3 elections. A ticket he was supporting in the municipal elections was being fiercely opposed by a contending faction within the RUP, and the Gutiérrez slate did lose the election by a few hundred votes.

In that heated factional situation, Gutiérrez seemed to be in a somewhat gloomy mood, and I think this was at least partially reflected in what he had to say about the state of La Raza Unida party.

Since the 1974 elections, he said, "it's



Militant/Harry Ring

GUTIERREZ: Sees need to concentrate on building local and regional base.

been a dull two years. Kind of anticlimactic, nothing spectacular happening. I don't know why. I guess it's the mood in the country. It's everywhere. In California, we haven't been able to motivate anybody to do anything. In Illinois it just fizzled.

"Now there is an upsurge in the South Side of Chicago," he added. "The community there is beginning to move. Wisconsin is moving very well, but they're more into social programs, social services.

"Here in Texas," he continued, "it's been a disaster. I suspect it's partly because of the decision to go statewide. Now we've rethought our position and voted to go regional."

In 1972, a Texas RUP convention voted, with Gutiérrez opposed, to run a state gubernatorial ticket. In November of 1975, the party's state committee voted, as he favored, to focus on contests in smaller towns with heavy Chicano populations, where larger votes could be polled and elections won.

"We should now spend time building

our local and regional base," Gutiérrez said. The problem now is just to do something—except places like Robstown, a few places in the [Rio Grande] Valley, and here in Crystal, where things are going on.

"I can't put my finger on it," he reflected. "The activists aren't dropping out. They're all there. They're working very hard, but it just doesn't seem to jell.

"There's no identifiable program," Gutiérrez said. "There's no specific list of priorities that you can deal with as a statewide party. Everybody can answer the questions. Everybody can tell you what they're doing in Austin, in San Antonio, or Crystal, or whatever. But it just doesn't come together."

But while Gutiérrez was glum about the present situation, there was no suggestion that he was about to take a rest.

In 1978, he noted, there would be another gubernatorial election in Texas, and he assumed the RUP would run for governor, if only to maintain its place on the ballot.

He saw the need, he said, for an effective, vigorous campaign. The project will be discussed at a state committee meeting and at a fall state convention. Meanwhile, he said, informal discussions are beginning.

He had a conversation about this with Ramsey Muñiz, the party's candidate for governor in 1972 and 1974. They are considering proposing that both of them function as campaign managers. Muñiz, a hard-driving campaigner, would spark the party effort in the heavily Chicano coastal bend area of Texas stretching south from Corpus Christi. Gutiérrez would organize the campaign in the South Texas and Rio Grande Valley areas.

The two could certainly generate a lot of momentum for a campaign.

Paul Vélez

Another party activist who thinks things are difficult is Paul Vélez of Austin, the Travis County chairperson of the RUP. Vélez, a student activist in the late 1960s, was an early builder of the RUP. He participated in the initial struggles in Crystal City.

Vélez feels the decision to focus on electoral efforts in smaller towns is a necessary one. One of the difficulties, he said, is that in the larger cities, the Democrats give Chicanos token representation in governing bodies. That deepens the illusion that change is possible through existing institutions.

The process of politicizing people in the cities is arduous, Vélez said. "We have all these organizations doing work," he commented, "They say they're doing it for *la causa*, for the *movimiento*, for the Chicano, for the community. But they still have not seen through the two-party system.

LA RAZA UNIDA

Texas leaders discuss state of the party

They're really not political in the sense of analyzing the structure and system of government the two parties represent. While they see change as being feasible, they see it as being feasible through the Democratic party.

"We contend that's not the case," he continued, "but it's very difficult to deal with so many years of this thinking and try to change it.

"But in the small towns, they can see the problem a lot more visibly—they can see there's no Chicanos on the county commission, or whatever. They're able to identify with La Raza Unida as a political party in which you can have a voice."

Vélez was grappling with the suggestion that between elections the party build its influence by developing centers to provide needed social services to the people.

"I think we should be a political party," Vélez said. "We need our own political power. I know it can be argued, 'How can you reach the people if you don't provide services?' If we had the resources, maybe we could do both."

But the main problem, he said, "is that we have left a vacuum. Even within the party, people are not that politicized. They see the party as something they can identify with, but they don't really understand its main purpose."

Vélez feels the party has not done enough to develop the ideological understanding and commitment of its members.



Militant/Harry Ring

CASTRO: Opposes any moves to support Democratic candidates.

"We're always grappling with that problem," he observed. "We're going to put a booklet together. . . . One of the problems is that it's just very difficult to sit down and do it, and get agreement on what it should say."

Perhaps, he suggested, the problem is that they've concentrated "on the practical, the expedient," and not given ideology as much attention as is needed.

Vélez is totally convinced that Chicanos must find the way to achieve fundamental change.

"Eventually," he said, "even if La Raza Unida really gets going, even it will get to the point where it will be in need of change. That has to be true as long as you stay within the guidelines of the present system.

"Politics and political parties are not an end in themselves," Vélez stated. "You have to look at the economic system."

Rosie Castro

Rosie Castro, one of the RUP's leaders in San Antonio, had a more positive view, although she too agreed the party had to consider how it could achieve basic change.

Castro has been deeply involved recently in an ongoing fight to democratize Texas election laws and regulations. One notable victory was won last year. After the party won the 2 percent of the vote necessary for a place on the ballot, the legislature tried to boost the requirement to 20 percent.

A vigorous challenge by the RUP led to a Justice Department decision that this violated the Voting Rights Act, and the requirement was reset at 2 percent.

Castro says she knows the Democratic party from the inside. When she and others in the San Antonio barrio where she grew up first became active, their initial political efforts were through the Democratic party. She quickly realized it was a racist setup that offered nothing of substance to Chicanos. She became an early builder of La Raza Unida.

She feels strongly that there is no room for deals by the RUP to support Democrats in exchange for support to one or another RUP nominee.

"There are some in the party," she commented, "who are considered 'purists,' and some who aren't so pure. They're the ones who talk about being more 'practical,' but, they say, the goals are the same.

"But I maintain it's not the same, because you have to have a certain ideology," she continued.

"If you're making deals, you're doing the same thing the Republicans and Democrats have done, and I don't buy that.

"We've gotten into discussions of party officials endorsing a Democratic candidate in a Democratic race," she recalled. "I can't see how anybody can even consider it. . . .

"You're not going to have change unless it's a fundamental change of not looking at everything in terms of profits.

"Like when you talk about police brutality," Castro added. "It's inconceivable to me that a kid could be shot because he's on somebody's property, or they thought he was stealing something. It's just inconceivable to me how life can be worth less than property."

Perhaps the most optimistic person I talked with in Texas was Ines Tovar. Born in Galveston, she went on to college in Houston, obtained three degrees, and is now on the faculty at the University of Texas at Austin. Tovar has been active in the RUP on a local and state level since 1970.

She feels the core group in the party is growing in numbers and in political consciousness. They're realizing the need to think and speak for them-

selves, she thinks. That's all to the good in her opinion.

She said this core group feels, "If we're in this just to be like any other party and perform like any other party, then what for?"

"We don't want Raza Unida *patrones* [bosses], she emphasized. "We don't want a political machine. . . .

"I believe I have the right to criticize anyone," she continued, "and anyone has the right to question me.

"Now," she added, "I know that's ego-shattering to a lot of people in the party, but I believe that's the way it is."

Discussing the RUP's perspectives, Tovar said she thinks the Chicano people will come to play a key role in the politics of the Southwest.

She said, "We've gone through a very bitter, very intense struggle to maintain our culture, our identity, our



Militant/Harry Ring

TOVAR: 'We don't want a political machine' like Democrats and Republicans.

pride. I believe that we've adjusted to it now in a manner which one day will have us as a focal point between the two continents. We have the two languages, the two cultures. The things that have been called disadvantages before, we see now that they're not.

"I believe there will be a governor elected by Raza Unida someday, Tovar said. "I can't tell you when, but I believe that.

"Furthermore, that governor will not be doing the same kind of things," she said. "I don't see this as a reformist movement. I believe that we're at least planting the seeds for some kind of fundamental change."

FOR FURTHER READING ON

Chicano liberation

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Who needs child care?

By Ginny Hildebrand

The old saying that a woman's place is in the home is still around. While there are those who stubbornly hold to this reactionary sentiment, it has little to do with the real experiences of millions of women today.

More American women than ever are seeking and holding jobs outside the home. A recent Harris survey showed that 54 percent of these women need employment in order to support themselves or their families.

This has created an acute need for child-care centers. Yet across the country the government is cutting back funds, closing child-care facilities, and firing day-care workers. The message to parents, especially mothers, is that child care is their individual problem—not a responsibility of society as a whole.

In the past, large extended families living under the same roof or in close proximity made it easier for working parents to make personal child-care arrangements. But now, families are smaller and more dispersed. Young adults leave home at an earlier age.

In March 1975 the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that 28 million children under the age of eighteen had mothers working or looking for work. Of these children, 6.5 million were under six.

Even before cutbacks began, only a tiny minority could get into child-care programs. In 1972 licensed day-care centers (those meeting minimum government standards) could accommodate only 1,021,202 children. The space was evenly divided between public and private centers.

Much of the existing child care is inadequate. Few facilities offer developmental, educational programs. Most provide minimal supervision, often called "custodial" care. This is particularly common in private, profit-making centers. These range from facilities in individuals' homes to large chains with franchises in several cities.

A 1972 study of 431 centers caring for 24,000 children concluded that 49.5 percent of private centers were of "poor" quality.

Here is how a researcher described one of these:

"This is an abominable center. Couldn't be much worse. One worker washed each child's face with a cloth dipped in a bucket of water one-tenth full. No decent toys. The center was run by high-school girls without any adults present. The children were not allowed to talk. . . . Ratholes were apparent. . . . Mass custodial."

A working mother will often find that she has to pay at least thirty-five or forty-five dollars a week to put her child in the poorest of private centers.

Parents are frequently forced to resort to more appalling alternatives. The most common form of care is "baby-sitting" done by a relative or neighbor. The Child Welfare League of America has estimated that more than 500,000 children are cared for by brothers and sisters under sixteen, who often have to miss school to provide supervision. Another 1.2 million children stay at home with a parent who is too handicapped or sick to provide proper care.

Fifteen percent of working women with children under six take their children with them to their jobs, according to the American Federation of Teachers publication *Changing Education*. What do they do with them at work? Sylvia Weinstein, a Socialist Workers party member and a leader of the child-care movement in San Francisco, described the plight of one working mother she knows:

"Her husband had a heart operation, so she had to get a job. She has two



Militant/José Pérez

children, one four and one five. She could not get them into a child-care center. What she had to do was park her van outside of where she worked and lock the two children inside. Every once in a while, she'd run down to the car to see if the children were all right.

"Had another vehicle run into her van, the mother would have been arrested and accused of negligence. In fact, it is the city that is negligent, because the woman could not get a child-care center."

Many parents have no choice but to leave children home to fend for themselves. Nobody knows exactly how many of these "latch-key children" there are. But *Changing Education* cites one estimate that in Chicago 15,000 children under six are left on their own.

For millions of parents child care is a dilemma that often dominates their lives. Hardest hit are women, on whom this society puts the main responsibility for raising children.

What does a single mother do? "Many stay at home with their children and take welfare," Sylvia Weinstein said. "If they do this, they are looked upon as a burden to society, even though it's not their fault that this happens to them. If they go out and work, they're looked upon as mothers who really don't care for their children."

Both alternatives leave these women with an unbearable responsibility and sense of guilt.

But the guilt does not belong with

the parents. It belongs with this social system. Under capitalism profits—not fulfilling human needs—determine social priorities. Guilt belongs with the Democrats and Republicans who run the government. They spent only \$1.2 billion on child care in 1974. At the same time they allocated \$85 billion to the war budget.

To these people, child care is expendable. But millions of working people desperately need child care. Increasingly, they think that it is their basic right—something society should provide—not a "fringe" social service.

Every child should be guaranteed the best care society can offer. Every child has a right to the educational and social opportunities that quality child-care facilities can provide.

The right of children to this care is paralleled by the right of every woman to hold a job and engage in educational, social, cultural, and political activities. Today, more and more women are demanding this right. Inspired by the feminist movement, they are rejecting the idea that a woman's place is in the home.

A 1975 Harris survey reports that 72 percent of women and 61 percent of men support expanding child care.

Why is it, then, that a government claiming to represent the will of the majority is severely cutting back on already inadequate child-care programs? The scope of these cutbacks and the reasons behind them will be the subject of a future article on child care.



Rubber workers demonstrate in Akron

By Dick Roberts

Following is a letter I received from Mike Alewitz, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress from Akron, Ohio.

"Dear Dick,

"We are entering the eleventh week of the United Rubber Workers strike against the 'Big Four' rubber companies. It's clear that the rubber corporations geared up to inflict what they hope will be a major defeat on the union.

"The rubber workers are simply fighting to maintain their standard of living. They want an escalator clause and a \$1.65-an-hour wage increase to make up for what they've lost through inflation in the past three years.

"I'm stressing the importance of this struggle in my campaign. I point out that the attack on the rubber workers is part of the across-the-board offensive of the rulers of this country against workers.

"Akron is joining New York as one of the places where the rulers of this country are gouging workers to build

up the profits of banks and industry.

"My main opponent is the incumbent, liberal Democrat John Seiberling. (Ironically enough, Seiberling comes from a rubber-industry-owning family. He is 'Mr. Seiberling Tires.') Seiberling and the other Democratic as well as Republican candidates entirely avoid the issue of the rubber strike. They pretend that 'there's nothing wrong here.'

"By avoiding such an important struggle as that of the rubber workers for a decent living standard these politicians are aiding the owners of industry.

"What would be helpful is facts and figures to illustrate that the same capitalists who own the rubber companies own other industries. It looks like they own the government too, and are demanding the right to run it—if Seiberling is an example!

"This would illustrate why the capitalist class has joined forces against the rubber workers and why the two parties of big business are going along with them."

Mike's letter makes some important points.

People are supposed to believe that the corporations run pretty much on their own. The "Big Four"—Goodyear, Uniroyal, B.F. Goodrich, and Firestone—are huge corporations, each with thousands of shareholders. It is up to the managers of these corporations to make the highest possible profits.

So it is easy to see that the managers of the rubber companies would join forces to lock out the rubber workers and to try to drive back their wage demands.

What is concealed is that these managers are acting for the *capitalist class as a whole*. The rubber companies are owned by the same interests that own all of the other major U.S. corporations.

A defeat inflicted on the rubber workers would benefit the capitalists not only as owners of the rubber industry but as owners of every other industry where workers might be intimidated by a defeat of the rubber strike. The electrical and auto industries are two places where contract negotiations are coming up later this year. They will be heavily influenced by the outcome of the rubber strike.

Let's take a closer look at the men who sit on the boards of directors of the rubber companies, the men who locked out 60,000 rubber workers at midnight April 20.

Banking interests

Two of these directors are partners in New York investment-banking houses. Investment banks sell the stocks and bonds issued by corporations. A syndicate of New York investment banks exercises monopoly control over the flow of securities on Wall Street. Within the group, two of the most powerful are Goldman, Sachs & Company and Kuhn, Loeb & Company.

John Weinberg, a partner in Goldman, Sachs, is a director of B.F. Goodrich rubber. John Schiff, a general partner of Kuhn, Loeb, is on the board of directors of Uniroyal. In fact, the Schiff family's interests in Kuhn, Loeb were so great as to rank them among "America's Sixty Families" in 1937, when Ferdinand Lundberg conducted his famous study of the American ruling class.

Another of America's most powerful ruling-class families is represented on the board of directors of Goodyear. This is the Mellon family.

John Harper, a director of the Mellon National Corporation, is a director of Goodyear. Harper previously served the Mellons as chairman of the board of directors of the Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa), in which the Mellons own a controlling interest. The Mellons control Gulf Oil as well.

The most powerful sector of the American ruling class has its director on the board of Firestone. Willard Butcher, who is president of the Rockefeller family's Chase Manhattan Bank, is a director of Firestone rubber. The Rockefellers also control Exxon, Mobil, and Standard Oil of California.

Firestones

But the Rockefellers are probably not the biggest holders of Firestone itself. According to the 1975 proxy statement of that corporation, two Firestone families, both represented on the board of directors, owned through various trusts 10,958,040 shares of Firestone as of October 31, 1975. This would be worth about \$250 million on the New York Stock Exchange today.

The Democratic party candidate against whom Mike Alewitz is running, John Seiberling, comes from a tire-company family that sold out to the Firestones in 1964. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the Seiberlings received about \$30 million in that transaction.

While the exact stock holdings of most ruling-class families are con-

cealed in trust funds that are held in banks, the holdings of one other major American financial family in the rubber industry are known.

DuPont empire

The DuPont family is the major stockholder in Uniroyal. These holdings were revealed by government suits. The DuPonts own 18 percent of Uniroyal. They are represented on the board of directors by Joseph Chinn, Jr., who is also chief executive officer of the Wilmington Trust Company, where the DuPont family stocks are held.

But for the DuPonts, as well as for the Rockefellers and Mellons, the rubber holdings are not the main part of their investment empires. The DuPonts are the major holders of DuPont Chemical and General Motors stock. In fact, the DuPonts bought into Uniroyal (previously U.S. Rubber Company) in order to own a corporation that could provide cheap tires to GM.

Uniroyal still lists GM (as of the 1975 *Annual Report*) as its major customer.

So in the case of the DuPonts, GM, and Uniroyal, there is a clear enough case of collusion against the rubber workers!

Business Week reported June 21 that rubber workers "had been counting on the auto industry to run out of tires this month. At that time, it was thought, the auto makers would pressure the Big Four rubber companies to settle at any price. But the auto makers delivered that strategy a crippling blow this week by letting it be known that they have enough tires on hand to finish the 1976 model year in late summer. The disclosure could force the union into a long and losing strike."

Corporate strategy

Business Week exploits the myth that each corporation is out only for its own. The truth is that the rubber and auto industries have basically the same interests. Both stand to gain from dealing a blow to the rubber workers.

We can say with certainty that the auto and rubber trusts planned from the outset on a long strike, which they forced on the rubber workers by offering completely inadequate wage proposals. Furthermore, the auto companies undoubtedly built up a large tire inventory to tide them over. The corporate strategy was likely as not worked out in a Wilmington boardroom.

Workers have much to gain by recognizing the class interests of their bosses. When workers tackle an industry like rubber they are taking on the capitalist class as a whole. This includes the capitalist government.

Another article could be written tracing the lines of control back from the DuPonts, Mellons, Rockefellers, and Firestones to the Democratic and Republican politicians that these capitalists finance.

In fact, it was revealed on June 8 that Firestone Tire paid out \$330,000 in domestic political contributions in a two-and-a-half-year period between 1970 and 1973. No names were disclosed. But if they had been it is a safe bet that the donations went to Democrats and Republicans alike, liberals and conservatives.

That was the case with Gulf Oil. When Gulf's contributions were made public last December, they included political candidates across the capitalist party spectrum—from Sen. Fred Harris to Richard Nixon.

Workers are handicapped by the fact that they don't have their own political party.

In the week-in and week-out battle of the rubber strike the Democratic and Republican candidates are helping the bosses by remaining silent. If workers had a labor party, their candidates would seize the opportunity of an election year to campaign up and down the countryside about the ruling-class attack on the rubber workers.

World Outlook

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

JULY 16, 1976

Military fails to break miners' strike

Bolivia: Banzer imposes state of 'exception'

By Judy White

Bolivian President Hugo Banzer Suárez placed approximately one-third of the country's population under military occupation June 15. He instituted laws of "exception" in the departments of Oruro and Potosí, suspending individual rights and placing decision-making on all aspects of daily life in the hands of the army.

A few days earlier he had ordered the military to occupy the mines for the first time since he seized power in 1971.

Banzer moved in response to growing mobilizations by miners and students that had escalated into a general strike June 14. Up to 70,000 workers in the state-owned mines and 20,000 university students in all but two of Bolivia's universities were reported affected by the strike. Tin production at mines accounting for about 75 percent of the country's output came to a standstill.

Workers upsurge

The dictator had tried a number of steps short of imposing the laws of exception to put a damper on the workers' upsurge. Bolivia has been experiencing since the beginning of this year.

In January, a strike of workers at Manaco, the largest shoe factory in the country, was declared illegal. When the shoe workers refused to go back to work under Manaco's speedup "reform," the company laid off 820 workers. This act, in turn, sparked solidarity strikes among members of the Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia (FSTMB—Trade Union Federation of Mine Workers of Bolivia), other sectors of the working class, and students.

By January 29 Manaco workers were back on the job with a victory for their side.

Moreover, Banzer was forced to grant the demands raised by the



Miners' strike brought 75 percent of Bolivian tin production to a standstill

student contingent of the mobilization—to release arrested student leaders and give students more control over university life.

Mine workers meet

The FSTMB, which historically has been in the vanguard of the Bolivian class struggle, has been regaining strength over the past year. Despite the fact that all trade-union activity has been illegal since November 1974, it was able to hold a congress of 400 delegates in Corocoro May 1-4 of this year.

Reports on the congress are fragmentary, but they indicate that political tendencies within the workers movement function freely among the more than 30,000 members of the federation.

The congress strongly criticized the Banzer government and pledged to work toward rebuilding the outlawed Central Obrera Boliviana (COB—Bolivian Workers Federation).

The congress also came out in favor of wages for the unemployed, the six-hour day, workers control, immediate occupation of the mines in the event of bankruptcy, and the sliding scale of wages.

On May 24 another sector of the working class wrung a victory from the regime. Following a twenty-four-hour general strike by the nation's journalists, Banzer pledged the government's "unfailing respect for freedom of the press."

The strike occurred following the May 11 assassination in Paris of Gen. Joaquín Zenteno Anaya. Zenteno was

considered one of Banzer's chief political rivals. Although his death was widely reported to be the work of the "International Che Guevara Brigade," a shadowy group of alleged French terrorists, several Bolivian news organs blamed the Banzer government and the military high command for the action. The strike was sparked when officials of the regime retaliated by beating up one journalist and threatening to deport several others.

Torres murdered

The most recent wave of mass actions began June 3, following the announcement of the murder of former Bolivian President Juan José Torres. Torres, who was living in exile in Argentina, was kidnapped June 1 and killed by right-wing terrorists.

The FSTMB held a twenty-four-hour general strike, which was joined by other sectors of the working class and students.

When the Banzer government announced three days later that it would not allow Torres' remains to be returned for burial in Bolivia, the protests escalated.

Banzer responded by declaring a state of siege June 9. His press secretary explained the step as a way to "clear up an atmosphere of subversion prevailing in the country."

The military was flown into the main mining centers to take over miner-operated radio stations and occupy the facilities. Mine workers' leaders were rounded up and jailed.

The Ministry of Education announced it was moving up school

vacations so they would start that very day.

The general strike that began June 14 centers on the demand for the withdrawal of troops from the mines, the release of mine workers' leaders, and the reopening of wage negotiations.

Government violence

When the protests continued and broadened, the government used violence to try to stop them. By June 16, at least three persons had lost their lives, two of them students in Oruro.

The strike continues despite Banzer's declaration of a state of "exception" in Oruro and Potosí. In fact, by June 18 it had spread to the privately-owned mines. Although the dictator accompanied his announcement with an offer of a 30 percent wage increase, the miners insisted on the withdrawal of troops as a condition for their return to work. Moreover, they are demanding a 130 percent wage raise.

Banzer's latest moves indicate how severely the Bolivian ruling class feels threatened by the growth of influence and effectiveness of the FSTMB. Not only does the federation threaten the profits of some of the world's largest exporters of tin, but its political program and fighting tradition have begun to set a contagious example for the rest of the Bolivian masses. But sending the army into the stronghold of the class struggle is a tricky business, one that up to now the Bolivian ruling class has been unwilling to undertake. It may cost Banzer his job.



New York Times

Arab League aids Syrian intervention in Lebanon

By David Frankel

Maj. Abdel Salam Jalloud, the prime minister of Libya, bragged in Damascus June 21 that he had "created a miracle." Syrian President Hafez al-Assad did not bother to tell reporters what he thought, but he must have been at least as happy as Jalloud at the arrival of the Arab League truce force in Lebanon.

Between 800 and 1,000 Syrian and Libyan troops, described as the vanguard of the Arab League force, took up positions around the Beirut airport June 21. At the very least, the deployment of this nominally pan-Arab force has given Assad important new political cover for his intervention in Lebanon.

Up until a few days before the arrival of the new force's first units, Palestinian and Lebanese Muslim negotiators were taking the public position that no Syrian troops should be allowed to participate in the supposedly neutral Arab League force. In practice, however, the Arab League force was transported from Damascus on Syrian army trucks, painted with white stripes for the occasion. "Syrian soldiers in the trucks wore their standard maroon berets with green bands added," *New York Times* correspondent James M. Markham said in a June 21 report from Beirut.

A June 22 Reuters dispatch from Beirut described what happened after the Syrian units that had been dug in around the Beirut airport and that had participated in the shelling of Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut were replaced by the Arab League force.

A convoy of 75 Syrian Army lorries which moved south with guns and rocket launch-



Arab League 'peace-keeping' force was transported to Lebanon on Syrian trucks

ers pulled up near Sidon [Saida] and dug in again. Soldiers were seen painting white lines on them, marking them out as part of the Arab peace-keeping force. . . .

'Cease-fire'

According to the cease-fire agreement between the Syrian invaders and their Palestinian and leftist opponents, Syrian troops are supposed to withdraw from forward positions around Beirut and Saida and be replaced by Arab League forces. "Ranking Syrian officials," *New York Times* correspondent James F. Clarity reported in a June 20 dispatch from Damascus, "have

made it clear that Syria does not intend to withdraw a sizable part of its intervention forces—now estimated at 14,000 troops and 400 tanks—until there is a durable cease-fire and a Lebanese government, under President-elect Elias Sarkis, is functioning."

By pulling back a few miles Assad's forces would not be relinquishing any significant military advantage. On the other hand, the Syrian version of the cease-fire pact allows for the reopening of all Saiqa headquarters in Beirut. Saiqa, now composed largely of Syrian regulars, was originally a pro-Syrian-Baathist Palestinian guerrilla organization. Its forces were driven out of Beirut after bitter fighting earlier in June.

If either Saiqa forces or Syrian troops wearing the green bands of the Arab League truce force are allowed to enter Beirut, it would put Assad's forces in a better position to threaten further military action. Robert Fisk commented on this aspect of the cease-fire agreement in the June 22 *London Times*. He argued:

Now that both Syrians and Palestinians are waiting for the Arab League's token army to arrive in Beirut, it is clear that President Assad need not order any further military attacks. His Syrian soldiers will be able to walk the streets of Beirut as pan-Arab peacekeepers in a few weeks' time, which means his army can advance the last 12 miles into the city by diplomacy rather than gunfire.

Mahmoud Riad, the Arab League's secretary general, has said that the complete Arab League force will range in size from 6,000 to 10,000 troops. It remains to be seen whether any of these troops will actually be allowed to occupy areas held by the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition.

Furious attack

While fighting between this coalition and Assad's invasion force has stopped for the time being, the military pressure on the Muslim and Palestinian forces has been maintained by Christian rightists in Beirut. On June 22, the day after the truce negotiated by Jalloud went into effect, the rightists mounted a furious attack against two Palestinian refugee camps and a Muslim slum area isolated behind the rightist lines.

Between 4,000 and 5,000 rightist troops, backed by tanks and artillery,

participated in the attack on the surrounded enclaves. Jisr el-Pasha, a largely Christian Palestinian refugee camp, the Tell Zaatar refugee camp, and the Nabaa district all remain under siege. During the first twenty-four hours of fighting, more than 1,000 shells were fired into Tell Zaatar, where about 35,000 people live.

Forced settlement

Neither Assad nor any other Arab leader has commented on the rightist offensive, and the Arab League "peace-keeping" force has ignored it. This lends support to the supposition that Assad has gained agreement from the Arab regimes to a plan forcing through a settlement in Lebanon based on maintaining the domination of the right-wing Christian establishment. William Blakemore commented in a dispatch from Beirut in the June 25 *Christian Science Monitor*:

It is difficult to ascertain the degree to which right-wing and Syrian actions in recent months have been coordinated. But there is nothing yet to refute the assertion of Salam Khalaf (Abu Iyad)—second in command of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and military commander of Palestinian forces now in Lebanon—that Syria, with the cooperation or acquiescence of the Lebanese right wing, virtually all other Arab powers, the United States, and Israel, is trying to cut the Palestinian resistance movement down to size.

Joseph Kraft reported in his column in the June 22 *Washington Post* that Syrian diplomats in Paris stated in so many words what their calculations were. Kraft said that:

. . . according to the Syrians who came here to Paris [June 17-19] with President Assad, the acceptance of other Arab forces is strictly a charade designed to provide a cover for Syrian actions.

The Syrians claim they have almost total control over Lebanon now. They told French officials they would restore order and achieve a ceasefire between Christians and Moslems. They hinted they would then be ready to move toward settlement with Israel.

Deal with Israel

Assad has made no secret of his desire for a deal with Israel. After coming to power in 1970, and especially following the October 1973 war, Assad has normalized relations with Washington. Since 1972 U.S.-Syrian trade has grown eightfold.

In addition, Assad has courted the most reactionary regimes in the Middle East. In 1975 he established close working relations with Jordan's King Hussein, ending the year with a four-day visit with the shah of Iran. Assad has also sought close ties with the conservative, oil-rich regimes in Saudi Arabia and the Arab-Persian Gulf, allowing greater openings for private capital in the Syrian economy.

"Assad would surely have been as cooperative as [Egypt's] President Sadat, if not as congenial, had the American Secretary of State persuaded Israel to return a portion of the Golan," Eric Rouleau pointed out in the June 3 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

From the point of view of the Arab regimes, the biggest obstacle to a deal with Israel has been the Palestinian people and their struggle for self-determination. If the Syrian intervention in Lebanon succeeds in beating down the Palestinian masses there, it would open the door for a new attempt at a negotiated settlement with Israel at the expense of the Palestinians.

Palestinians under siege

By Peter Seidman

July 7—A beleaguered force estimated at 1,200 is still fighting to hold off a massive Christian rightist offensive against the Tell Zaatar refugee camp in Beirut. The siege, described by the Palestinians as "murderous," is now in its third week.

A spokesman for the right-wing Christian Phalangist party told the *New York Times* on July 6 that the camp's defenders were "fighting back only with sporadic volleys of automatic light weapons fire."

The Palestinians and their leftist Muslim allies have charged Syrian complicity with the rightist Christian attacks.

Syrian forces attacked leftist positions in the mountains near Ayoun Siman, about thirty miles east of Beirut, as well as Muslim positions near the Southern port of Saida. The Palestinians say that Syria has moved an additional 4,000 soldiers and a new tank column into Lebanon. This would bring total Syrian troops in Lebanon to about 16,500. The Palestinians say the Syrians are using these troops to tie down reserve forces that might otherwise be used to reinforce leftist positions under attack in Beirut.

A dispatch in the June 29 *Washington Post* reported that "analysts concerned about the recent intensification of fighting between the predominately Christian rightists

and largely Moslem leftist forces said they were mystified by the inactivity of . . . Syrian troops in the country. Syria is making no move to halt the devastation it swore it would not tolerate."

The refugee camp at Jisr el-Pasha fell to the rightists on June 29. A Christian radio report says the area has been "cleared" and declared a military zone. A dusk-to-dawn curfew has been imposed.

The Palestinian news agency Wafa released ghastly accounts of massacres, tortures, and executions inflicted on the estimated 500 people still in Jisr el-Pasha when it fell.

The ongoing rightist offensive has led the Palestinian-Muslim leftist forces to launch a counterattack against rightist-held areas north of Beirut.

The Palestinians have declared that if Tell Zaatar falls they will open an all-out offensive.

Meanwhile, a July 1 column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported that during the naval evacuation of American citizens carried out June 20, President Ford had threatened to send in the U.S. Marines if the Palestine Liberation Organization obstructed Washington's plans. This constant threat of imperialist intervention shows that Syrian President Assad's maneuvering and new attacks on the Palestinians may provide the pretext for an assault on the Arab peoples as a whole.

Portuguese left caught in trap set by Carvalho in elections

By Gerry Foley

Only two months ago, in the April 25 legislative elections, the Portuguese workers parties won a victory that severely set back the bourgeoisie's plans for liquidating the revolutionary upsurge. This vote showed that despite two years of disappointing experiences and a deep split in the working class, the great majority of the masses still wanted a government of the parties they thought represented them and would realize their aspirations for socialism.

In the June 27 presidential elections, however, there was no clear or credible working-class alternative. The mass workers parties, as well as most of the groups that claim to stand to the left of them, capitulated to one or another of the three military candidates. Confused and divided, the workers suffered their gravest political defeat since the start of the revolutionary crisis in Portugal two years ago.

The bourgeoisie's number one candidate for military strongman, General Ramalho Eanes, won 61.54% of the vote. The triumphant general immediately announced an offensive against the gains of the workers. In his first news conference he said that his election marked the beginning of the era of "democratic legitimacy." Henceforward, he said, "the laws will never again be dead letters and will be applied in full throughout the national territory."

One of the laws the government has notably failed to enforce up till now is the no-strike decree of the Communist Party-backed Gonçalves government. The Council of the Revolution, the leading body of the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement) began threatening to enforce it as a means of intimidation against a strike wave that started to develop in the period before the April elections.

In decrees issued July 1, the provisional government announced a series of austerity measures, including an increase in the prices of oil and gasoline, which are already the highest in Europe. This inevitably means a new round of price rises in basic necessities.

At the same time, the government moved toward stepped-up political repression. The cabinet threatened to deport foreigners who participated in

political activity. The Ministry of Justice decreed that anyone who "libels" a civilian or military official is subject to one year in prison. "Libel" against a member of the cabinet, the Council of the Revolution, or the Assembly of the Republic is now punishable by from two to eight years in prison.

The defeat of the workers in the June 27 elections was all the more tragic because it was clearly the result of the betrayals of the reformists. The workers showed in every way possible that they wanted to vote for a working-class alternative, and both the Communist and Socialist parties lost heavily because of their subordination to the generals.

The rate of abstention rose to approximately 25%, three times that in the first free elections in 1975 and significantly higher than in the legislative elections this year. The CP, which tried to give backhanded support to Eanes while running its own candidate, lost almost half its previous hard-core vote to the military demagogue Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. The SP leaders managed to deliver only about half their party's vote to Eanes.

Carvalho's campaign had exactly the effect the CP feared. It cut deeply into the CP base of support, which was reduced to less than 8% from the 14.5% that party scored in the April legislative elections. Nationwide Carvalho got 16.52%, more than a third of which must have come from the CP. The rest must have come from the SP and the left-centrist parties (the latter got about 3% in the April elections).

CP points to silver lining

The CP tried to use Carvalho and his demagogic schemes last spring and summer to counter the Social Democrats, who, utilizing their victory in the Constituent Assembly elections, sought to press the MFA to grant them more positions in the state apparatus, the unions, and the mass media at the expense of the Stalinists. This maneuver required sowing illusions in the CP ranks themselves about the "People's Power" scheme and the left MFA demagogues. Now this has had the result, finally, that the supposedly "naive but pure soldier," Carvalho, has walked off with half the CP's marbles.

The elections showed that the SP leaders, who backed Eanes to get his support for an SP government based

on 35% of the vote in April, actually were able to get the support of only 17% or 18% of the electorate for their policy of making a de facto alliance with the right in order to exclude the CP from the government.

The political position of the SP leadership is actually far weaker now, as a result of backing Eanes, than it was before. It is the captive of "its general." In fact, the political weight of both reformist workers parties has been greatly reduced, to the advantage of the bourgeois bonapartes.

Since at least half and perhaps a majority of the SP voters rejected the directives of their leadership, some sort of crisis in the party seems inevitable.

Carvalho—left demagogue

The perennial "left" demagogue of the MFA, former General Carvalho, won his greatest political victory so far. Undoubtedly, his vote came primarily from the most radicalized sectors of the industrial workers and agricultural laborers, who identified him with the hopes prevalent in the earlier phases of the MFA regime that socialism was on the horizon. These masses took the "socialist" rhetoric of the Gonçalves governments seriously and refuse to give up the aspirations to which the MFA demagogues made verbal concessions.

Despite the subjective beliefs of the workers who supported Carvalho, and despite the left verbiage he used to appeal to them, the vote for this demagogue weakened the working class politically. It did not represent a rejection of MFA tutelage but redirected the masses most hostile to Eanes back to the MFA by another route. It gave Carvalho the opportunity once again to divert important sections of the workers from raising and pressing their own political demands.

Fundamentally, Carvalho still represents a possible governmental option for the bourgeoisie, if in the next period it proves unable to get a majority of the masses to accept its ruling on an openly capitalist basis.

That is, he stands for a left demagogic regime, governing on behalf of the bourgeoisie by decrees.

The MFA is the first demagogic leadership in Portugal that has made a fine study of the sensibilities of the centrist and ultraleft currents among the youth and that has learned how to play on them. Carvalho proved especially skillful, coopting these currents among the young soldiers into his military security command and using them as a means of negotiating with the masses.

Left centrists

Because of their political softness, the left centrists in Portugal were easy meat for the MFA demagogues who supported the "People's Power" scheme in an attempt to extend their influence directly into the factories and neighborhoods. This attempt by the "leftist" wing of the MFA was not successful last summer in the sense of building an organic transmission belt for the MFA. It was successful to the extent that it halted the political advance of the workers toward a determination to take the government out of the hands of the generals. It divided the workers, and maintained the political influence of the MFA in its various forms over them.

As of now, the main danger presented by Carvalho's "People's Power" scheme is that it will divert the most combative workers from organizing an effective resistance to Eanes's austerity program and from breaking politically from the MFA.

The Portuguese revolutionary process has been the first decisive test for the ultraleft and centrist currents that claim to represent a revolutionary alternative to the Social Democratic and Stalinist betrayers. So far, they have failed to offer any such alternative, and in fact bear a significant share of the responsibility for serious defeats suffered by the working class. Will they now go further along this road? This is the question raised by the support Carvalho succeeded in gaining in the electoral arena.



Candidates in Portuguese elections (clockwise from upper left): General António Ramalho Eanes, José Pinheiro de Azevedo, Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, and Octávio Pato.

Rising toll of death squad victims in Latin America

By Judy White

Twenty-five political refugees were freed in Buenos Aires June 12 after being told in no uncertain terms that they had better leave Argentina within forty-eight hours. They had been abducted the previous day by a gang of heavily armed men who identified themselves as members of a nonexistent state security body.

Many were released with broken ribs and bruises. The men reported they were tortured with electricity. They had no idea where they were held during the twenty-four-hour period.

These twenty-five refugees were lucky. Four Uruguayans, including two former members of parliament, and a former president of Bolivia were found murdered after being abducted in Buenos Aires in similar operations in preceding weeks.

In Rio de Janeiro, thirty-eight persons died at the hands of such gangs during May. Many of the bullet-riddled

bodies were found with the victims' hands tied behind their backs and showed signs of torture.

Death squads, like the Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance) and the Brazilian Esquadrão da Morte (Death Squad), have operated with impunity in several countries of Latin America for years.

In general, the death squads' intended victims are political and trade-union activists, refugees, and slum dwellers. Their tactics are directed toward wholesale intimidation of the oppressed masses of the population.

An indication of their effectiveness was provided by Jonathan Kandell in an article in the June 7 *New York Times* on the recent killings in Brazil:

... many residents decline to even discuss the death squad. Apprehension runs so deep that some do not even dare claim the bodies of relatives slain by the death squad for fear of further reprisals.

The old cemetery in Marapicu, a few miles from Nova Iguaça, is known as the death squad cemetery. During the last three months, 32 unclaimed, bullet-ridden bodies were buried there.

Officially tolerated

It is common knowledge that such terrorist gangs not only enjoy the toleration of the regimes in the countries where they operate, but that important officials mastermind and participate in their activities. In some cases, governmental support has been shown to extend to financing the gangs' operations.

The most notorious case to come to light was that of the AAA. Peronist Social Welfare Minister José López Rega was involved in the founding of the group, ministry funds were used to bankroll its operations, and full-time functionaries of the AAA were placed on government payrolls. Although López Rega himself was forced into exile as a result of protests against his role in the murder gang, the AAA continues to function. It has killed at least 155 persons since the March 24 military coup.

No attempt was ever made by Perón or by her successor, Gen. Jorge Videla, to arrest or prosecute anyone for the AAA's crimes.

Such extralegal forces are useful to repressive regimes in that they provide an instrument to carry out the dirtiest work. Meanwhile, the government remains formally free of responsibility, giving lip service to civil liberties, and at times feigning total ignorance of the terrorists.

Occasionally, however, unfavorable publicity has forced regimes harboring terrorist gangs to make a show of clamping down.

In 1971, news articles in the U.S. press on the murders being carried out by La Banda in the Dominican Republic forced President Joaquín Balaguer to do just that. As *Intercontinental*

Press reported in its October 11, 1971, issue:

He announced the removal from the police force of a certain "Lieutenant Núñez, a controversial figure whom the political opposition accuses of being the link between the police and La Banda". . . .

Balaguer went on to proclaim that he was appointing a new attorney general to ensure a full-scale roundup and prosecution of those responsible for the killings and abductions perpetrated by La Banda.

In the days immediately following, several hundred alleged La Banda members were picked up by the police. Most were quietly released, however, within one to three days after their arrest.

Predictably, La Banda was soon functioning again; five victims of the gang were found in Santo Domingo October 9.

Nothing new

Semiofficial terrorist gangs are nothing new in Latin America. There are reports of the existence of the Brazilian Esquadrão da Morte as early as the mid-1950s, but such formations began to be described in detail a decade later when their numbers and actions proliferated.

The Mano Blanca (White Hand) in Guatemala became notorious in the late 1960s as a tool of the Méndez Montenegro government in its campaign against guerrilla organizations, political dissidents, and other sectors of the population seeking social change.

In the years following the crushing by U.S. troops of the 1965 revolt in the Dominican Republic, La Banda waged a more ferocious campaign of terror against the Dominican masses than had been experienced at almost any time during the bloody Trujillo dictatorship.

In Brazil, following the 1964 coup, the Esquadrão da Morte moved to the fore to aid in the elimination of the mass movement that the military was not able to fully crush.



Two victims of La Banda, a death squad in the Dominican Republic

Kremlin backs off attempt to declare Moroz insane

By Marilyn Vogt

The international campaign to free the dissident Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz has won a partial victory. In a virtually unprecedented ruling, the "doctors" at Serbsky Institute in Moscow have "found" Moroz to be sane, according to *Svoboda*, a Ukrainian-language daily published in the United States.

Valentyn Moroz was sentenced in November 1970 to a fourteen-year term (six years in prison, three years labor camp, five years internal exile) because of his writings in defense of democratic rights in the Soviet Union and the national rights of the Ukrainian people. The six-year term of imprisonment was to have ended June 1. But instead of transferring Moroz from Vladimir prison to a labor camp as his sentence dictated, on May 10 he was transferred to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry.

Serbsky is notorious because the secret-police agents in white coats masquerading as psychiatric experts help the Soviet rulers crack down on political dissenters by declaring them mentally ill and placing them in

psychiatric hospital-prisons for indefinite terms.

Raissa Moroz, Valentyn's wife, learned from him that he was transferred to the Serbsky Institute because the Kremlin rulers deemed he needed a psychiatric examination as a result of his "excessive religiousness" and his "attempts to mutilate himself."

Raissa learned this from Moroz during a meeting she was allowed to have with him at the institute on May 19, according to a May 22 *Toronto Star* report of a telephone interview that paper had with her.

She said a doctor at the institute told her Moroz had to undergo an examination because he had recently "become morose."

"Let him be moved to a forced labor camp. The labor is hard, but there at least he would be among friends," Raissa told the *Toronto Star*. "Let him be sent to a camp. I don't care about that. But he is a healthy person and must not be kept at the Serbsky."

Leonid Plyushch, a Marxist Ukrainian who spent two and a half years in the Dnepropetrovsk psychiatric hospital because of his activities in defense of democratic rights, until he was freed by an international defense effort,

stated, according to the May 27 *Le Monde*:

It is inhumane and absurd to reproach a human being for that person's religious beliefs and to see these as proof of mental imbalance. And what is even worse are allegations of supposed suicide attempts. One of Moroz's fellow prisoners reported not long ago that Moroz asked him to inform the world that he was being forced to share a cell with insane people in an attempt to break his mental resistance. The insane sometimes go berserk, and the "attempt at suicide" could well have been a physical attack [on him].

According to the May 24 *Toronto Globe and Mail*, Tatyana Zhitnikova, who was an instrumental figure in securing the release of her husband, Leonid Plyushch, issued an open letter to women's organizations around the world, appealing to them to call for Moroz's release.

In response to the Kremlin bureaucrats' efforts to have Moroz declared mentally ill, Zhitnikova said Moroz revealed "the sufferings and pain of the Ukrainian people. That is the real reason for his 'madness.'"

Under pressure from the mounting international defense work on Moroz's behalf, however, the bureaucrats were

forced to back down. According to *Svoboda*, Raissa Moroz announced June 21 that she was informed of the Serbsky decision by officials who also told her Moroz has been transferred to Moscow's Butyrka prison from which he will be transferred to a labor camp.



VALENTYN MOROZ

40,000 NY hospital workers out on strike

By Caryl Towner

NEW YORK, July 7—Some 40,000 members of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, struck voluntary (private) hospitals in this city at 6:00 a.m. today.

Immediately affected are thirty-four hospitals. On July 10, the strike is scheduled to be extended to thirteen nursing homes employing 3,000 union

Caryl Towner is a delegate of the Guild Division of District 1199, and a member of the union negotiating committee. She works at Beth Israel Hospital.

members and to 1,500 workers at nine municipal hospitals who fall under 1199 jurisdiction. About 60 percent of the city's hospital capacity will be affected.

The union represents technical, clerical, and maintenance workers at the struck hospitals—virtually all employees except doctors and nurses. Despite the obvious danger to patients that is involved, the hospitals plan to maintain operations at near-normal levels.

A hospital official put it this way: "We're very conscious that every time we have an empty bed we have lost income. We have to practice sound business as well as sound medicine."

Dr. Jay Dobkin, head of the Committee of Interns and Residents, the doctors union at the hospitals, blasted the attitude of the administrators. "We think it irresponsible and dangerous to patients for the hospitals to maintain business as usual to break the strike."

The strike is one that the union did not want, but had forced on it by the employers association, the League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes of New York. The league represents twenty-eight of the thirty-four struck hospitals and the nursing homes.

District 1199 is one of the largest unions in the city. It has taken relatively good positions on important social issues. About 70 percent of the

membership is Black or Puerto Rican, and more than half are women.

Since negotiations began, the league has refused to consider proposals from the union, insisting instead that the union agree to a wage freeze and cuts in benefits.

The league knows union members will not accept such a contract. The majority of 1199 members take home less than \$160 a week in a city with one of the highest costs of living in the country.

In mid-June, the league walked out of negotiations altogether. The union had accepted a proposal from federal fact finders for a small cost-of-living increase, and had even agreed to the risky proposal that other issues be submitted to binding arbitration.

The league arrogantly rejected this offer. This made clear that the league's real goal is to refuse to sign any city-wide contract with District 1199, no matter what the provisions. Instead, the league wants the union to negotiate with each of the nursing homes and hospitals on an individual basis.

Since mid-June the hospitals have made no offer for a contract. "We just don't have any money to give them," a league official claims.

Individual settlements, league strategists hope, will allow the hospitals to negotiate cut-rate wages and play off the workers in one hospital against others. It is a way of chopping up the union into semiautonomous units with different work classifications and separate wage rates in all the different hospitals.

The only way the union can counter this strategy of the league is to insist upon a master contract with uniform conditions of work on one basic rate of wages.

The hospitals have been emboldened in this offensive by the stunningly successful attack on the New York municipal unions carried out by Democratic politicians at the behest of bankers and big business. The league is trying to extend the wage freeze and layoffs from the public sector to

Thousands blast wage freeze



Militant/Lou Howort

NEW YORK—Some 5,000 angry hospital workers and supporters rallied June 30 at the New York City offices of Gov. Hugh Carey. They protested a freeze in Medicaid payments that has been used by voluntary (private) hospitals as a pretext to demand a freeze in workers' wages. The protest was called by District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. Several union leaders spoke. Among the participants was Marcia Gallo, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate. In a written statement distributed at the action, Gallo expressed support for 1199's fight and urged the union to take the initiative in uniting working people to fight cutbacks, wage freezes, and layoffs of all kinds.

private industry.

Cooperating fully with the employers association assault on the union is Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey. Carey was supported by District 1199 in the last election as a "friend of labor."

Carey proposed and obtained appro-

val of a state law that freezes Medicaid payments at 1975 levels. It is on the basis of an alleged loss of income from Medicaid payments that the hospitals are demanding a wage freeze.

Unity and militance among hospital

Continued on page 30

N.J. schools closed; funding unconstitutional

By Andy Farrand

NEWARK—On July 1, all public schools in this state were shut down by court order, as Democratic and Republican politicians in the state legislature maneuvered to see who would take the blame for imposing a tax hike on working people.

Immediately affected are half of the 2,500 schools that have summer sessions. About 4,000 teachers and 100,000 students are involved. The closing came after the state legislature failed to approve a new constitutional plan for financing education.

Three years ago, the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled the school financing that relied primarily on property taxes was in violation of the state constitution's requirement that "thorough and efficient" education be provided for all children.

The judges said this financing setup discriminated against poorer districts and their students. Last May 13 the high court ordered all financing for public education cut off unless a constitutional funding plan was implemented.

These decisions were a step forward in ensuring equal education for all children of working people, most of all Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

But the capitalist politicians, led by Democratic Gov. Brendan Byrne, have been using the ruling to ram through a new tax on working people.

The New Jersey government has joined the national chorus demanding that working people tighten their belts. The disagreements in the state legislature center on how this belt tightening is to be carried out. Some favor new taxes. Others want to emphasize cutbacks in social services. Among the pro-tax camp, there is discord on what kind of tax to impose.

Debate has centered on a state income tax proposal that would place an additional tax burden on the already overtaxed working people of the state. New Jersey has not had an income tax.

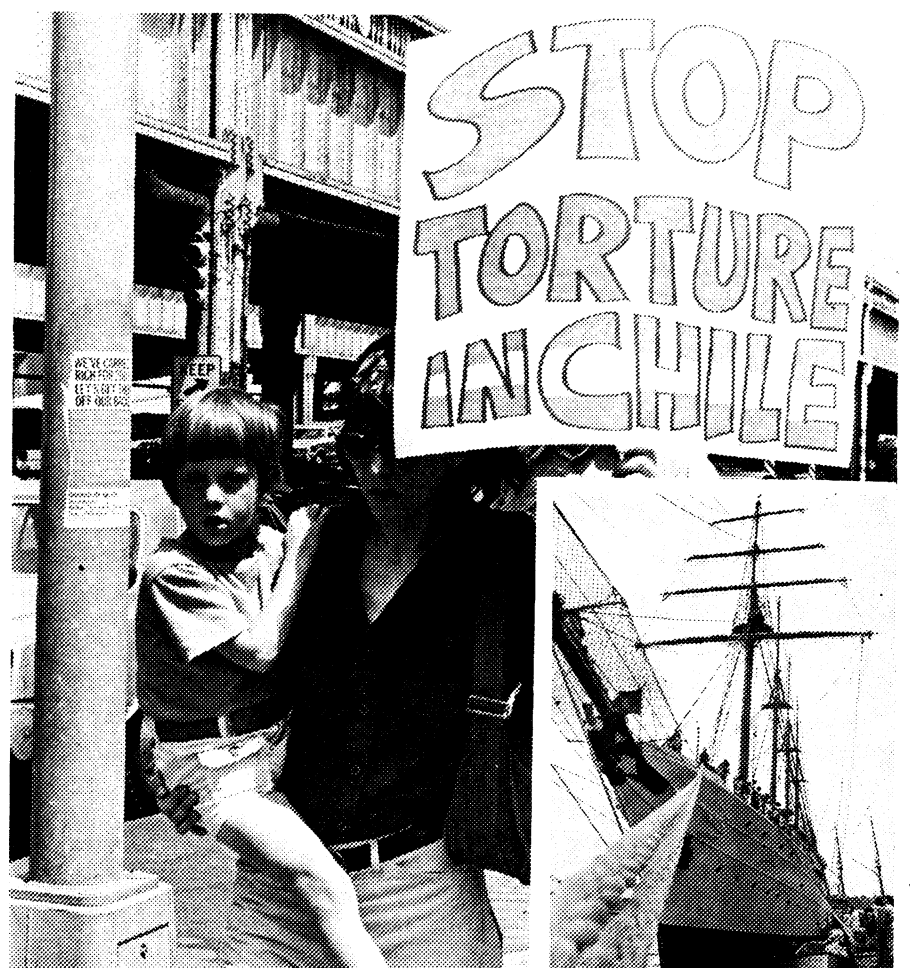
Larry Stewart, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress in the Tenth District, has denounced the shell game being carried out by the politicians of the two major parties.

Instead of imposing new taxes on workers, Stewart advocates a halt to interest payments to banks and cuts in military spending to finance education and other social services.

"The unprecedented closing of our schools," Stewart says, "shows the callous disregard the Democrats and Republicans have for working people's needs."

"We working people need our own political representatives and our own political party. We need a labor party that will place the needs and standard of living above ensuring profits for corporations and the rich."

Chile torture ship protest



Militant/Lou Howort

NEW YORK—About 500 people picketed the Chilean ship 'Esmeralda' on July 5 while it was moored at a pier here. The 'Esmeralda' was in the United States as part of a bicentennial display of tall ships—antiquated sailing boats—used by many navies for training purposes. In the case of the 'Esmeralda,' it has also been used by the Chilean government as a floating torture chamber.

By Andy Rose

MONTREAL—The wave of strikes and demonstrations that erupted in Québec last April marked the high point to date of resistance to the Canadian government's wage controls and cutbacks.

The upsurge was touched off when Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa pushed through the Québec legislature a bill banning teacher strikes.

Thousands of teachers, hospital workers, and other public employees—backed by students and parents—took to the streets in defiance of the law. These workers had been without contracts since June 1975. They were

LABOR UPSURGE IN CANADA

ready to launch a general strike of public employees to win their demands for a decent standard of living.

Yet the government managed to weather the crisis. It has now succeeded in fragmenting the Common Front (made up of public employee unions from Québec's three major labor federations). What happened?

Paul Kouri, organizer of the Montréal branch of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action (Canadian section of the Fourth International), explains:

"The leadership of the Common Front refused to put forward any clear perspective. Before, they always said, 'We'll never propose a general strike unless the government attacks first.'"

"Then, when the government *did* attack with these back-to-work laws, they had to find a new excuse. They said, 'We'll wait to see if the government actually prosecutes people under this law.'"

Stalling tactics

Now, in fact, hundreds of charges are being brought against unions and individual workers. The strategy of the Common Front leaders—limiting the struggle to partial, sporadic actions to pressure the government—has demobilized and to a certain extent demoralized the members.

"All these stalling tactics have played into the government's hands," Kouri said. "They enabled the government to chip off, one by one, various

Québec unions debate need for labor party



Jacques Beaudoin (left) and Louis Gill, leaders of the Regroupement of Trade Union Militants, which is campaigning for formation of a labor party.

sectors. Today the situation is grim."

Some 50,000 workers who are not in the Common Front have accepted the government's contract offer. Since schools are closing, the teachers federation decided to put off further action until the fall.

The Common Front's 80,000 hospital workers were left on their own. They struck June 18, but as this article is written it seems likely they will be forced back to work without gaining their major demands.

Despite the extraordinary militancy and determination of the Québec union ranks, their struggle was crippled by the same disease that afflicts American trade unions: subservience to the political parties of the bosses.

The allegiance of most of the Québec union officialdom is to the Parti Québécois.

Since its formation in the late 1960s, the PQ has rapidly won a mass following based on its nationalist, proindependence stance. In the most

recent provincial elections (October 1973), it won 31 percent of the vote. But as a result of the gerrymandering of election districts, the PQ won only 6 seats out of 110 in the National Assembly, while the Liberal party took 102 seats.

Although the PQ sometimes claims to be "social democratic," its program and policies are thoroughly procapitalist. The PQ aspires to win the confidence and support of the French-speaking capitalists.

The PQ is qualitatively different from the New Democratic party, the social-democratic labor party in English Canada. The NDP—although it too has a procapitalist program—is based on the labor movement and is largely controlled by the unions.

(The NDP has never won mass support among Québécois workers, fundamentally because its leaders are committed to the Canadian state and oppose the struggle for an independent, French Québec.)

"At every stage of the struggle," Paul Kouri told me, "the most important calculation on which the union leadership has based its moves has been its links to the PQ. It attempted to channel the Common Front struggle into a framework acceptable to the PQ. It tried to avoid a centralized confrontation with the government, even when such a confrontation was inevitable and the only way to avoid it was for the unions to back down."

"This happened repeatedly. The ranks came forward, and the leadership did everything it could to stem the mobilizations, to limit them."

"The Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière has long argued that the unions need to break with the PQ and form a labor party."

"This was clearly posed around the antilabor laws and the political crisis [in April]. The Bourassa government said, 'We're not giving in.' The Common Front was strong enough to pose a real alternative to the government."

'Every labor struggle becomes political'

[The following are excerpts from a resolution approved by the Syndicat du Transport de Montréal—Employés des Services d'Entretien (Montréal Transport Union—maintenance workers' section) in preparation for a series of workshops on labor political action held throughout Québec this spring. The translation is by the Militant]

Because of the economic crisis of the capitalist system, the demands of the labor movement are incompatible with the present economic order and can no longer be met in the framework of the profit system. That is why the federal government has stepped in and decided to freeze wages by imposing Law C-73.

Since the imposition of this law (also adopted by Bourassa [in Québec] with Law 64), all labor struggles are to be resolved before Parliament.

Each and every demand of the labor movement comes up against the government and its laws. Strikes become by this very fact political strikes, which can no longer be resolved in the context of labor legislation that once left it up to the local employers to

negotiate contracts by collective bargaining.

This is no longer the case with Law C-73, which regulates collective bargaining with the result that each conflict becomes essentially political. For a growing number of workers, it is clear from now on that the obstacle to the satisfaction of their demands is the Parliament!

Another event shows that workers in greater and greater numbers are seeing that Parliament is the main obstacle to their demands: the demonstration last March 22 at the federal Parliament in Ottawa.

Thirty-two thousand workers from throughout the country came to the capital to protest the wage freeze. This was in spite of the fact that the organizers had done nothing to assure massive participation by all Canadian workers and expected at most 15,000 workers.

This solidarity demonstration was clearly an important step in the fight against Trudeau's wage controls. For the first time in the history of the union movement in this country, workers from all parts of Canada and Québec came together, under the same

banner, in the same struggle against the federal government. An important step has been taken toward centralizing the fight against a law that affects all of us.

With this event, the question of political action has become concrete and immediate for the entire labor movement, which wants its demands to be met. If the obstacle to satisfying these demands is the government controlled by the bosses, then a government controlled by the workers is the only way to satisfy the demands!

For a long time the labor movement did not organize itself politically and did not have its own party. It is not surprising that many unionists felt repugnance toward getting involved in politics. Politics appeared to them—justifiably—as being against their interests and completely in the service of the capitalist parties, parties that oppose our demands and that once in power pass laws to break our strikes.

We think that the political action for us to take should be for our own interests—by the workers, for the workers. The only way to concretely realize this objective is with a party of the workers with a program expressing our demands.

The demands of the workers can only be defended by the workers themselves and this requires the construction of our own party. In this framework, the program of demands of the workers and the complete satisfaction of each and every one of our demands constitutes the basis for breaking with the capitalist parties, including the PQ!

Our unions and our labor federations are necessary and indispensable tools for defending our interests. However, to fully satisfy our demands we must now, through our unions, organize ourselves politically in a separate political party!

We believe that the question of a labor party is urgent. The labor movement should have its own political voice, its party, to open up a labor alternative for the next elections. At the very least, the labor movement should nominate workers' candidates who could go to Parliament to defend our demands.

- For a labor party!
- For a program based on all the demands of the working class!
- For the nomination of the workers' own candidates, under the control of the workers themselves!

But with no political party of their own, this was impossible for the unions to do."

A campaign for formation of a labor party in Québec is now being carried out by the Regroupement des Militants Syndicaux (RMS—Regroupement of Trade Union Militants). Founded in 1974, the RMS involves some 250 activists from all three labor federations.

Active in the RMS are members of both the LSO and the Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (GSTQ—Socialist Workers Group of Québec).

To find out more about the group, I interviewed Louis Gill, chairperson of the RMS, and Jacques Beaudoin, one of its leading members. Beaudoin is president of the Syndicat du Transport de Montréal—Employés des Services d'Entretien (Montréal Transport Union—maintenance workers' section), which waged a successful strike in 1974 for reopening the union contract to add a cost-of-living clause.

"The RMS is open to all trade-union militants who are interested in discussing political action and questions relating to the three basic principles of the RMS," Gill said.

"These principles are, first, complete independence of the unions from the government and the bosses.

"Second, unity of action of the various unions.

"Third, working toward construction of a labor party based on the unions."

The RMS holds monthly meetings, organizes classes, distributes leaflets and a regular "Bulletin de Liaison," and has published two pamphlets on the need for a labor party.

In recent months this call has been the subject of a far-reaching and serious debate within the unions and even in the pages of the daily press in Québec.

Debate in unions

At its convention last December, the Fédération des Travailleurs de Québec (FTQ—Québec Federation of Labor) discussed the necessity for heightened political action by the unions. But FTQ head Louis Laberge declared formation of a labor party to be premature. He urged a policy of "tactical" support of the PQ.

In January, the Confederal Council of the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN—Confederation of National Trade Unions), adopted a proposal to "work out a political ideology and a program by and for the workers, and that we set in motion procedures to carry out this program, which may include organizing a labor party if the workers think it is needed."

The CSN initiated political action workshops this spring in many regions of Québec (but not in Montréal) at which the labor party was discussed. The question is expected to be debated at the conventions this summer of both the CSN and the Centrale de l'Enseignement du Québec (CEQ—Québec Teachers Federation).

Jacques Beaudoin's union is a CSN affiliate. He explained: "Under the cover of the present constitution of the CSN, which prohibits affiliation to any political party, the union leaders claim they should not actually launch a labor party.

"In practice this means they give backhanded support to the PQ. But the PQ is a bourgeois party. It has nothing to do with the workers' interests."

Treachery of PQ

Beaudoin offered examples of the PQ's treacherous role. "The Bourassa government passed the essential services act, severely limiting the right to strike in the hospitals. The PQ voted for this law.

"When the liberal government passed Law 23 [banning teacher strikes] there was a massive, united movement against this law. René Lévesque, leader of the PQ, advised Bourassa to let the workers blow off steam and then things will get back to normal."

Lévesque denounced the idea of a general strike of public employees. The PQ also refused to support the Common Front's demand for a \$165 a week minimum wage.

Louis Gill added: "There are many signs the PQ is an antilabor party. The workers were asking for correction for inflation over the past three years, a total wage increase of 43 percent.

"The PQ made public statements that anything below 32.5 percent would be robbery. It was subtle. They didn't say they were not supporting the workers' demands. But what the PQ was doing was undercutting their demands, implying they shouldn't get anything more than 32.5 percent.

"Actually," he added, "the PQ favored Law 23, although they found some reason to vote against it while agreeing with it in principle."

Gill and Beaudoin agreed that "there was definitely collusion between the leaders of the Common Front and the PQ on the strategy of 'disruptive' tactics, the rotating strikes—everything to avoid a general strike."

The PQ has also been rapidly toning down its nationalist rhetoric. In earlier years the PQ declared it would proclaim independence for Québec the moment it achieved power. Now it stresses the need to go through a number of "stages" first.

Disillusionment

Of course, there are still a lot of illusions in the PQ among rank-and-file workers. They believe it is financed not by the corporations but by working people. They still think a PQ government would bring significant reforms.

"But there is a growing disillusionment," Paul Kouri reports. "As the PQ takes a more conservative stand on labor's struggles and backtracks on independence, some labor and student militants are starting to ask, 'Is this party really going to bring us anything?'"

Faced with this sentiment, the union bureaucrats in Québec find all sorts of radical-sounding excuses for their refusal to launch a labor party. Louis Gill explained:

"You have the brand that says, 'We're 100 percent for a labor party, but it is too early. We have to have more political education.' Others say, 'We have to form a *movement*—not a political party, but a political movement.'"

To help cut through this demagoguery, *Continued on page 30*

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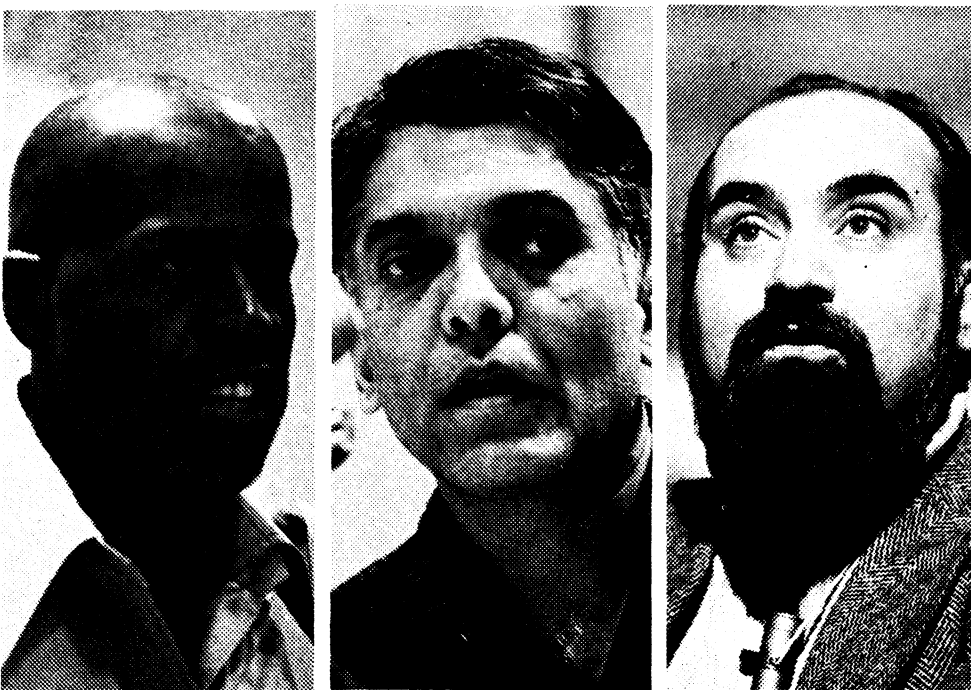
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NY meeting says: Free Soviet Tatar dissident



Among those at meeting to publicize case of Mustafa Dzhemilev were (from left): former Black prisoner Martin Sostre; civil libertarian Eqbal Ahmad; and Iranian poet and dissident Reza Baraheni.

By Marilyn Vogt
From Intercontinental Press

A meeting was held in New York June 24 to publicize the case of imprisoned Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev. Dzhemilev was sentenced in April in Omsk, Siberia, to his fourth term of imprisonment on a charge of "anti-Soviet activity."

His alleged crime is to have been active in the struggle of the Tatars to return to their homeland in the Crimea. In 1944, they were deported en masse by Stalin, who accused the entire Tatar population of treason.

The more than 100 persons who attended the meeting heard an impressive array of speakers, including exiled Soviet dissident Pavel Litvinov, former American political prisoner Martin Sostre, and Iranian poet and dissident Reza Baraheni.

Litvinov provided a firsthand account of the development of the Crimean Tatar struggle and urged all who oppose the persecution of oppressed nationalities to come to the defense of Dzhemilev.

Sostre, a Black Puerto Rican who was sentenced in 1968 to a term of forty-one years on phony drug charges, described his own case. He told how international protests, including an appeal from Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov, helped secure his freedom.

"As a former political prisoner," he said, "I consider Mustafa as well as other political prisoners throughout the world my brothers, because I can really identify with political frame-up and repression of persons of conscience who fought for human rights and dignity."

"But the very fact that I am here now," Sostre continued, "is proof positive that even the most repressive state can be forced to disgorge its political prisoners. . . . My case is a classic case of what can be done to free a political prisoner."

Baraheni, who was imprisoned and tortured for 102 days by the shah of Iran, was also freed by an international defense campaign. He spoke of the special identity he, as a Turk, felt with Dzhemilev, who is also a Turk.

Although the ten million Turks in Iran have not been deported, Baraheni said, they are deprived of their language, culture, and history by the shah just as the Crimean Tatars are by the Stalinist regime.

Melanie Czajkowskyi, a Ukrainian activist, spoke on behalf of the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. She linked the struggle of Dzhemilev and the Crimean Tatars to the cause of the more than 100 different nationalities in the Soviet

Union, including the Ukrainians, who suffer under the Great Russian chauvinism of the Stalinist regime.

The variety of the different nationalities of the speakers at the meeting, she said, showed the awakening and growing international solidarity of oppressed nationalities around the world. Only by continuing to extend this solidarity, she said, can the goals Mustafa Dzhemilev is fighting for be realized.

Eqbal Ahmad, a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington and a prominent civil libertarian from Pakistan, said: "I did have some trepidations" about appearing at this meeting. "But I have a great deal of relief and sense of delight to be here . . . and surprise, because I had not seen yet a meeting concerned with repression in Russia" that was organized "for reasons that concerned humanity rather than mere anticommunism; that concerned liberty rather than sheer anti-Sovietism."

Mibeyyan Altan, a Crimean Tatar active in Amnesty International, pointed to the hypocrisy of the Soviet government "posing as a friend of the Muslim people" internationally, while "oppressing the Muslim people within its own boundaries." He continued:

"We, the Crimean Tatars of the United States, demand the Soviet government free Mustafa Dzhemilev and all the political prisoners in the Soviet Union immediately . . . reestablish the Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic [established by the Bolsheviks in 1921 but abolished by Stalin in 1946] . . . and have an organized return of all the Crimean Tatar people to their ancestral homeland."

Other speakers at the meeting were: John Breheny, a member of the Irish Northern Aid; Pat Wright, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from the Fourteenth District, Brooklyn, New York; antiwar activist Ralph Schoenman; and Rose Styron, a poet and member of the American Board of Amnesty International.

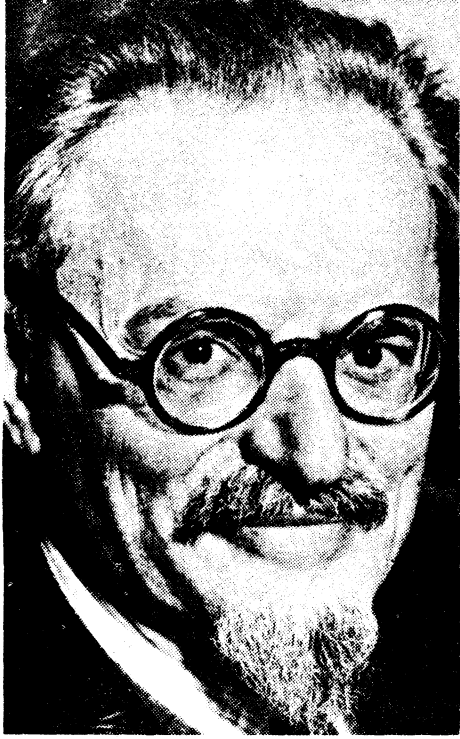
As part of the effort to help secure the victory of this struggle, participants at the meeting sent a telegram of protest to the Kremlin, demanding freedom for Mustafa Dzhemilev and recognition of the right of the Tatars to return to the Crimea.

The Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee, which organized the meeting, welcomes the participation of all who support human rights, the rights of oppressed nationalities, and freedom for political prisoners around the world. Further information can be obtained by writing to the committee at 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, New York 10003.

Can Moscow or Peking build 'socialism in one country'?



LENIN: 'We always staked our play upon an international revolution.'



TROTSKY: Defended socialist internationalism against Stalin regime.



STALIN: Proclaimed doctrine of 'building socialism in one country.'



MAO: Accepted Stalin doctrine 100 percent.

By Dick Roberts

(Fifth of a series)

Peking's ultimate justification of its attempt to seek "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism is that this foreign policy will permit China to "build socialism" at home.

Many former supporters of Peking's foreign policy, such as the *Guardian* newspaper, criticize Peking's strategy of accommodation with imperialism. But they do not question the concept of "building socialism in one country."

For example, Irwin Silber, the *Guardian's* executive editor, stated at a New York meeting June 4 that the question of building socialism in one country was solved many years ago.

Silber was referring to a crucial debate—between the Soviet bureaucracy, which emerged in the early 1920s, and Leon Trotsky. Stalin, speaking for the new bureaucracy, declared that the Soviet state could establish a socialist society in a single country.

Trotsky upheld Lenin's position that socialism requires the internationalization of revolution and cannot be built in a separate country.

Workers had overthrown capitalism and established a workers state in the Soviet Union, Trotsky said. But building socialism in backward Russia would require the spread of revolution to the advanced industrial nations of the West.

Silber did not say where he thinks socialism has been established, but he would probably put both the Soviet Union and China in that category. This position is contradictory.

Silber and the *Guardian* emphasize that Moscow's foreign policy is class-collaborationist and counterrevolutionary. They describe the Soviet Union as "social imperialist." How can the Soviet Union be "socialist" and "social imperialist" at the same time?

A similar question must be asked about Peking. The *Guardian* criticizes the main orientation of Peking's foreign policy, which proclaims the Soviet Union the "main danger" and seeks strengthened imperialist military alliances against Moscow. Is Peking's foreign policy "socialist"? How is it possible for a "socialist" society to pursue a counterrevolutionary foreign policy?

None of the leaders of the Russian revolution had ever thought to con-

struct a socialist society in an isolated and economically backward country. Following Marx, Lenin and the Bolsheviks believed socialism was possible only on the basis of a tremendous advance of technology.

Goods must be produced in abundance in order to be available to all and in order to fulfill all human needs. Only then can a classless society, based on harmonious social production, come into being.

Such an economy can only be established on an international scale. "The proletarian revolution is directed against both private property in the means of production and against the national splitting-up of world economy," Trotsky explained. "... Internationalism is not an abstract principle but the expression of an economic fact. ... Starting from the world-wide division of labor, the task of socialism is to carry the international exchange of goods and services to its highest development."

Today, let alone in Lenin's time, food and machinery are desperately needed by the overwhelming majority of the world's population in those countries whose economic development has been blocked by imperialist domination and plunder. These goods will only be available if the socialist revolution is further internationalized. It is necessary to break the stranglehold of the imperialist countries on the world production of food and machinery.

The Soviet workers state has advanced rapidly since 1917. Its great strides forward show that nationalized and planned production is superior to capitalism. But there remain huge unevennesses in the Soviet economy in the production and distribution of goods. Bureaucratic privilege stands side-by-side with agricultural backwardness and even poverty. This is a postcapitalist society, but it is far from satisfying all the needs of its peoples. It is a society in transition from capitalism to socialism.

Much less technologically advanced is the vast, predominantly peasant society of China. The 1949 revolution broke the back of Chinese capitalism. But in order to provide the Chinese people with abundant goods, China will have to become part of an international workers' economy.

China cannot "go it alone" as the Mao regime preaches. Each new econ-

omic upheaval in China testifies to the impossibility of overcoming China's past centuries of imperialist exploitation without internationalizing its victory over imperialism.

Bolshevik view

The perspective of struggling for world revolution in order to bring socialism to humanity guided the thinking of the Bolshevik party before it succumbed to Stalin's rule. The Bolsheviks saw their revolution as a stepping-stone to revolution in Europe. They explicitly rejected the concept of "building socialism in one country."

"The Communist revolution can be victorious only as a world revolution. ... In a situation where the workers have won only a single country, economic construction becomes very difficult. ... For the victory of communism the victory of the world revolution is necessary."

So stated the *ABC of Communism*, the famous Bolshevik party textbook written by Nikolai Bukharin and Yevgeny Preobrazhensky.

"To overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and establish the power of the proletariat in one country does not mean to guarantee the complete victory of socialism. The chief task of socialism—the organization of socialist production—lies still ahead. Can this task be accomplished? Is it possible to attain the final victory of socialism in one country, without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries. No, it is not. ... For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, especially a peasant country like Russia, are not enough—for this we must have the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries."

So wrote Joseph Stalin himself in April 1924 in the pamphlet *Foundations of Leninism*. This was three months after Lenin's death, but before Stalin had consolidated the rule of his bureaucratic clique.

History rewritten

The Stalin bureaucracy abandoned Leninist internationalism and attacked those who still adhered to Leninism as "Trotskyists." This required turning Leninism upside down

and rewriting a considerable amount of history.

"According to Lenin," Stalin proclaimed, "the revolution finds its force first of all among the workers and peasants of Russia itself. Trotsky has it that the necessary forces can be found only on the arena of the world revolution of the proletariat."

Thus the bureaucrats pretended that their opposition to proletarian internationalism was in the interests of the Soviet workers and peasants. They slandered Trotsky as "underestimating" Russian workers and peasants. They denounced the program of world revolution as "anti-Soviet," the charge that Stalinists always level against revolutionary critics of the Moscow regime.

Did Lenin fear to call Soviet society backward? Was he an opponent of world revolution?

"We are one of the revolutionary detachments of the working class," Lenin said in April 1918, "advanced to the front not because we are better than others, but precisely because we were one of the most backward countries in the world. ... We will arrive at complete victory only together with all the workers of other countries, the workers of the whole world."

"Not for one minute have we forgotten nor will we forget," Lenin said at a session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet government in 1918, "the weakness of the Russian working class in comparison with other detachments of the international proletariat. ... But we must remain at our post until our ally comes, the international proletariat."

On the third anniversary of the Russian revolution Lenin said, "We always staked our play upon an international revolution and this was unconditionally right. ... We always emphasized the fact that in one country it is impossible to accomplish such work as a socialist revolution."

Counterrevolutionary policies

The Stalin bureaucracy suppressed workers and peasants at home and it distrusted the oppressed classes abroad. Stalin sought to justify his counterrevolutionary policies with the idea that the bureaucracy was "building socialism" in the Soviet Union.

In a new edition of Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism*, the passage we

quoted earlier was rewritten. It now said, "Having consolidated its power, and taking the lead of the peasantry, the proletariat of the victorious country can and must build a socialist society."

The anti-Leninist theory of "building socialism in one country" became the law of the land. The ruling party "ought to say frankly that a lack of confidence in the possibility of building socialism in our country will lead to a renunciation of power," Stalin declared in 1926, two years after Lenin's death.

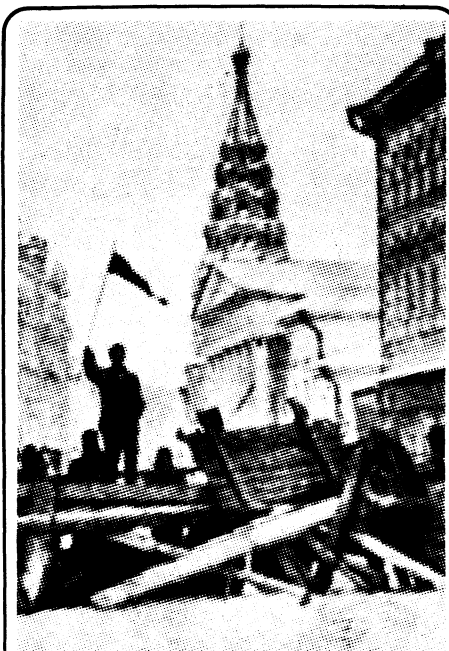
Stalinism replaced Marx and Engels's clarion call for world socialism with the bureaucratic notion that the society ruled by the Kremlin is already socialist. Stalinism preached that workers everywhere should sacrifice their own interests to "socialist construction" in the Soviet Union. This is the theoretical basis for Moscow's policy of "peaceful coexistence."

Stalin's concepts were 100 percent adopted by the Mao regime. They form the theoretical justification for Peking's orientation toward Washington: If the workers and peasants of China do not need an extension of the world revolution; if their interests are somehow different from the interests of workers and peasants everywhere; if the Peking regime can "build socialism"; then why not seek "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism at the expense of workers and peasants everywhere else?

Silber declares that the question of "building socialism in one country" has been solved. In fact, the only "solutions" Stalin ever offered to this debate were the purge trials and the assassination of those who disagreed.

Like all the great ideological disputes within the workers movement, the debate over "building socialism in one country" reflected material conditions and social forces. Stalin's theory was the theory of a victorious bureaucracy that had established a stranglehold on Soviet society and on the Communist International.

(Next: the Stalin bureaucracy)



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Marches demand gay rights

By Ginny Hildebrand

More than 15,000 people participated in the seventh annual Christopher Street Gay Pride March and Rally in New York City June 27.

The New York demonstration and similar actions in other cities marked the anniversary of the 1969 rebellion against a police raid at the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in Greenwich Village. The resistance to that police assault sparked the first widespread public demand for gay rights in this country.

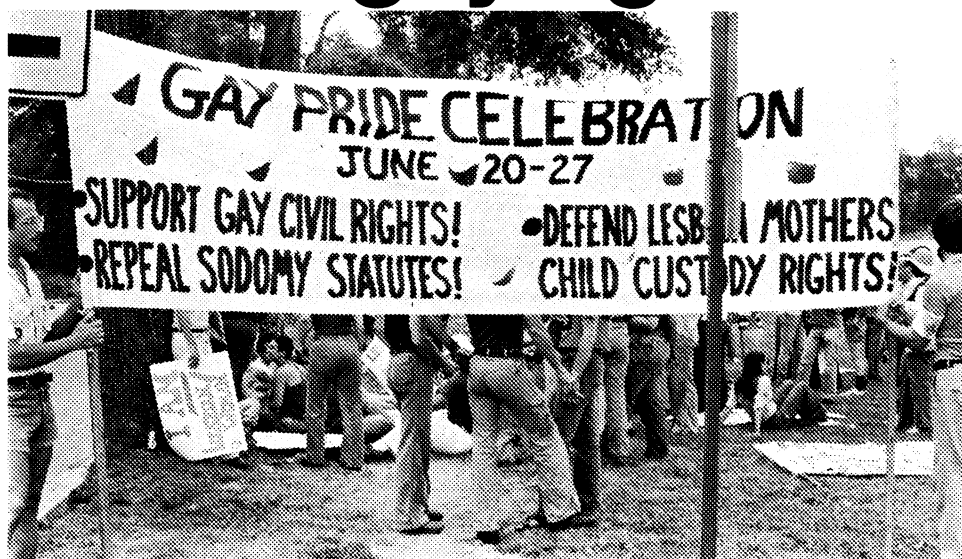
The dominant tone of the New York march and rally was festive. Many banners displayed gay pride slogans. In addition, anger ran high against the recent Supreme Court decision, reports activist Kurt Hill. This ruling upheld a repressive sodomy statute in Virginia. The action was called last March by a mass meeting of 200 activists, who voted to dedicate the action to passage of gay rights legislation and repeal of sodomy laws.

The crowd in Central Park listened to speeches and entertainment. It also heard messages supporting gay rights sent by Rep. Bella Abzug and Socialist Workers party presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

From Atlanta, Linda Regnier reports that 300 gay activists and supporters held a June 26 march and rally, "Christopher Street South." The demonstration's theme came across clearly in chants, speeches, and the lead banner, which proclaimed: "Support Gay Civil Rights; Repeal Sodomy Statutes; Defend Lesbian Mothers' Child Custody Rights." The last slogan was inspired by support for Mary Jo Risher, a gay mother in Dallas fighting for custody of her son.

The demonstration also answered reactionaries who tried to ban the march. The day before the event, seven anonymous business men, calling themselves "Citizens for a Decent Atlanta," sought a court order prohibiting the march. They argued that since homosexual acts are a felony in Georgia, the demonstration was in support of "crime." The group also demanded that Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson rescind his proclamation declaring June 26 Gay Pride Day.

However, they failed to get the court



Militant/Al Budka

Atlanta gay rights supporters gathering for 'Christopher Street South' march

order and were rebuffed by Jackson.

Reactionaries also tried to block gay rights activities in Boston; Providence, Rhode Island; and Los Angeles.

In Boston, the New England Gay Pride Committee was unable to hold a forum in city council chambers. While city council members regularly sponsor antibusing meetings in their chambers, none would sponsor a meeting in support of gay rights.

However, a successful forum was held in another room at city hall on June 21 as part of Gay Pride Week activities, reports gay rights leader Ken Withers. Speakers included Ed Hougan of the Metropolitan Community Church; Carol Henderson Evans, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate; and Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

On several occasions during the week's activities supporters of gay rights pointed to the need for solidarity among Blacks, women, and gays in their fight for basic democratic rights. Carol Henderson Evans emphasized this in a campaign statement that she and her supporters distributed to 200 gay rights demonstrators on June 19.

In Providence, "RI '76," Rhode Island's official bicentennial committee, tried to prevent gay activists from using the city's historic Old State

House and from getting official recognition for a gay rights march. However, the "Toward a Gay Bicentennial Committee" sued RI '76, reports Annette Gagne. The committee won the right to use the Old State House and a parade permit for a June 26 gay pride march, which drew seventy-five.

Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley recognized Gay Pride Week as part of the official bicentennial festivities. This sparked a venomous outburst from columnist Patrick Buchanan. "They are being invited to celebrate a common affliction: homosexuality. Only a sick society would render tribute to a sickness," wrote Buchanan in the July 1 New York *Daily News*.

Fortunately, those who share Buchanan's views and back the Supreme Court's ruling outlawing gay sexuality are a clear minority.

Recent polls conducted by the news media reveal majority support for gay civil rights. In September 1975, pollsters for the *Washington Post* found 63 percent of the population favoring repeal of sodomy laws. In San Diego, KFMB-TV found 55 percent supporting gay rights legislation. And, according to a New York *Daily News* poll this spring, 63 percent of New Yorkers think "homosexuals should be accepted in society and treated the same as anyone else."

Calif. Gov. Brown undercuts UFW

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Gov. Edmund Brown and the Democratic-controlled California legislature are still messing over the United Farm Workers union.

On June 20, Brown named three new members to the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) in a move designed to win legislative approval for refunding of the now-defunct board. All three are machine Democrats.

Brown's latest move is designed to persuade grower representatives in the legislature that the farm labor board will be "impartial"—that it will be better to vote funds for such a board than to have voters approve a UFW-sponsored initiative next November. That measure would provide a farm labor law with teeth in it.

Brown's new appointees were greeted with satisfaction by several agribusiness representatives.

When first established, the ALRB included two pro-UFW members, two that were progrower, and a "neutral" chairperson.

One of the pro-UFW members, Joe Ortega, a Chicano attorney, resigned after being arrested on a morals charge. The second, Leroy Chatfield, a former UFW staff member, quit to take a position in Brown's presidential campaign committee. Then a former Teamster attorney resigned, leaving the three open spots.

One of the three new members is a professional labor arbitrator and the other two are Northern California lawyers. All are Anglos.

Last spring, the growers had insisted on cutting off funds for the ALRB with the demagogic charge that it was "biased" toward the UFW.

Even though the board had failed to enforce the law and conducted its work at a snail's pace, the UFW had consistently outpolled the growers' choice, the Teamsters, in the union representation elections.

With the demise of the ALRB, the UFW proceeded to collect an astonishing 700,000 signatures to qualify an initiative for the November ballot. If approved by the voters, it would take the law out of the hands of the state legislature and make funding automatic.

The powerful, ultraright California Farm Bureau announced June 27 it was raising a \$2.5 million war chest to defeat the measure.

The budget, which includes funds for the ALRB, requires a two-thirds vote for passage. Some progrower legislators now say that it would be better to have an ALRB under the control of the legislature than to have the UFW initiative enacted.

"A funded board is the only defense against a Chavez initiative," is the way one put it.

When the UFW was circulating the petitions to place the proposition on the ballot, Brown remained silent. An aide explained that the governor did not consider it seemly to influence the voters on the matter.

Even with a board on which they
Continued on page 30

New budget aids growers

LOS ANGELES, July 3—Governor Brown yesterday signed a new state budget that included a \$6.8 billion allocation to fund the Agricultural Labor Relations Board. The bill signed by the governor reportedly includes a proviso that the state legislature establish a "watchdog" committee to ensure that the ALRB functions "impartially."

Such a committee had been demanded by agribusiness interests, which argued that the previous board had been biased toward the United Farm Workers. Such an oversight committee will make it even more difficult for the UFW to get justice from the ALRB.

'UNION MAIDS'

Union Maids: A documentary about women organizing in the 1930s by James Klein, Miles Mogulesque and Julia Reichert. New Day Films, 16 mm., black and white, 45 minutes.

There once were three union maids, and Julia Reichert and James Klein, who made *Growing up Female*, have made a film about them.

Sylvia Woods, Kate Hyndman, and Stella Nowicki recall their experiences as young union activists in the 1930s and show that they have not lost any of their rebel spirit.

To young workers in the 1970s, their experiences are quite relevant.

They all had to find jobs during a time of great unemployment. They had no experience nor any special skills.

They had to deal with unsafe working conditions, cutbacks in hours and pay, discrimination against women and minority workers, speedup, and harassment of union activists. All

yards. The workers used what today would be called an "underground" newspaper to help organize the union. They would smuggle it into the yards under their clothing.

The union called a strike after one worker lost part of her hand in a machine that made hot dogs. They demanded safety guards on all machines. To publicize the strike, the union held marches and rallies involving hundreds of people.

Kate tried to organize a union in a textile mill, and used a newspaper to help also. When the bosses announced a general cutback in hours and pay, she wrote a letter to the *Daily Worker* describing the work conditions and

calling for the formation of a union.

She then circulated copies of the paper at work. It caused quite a stir, but cost her her job. She also helped organize the unemployed and fought to stop evictions.

Scenes of strikes and rallies, soup lines and shanties, and battles with the cops are used to illustrate the interviews.

Labor songs help to convey the spirit of the social movement that was the rise of the CIO industrial unions. I saw the film at a meeting of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the audience began to sing along with the Almanac Singers.

Near the end of the film Stella draws

a parallel between the labor movement of today and the narrow-minded, craft-oriented AFL unions of the thirties. What is needed today, in her opinion, is an ambitious campaign to organize the unorganized and breathe new life into the unions. She is very much in favor of the women's movement, although she criticizes some activists for not trying to relate to the problems of working women.

The film has a few minor technical flaws but on the whole it is well made. If you like labor history and you are inspired by stirring labor songs, militant strikes, and spirited marches and rallies, you will enjoy *Union Maids* as much as I did. —Eileen Berlow

Film

three were socialists, and Sylvia was also influenced by the Black nationalist movement led by Marcus Garvey.

Sylvia worked in a laundry that segregated workers by race and sex. The union advocated integration and defended the rights of a Black worker against the backward white workers. When the more privileged workers objected to having a Black man in their department, the union told them that they could look elsewhere for jobs, but the Black man would stay.

Until that point, Sylvia says, she only cared about the Black workers. But she came to respect the white workers who were defending the rights of Blacks.

Stella came to Chicago from a small town, and found work in the stock-



MIGRANT WORKERS IN EUROPE

A Seventh Man: Migrant Workers in Europe. Text by John Berger, photographs by Jean Mohr. Viking Press, New York, 1975. 238 pp., \$8.95.

A Seventh Man is the joint product of John Berger, a British novelist, art critic, essayist, and poet, and Jean Mohr, a Swiss photographer. Through words and pictures they convey what the world looks like to the approximately 11 million migrant workers in northwestern Europe. To achieve a

from one's place within it, and to reassemble it as seen from his." This is what he does with the sensitivity to language of a poet and the insight into character of a novelist.

Text and photographs work together to transmit the experience of the male migrant worker: the impoverished countryside of the country of his origin; the confusion of the big city; the humiliation of being herded with others and made to stand naked before strangers in the medical examinations; the desolation of departing from families; the bleakness of the barracks; the dehumanization of the assembly lines; the return home to the village, where there is the same economic stagnation that first forced him to leave.

But we not only get a sharp impression of the migrant worker's experience; we get a sense of the forces that have shaped that experience.

Berger, a Marxist, describes how advanced capitalism blocks the progress of the underdeveloped countries, foreign capital destroying precapitalist rural self-sufficiency and forming an alliance with local merchants and large landowners. For the peasant this

means poverty and underemployment. The advanced countries suck out and exploit this idle labor power.

In Germany and in England one out of seven manual workers is an immigrant; in France, Switzerland, and Belgium one-fourth of the industrial labor force are immigrants. They do the dirtiest, hardest, poorest-paying, most dangerous work.

The rationale for this exploitation is that they acquire skills that they bring back to their native lands. But the skills for their work can be learned in a few days, and the parasitic moneyed classes in underdeveloped countries do not build new factories or mechanize agriculture.

On the other hand, for the capitalists of the advanced countries the migrant workers constitute an industrial reserve with no political rights and few protections, which can be "imported" when needed and "exported" during recessions.

The migrant workers, says the American magazine *Fortune*, "now appear indispensable to Europe's economy."

The migrant workers recapitulate

the experience of the landless peasants who were proletarianized in the days of the Industrial Revolution, the time whose inhumanities the apologists for capitalism claim the system has outgrown.

They differ, however, from the Irish who came to England and the Europeans who came to the United States in the nineteenth century. Only a minority are permitted to settle in the country in which they work, their contracts being usually for only one year. Uprooted, they cannot strike roots in their "host" countries. When they return home, they find, as Berger phrases it, that they have "changed faster" than their countries.

The truth of this observation is illustrated by the fact that, according to a *New York Times* reporter, almost all of the residents of southern Italy who came home to vote in the June 1976 election voted Communist, while many or most of those who stayed home voted Christian Democratic.

Proletarianization has some effects on which capitalists do not count.

—Paul Siegel

Books

more concentrated focus, they confine themselves to the male migrant workers from southern Europe, omitting the probably 2 million migrant female workers and the workers from the formerly colonial territories in Asia and Africa.

"To try to understand the experience of another," says Berger, "it is necessary to dismantle the world as seen

Endangers ballot rights of all minor parties

Communist party slanders SWP petition drive

By Steve Clark

"An injury to one is an injury to all." This longtime maxim of the working-class movement sustained a blow recently in the pages of the Communist party newspaper the *Daily World*.

Two articles in the July 3 issue slander the efforts to gain ballot status launched by the Socialist Workers party and other minor parties. The articles accuse these parties of illegal petitioning procedures and outright collusion with the government.

One article is the abridged text of a recent speech by Matty Berkelhammer, field coordinator of the CP presidential campaign of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner.

After pointing to the exorbitant signature requirements and other barriers to ballot status erected by state governments across the country, Berkelhammer charges that America's rulers have also put up "all kinds of political parties and tickets to divert people from the only meaningful alternative, the Communist alternative. . . ."

He points to the nominally independent campaign of Democrat Eugene McCarthy, along with the electoral efforts of the Socialist Workers party, Socialist Labor party, Socialist party, Communist Labor party, and other minor parties.

"The ruling class is saying," Berkelhammer contends, "If you're dissatisfied and don't want to vote for Ford or Carter, you can at least vote for a McCarthy or a Trotskyite."

In other words, Berkelhammer is saying that minor parties other than the CP are nothing more than creations of the government designed to confuse radicalizing workers and students.

Telephone books?

Not satisfied with these slanderous accusations, Berkelhammer charges that other parties failed to meet legal petitioning requirements in Massachusetts. ". . . do you think these phony groups have been out there on the streets as we have?" Berkelhammer asks.

"Here in Massachusetts we know that it has been the Communists and their supporters who have been out on the streets, day in and day out. . . ."

"We know where some groups have been! In some office copying names out of telephone books!"

"We know they won't get challenged because the ruling class welcomes their being on the ballot. Anything but the Communist party."

These irresponsible and unsubstantiated charges provide state officials with ammunition to use against all minor parties, including the CP. Any defeat for one minor party in the fight

to get on the ballot weakens the chances of all others. In this sense, solidarity in the fight against undemocratic election laws is just "good business."

Unfortunately, slanders similar to Berkelhammer's crop up elsewhere in the same issue of the *Daily World*, in an article by Victor Perlo, a veteran member of the CP Central Committee.

"Authorities are less rigorous in enforcing the exclusionary laws against other parties than against the Communist Party," Perlo writes.

"In that connection, special mention must be made of the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyites. . . . In some cases, where many signatures are required, they file without having appeared to canvass to collect signatures on a major scale, and their filing is accepted. They are notified of changes in rules kept secret from the Communists."

Perlo even levels the transparently absurd charge that some states have deliberately credited SWP candidates with more votes than they actually received!

Lies and distortions

These charges parrot accusations that have been made against minor parties by the small, right-wing U.S. "Labor" party (also called the National Caucus of Labor Committees). So far this year, the USLP has challenged petitions of other parties, including the CP and the SWP, in several states.

In the USLP's unsuccessful challenge to the Pennsylvania SWP's petitions, this right-wing outfit used the same "telephone book" accusation stooped to by Berkelhammer in the *Daily World*.

What about Berkelhammer's assertion that in Massachusetts only "the Communists and their supporters" were "out on the streets, day in and day out"?

Massachusetts SWP ballot coordinator Susan LaMont labeled this accusation "nothing short of scandalous."

"Anyone who was anywhere near a major city here during the past six weeks knows that such charges are lies pure and simple," LaMont said. "We had a team of twenty full-time petitioners on the streets for three weeks, and as many as 175 people on three consecutive weekends. In all we turned in 65,000 signatures to town clerks."

"Of course, the petitions of the SWP and all other parties will soon be a matter of public record," LaMont continued. "Berkelhammer will have access to them; he can look for himself."

She pointed out that the SWP took on an even higher Massachusetts signature requirement four years ago, becoming the first party in recent years to provide an alternative on the



Militant/Anne Teesdale

Getting names from phone books? SWP supporters collected 65,000 signatures in Massachusetts last month.

ballot there to the Democrats and Republicans.

What of the other charges?

- Perlo states that "every minority party except the Communist Party was notified" this year of an important change in the Wisconsin ballot law. This is simply untrue. The SWP was not "notified"; it simply persisted in demanding accurate ballot information from state officials.

- Perlo claims that after the CP filed its petitions in Alabama, the state legislature "reduced the necessary number of signatures" and extended the petitioning deadline "until the end of August." Alabama legislators did so, Perlo explains, "to give some other 'left' party a chance to get on the ballot in order to cover up continuing efforts to get the Communist Party off the ballot."

This too is simply wrong. The truth is that the Alabama law had been changed a full year before the CP's ballot drive. The CP apparently fell victim to the purposely vague and confusing ballot laws used in most states against minor parties.

Other charges and insinuations by Berkelhammer and Perlo are also lies, half-truths, or conscious distortions.

Fight unfair ballot laws

The Communist party has unquestionably faced serious harassment this year in its ballot drive. In Alabama one petitioner was threatened with two loaded guns, and another petitioner was arrested on the outrageous charge of threatening to assassinate Vice-president Nelson Rockefeller.

The CP also faces attacks on its ballot rights in Maine, Michigan, and Utah, among others. In several states undemocratic ballot laws single out the Communist party—a reactionary hangover from the anti-Soviet hysteria of the 1950s.

Unfortunately, the CP has chosen to respond to its setbacks this spring in *precisely the wrong way*. These reverses should have spurred the CP to explore every avenue for joint activity by all minor parties against the undemocratic requirements. Instead, the CP has lashed out against other parties that have been more successful in collecting signatures in certain states.

The *Militant* has condemned the attacks on the CP, and last month SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid sent a protest telegram to U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi.

"We join the Communist party in demanding that your office launch an investigation of efforts in various

states to unconstitutionally rule the Communist party and other smaller parties off the ballot. . . ." Camejo and Reid wrote.

"Access to the ballot is a fundamental right of the American people. That right is being abridged today . . . in an effort to undemocratically restrict voters to a choice confined to the Republican and Democratic parties."

Perlo and Berkelhammer, however, claim that it is a "breeze" for other minor parties to achieve ballot status. This is not true.

The SWP, for example, has fought challenges this year from the USLP in Pennsylvania and New Jersey; is fighting denial of its ballot status in Utah and Idaho; and faces further hurdles in the months between now and November.

In fact, the SWP, CP, and other minor parties are currently cooperating in Wisconsin and Michigan to fight unfair ballot restrictions. In 1972 the SWP, CP, and three other parties filed and won a lawsuit against the undemocratic Pennsylvania ballot law.

In addition, the SWP has worked with the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) in more than twenty ballot-related suits during the past four years. In Texas, Illinois, Missouri, and Louisiana, for example, they have taken legal action against anticommunist loyalty-oath provisions.

If the SWP and other parties are "put up" by the ruling rich to "divert people from the only meaningful alternative," why has the CP joined with these parties in lawsuits and news conferences? Why do these parties face so many barriers, if "the ruling class welcomes their being on the ballot"?

Why such charges?

Another question also comes to mind: Why has the CP suddenly dredged up these gutter charges?

The answer is closely tied to still another question: Why has the *Daily World* suppressed all news of the SWP lawsuit against harassment and surveillance by the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies? The burglaries, poison-pen letters, and other illegal government activities unearthed by the SWP's suit have been headline news around the country for more than a year.

The suit has been the subject of articles and editorials in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and many other newspapers. It has been covered by all three major networks, by Associated Press and United Press International, and by left-wing political opponents of the

Continued on page 30



CP and SWP announce joint 1972 suit against Pennsylvania election law. From left, Spencer Coxe (ACLU), Marilyn Markus (SWP), Anthony Monteiro (CP).

Puerto Rican Stalinists refuse to back PSP

By José Pérez

The Puerto Rican Communist party and two other small radical groups have joined together in a "Revolutionary Anti-electoral Front" to call for an active boycott of next November's elections in Puerto Rico.

A report on the formation of this bloc was published in the June 18 *Claridad*, daily newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist party (PSP). It quoted spokespeople for the front as explaining that "voting feeds false illusions among the people."

In addition to the pro-Moscow Stalinists, the other two groups in the bloc are the People's Socialist Movement and the Puerto Rican Socialist League.

The People's Socialist Movement arose from a split from the Puerto Rican Independence party (PIP) in 1973. It has adopted a guerrillaist stance.

The Puerto Rican Socialist League is a vaguely pro-Peking ultraleft group. It is best known for its central leader, Juan Antonio Corretjer, once a top aide to Nationalist party leader Pedro Albizu Campos and a widely respected poet.

The Puerto Rican Communist party is a small group, largely bypassed by the growth of pro-independence sentiment and organizations in the last decade. However, it was a substantial force in Puerto Rico during the 1930s and 1940s. For much of that time it

backed the Popular Democratic party, which has been the main capitalist party in Puerto Rico for close to four decades.

The Puerto Rican Nationalist party has urged abstention from elections as a principle for decades, and *Claridad* reported that spokespeople for the "Revolutionary Anti-electoral Front" said the Nationalists might join that bloc.

The two largest pro-independence groups, the PIP and the PSP, are participating in the elections and running their own slate of candidates. Both have ballot status for the coming elections—the PIP because it polled 5 percent of the vote in the last elections and the PSP because it filed 65,000 signatures on petitions.

The Internationalist Workers League, the Trotskyist organization in Puerto Rico, has also decided to participate in the elections. They say elections offer an excellent opportunity to present socialist solutions to the problems working people face.

However, because of the small size of the organization, the Trotskyists have decided they are unable to present their own slate of candidates. The group is urging a vote for the candidates of the PSP. In the opinion of the Trotskyists, despite weaknesses in its program, the PSP slate "represents the only independent class alternative" for working people in the November elections.

...Brown and UFW

Continued from page 27

had two members concerned with their interests, the union wasn't able to get justice. With straight Democratic hacks on it, the board can only change for the worse.

The UFW initiative would write into the law a guarantee that in a period prior to elections, union organizers would have access to the workers in the fields. Without such an access ruling, the UFW can reach farm workers only partially and with extreme difficulty.

Another section would provide monetary penalties for growers guilty of unfair labor practices.

Instead of helping to mobilize support for the UFW petition effort, Governor Brown, that "good friend" of

the union, is telling the farm workers to settle instead for a bone—a labor law without teeth and a board that's stacked against them.

Meanwhile, the talks between the UFW and Teamsters initiated by Governor Brown are apparently continuing.

At one point, Mark Grossman, an aide to César Chávez, announced that the UFW had walked out of the talks because of the double-dealing of the Teamsters. However, Chávez later announced the talks were continuing. He suggested they were focusing on specific legal and jurisdictional matters, not on the key issue of the Teamster raiding operation against the UFW.

...Free Puerto Rico!

Continued from back page

Noticeably absent, however, was the Communist party.

The sidewalks along the march route were filled with hundreds of Black community residents. They were obviously very sympathetic to the demonstration, and would smile and wave as different contingents went by.

The rally after the march lasted about three hours. Speakers alternated with entertainment. The high point came when Elaine Brown read a message from U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.).

In the message Dellums said he had just introduced a pro-independence resolution into the U.S. Congress. The crowd rose to its feet, wildly cheering and applauding.

As the rally progressed, the sky slowly darkened. Then a torrential downpour turned the grassy field into a marsh. Many covered themselves with newspapers or whatever was available. Others just got wet as they waited for the rest of the speakers.

The speech that seemed to capture the main theme of the rally best was that of Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the PSP.

After describing the U.S. colonial oppression of Puerto Rico, he welcomed, "in the name of the people of Puerto Rico struggling for independence, the solidarity expressed by Mr. Dellums in filing such a resolution in Congress."

He concluded his speech by urging North Americans to continue supporting the independence struggle. "You know very well," he said, "that independence for Puerto Rico is a blow against imperialism and will be a victory for your people as well as us."

WASHINGTON—More than 6,000 people gathered near the Capitol July 4 for a "Rally for Economic Democracy." The national counter-celebration was sponsored by the People's Bicentennial Commission.

Among the many speakers were Dolores Huerta of the United Farm Workers, Jane Fonda, and Ed Sadlow-ski of the United Steelworkers.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers party presidential campaign distributed 6,000 copies of the "Bill of Rights for Working People" and sold 575 *Militants*.

Calendar

BOSTON
SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Fred Halstead, 1968 SWP presidential candidate, author of *Out Now!*; Carol Henderson Evans, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Mac Warren, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, Ninth C.D.; others. Fri., July 16. Refreshments, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 8:00 p.m. Arlington Street Church, Arlington and Boylston Streets (Arlington stop on MBTA Green Line). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

CINCINNATI
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Building the revolutionary party. Speaker: Melissa Singler, on

the *Struggle against revisionism*. Mon., July 12, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of Cincinnati, Old Chemistry Bldg., Room 532. Donation: whole series—\$5. Single session—75¢. Ausp: YSA and SWP. For more information call (513) 321-7445.

DETROIT
BLACK REBELLION IN SOUTH AFRICA. Thurs., July 15, 7:30 p.m. St. Brigid's Church, Activities Bldg., downstairs. 8911 Schoolcraft. (Between Kentucky and Wyoming). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. *Internationalism and the party—The SWP in World War II.* Thurs., July 15, 7:30 p.m. Libreria Militante, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

...1199

Continued from page 23

workers is a prerequisite for winning the strike, but it is only a first step in beating back the employers' offensive.

District 1199 is up against a powerful combination that includes the politicians of both major parties, the hospitals, the banks, and the corporations. All of them are united in a campaign to drive down working people's standard of living, and 1199 members have become their immediate target.

This was made clear the day before the strike. City officials announced they had assigned more than 100 inspectors to see if a health emergency existed at a hospital or city-wide. This would allow city officials to force delivery of supplies in violation of picket lines.

For their part, the police department sent a message to all commands to put enough cops near strikers' picket lines to "preserve the peace and prevent violations of the law."

To counter this massive, united attack by the ruling class, the union should initiate a united counteroffensive. The Black and Puerto Rican communities, students, and members of other unions are all affected by deteriorating health care.

The union should link its demands for a decent contract with the demand that there be no cutbacks, layoffs, or other moves that downgrade the quality of health care.

In this way, a massive, united movement against the ruling-class offensive could begin to take shape.

Alone, it will be very difficult for 1199 to win. But we can win by mobilizing the potential support that exists.

...Quebec

Continued from page 25

the RMS is calling for the designation of labor candidates, on the basis of a labor program, in the next provincial elections.

"We have discovered this is an extremely strong point," Gill said. "We ask, what prevents us from taking this very concrete and simple step of designating candidates backed by unions—perhaps not in all the districts, but in some."

"But if one union met and designated their candidate on the basis of their own demands, it would lead other workers to ask, 'Why don't we do that in our own area? Why don't we do it on the provincial level?'"

"This we find is one of the touchy points, one of those on which we confront the most 'progressive' labor leaders—the question of *doing it*, not just talking about it."

* * *

Our next article will take up the fight in English Canada against the wage controls, focusing on the role of the New Democratic party.

...CP

Continued from page 29

SWP, such as the *Guardian* newspaper.

Yet the *Daily World* and CP have not said a word. Why?

For decades the CP has told its members and other political activists that the SWP is a ruling-class creation to disrupt and divide the radical movement.

This slander has taken different forms over the years. During the 1930s and 1940s, for instance, the CP claimed that Trotskyists were in league with Hitler and the emperor of Japan (except during the Stalin-Hitler Pact, when Trotskyists were briefly depicted as pawns of Washington and London).

More recently the charge has been somewhat milder—at least in public. The articles by Perlo and Berkelhammer state the slander in its baldest terms in many years.

Despite these variations, the charge has remained a constant stigma used by the CP to steel its members and others against the ideas of revolutionary socialism—ideas held by Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky, but betrayed by Stalin and his heirs.

Now the SWP lawsuit has unearthed tens of thousands of documents proving that the government for decades stopped at nothing to harass and destroy the SWP. These revelations have provided a service to every social movement and radical group, spotlighting burglaries and other illegal activities against them as well.

The much-publicized lawsuit gives the lie to the CP's claim that the SWP is a creature of the government. The response of American Stalinists—well trained by their Kremlin mentors in rewriting history—has been to suppress all news of the case, and now to revive their old slanders. If a lie is repeated often enough, the CP hopes, someone is bound to believe it.

Perlo asserts that the government wants the SWP to be "built up as 'the leading left party.'"

The truth is that American working people—not Washington—will make that decision on their own. They will judge how well these parties fight for and defend their interests.

Deciding which party to vote for is part of that process. The American people have a right to the broadest possible choice when they step into the voting booth. But they will not have that right until all undemocratic ballot laws have been wiped off the books.

Perlo also says that "the Communist Party stands for the ballot rights of all, except for racists and fascists." This statement is deliberately ambiguous, since the CP has frequently tarred its political opponents with such labels.

But Perlo and the CP have an opportunity to clear up this ambiguity. Will they persist in their slanders of other small parties? Or will they wage a common fight against the restrictive election laws used by the big-business parties to deprive working people of a real political alternative?

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THE MILITANT

July 4 march

Thousands demand: 'Free Puerto Rico!'



By José Pérez

PHILADELPHIA—Thousands upon thousands of people marched through the streets of predominantly Black North Philadelphia July 4, chanting "For a bicentennial without colonies!" and "Independence for Puerto Rico—right now!"

It was clearly the biggest demonstration in support of Puerto Rican independence ever held in the United States.

Estimates of the exact size varied. During the rally, a chairperson announced that more than 50,000 were present. Other estimates were roughly half that. The *New York Times* reported that about 30,000 people were present.

The turnout is particularly impressive in view of the campaign by the Philadelphia city government and news media in the weeks leading up to the march. An attempt was made to discourage participation in the protest by charging that it would be violent.

The action, however, was totally peaceful, legal, and orderly, as organizers had promised.

The two-and-a-half-hour march was followed by a rally in Fairmount Park. Speakers there included Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist party (PSP), the group that initiated the march; Karen De-Crow, president of the National Organization for Women; Rev. Bernard Lee, national executive vice-president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Dr. Helen Rodriguez, of the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse; Elaine Brown, of the Black Panther party; Dave Dellinger, a leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement; and others.

The march started about noon. A contingent of Native Americans was in the lead. A young Indian man from South Dakota carrying a sacred peace pipe walked solemnly ahead of the rest, followed by 100 other activists organized by the American Indian Movement.

The biggest and broadest contingent by far was the Puerto Rican. It was close to 10,000 people—so big that it was broken down into many sub-contingents. Each had a sound truck or big banner at the head. They represented cities and states throughout the East and Midwest.

The demand for independence came through loud and clear. "Free Puerto Rico," read one banner. "No mas colonias—Viva Puerto Rico libre." "No U.S. intervention in Puerto Rico."

Several banners called for the release of five Puerto Rican nationalists who have been in U.S. prisons since the early 1950s. There were also banners and chants demanding the release of Lureida Torres. Torres, a member of the PSP, has been imprisoned for refusing to cooperate with a grand jury witch-hunt against independence supporters.

There were three or four huge Puerto Rican flags that required a couple dozen people each to carry them. Scores of small Puerto Rican flags

were waved by marchers of all ages, from toddlers to grandmothers.

Many people also carried the PSP flag, which has a white star in a red field. About thirty banners from different PSP community chapters were interspersed throughout the contingent.

I interviewed a few dozen people in this contingent. A broad cross section of the community was there. Many whole families came. They were mostly working people. About a third said this was their first pro-independence demonstration.

Several said they were members or sympathizers of the PSP, the group that was the main force organizing the contingent. But most didn't belong to any political group.

Other contingents represented Blacks, women, gays, radical groups, and cities—from Madison, Wisconsin, to Portland, Maine, to Atlanta, Georgia.

They carried banners dealing with many issues—from racist attacks against Blacks in Boston, to jobs for all, to equal rights for gays. But the theme consistently repeated from one group of marchers to another was independence for Puerto Rico.

Many in these contingents told me they were active in various groups or struggles. A good number were members of radical or socialist organizations.

Peter Camejo, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, marched with a banner supporting Puerto Rican independence.

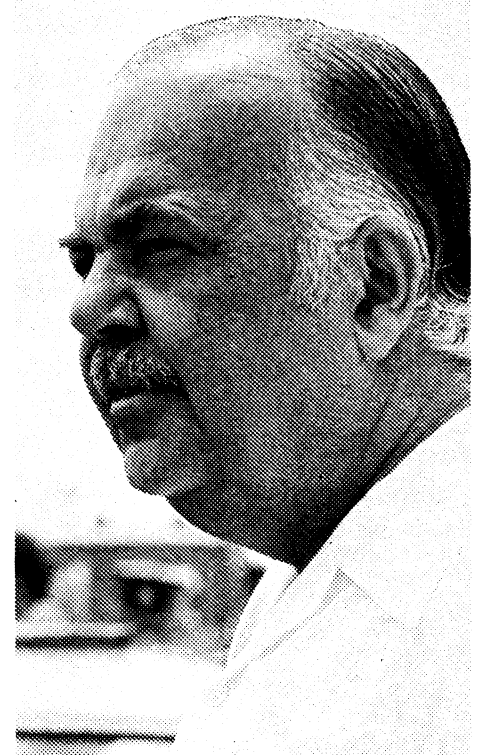
Supporters of his campaign distributed 5,000 copies of the SWP campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," and sold 670 copies of the *Militant*.

Members of many groups distributed literature and carried their banners.

Continued on page 30



Militant/Lou Howort



Militant/Lou Howort

PSP's MARI BRAS: 'Independence for Puerto Rico will be a victory for you as well as for us.'