

# THE MILITANT

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



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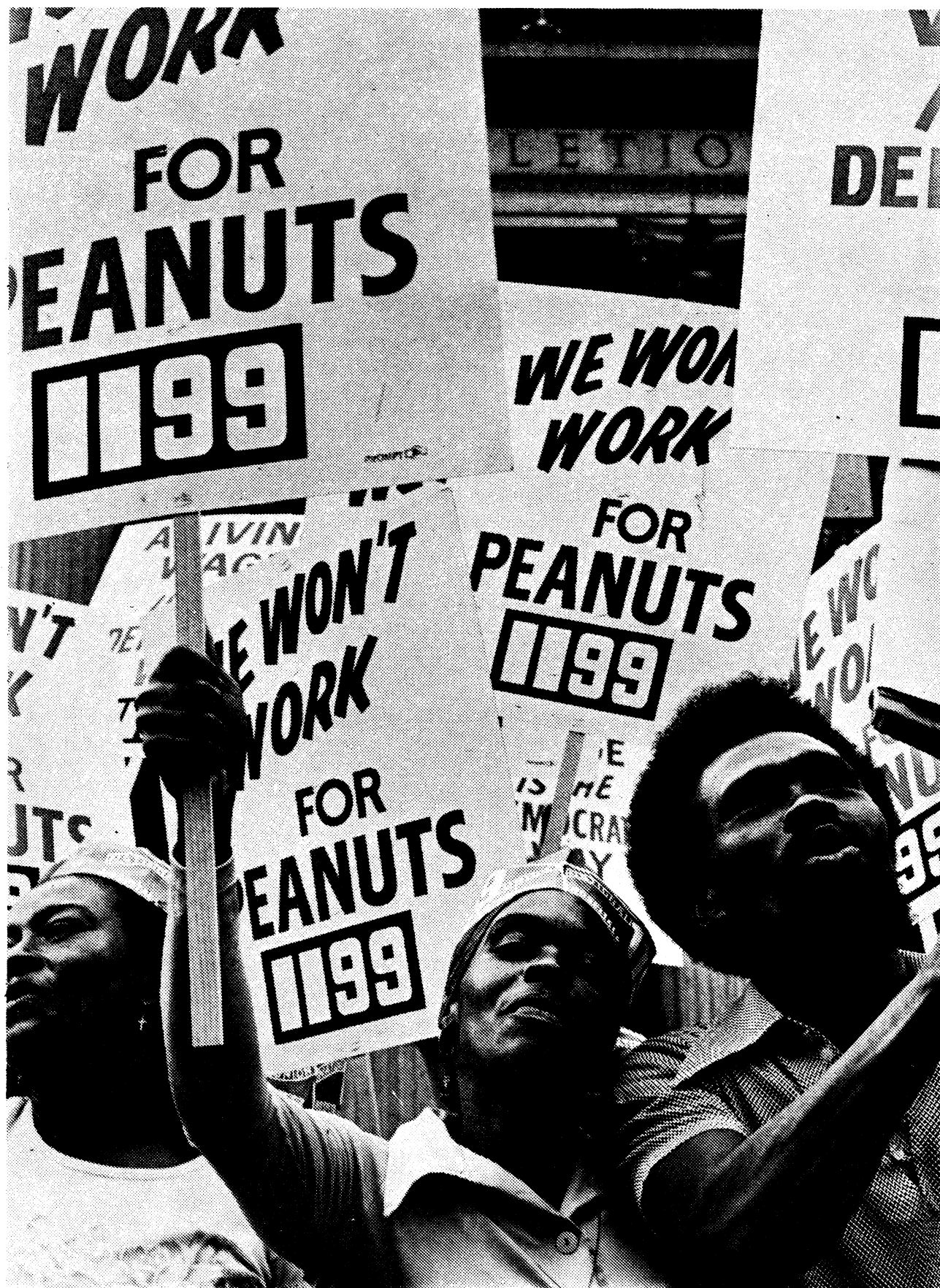
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## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 40/NUMBER 29  
JULY 23, 1976  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JULY 14

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Telephone: (213) 269-1456. Washington Bureau: 2416 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Telephone: (202) 265-6865.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S., \$7.50 a year; outside U.S., \$13.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico, \$35.00. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: £1.50 for eight issues, £3.50 for six months, £6.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

**LOUISIANANS HIT DEATH PENALTY:** Eighty people rallied against the death penalty July 12 at the Louisiana State Supreme Court in New Orleans. The demonstrators had a double focus: 1) the U.S. Supreme Court for its decision to legalize capital punishment, and 2) state legislators, who are busily drafting a new law to reimpose executions in Louisiana.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Louisiana initiated the action and drew support from the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Gary Tyler Defense Committee, Socialist Workers party, Grass Roots Organization for Women, Student Coalition Against Racism, Rape Crisis Center, and others.

Speakers urged a big turnout for a July 24 New Orleans rally for Gary Tyler as the next step in a campaign against the death penalty. Eighteen-year-old Tyler has been one of thirty-five Blacks lined up on Louisiana's death row.

**CHICANO COUNTER-BICENTENNIAL:** Chicano pride and unity in the face of government attacks were the main themes of a counter-bicentennial in San Antonio. "Raza sí, migra no!" chanted the nearly 100 participants as they marched through the west-side Chicano and *mexicano* barrio July 3. Opposition to *la migra*—Immigration and Naturalization Service—ran high among demonstrators. "Alto a Ley Eastland" (Stop the Eastland Bill), read the lead banner. This proposed federal legislation calls for a crackdown on undocumented workers by specifying legal sanctions against employers who hire them.

At Columbus Park, José Angel Gutiérrez, Zavala County Court judge and a national leader of the Raza Unida party, addressed the crowd. He blasted local Chicano Democrats who are organizing a "Viva Carter" committee to win Chicano support for Jimmy Carter's bid for the presidency. The chairperson of the Texas RUP, Guadalupe Youngblood, also spoke.

The next day, July 4, 100 people again joined in a spirited march to Columbus Park despite a driving rain. Speakers discussed the organizing drive of Texas farm workers and denounced FBI harassment of antideportation activists.

The two days of activities were organized by several Chicano community, political, and student groups.

**STEELWORKERS CONVENTION:** Locals of the United Steelworkers in the United States and Canada are drafting resolutions and electing delegates for their constitutional convention in Las Vegas, beginning August 30. Three big issues facing delegates are the right of the membership to vote on wage settlements, the right to strike over contract violations by employers, and a reduction in dues. Adoption of these proposals would introduce a new era of democracy and membership participation in the union.

Contests for delegates center on these issues in many areas, including Chicago, where opposition leader Ed Sadlowski is USW district director. Candidates for delegates favoring Sadlowski for union president are the strongest supporters of these measures to democratize the Steelworkers.

**A LITTLE POSTHUMOUS VINDICATION...** "While there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; and while there is a soul in prison, I am not free." It was these sentiments of Eugene V. Debs and his uncompromising opposition to World War I that moved the rulers of this country to throw the labor leader and socialist into prison and strip him of his citizenship rights. That was in 1918. Two years later the revolutionist ran for president from his prison cell in Atlanta. He urged Blacks, newly enfranchised women—all working people—to break from the Democratic and Republican parties. He polled nearly one million votes.

Last month the U.S. Senate voted to restore Debs's citizenship rights—a safe move fifty years after his death.

**... AND SOME RED FACES:** Last month the American Civil Liberties Union announced it had repealed the 1940 expulsion of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn from its board of directors.

In reinstating Flynn, a founding ACLU member and Communist party leader, the resolution recognized that the expulsion had "signaled one of the worst periods of the ACLU in which for twenty years we engaged in red-baiting. . . ."

Flynn became the head of the U.S. Communist party in 1961. However, she is best remembered for her early years as an organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World and the militant example she set for the new legions of women textile workers in the early years of this century. Flynn died in 1964.

**STORY GETS OFF 'A RANGE':** On June 30, an Allegheny County judge ordered Western Penitentiary to release Stanton Story from "administrative segregation."

The twenty-three-year-old Pittsburgh Black had been housed on the prison's "A Range" since 1975, when an all-white jury convicted him of murdering a white cop.

On "A Range" prison guards kept Story locked in a cell for an average of twenty-three hours per day; decided if and when he could shower and exercise; made Story eat separately from the general prison population; wouldn't allow him to practice fully his Muslim religion; and barred him from the prison law library.

The Stanton Story Defense Committee hailed the court order placing Story in the general prison population as a victory against attempts to break him. Story is still confident that he will prove his innocence, if he can get a new trial.

**GAY RIGHTS:** An anonymous group called "Citizens For a Decent Atlanta" has bought newspaper ads costing \$5,600 to demand that Mayor Maynard Jackson rescind his June 26 Gay Pride Day proclamation. These ads state, "The proclamation pictures this issue as having the legal rights of citizens include taking pride in perverted sex. . . [this] strikes at the heart of the moral order of our society."

Since last month's gay rights march of 300, Reverend Sels, pastor of Atlanta's most influential church, has been pouring fire and brimstone on gays from his pulpit and weekly television show.

In protest, a group called Gay Christians entered his July 11 Sunday service wearing gay buttons. Outside the Wiecca Road Baptist Church, forty supporters picketed.

**'IF THEY STRIKE, FIRE THEM':** The U.S. Supreme Court dealt a blow to public employees last month when it upheld a school board's "right" to fire striking teachers. The ruling stemmed from a case in the small rural community of Hortonville, Wisconsin. In 1974, the school board fired eighty teachers when they walked out of school during contract talks. Reactionary laws in Wisconsin make it illegal for public employees to strike.

The teachers, members of the local affiliate to the National Education Association, have insisted that they were denied due process. The board, after all, was directly involved in the contract dispute—hardly in a position to give the teachers an impartial hearing.

By siding with the board, the court has set a dangerous precedent. It paves the way for other elected officials representing the government in contract negotiations to fire public employees whenever they strike in defiance of state laws.

—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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## FBI black-bag job?

# Denver SWP protests burglary of offices

By Joan Paltrineri

DENVER—A July 7 burglary of the Socialist Workers party headquarters here was labeled "a clear-cut case of political harassment" by Priscilla Schenk, the party's candidate for Congress in the First District.

The burglars removed party files containing copies of leaflets, correspondence, membership lists, and financial records. They left the offices ransacked. But expensive office equipment such as an electric typewriter, a tape recorder, and a mimeograph machine were untouched.

Schenk denounced the burglary as the latest in a series of attacks "meant to disrupt my campaign and to discourage and intimidate my campaign supporters. They must be stopped."

On April 5, the windows of the SWP campaign office were blown out by several shotgun blasts. Since then, the outside has been vandalized numerous times.

Pointing to findings in the SWP suit against government harassment,

Schenk said that the "FBI has admitted to similar cloak-and-dagger type break-ins. Did they engineer this black-bag job as well?" she asked.

A *Rocky Mountain News* reporter asked the FBI whether it was responsible. Assistant Agent in Charge Simon Tullai replied that the Denver office had "absolutely no knowledge of the break-in."

The manager of the Denver office of public safety, Dan Cronin, told SWP representatives that his office would investigate any suspects in the burglary. However, he all but ruled out any investigation of the FBI, which he said he had no reason to suspect.

Cronin said his office maintained no "secret file" on the SWP and, to his knowledge, neither did any other law enforcement agency.

The socialists have good reason to be suspicious of the FBI. On January 19, 1976, two men identifying themselves as FBI agents visited an SWP campaign supporter who is also a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. The

agents grilled him about his involvement with the YSA.

Cronin's halfhearted response to demands for a full investigation is nothing new. The district attorney and the mayor have shown little interest in doing anything since the April 5 shotgun attack. They have found no suspects and made no arrests.

Schenk blasted this "third-class treatment" in a statement quoted in the July 8 *Denver Post*. The police and other law enforcement officials, she said, "have shown no desire to protect the rights of the Socialist Workers party because they oppose our political views."

Schenk announced plans for a campaign to gather support for the SWP's demand for a thorough investigation of the burglary. "We feel that it is only through a mobilization of all those concerned with protecting democratic rights that the police will be forced to carry out the needed full investigation and see to it that those responsible for the break-in and burglary are prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law."



Militant/Frank Lord

Priscilla Schenk, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, hits failure of officials to halt harassment.

# Hugo Blanco exiled by Peruvian regime

By José G. Pérez

Hugo Blanco, Peruvian revolutionist and peasant leader, was deported to Sweden July 10. Government authorities offered no explanation for the action.

The Peruvian Investigations Police, a political arm of the national police, arrested Blanco at 1:30 a.m. July 3. At the time, Blanco was at his brother's home in Cuzco, where he had been visiting for more than a week.

On July 5, cops flew Blanco to State Security headquarters in Lima, Peru's capital. For most of the seven days prior to his deportation he was held incommunicado.

The July 13 *New York Times* reported Blanco's deportation in a short article headlined, "Peru's government expels top leftist." According to the dispatch, from the Reuters wire service, Blanco held a news conference in Sweden July 12.

Blanco told reporters that he had been imprisoned and interrogated, then given a one-way ticket to Stockholm and put on a plane. Authorities never filed any charges against him.

"The political climate in Peru is hardening," Blanco told reporters at the Stockholm news conference. "There is oppression, living costs are rising, and the workers are protesting."

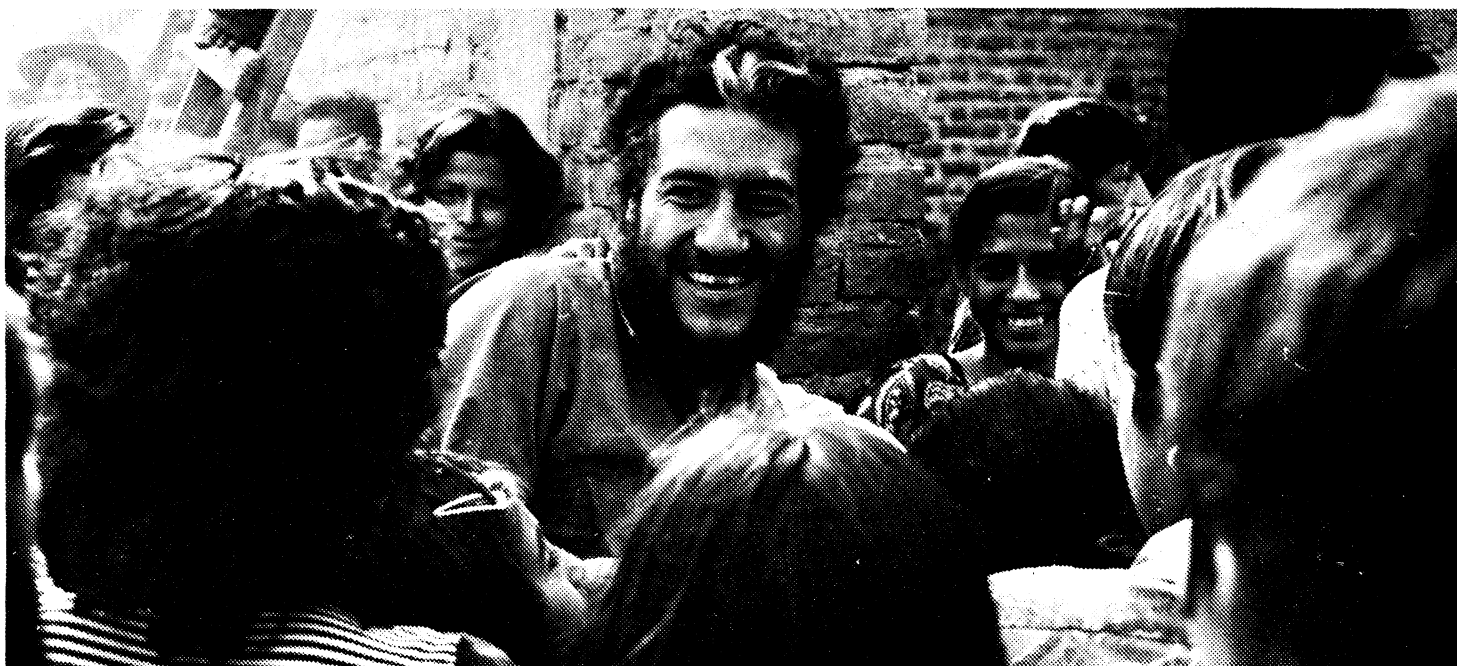
Blanco's arrest was part of a round-up of at least 300 students, workers, and alleged "criminals."

The arrests came in the wake of protests against a new austerity plan decreed June 30 by the self-styled "revolutionary" regime of General Francisco Morales Bermúdez. This plan included tax increases and price hikes for public transportation, phone service, electricity, and gasoline. It also eliminated price subsidies on many imported goods, including some food staples.

Thousands of people responded through strikes and mass demonstrations. A popular chant was, "Down with the military government! Up with salaries!"

Inmates at one prison rebelled—a protest the regime drowned in blood.

In order to quell the upsurge, the military dictatorship declared a thirty-day state of emergency. This was followed on July 3 by the shutdown of Peru's twelve major daily and weekly news publications. They were accused of trying to divide the armed forces.



Blanco greeted by young admirers after his return to Peru last December

Cops killed at least one demonstrator in putting down street protests.

Although Blanco was not directly involved in these protests, the regime apparently feared his ideas and widespread reputation as a revolutionary leader.

In the early 1960s, Blanco was the central leader of a massive movement for land reform among Quechua Indian peasants in Peru. For his role in this movement, Blanco was arrested, put on trial, and sentenced to death.

A worldwide protest movement

saved his life; his sentence was commuted to twenty-five years' imprisonment. After seven years in confinement, and continuing international protests, Blanco was amnestied in December 1970.

Several months later, a teachers' strike broke out in Lima. Blanco gave it his wholehearted support in the pages of a newspaper he edited. For this "crime" he was snatched up by the secret police and deported to Mexico.

After several months, in mid-1972, Blanco applied for and received a

visa from Argentina. Blanco was only in the country a month before police arrested him and threw him into prison. He was held there for three months until Chile granted him a visa for fifteen days "in transit to a third country."

As it turned out, Blanco remained in Chile for a year. Then in September 1973 Gen. Augusto Pinochet led a bloody military coup. After a couple of days in hiding, Blanco took refuge in the Swedish embassy. From there he

**Continued on page 26**

## Protest arrests and deportations in Peru

After hearing that the Peruvian regime had arrested Hugo Blanco, many prominent Americans sent messages of protest to the government of Peru demanding his release.

Now that Blanco has been deported to Sweden, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) is asking that follow-up messages be sent demanding Blanco's right to return to his homeland free of political harassment.

USLA was instrumental in winning Blanco's release from prison in Peru in 1970. More recently it has conducted a campaign to protest the

U.S. government's denial of Blanco's visa request to fill speaking engagements in this country.

Among those sending messages to the Peruvian government are: the New York and London offices of Amnesty International; Texas State Rep. Ron Waters; the Association of American Publishers; Stanford University Prof. Richard Fagen, president of the Latin American Studies Association; and PEN, the international writers' organization.

Also, the editorial board of *Latin American Perspectives* magazine; Boston University Prof. Howard Zinn; Nobel Laureate Salvador Lu-

ria of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz; the executive boards of the Minnesota National Organization for Women and Women's Political Caucus; Alfredo Gonzales, Department of Chicano Studies at the University of Minnesota; and Angel Luis Santiago, president of the Organización Puertorriqueña in Milwaukee.

A telegram of protest was also sent by Pathfinder Press, Blanco's literary agent and publisher of his book, *Land or Death*, which recounts Blanco's experience as a peasant leader.

—J.G.P.



## Launch anti-Black, antilabor campaign

# Democrats welcome Carter to New York

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK—The rulers of this city turned themselves inside out to change New York's image for the Democratic conventioners. They staged the biggest bicentennial celebration in the country.

"Op Sail" saw an armada of ships sail down the East Coast to gather in the New York harbor for a splendid fireworks display at the Statue of Liberty the night of July 4.

Madison Square Garden was refurbished as the Democratic convention site. There were even a few police raids on the Eighth Avenue massage parlors outside the doors of the convention hall. But it is certain the City Fathers did not outlaw what is clearly a favorite avocation of Democratic party politicians.

The Big Apple would be Fun City again.

Jimmy Carter began the gala week by serving \$12,000 worth of Kentucky Fried Chicken to 5,000 guests at one of the piers.

### Hospital strike

But the balloon-carrying delegates could not get away from New York's pervasive social crisis, which is largely the work of the Democratic party itself.

Monday evening, as the convention opened, thousands of striking hospital workers demonstrated across the street from the Garden.

Along with all other municipal services, the hospitals have been hit hard in the New York budget cuts. Hospital workers—most of whom make less than \$160 a week—are striking against an offer of a wage freeze and cuts in benefits.

They refused to bow to the pressure of New York's Democrats to settle the strike before the convention got going.

### New York crisis

The contrast between the New York crisis and the Democratic convention gets to the essence of the American



political scene this summer.

Tens of thousands of municipal workers have been fired in New York. Those remaining face speedup, a wage freeze, and further possible layoffs.

Health and educational budgets have been cut. Hospitals, homes for the aged, day-care centers, schools, and universities have been closed. The free-tuition system of New York colleges, which was a major gain of working people in this city, has been abolished.

If the Democratic delegates took the subway uptown or into the other boroughs of New York they would see the vast, devastated Black, Puerto Rican, and other oppressed minority slums that underline the racial oppression in this city.

New York is only one example.

The American economy is recovering from the depression of 1974-75 but it is largely only a profit recovery. In fact, Wall Street greeted the Democratic convention July 12 with a three-and-one-half-year record high of the Dow Jones industrial average on the stock market.

But the unemployment level rose in June, to 7.5 percent. This is a level that previously would only be associated with U.S. economic downturns.

Wage increases have been lower so far in 1976 than they were in 1975. The past six months saw an annual rate of wage increase of 6.2 percent, compared with a level of 7.4 percent in the last six months of 1975.

Democratic rights are under attack across the land.

The Supreme Court decision on death penalties was a new, harsh warning from the rulers of this country to those who would fight for their rights against oppression.

### Democratic campaigns

But the Democratic and Republican parties have deliberately avoided these pressing social issues. They are trying to convey the impression that everything is OK in the United States.

When the capitalist politicians do take stands, these are conservative. There are appeals to patriotism and belt tightening.

On the first day of the Democratic convention a Democratic party propa-

ganda film declared: "Too many promises have been broken. *What we have to do is make fewer promises.* . . ."

Black Texas Democratic Rep. Barbara Jordan said, "I feel good about the country. I still feel good about our ideological underpinnings. . . . If there still are patriots in this country, I certainly am one of them."

Walter Cronkite looked over the convention floor and said, "They almost look like Republicans, they almost act like Republicans."

The Democratic campaign is part of the capitalists' drive to turn back the gains Americans made in the struggles of the 1960s and early 1970s. And the choice of a conservative Georgia Democrat with antilabor and pro-Vietnam War credentials flows from precisely these considerations.

The day the convention opened Carter rebuffed an effort of leading Democratic women to get the party to agree to press for equal representation of women among delegates to the 1980 convention.

At this 1976 convention the statistics showed: women, 34.3 percent of the delegates, compared with 38 percent of the delegates in 1972; Blacks, 10.6 percent of the delegates, compared with 15 percent four years ago; and persons thirty years old or younger, 14.8 percent, compared with 21 percent in 1972.

### Carter strategy

Much has been made of Carter's ability to avoid issues. The *Wall Street Journal* speaks of Carter's "evasiveness . . . in handling some issues" and "his amazing ability to weave words so that he sounds conservative to a conservative group and liberal to a liberal audience."

But Carter does take positions either directly or by omission that show the racist and antilabor direction of the Democratic party campaign. The remark on "ethnic purity" was only for starters.

• While struggles raged in Boston for the right of Black children to decent schooling, Carter refused to support Blacks who were targets of racist lynch mobs and took a mealy-mouthed position that maybe busing

might be needed in some places as a last resort.

• While the guns of the racist apartheid regime in South Africa mowed down rebelling Black youths, Carter said not one word about Washington's pro-South African policies.

• When the Supreme Court decided in favor of capital punishment, which will inflict the greatest penalties on Black people, Carter again said not one word. Carter signed into law the Georgia death penalty approved by the Supreme Court. There are currently twenty-nine people on death row in Georgia: eleven white and eighteen Black, including one Black woman.

### Probusiness stands

Carter has also made it clear that he sides with the banking attacks on cities and supports the cutbacks of municipal services. He said as much to a Milwaukee gathering of mayors June 29.

"The mayors are very demanding. . .," Carter told them, "but I also intend to be demanding from you. As I struggle to reorganize the federal government I would expect you to struggle to reorganize your own governments, to root out inefficiency and waste, to deal with administrative problems in a courageous way."

Polite terminology for firing city workers, freezing their wages, and speeding up work. It was only fitting that New York's Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame, who has taken the lead in carrying out the attack on workers in this city, was the official greeter of the conventioners.

In a less noticed meeting, Carter met with representatives of the oil trusts in Houston July 1. He promised to keep "unwarranted" government interference in the industry to a minimum.

Carter has said very little about foreign policy. But the Democratic foreign policy plank to be approved at the convention was worded in more bellicose language than the 1972 stand. Liberal Democrat Bella Abzug described the plank as "cold war rhetoric" that sounded like it was "written in the Pentagon."

### Antilabor drive

The importance of Carter's positions, however, does not really lie in what he specifically promises or does not promise to do. As a capitalist politician Carter can be counted on to respect none of the pledges he makes to voters. If elected, he will do in office only what serves the needs of the capitalist class at a given moment.

Carter's more outspoken conservatism is aimed at creating a new climate in this country to aid the capitalist drive against workers.

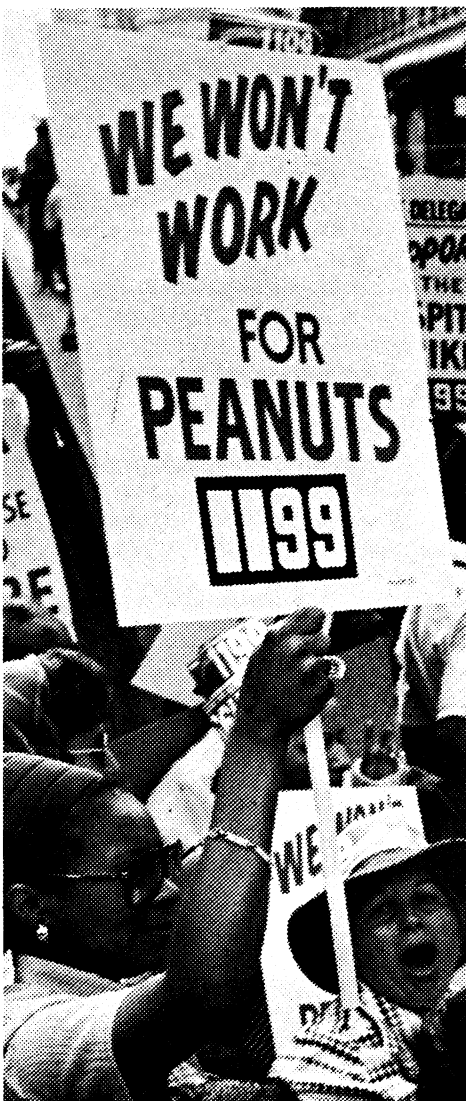
If a governor of a "right-to-work" state that forbids union shops can run for president, it helps the capitalists to weaken the union movement elsewhere.

If the presidential candidate can glibly talk about firing city workers in terms of "rooting out administrative problems," it is a boost to city halls that are laying off workers.

If the Democrats can keep silent on busing, women's rights, capital punishment, these are further blows at the struggle for democratic rights.

Carter came to New York with considerable fanfare—a year-and-a-half buildup, in fact. But the striking hospital workers got down to the point in one sign—which they carried by the hundreds outside the convention hall:

"Welcome Delegates," it declared. "We won't work for peanuts."



Militant/Dick Roberts

Striking hospital workers demonstrate outside Democratic convention.



## Protest at Democratic convention

# Hospital workers demand living wage

By José G. Pérez

NEW YORK—As the Democrats convened in Madison Square Garden July 12, thousands of striking hospital workers rallied outside to dramatize their demand for a new contract that gives them a living wage.

The workers, a majority of them Black and Puerto Rican, are members of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. Some 40,000 members of that union are taking part in a strike against voluntary (private nonprofit) hospitals and nursing homes. The walkout—the nation's biggest hospital strike—began July 7.

Reporters estimated the crowd of protesters outside the convention at between 5,000 and 10,000. Police said 8,000 were there.

The union did not want to strike, but was forced to do so by a conspiracy between the employers association and Democratic politicians. The goal of this alliance was to break the power of the union by refusing to bargain with it—forcing District 1199 to reach separate settlements with each hospital or home.

New York Gov. Hugh Carey, a Democrat, set the stage for the assault last spring. He rammed through the legislature a freeze in Medicaid, Blue Cross, and Blue Shield payments at 1975 levels.

The League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes, the employers association, immediately seized on this as proof positive that it had no money for contract improvements.



Militant/Lou Howort

When negotiations started, the league presented a set of outrageous demands. The league refused to consider union proposals, no matter how modest. Then

in mid-June the bosses walked out of negotiations. This, in effect, withdrew recognition of District 1199 as the hospital workers union, and made a strike showdown inevitable.

When the strike began, Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame's administration joined the fray—on the side of the bosses.

Police arrested several dozen picketers. Cops beat some picketers so savagely that they had to be taken to public hospitals.

City authorities declared a "health emergency." This allows officials to legally break the picket lines.

City officials also took workers from the unstruck city hospitals—understaffed as they are as a result of cutbacks—and sent them to take the place of striking workers at the voluntary hospitals.

The capitalist-owned media—newspapers, radio, and television—also ganged up on the union. They report both that the strike is having little impact and that District 1199 is recklessly endangering the lives of thousands.

Nevertheless, the strike holds firm. It started against thirty-three hospitals—two-thirds of the private hospital capacity in the city—then extended to fourteen nursing homes and some employees of ten city hospitals three days later.

The strike has had a huge impact on the voluntary homes and hospitals. Thousands of patients have been discharged. Outpatient clinics and walk-in services have shut down. Noncritical

surgery and other treatments have been postponed.

The union—contrary to all the lies of the big-business press—has carefully avoided endangering the life or health of any patient. In certain cases, the union has even allowed members to enter struck facilities to render vital services.

Union leaders have coupled this massive, effective strike with demands that the hospitals agree to binding arbitration. This is normally a risky demand. More often than not so-called impartial arbitrators wind up backing the bosses.

But this case is somewhat different: District 1199 is fighting to preserve union recognition with a city-wide contract. By agreeing to binding arbitration, the league will be giving in on these key demands.

The impact of the strike began to be seen July 11, when Governor Carey urged that the strike be settled through binding arbitration—the union proposal that the league has rejected.

This was a shift from Carey's previous posture. He had been pretending he had nothing to do with the strike and said he would not become involved.

As of this writing, the strike was as solid as a slab of concrete. Big picket lines were up around the hospitals, and not an ounce of demoralization could be seen among the ranks.

Meanwhile, the first crack has appeared in the solid front the politicians and employers had presented against the union.

## On the picket line

# Mayor Beame's cops beat up 1199 strikers

By Roberta Frick

NEW YORK—Despite pouring rains and gusting winds, more than 200 workers picketed the entrance to Mt. Sinai Hospital in Manhattan at 6:00 a.m. July 7. "No contract, no work!" they shouted.

By 7:00 a.m., more union members were trickling into a central "command post." From there they were dispatched to picket lines around the hospital.

Delia Sánchez, a picket captain and

*Roberta Frick is a member of District 1199. She works—and pickets—at Mt. Sinai Hospital.*

delegate, took a little time out to explain what was at stake.

"Every day the hospitals make more and more money," Sánchez said. "At the same time they try to take away our holidays, our sick time, and all the benefits we have won. Meanwhile, our cost of living keeps going up. I only make \$117 for a thirty-hour week."

"This strike is tougher than the last one," Sánchez continued, referring to the 1973 strike. "This time they do not want to give us one penny. Well, I'll tell you—we're going to fight for our rights!"

Marie Baker is a delegate of the hospital division and a founding member of District 1199. "The league says the state freeze on Medicare and Medicaid is to blame," she said. "Well, I don't believe it. The hospital has plenty of money."

Baker described the conditions in 1959, when the strike that built 1199 took place. "On May 8 at 5:00 a.m. in 1959 we struck for forty-six days, despite all the scabs that hospitals employed. The issue then was getting enough money to live. We earned only thirty-two dollars a week for a forty-four-hour week. And let me tell you—we worked."

"Through that strike we won a forty-hour week, better pay, a benefit plan,

and a voice—for the first time. Now, years later, they want to break the union."

The city police are playing an openly strikebreaking role—as they did seventeen years ago. At 8:00 a.m. July 7, two women picketers were clubbed over the head by cops pushing picketers away from the entrances.

One angry woman hit by a cop in the arm said, "We let the doctors and nurses in. But the cops are beating everybody and escorting people in. They have no right to let people in. This is a legal strike."

By the fifth day of the strike, fifty-four had been arrested on charges ranging from "resisting arrest" to "inciting to riot."

Florence Middleton, a nurse's aide at Columbia Presbyterian Hospital, was struck in the face by cops. She suffered a cut cheek and a broken tooth. When she complained to the cop, he told her, "You haven't seen nothing yet. Wait until I use my stick." A man from the same hospital was sent to Harlem Hospital with a broken leg.

Fran Collet, a delegate and strike leader at Mt. Sinai Hospital, described the harassment: "On Wednesday morning they began to arrest people," she said. "The police put on crash helmets and took off their watches."

"One cop said to a striker, 'You look like a nice person. You ought to get out of here, the whole thing is going to blow up in five minutes.'"

"Soon after," Collet said, "four strikers were arrested, including the union organizer at the hospital."

Frances Armstead, a strike leader at Beth Israel Hospital, described the attitude of the cops there.

"On Friday the police captain tried to block off the pickets from near the entrances," she said. "They moved the barricades so that we were packed in like sardines."

"We yelled, 'The picket lines should remain open!'"

"We decided then to move the picket line out into the street. We were banging small tambourines and cans. The police captain grabbed me, hauled me off to the police station, and arrested me," Arm-

stead said.

"One police officer even admitted that I shouldn't have been arrested," she said, "but the captain was out for me."

"But I told them that it doesn't matter if they arrest me because I'll be out there on the picket line tomorrow."

## Socialist joins 1199ers



Militant/Dick Roberts

Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for Congress in New York's Eighteenth Congressional District, discusses strike with picketing hospital worker Igal Ricketts. Taking home \$125 a week after taxes, Ricketts must support a family of three. "The Democrats don't care about what's happening here," Ricketts said. "They don't want the delegates to see that the hungry people are out here trying to get something—and we're not getting it." Garza, a veteran of many union struggles, has joined picket lines and offered the SWP's support to the many hospital strike activities in his district.

**23,000 signatures collected**

# Socialists open California ballot drive

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The California Socialist Workers party is off to a good start in its mammoth drive to qualify for the state ballot this November.

With the signatures of 100,000 registered voters required, the party's state campaign office reported that at the end of the first week of petitioning it had secured 23,000 signatures on nominating petitions. More than 13,000 were secured on Saturday, July 10, alone.

Peter Camejo, the party's presidential nominee, was on hand in Los Angeles to help initiate the drive. His running mate, Willie Mae Reid, was in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California, joined the petition drive in San Diego.

The 13,000 signatures obtained on Saturday were gathered by 250 campaign supporters throughout the state. More than 200 of these were members of the Socialist Workers party or Young Socialist Alliance. About 15 percent of the petition volunteers—some 40 around the state—were not affiliated with either organization.

All areas of the state reported an encouraging response among registered voters. In their largest numbers, those who signed did so because they supported the democratic right of a minority party to be on the ballot.

Many petition signers indicated their disgust with the Democrats and Republicans.

This was readily apparent to a group of Los Angeles petitioners who, accompanied by Peter Camejo, set up a table at the entrance to a city park where a performing arts festival was going on.

In several hours, more than 200 people stopped to sign the petitions. Many accepted with interest copies of the SWP platform. A number of people spoke briefly with Camejo and seemed to respond positively to his socialist ideas.

Some were already aware of his campaign and were pleasantly sur-

prised to have the opportunity to meet him.

Throughout the city, a number of those signing mentioned they had read the page-one *Los Angeles Times* story that morning about the SWP's suit against the government.

The broad support for minority ballot rights is reflected by the individuals and groups who have formally registered their support for the right of the SWP to a place on the California ballot.

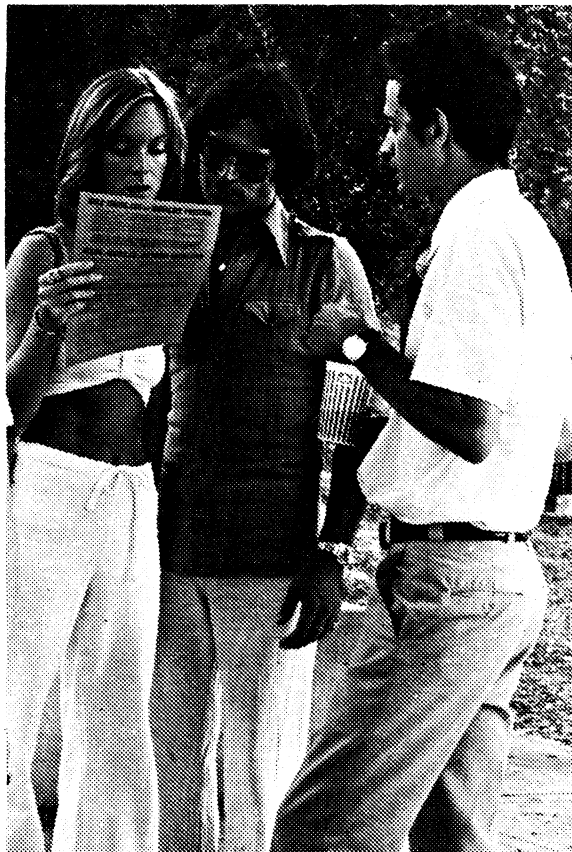
Recent endorsers of the ballot drive include: Daniel Ellsberg, who disclosed the Pentagon papers; actor John Randolph; Ericka Huggins and Elaine Brown, leaders of the Black Panther party; and the East Bay chapters of the National Organization for Women and the New American Movement.

The petitioning period opened July 5 and will close September 6. However, the SWP plans to obtain the necessary signatures in August. Many of its members and supporters will be traveling to Ohio to the party's national convention, which opens August 8.

Members and supporters will make a major push each Saturday of the drive, with petitioning continuing on week-nights and Sundays. In addition, fifty campaigners are working full-time throughout the state until the petition drive is over.

This is the first time the SWP has tried for a California ballot spot. For decades a requirement of 300,000 signatures made it impossible. However, legal and political pressure forced the state legislature to reduce the requirement to 100,000.

This is still a huge number. But the results of the first week's effort confirm that the SWP has every prospect of obtaining well over the required minimum. Success will mean that a socialist ticket will be on the California ballot for the first time in forty years.



Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate, campaigns in Los Angeles during petition drive.

Militant/Harry Ring

## 'I signed because I shouldn't have to sign'

The San Francisco Socialist Workers party combined its big Saturday petition drive with the opening of two new headquarters. It now has three in the city. Willie Mae Reid attended both openings.

According to John Studer, San Francisco SWP organizer, those present included twenty people who were met during the day's petitioning.

Among these was the president of a teachers union local and an activist in the pan-African movement who intends to enlist others in his movement in the SWP petition effort.

\* \* \*

The Berkeley campaigners did extremely well in their petition effort. This is because of the many radical-minded people in the city, coupled with the extensive preparation for the petitioning. SWP and Young Socialist Alliance members had covered the entire city with posters announcing the petition drive.

The response to the petitioners showed "a phenomenal awareness of our campaign," said Kathleen Fitzgerald, the party organizer there. And, she added, a very high number are sympathetic to socialism.

She estimated that of some 120 signatures she obtained, perhaps 50 were from people who wanted to see a socialist alternative on the ballot.

\* \* \*

Fitzgerald also reported that a number of Communist party supporters were out circulating petitions for the CP ticket of Hall and Tyner.

She said they were mainly young and, gratifyingly, shared the SWP's view that both parties should support each other's right to a ballot place.

One CP petitioner working near her suggested to one of his signers that he also sign the SWP petition.

When the signer asked why, the CP petitioner responded that even if his party didn't make the ballot, he would still have a meaningful alternative to vote for.

\* \* \*

Fitzgerald added that a number of the Berkeley CP petitioners expressed strong disagreement with the recent scandalous attack on the SWP by Communist party spokespeople who suggested in their press that the SWP obtains its petitions fraudulently.

Several petitioners for the CP slate "expressed shock and abhorrence at this," Fitzgerald reported.

\* \* \*

In Los Angeles I talked with Glenda, an unaffiliated socialist. This was her first day of petitioning.

Glenda spends time at the Long March, a radical movement center. She had received a leaflet announcing the SWP petition kickoff rally. She attended and decided to help with the petitioning.

Why?  
"I believe in socialism and I think socialists should be on the ballot. With socialists running, I feel people will look into it more."

Glenda reported that most of the people who signed her petition did so on the basis of democratic rights. Several, she said, read and liked the planks in the SWP platform. "And a few definitely signed because it was a socialist party."

\* \* \*

A number of those who signed petitions at Barnsdal Park, where Peter Camejo was campaigning, also liked the SWP platform. Two

young women agreed to sign. While one was filling out the petition, her friend looked over a leaflet listing the principal SWP planks.

"This is really good," she told her friend. "Wait till you read it. It's great." She added proudly, "My grandfather was a socialist."

\* \* \*

One woman responded with a very firm no. "I'll never vote again," she declared.

\* \* \*

A young man indicated he was unable to sign. But he proceeded to get into a long conversation with Camejo in Spanish.

He told Camejo his brother was a member of the Trotskyist underground in Spain.

\* \* \*

One man signed readily and persuaded two of his friends to do the same. He then asked for a petition sheet to circulate, explaining he was a subscriber to the *Militant* and had been reading about the campaign.

\* \* \*

Many people indicated they were signing specifically on the basis of democratic rights. One laughed and said, "I'll probably wind up on the subversive list for this." He paused and added, "Isn't it incredible—for giving you the right to be on the ballot?"

\* \* \*

Asked why he had put his name down, one man replied succinctly, "I signed because I shouldn't have to sign. You should have the right to be on the ballot."

—H.R.



## 'Labor Committee' challenge

# SWP petitions verified in Massachusetts

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—The Socialist Workers party petitions for Massachusetts ballot status have been verified by the state government. This victory culminated an intensive petitioning drive involving more than 200 supporters of the SWP campaign.

The Boston *Globe* declared July 8, "Secretary of State Paul Guzzi's office finished checking nomination petitions yesterday and added the names of several Socialist Workers Party candidates to the Nov. 2 Massachusetts ballot."

"Three Socialist Workers Party candidates will be on the ballot statewide. They are: Peter Camejo for President, Willie Mae Reid for vice president and Carol Henderson Evans for the US Senate."

"The three said in a statement: 'It is clear that as more and more people are growing disaffected from the Republican and Democratic parties, they are turning to the Socialist candidates as the only voice that consistently speaks out in defense of minority rights, in support of school desegregation and busing, in defense of women's rights and in support of the equal rights amendment.'

"Another Socialist Workers candidate, Mac Warren, will be on the ballot in the 9th Congressional District, which includes part of Boston and seven communities to the south."

This announcement came after the Tuesday, July 6, filing of more than 65,000 signatures for the statewide and federal offices and more than 5,000 for the congressional seat with the Massachusetts secretary of state, well over the required amount in both cases.

The successful completion of the Massachusetts ballot drive was accomplished in the face of one of the most undemocratic and stringent election laws in the country.

### Right-wing attack

However, the socialist effort to get on the ballot in Massachusetts has been challenged by the right wing National Caucus of Labor Committees, also known as the "U.S. Labor party." This outfit has a history of physically harassing radical organizations, including the Socialist Workers party and the Communist party.

In recent years it has repeatedly challenged the right of smaller parties to appear on the ballot. Earlier this year it unsuccessfully challenged SWP petitions in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Hearings on the NCLC challenge before the state ballot law commission have been set for July 20.

A vigorous campaign has been launched to get the ballot commission to reject the fraudulent challenge. The already long list of those supporting the SWP's ballot rights includes: Salvador



SWP candidates in Massachusetts, Mac Warren and Carol Henderson Evans

Luria, Nobel laureate, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Roy Glasgow, professor of Latin American studies, Boston University; Mike Heichman, CPPAX (Citizens for Participation in Political Action); Rexford Weng, vice-president, Massachusetts AFL-CIO;

George Wald, Nobel laureate, Harvard; Howard Zinn, professor of political science, Boston University; State Rep. John Bussinger; Ellen Feingold, Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts;

Lou Lasher, president, Harvard University Gay Student Union; Peg McCarter, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Michael Ponaman, president, University of Massachusetts student government;

Ellie Beth Brady, Action Coalition for the Equal Rights Amendment; Ronnie Allen, board of directors, Homophile Community Health Service; and Ken Withers, coordinator, New England Gay Pride '76. (Organizations have been listed for identification purposes only.)

### Petitioning drive

The July 6 SWP filing followed a six-week petitioning drive. The effort involved thousands of hours of gathering signatures in every corner of the state, several hundred full- and part-time campaign volunteers, and hun-

dreds of miles of travel to drop off and pick up petitions from the 209 towns and cities in which they were filed and checked.

The socialist petitioners found a friendly and open response virtually everywhere they went.

Full-time petitioners averaged close to 100 signatures a day during the four weeks in which they were out petitioning. Their efforts were augmented by evening teams during the week and three large-scale Saturday mobilizations.

These special campaign Saturdays involved more than 150 campaign supporters each time who traveled to every major—and many smaller—towns and cities in Massachusetts to gather signatures and to distribute an immense amount of SWP campaign literature.

After completing the signature gathering, campaign supporters then had to drive to all the different towns and cities from which the signatures were obtained in order to get the approval of the town clerks.

Once this was received the petitions had to be picked up and driven to be filed with the secretary of state. The burdensome process was impeded all the more by the refusal of many town clerks to certify the signatures until the last possible moment.

## Attack on CP ballot rights

Ballot rights in the United States suffered a new blow last week. The state of Massachusetts disqualified the Communist party's nominating petitions for its presidential slate, Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner.

According to the July 10 *Daily World*, 20,000 of these signatures were found "invalid." Massachusetts requires some 37,000 signatures of registered voters to place an independent candidate on the ballot.

The *Daily World* stated, "After filing, the clerks arbitrarily crossed off the signatures of registered Democrats and Republicans, miscounted totals and withheld entire petitions."

The Massachusetts Hall-Tyner Campaign Committee is asking that

all supporters of the Communist party candidates' ballot rights immediately contact the Massachusetts secretary of state to voice their protest against this action.

Socialist Workers party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid declared in a letter, "We vigorously protest the undemocratic exclusion of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner from the Massachusetts ballot and demand that they be certified immediately."

"Through this action your office is abrogating the rights of Massachusetts residents to vote for the candidate of their choice."

"We further demand that the unconstitutional 'Anti-Communist' clause be immediately struck from the Massachusetts ballot law."

# Open letter to members of Communist party

[The following open letter to all members and supporters of the Communist party USA was issued July 12 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the upcoming November elections.]

In the July 3 issue of the *Daily World* and *World* magazine, Matty Berkelhammer and Victor Perlo—two leaders of your party—leveled serious charges against the ballot drives now under way by our supporters and those of other small parties.

Berkelhammer insinuated that the Socialist Workers party in Massachusetts met state petitioning requirements by "copying names out of telephone books"—an accusation unfortunately reminiscent of slanders against both our parties by the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees.

Perlo also charged that the SWP has achieved ballot status in some states "without having appeared to canvass

to collect signatures on a major scale."

These false and irresponsible accusations—which can be picked up and used by the government—endanger the ballot rights of all smaller parties, including your own. A defeat for any one of us makes getting on the ballot that much harder for all other parties; a victory strengthens the chances for us all.

The *Daily World* articles also assert that most smaller parties are phony, government-backed operations, which—in Berkelhammer's words—"the ruling class welcomes . . . being on the ballot."

Such accusations make no sense. Evidence turned up over the past few years of FBI Cointelpro operations shows the government's determination to clamp a lid on all dissent that spills outside the Democratic and Republican parties. Both the SWP and the CP, as well as others, have faced many obstacles to achieving ballot status this year and in the past.

The lawsuit filed in Michigan recently by the CP, SWP, Communist Labor

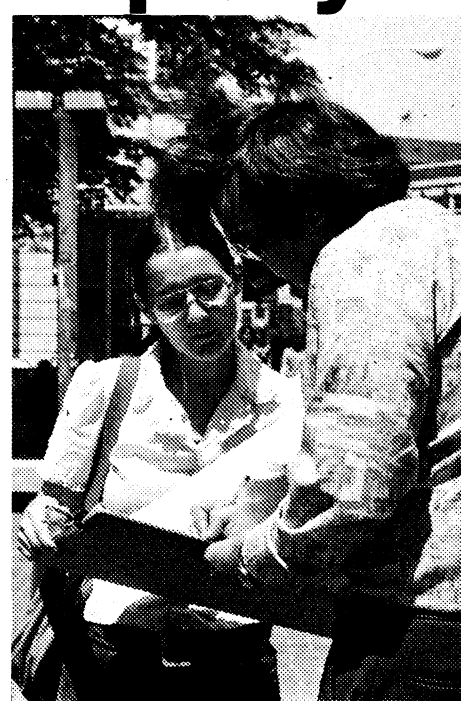
party, Socialist Labor party, and Human Rights party sets a good example of the kind of united fight necessary to defeat undemocratic ballot restrictions.

We are angered by the decision in Massachusetts to deny a ballot spot to CP candidates Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner. This came after their supporters had filed several thousand signatures in excess of the unreasonably high requirement of 37,000.

In response to an appeal by Hall and Tyner, we have wired U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi to demand an investigation of efforts to deny ballot rights to the CP and other small parties.

We hope that you will respond to our appeal by contacting Matty Berkelhammer, Victor Perlo, the editors of the *Daily World*, and your 1976 candidates, Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner. Ask them to retract their dangerous charges and to join with us and others in a common battle against undemocratic election laws.

Peter Camejo & Willie Mae Reid



Militant/Anne Teesdale

65,000 people who signed SWP petitions in Massachusetts know 'Daily World' is lying about SWP signature gathering.

# SWP sets drive for N.Y. ballot

By Ed Smith

NEW YORK—The New York Socialist Workers party announced its plans for petitioning to put the SWP on the state ballot. "With the signatures approved in Massachusetts, and with the California petitioning drive off to a great start, New York is our next big step," said Jay Ressler, director of the New York petitioning effort.

Ressler underlined the political significance of New York petitioning. "The cutbacks here, the massive attack on working people, the default of the Democratic party—from city Mayor Beame up to state Governor Carey—all point to the tremendous significance of placing the socialist alternative to capitalist politics on the New York ballot," Ressler said.

Ressler also pointed to the militant strike of the New York hospital workers and the warm reception that socialist candidates receive as they join the picket lines. The SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, Marcia Gallo, and the candidate in the Eighteenth Congressional District, Catarino Garza, are backing the strikers.

Besides Garza and Gallo, the SWP will be filing petitions for three other New York candidates in addition to the national slate of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. They are: Keith Jones, Seventh Congressional District; Pat Wright, Fourteenth Congressional District; and Ruthann Miller, a candidate for the state assembly in the Seventieth Assembly District.

Miller is a leading activist in the Columbia University, Upper West Side of Manhattan, district, where she is running.

Ressler said the legal requirements for ballot status in New York are 20,000 signatures for the presidential, vice-presidential, and senatorial candidates; 3,500 for each of the congressional candidates; and 1,500 for the state assembly campaign.

"That adds up to 32,000 signatures," Ressler said, "but we are attempting to gather nearly double the legal requirement."

The New York ballot drive will include two massive petitioning blitzes on August 21 and August 28. In addition, a ten-day team of full-time petitioners will take to the streets beginning August 17.

Other New York State SWP supporters in Albany, Rochester, Ithaca, and Buffalo are preparing to petition in their areas. A campaign rally is scheduled in Albany August 20 to launch the petitioning drive there.

Anyone interested in helping with this important socialist ballot effort should contact the New York Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 982-8214.



MARCIA GALLO

Militant/Lou Howort

## July 10 birthday parties

# Students boost Tyler defense

Fund-raising parties on July 10 marked the birthday of Gary Tyler, an eighteen-year-old Black youth who could not attend because he is in prison, convicted of murder.

Students at Destrehan High School, who have organized the Gary Tyler Freedom Fighters, held the party for Tyler in St. Rose, his hometown. At least fifty high school students attended.

It was at Destrehan High that Tyler was falsely accused of having shot to death a white student during white racist agitation against school desegregation. A jury upheld the charge, and Tyler was sentenced to die, but the execution was blocked by the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision striking down the Louisiana death penalty.

The New York party, hosted by the Queens Student Coalition Against Racism, drew forty people. Twenty students, mostly Black, came from Andrew Jackson High School.

"It isn't that he didn't want to come or that he wasn't invited," Marvin Titus of the student coalition told the party guests. "Gary missed this party—and other parties being held for him around the country—because he is on death row in a Louisiana prison, framed up for a crime he did not commit."

Ralph Boozer, chairperson of the student coalition chapter at Grady High School in Brooklyn, told about the Tyler defense committee in Brooklyn. He hailed the birthday party as the beginning of a city-wide defense effort and read a message from the



national Gary Tyler Defense Committee.

The program opened, according to *Militant* reporter Maureen McDougall, with a couple of numbers by Satan's Universal Sound. "And they're all Andrew Jackson students!" exclaimed one of the three executive board members of the Andrew Jackson Parents Association who were present.

The parents association is leading a struggle to desegregate the high school, which is 96 percent Black and 3 percent Latino.

Cheryl Bell, a student coalition activist from Andrew Jackson High, said that students become interested in Tyler's case "when I tell them he's just our age."

Partygoers signed a letter to the

Louisiana governor and attorney general demanding that Tyler be set free. One hundred fifty dollars was raised to send to the Gary Tyler Fund.

Seventy-five people rallied in Houston July 9 at the Progressive Amateur Boxing Association hall to defend Gary Tyler. The meeting was hosted by the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Two of Tyler's aunts, residents of Houston, spoke, as did Walter Collins of the Tyler defense committee in New Orleans. Rene Fontenot, a Black high school student and member of the student coalition, addressed the gathering. Jesse Johnson, father of Michael Johnson, a Black high school student who was framed for the shooting of a white student, also spoke.

# ERA actions set for Aug. 26

By Nancy Brown

"On May 16, 10,000 supporters of women's rights poured onto the streets of Springfield, Illinois—church women, Black and Native American women, housewives, lesbians, working women, and students—to demand ratification of the ERA.

"Our message was felt from coast to coast as hundreds of prominent newspapers and television stations carried stories of the N.O.W. ERA Freedom Train and told the nation that women will no longer tolerate second class citizenship.

"The spirit of May 16 will be continued throughout the summer with a national vigil and march in Washington D.C."

That's from a letter sent out by the Baltimore chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Equal Rights Amendment supporters are planning activities in cities across the country this summer. The date of many of the ERA actions is August 26, the anniversary of women winning the right to vote.

NOW has organized a fifty-five-day national ERA vigil at the White House. The vigil began July 5 and goes until August 28. That day ERA supporters will hold a "Shoulder to Shoulder" march around the White House, followed by a rally.

Boston women are organizing a campaign to win passage of a state Equal Rights Amendment, which will appear on the November ballot in Massachusetts. The amendment would outlaw discrimination on the basis of "sex, race, color, creed, or national origin."

On August 26, the Boston-based Action Coalition for the ERA is sponsoring a debate at Northeastern University. Margaret Mahoney of STOP ERA will debate Dianne Feeley, a member of New York NOW and author of the pamphlet *Why Women Need the*

*Equal Rights Amendment*. Feeley recently debated Phyllis Schlafly, the head of national STOP ERA.

The coalition is also planning a statewide ERA educational and activists conference the weekend of October 1-2.

In Philadelphia, a July 21 meeting open to all ERA supporters will discuss the formation of a city-wide ERA coalition and plans for August 26. The meeting will take place at the Bicentennial Women's Center.

The call for a city-wide ERA coalition has already drawn wide support. A letter announcing the meeting was signed by a number of prominent individuals, including: Nada Chandler, president of Philadelphia NOW; Henry Nicholas, president of National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees Local 1199C; Sylvia Lieberman, president of the Philadelphia Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW); Charles Sims, director of the Human

Resources Council of the AFL-CIO; and Dr. Ethel Allen, councilwoman.

In Seattle, "Women's Herstory" was the theme of a July 4 picnic cosponsored by the Washington ERA Coalition and Seattle-King County NOW. The Washington ERA Coalition plans an August 26 candlelight vigil at the federal courthouse building.

The Louisville NOW chapter has called a "Shoulder to Shoulder" rally for the evening of August 26. The rally will be followed by an ERA fund-raising event.

In New York, NOW members distributed ERA literature at the bicentennial events on July 4. New York NOW is planning ERA street rallies for the week of August 26, and will send a delegation to Washington for the August 28 march.

August 26 activities are also planned for San Francisco, San Diego, Chicago, Richmond, Virginia, and other cities.



Militant/Anne Teesdale



# Demand Tyler's release from death row

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—"It's sheer hypocrisy to keep him on death row for one hour longer," Gary Tyler's lawyer, Jack Peebles, told the *Militant*. Tyler is an eighteen-year-old Black youth framed up and sentenced to death for a murder he did not commit.

On July 9, Peebles filed a motion demanding that Louisiana officials immediately return Tyler from the state penitentiary at Angola to a prison near his family home.

Judge Ruche Marino has set a hearing on the motion for July 15 or 16. Marino is the judge who tried Tyler and sentenced him to die in the electric chair.

In a related development, on July 9 the defense won a small victory when Judge Marino backed down on his

refusal to forward the transcript of last April's hearing for a new trial to the Louisiana Supreme Court, which will hear the case for a new trial in the fall.

Marino's court had attempted to charge Peebles a fee of \$818 for the transcript, in violation of a state law that criminal defendants who cannot afford court costs must not be made to pay.

Peebles is confident the authorities will also be forced to remove Tyler from death row.

Louisiana's death-penalty law is so arbitrary and so openly racist in its application that it was too much even for the U.S. Supreme Court, which gave other states the green light to begin killing people. Louisiana lawmakers are racing to rewrite this

state's capital-punishment law. But they cannot execute Gary Tyler or any of the forty-one prisoners currently on death row.

At the hearing before Judge Marino, Peebles said he will put Tyler on the stand to testify about the inhumane conditions of life at Angola. Gary Tyler's "home" is a six-by-eight-foot cage. Last month, Tyler was given twenty days in "the hole" on the trumped-up charge of having a "weapon"—a spoon—in his cell. Ten more days in the hole were added on a charge of "defiance" when Gary broke his own pencil when told he could not take it into the isolation cell.

Two weeks ago his mother, Juanita Tyler, traveled to Angola only to find she was barred from visiting her son on the pretext of a seldom-enforced rule

of only two visits per month.

Walter Collins, coordinator of the Gary Tyler Defense Committee, personally protested to Louisiana department of corrections director Paul Phelps after Tyler was tear-gassed in his cell last month. Phelps responded, "My guards are humane people. It didn't happen."

Juanita Tyler was finally permitted to visit her son July 6. "He's much happier now. He seems less tense," she reports, although he remains in isolation after the incident with the pencil.

A reporter from Channel 8, the New Orleans ABC television affiliate, asked Gary Tyler if he feels relieved by the high court ruling. Responding with his usual quiet dignity, Gary said, "I never thought I would die anyway."

## 'Barbarism!': more reaction to death penalty

[Below are excerpts from statements given to the *Militant* by opponents of the U.S. Supreme Court's July 2 ruling reinstituting the death penalty.]

The American Civil Liberties Union is launching a major campaign to: one, obtain executive clemency for everyone facing execution; two, reverse the recent tendency of state and federal jurisdictions to adopt death penalty statutes; and three, to persuade the American people and their lawmaking representatives that state-ordered killing of citizens contributes neither to the safety, the justice, nor the moral aspirations of our society.—Aryeh Neier, executive director, American Civil Liberties Union

I think the Supreme Court was actually catering to the sentiment of conservatives and reactionaries in this country who are screaming for blood. They have a high crime rate and they think they can use the screen of executions to exterminate minorities. But the fact is, what are they going to do about the increase of crime among the politicians? That is on the increase. But no politician, I can assure you, will be sent to the gas chamber. I think it's aimed primarily at Black people because they're screaming about Black welfare cases. They're screaming about shiftless Blacks. And surplus Blacks. And Blacks engaged in crime.

I think the Black movement should have protests. I think we should have mass demonstrations. I think also we should keep taking cases back to the Supreme Court. I think that when we're dealing with human life we should be untiring.—Robert F. Williams, veteran civil rights leader

While CLUW has not yet discussed the July 2 ruling, I'm opposed to the death penalty. I always have been. I don't believe it is a deterrent to crime and I think we need to have the proper kinds of prison facilities for rehabilitation that's meaningful. And I just don't believe the death penalty is the way to go.

I think what has to happen is the membership in the unions has to have [opposition to the death penalty] reflected through the policies of their unions at the conventions and then take actions to see to it that we don't get the return of the death penalty.

I, and I'm sure a lot of other labor leaders too, will be fighting against it.—Olga Madar, president, Coalition of Labor Union Women

I think it's unfair because the only people that will ever get it will be Blacks, poor whites, and Indians. I think they'll be the only ones to get it. The rich people will never get it. That's why they can



The butcher's thumb

afford to say they want the death penalty.

I don't know how much can be done. But I think we should make as much noise as possible. You've got to be seen and heard if you want to stop it.—Mary Watkins, mother of J.B. Johnson, a Black youth framed up on first-degree murder charges in St. Louis

I would say the highest judicial institution is doing its best to match the sorry record of the courts during the Indochina war years for failing to challenge the constitutionality of the war and failing to convene anything resembling justice toward the war criminals. So it's kind of a replay of that sort of barbarism carried out domestically.—Phillip Berrigan

It's a brutality that ought not to be part of the thinking of a human being concerning his fellow man.

Those who commit crime don't do it, as I see it, as a result of being bad. I can think of many things that compel people to commit crime. For instance, the kind

of times we're living in: unemployment, the inability to obtain hospitalization for oneself or for those you love, the idea that there's no future for you, sometimes compulsory retirement at a stipend that doesn't eke out an existence for you. We are human beings, and I'll never change my opinion that the death sentence is not the answer.—Patrick Gorman, international secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters union

I think killing is the heart and mind of America right now. Any kind of killing. People are killing through wars, through CIAs, through eavesdropping, through just about everything. And I just think the whole concept of killing has to be destroyed.—Rev. Willie Barrow, Operation PUSH, Chicago

We need to organize some kind of campaign around the cases that will be coming up for execution. Why or who or what they killed for is not the issue. The movement ought not to be naïve about the people who are involved, who committed the crimes. But I think it ought to see past the issue of what the crime was to what the crime of punishment is—and mobilize campaigns around the cases as they move toward execution as they did on the Caryl Chessman case.—David McReynolds, War Resisters League

I see this as part of a whole set of things that are coming down now with the turn toward reaction and racism in this society. The whole thing around busing is one aspect of it. Now the attempt to reestablish the death penalty. What they are trying to do is shift attention from the real problems of society and make scapegoats out of Black and Third World people and oppressed people in this society. They are trying to present us as the causes of the problems and then by getting rid of us, or oppressing us, or repressing us, supposing that the problem will be solved.—Robert Allen, editor, Black Scholar

The YSA believes that a movement must be built to abolish the death penalty and to prevent execution of the prisoners currently on death row. To win this demand, students must be united with labor, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, and civil liberties groups in condemning the death penalty and demanding freedom for Gary Tyler, J.B. Johnson, Ray Mendoza, Delbert Tibbs, and all other victims of racist frame-ups.—Nan Bailey, national chairperson, Young Socialist Alliance

## Texas officials ready to act

By Gene Lantz

HOUSTON—The U.S. Supreme Court upheld this state's death penalty law. Local papers are full of statements about the meaning of the decision.

Even Dr. George Beto, former head of the state prison system in charge of executions, is quoted as saying that the death penalty does not deter crime. Only the present prison director, James Estelle, has indicated his

zeal for the death penalty. He calls it a chance to "put my convictions into practice."

Warden Cousins at the Texas prison where death row is located told the *Militant* that the racial composition of the inmates awaiting execution was eighteen "white," five "Mexican-American," and eighteen "niggers"! Texas's law allowing the electric chair is aimed at terrorizing the poor, the young, and the Black. Nothing less.

## Hands off Africa

On July 10 the U.S. government dispatched a Navy plane to help Kenya patrol its border with Uganda. This followed a sharp breakdown of diplomatic relations between these two African countries.

Then on July 13 the frigate U.S.S. *Beary* arrived in the Kenyan port of Mombassa. A task force from the U.S. Seventh Fleet, including the aircraft carrier *Ranger*, has also been ordered to steam toward Kenya.

These moves should be strongly opposed by all opponents of the colonial domination in Africa. They represent an attempt by the U.S. government to establish legitimacy for its military presence on that continent.

Massive antiwar sentiment severely limited Washington's ability to intervene during the civil war in Angola. This setback was of grave concern to the imperialists. Today they are confronted by the rising tide of liberation struggles in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia, and South Africa.

The U.S. government is hoping to take advantage of anti-Ugandan hysteria—whipped up following Israel's raid on Entebbe airport—to create a precedent for future military intervention in Africa and undercut domestic opposition.

"Opposition to terrorism" is the code word under which this hypocritical maneuver is proceeding. But the real terrorists are those on whose behalf Washington is acting—the racist white minority regimes in southern Africa.

## Death penalty

The Supreme Court decision to reinstate the death penalty has provoked wide opposition—as can be gauged from the statements on page 9 of this issue.

This barbaric ruling comes at a time when there is a general offensive against the rights and standard of living of the American people. It should be seen in the context of the cutbacks in social services, the layoffs, and the attacks on busing and school desegregation.

Opposition to the death penalty runs especially deep among the country's 25 million Afro-Americans. They understand the racist nature of the ruling. More than half of the prisoners on death row are Black.

The full impact of the high court decision to legalize murder has not yet been felt.

Reactionary government officials welcomed the ruling. Some have made known their eagerness to begin signing death orders, throwing switches on electric chairs, and dropping cyanide pellets in the gas chambers.

As the first execution dates approach, attention will focus on the first of the more than 300 sentenced to be murdered. Then the need for large-scale protests will become more urgent.

Everyone concerned with justice and elementary human dignity must unite against this brutal practice.

## Two conventions

For four days in July Democrats from across the country gathered for a convention.

For six days in August socialists from across the country will gather for a convention.

The similarity ends there.

At the Democrats' gala affair, a few delegates made what seemed to be a quite reasonable proposal. They asked for twenty minutes of discussion on each of three planks in their platform.

But nominee-to-be Jimmy Carter quickly put the kibosh on that idea. Who ever heard of discussing issues at a political convention? Especially abortion, women's rights, and amnesty for Vietnam War resisters.

Things will be different at the Socialist Workers party convention. Delegates will participate in hours of lively discussion on the Chicano and Puerto Rican movements, important world events, and issues such as the Equal Rights Amendment, social service cutbacks, racism, and unemployment.

This summer SWP branches from Boston to Los Angeles have already held hours of local discussions involving all party members. Following these discussions, socialists will vote to select convention delegates.

Come see for yourself what a democratic convention can be like—a convention for working people. Check the Socialist Directory on page 27 and contact the SWP branch nearest you.

### Daily 'Militant'?

I enjoy your paper very much. The articles are very interesting and informative.

My only suggestion is that the *Militant* be published daily instead of weekly.

B.F.E.

Hartford, Connecticut

### Georgia ballot restrictions

I'm writing about the article in the July 2 edition, "Unionists, civil libertarians back spot on November ballot for California socialists."

I don't agree with the sentence "With the most undemocratic election laws in the country, California requires 100,000 signatures of qualified voters for an independent ticket to be put on the ballot." (Emphasis added.)

I agree with your point, but Georgia, in my opinion, is now the worst. Georgia requires 104,000 signatures—more than California's 99,000. Also, of course, Georgia's percentage is far worse—5 percent of the total number of registered voters, compared with California's 1 percent.

The *Militant* ought to publicize the fact that Georgia is now the worst state on this issue. The situation has national implications since Jimmy Carter was governor of Georgia and probably never made any attempt to have the legislature change the law.

I love Harry Ring's Great Society in the *Militant* and everything else he writes.

R.W.

San Francisco, California

### Why wait?

We sold five introductory subscriptions to the *Militant* recently. We've had good luck selling them lately. Since it is a good way to introduce new people to our politics—why wait until the subscription drive begins?

S.M.

Bloomington, Indiana

### 'Right to work'

On June 6 my union, the United Teachers of New Orleans, took chartered buses to Baton Rouge, where we joined thousands of other trade unionists in a rally to demand defeat of the union-busting "right-to-work" law currently before the Louisiana legislature, which was reported on in the July 2 *Militant*.

Four days later, the state house of representatives ignored the anger of Louisiana's organized workers at this attempt to weaken our unions and passed the "right-to-work" (open shop) law by a wider margin than predicted by the pro-right-to-work lobby that represents big business.

The bill is now in the state senate. While the militant mood of the working men and women in Baton Rouge June 6 was encouraging, it was obviously not persuasive to the Democratic politicians who sit in the legislature. And for good reason.

At the invitation of the state AFL-CIO officials, Democratic Gov. Edwin Edwards was the featured speaker at the Baton Rouge rally. Louisiana AFL-CIO President Victor Bussie introduced Edwards as "our friend."

The next week, Edwards announced

he would not veto the "right-to-work" bill if it passes the senate. A "friend" like Edwards we don't need. Labor is on the verge of losing this battle because, other than calling a few rallies, Bussie has devoted most of the AFL-CIO's resources to trying to out-lobby the big-business lobby.

The Democratic politicians do not represent us—the working people of Louisiana. They represent big business. The only way we can defeat such government assaults on our right to organize is through the power of our numbers.

I believe that we have to break with Governor Edwards and his cronies in the Democratic party and form our own party, based on the unions. If we elected *our own* legislators on a labor party ticket, they would represent us, not big business.

Joel Aber

New Orleans, Louisiana

### On the waterfront

I thought you and your readers might be interested in some of the response on the waterfront here in Seattle to your recent piece about "the tempest on Puget Sound." (See Louis Cobet's guest National Picket Line in the June 4 *Militant*, "Seattle waterfront debate.")

A couple of the union officials didn't like the article because of the part about union officials in office chairs not understanding like workers in the factory or on the docks. It happened that these officials took the same position as the majority of longshoremen in the dispute with the TOTE shipping company.

I suppose they are entitled to some credit for this in the *Militant*, but the longshoremen know which officials stood where on the issues.

I know that most longshoremen liked the way the *Militant* told what the debate was all about. One old-timer told me he wants to see more articles by Louis Cobet. He cut out the article and got a hundred of them copied, and posted them in the dispatch hall, in bars, and in restaurants on the waterfront, and distributed them to other workers.

It is easy to sell the *Militant* whenever there is something like this that tells about what is going on in the workplace.

The articles on the steelworkers union and the rubber strike must get a good response among those workers. Longshoremen are interested in these developments too, but of course we all like to read about ourselves . . . especially when there is something good to report.

Mike Downs

ILWU Local 19 Executive Board member

Seattle, Washington

### Nuclear power's power

As an employee of one of the major power companies involved in the nuclear energy business, I really appreciated your articles on the nuclear initiative in California.

General Electric spent millions of dollars to defeat the nuclear safeguards measures. In addition they used their employees—using scare tactics telling employees that they would lose their jobs if the measure passed.





## Badillo vs. Velez

[Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress in New York's Eighteenth District.]

They distributed bumper stickers to employees, got them to volunteer to have coffees with "Number 15" speakers and invite their neighbors over, distribute literature in shopping centers, and organize trips on Saturdays to outlying areas.

On June 8 some employees were offered a chance to call voters urging them to vote "no" on company time.

I hope the *Militant* will continue to carry articles on the nuclear initiative since it will be on the ballot in at least two other states this fall, especially concentrating on the economic effects, because the California State AFL-CIO took a position against the initiative. They took the position that it would mean a loss of jobs for their membership.

L.S.  
San Jose, California

### 'Teamster Rebellion'

I was quite amused by George Addison's letter in the July 2 issue of the *Militant*. In his letter Mr. Addison seemed amazed that anyone would still remember the 1934 Teamster strike unless they were a socialist.

I fear that his reaction is due, in part, to your failure to cover the most important event in the history of the Teamsters union since Farrell Dobbs left the union—the emergence of not one but two rank-and-file groups within the union: Teamsters for a Decent Contract and Upsurge.

TDC was born at a meeting last August in Chicago. It quickly began rank-and-file organizing to force the union leadership to fight for a decent contract. It succeeded in forcing Fitzsimmons to up the wage demands.

It organized the ranks for a strike; it published a paper, *Convoy*, which has a press run of over 50,000 copies per issue. It forced the leadership to hold contract meetings with the membership. In Detroit Local 299 TDC ran the strike. They stayed out a day longer than the rest of the country to let Fitz know that they considered the final contract a sellout.

One of the tools of TDC was *Teamster Rebellion*. It sold and gave away hundreds of copies to serve as an example of what the rank and file can do in a bureaucratized union such as the Teamsters.

Teamsters for a Decent Contract has since transformed itself into an ongoing organization called Teamsters for a Democratic Union. It continues the fight for just that.

Upsurge has been doing much the same thing in regard to workers at United Parcel Service, which is one of the most backward employers in the nation.

Due to goon tactics in my local, I wish to be signed by my CB handle.  
Castaway  
IBT Local 705  
Chicago, Illinois

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.

Herman Badillo, U.S. representative from the Twenty-first District, holds the highest elected post of any Puerto Rican in the United States. He faces a challenge in September's primary. Ramón Vélez, city council member from the South Bronx and head of the poverty programs in that area, is after Badillo's job. News about both candidates appears almost daily in the pages of New York's largest Spanish-language daily, *El Diario-La Prensa*.

Both men claim to speak for the Puerto Rican people of the South Bronx. Both are pillars of the Democratic party. And neither has succeeded in turning around the decay and ruin of what was once the largest Puerto Rican neighborhood in New York City. Today the South Bronx looks worse than the bombed-out cities I saw in Europe after World War II.

Before going to Congress, Badillo was Bronx borough president. Vélez's power grew out of the millions of dollars he controls in poverty funds, some of it obtained through Badillo's influence with his fellow Democrats in Washington, D.C. Badillo, who even supported Vélez's bid for city council, now tries to remind the community of that support in order to picture Vélez as some sort of ingrate.

What does this contest mean for the majority of Puerto Ricans in the South Bronx? Will the schools become better? Will there be more jobs? Will day-care centers be reopened?

If past performance is any indication, the answer is no. Nothing will be different for the residents of the South Bronx. Furthermore, it is quite evident that the party of Badillo and Vélez—the Democratic party—is the administrator of the cuts that have made bad conditions worse for the city's most oppressed people.

What's behind the Vélez challenge to Badillo?

In 1973 Badillo made a bid to become the Democrat-

ic party candidate for mayor of New York. He lost to Abraham Beame. Beame proceeded to carry out the bidding of his real constituency—the rich bankers, corporation heads, and wealthy municipal bondholders. The new mayor put through massive cuts in the standard of living of the city's working people.

Badillo has tried to make political hay from Beame's cuts by criticizing their effect on the city's minorities. But this doesn't mean Badillo is against cutbacks and layoffs—he just wants them carried out a different way.

Badillo plays the bosses' game in his own way—by falsely counterposing the interests of oppressed minorities to those of organized labor. His proposal is that wages and benefits for municipal workers be cut back even more. Badillo wants Puerto Ricans and Blacks to view the unions as their enemy, drawing attention away from the bankers and big business.

As a city council member, Vélez was appointed to the finance committee, where he played a key role in getting Mayor Beame's cutbacks approved. The alliance between Beame and Vélez seems to be the steam behind Vélez's challenge to Badillo. Beame is supporting Vélez to cut down a possible opponent in next year's election for mayor.

The forces behind Badillo, probably some of the Wall Street lawyers who groomed him for political office, would like to see a Puerto Rican administer the cutbacks. They want to further divide the city's minority communities from the municipal unions.

What Puerto Ricans need is a candidate who would expose all these machinations. They need someone who will help organize a movement against all cutbacks—a movement composed of all victims of the cuts, the Black and Puerto Rican communities, and labor.

A Puerto Rican in the party of Beame and Jimmy Carter—or in the party of Ford, Rockefeller, and Reagan, for that matter—is a Puerto Rican purely by accident of birth, and not someone who represents our interests.

## By Any Means Necessary

### Baxter Smith



## Hottest housing issue

MEMPHIS—In the beginning, Robert Warwick thought it was a housing panel. Then, as things wore on, he sensed that it was an illusion. Because here, in a room in Cook Convention Center, a thousand miles from the Atlantic Ocean, he found himself a downfallen skipper trying to chart his way through the Bermuda Triangle.

Warwick happened to be a speaker at a workshop on "Redlining—The Cities' Hottest Housing Issue." He happens to be deputy director of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, a redlining organization. And the workshop happened to be at the NAACP convention, where participants wouldn't have minded if he happened to dance a sailor's jig on Davy Jones's locker.

"Why do people redline?" Warwick said in his presentation. "I don't know. There are many theories. Some are sinister—that it is done by evil people. Race is often thought to be a factor. But it is a baffling factor."

At its annual conventions, the NAACP is fond of placing adversaries on the same panel. That was the case in the revenue-sharing and labor workshops this year. It was Warwick who was necklaced with the albatross of woe on the housing panel.

William Morris, director of NAACP housing programs, said that redlining "has been going on in connection with the Black community since World War II," and that it is the "costliest form of exploitation of Blacks."

Besides realtors who are involved in redlining—named for the practice of drawing a red line on a map to mark off areas, most always Black, that have been allowed to deteriorate and which are considered unprofitable for further investment—there are other Guilty Georges.

These include chiefly banks, savings and loan associations (S&Ls), and other lending institutions. Insurance companies dealing in home fire and burglary coverage have been known to play second fiddle in the process. And, according to George Miller of the Black-owned Newport News, Virginia, Community Savings & Loan Association, the federal "government is the biggest encourager of redlining."

Miller told the workshop that federal loan inspectors frown on S&Ls that make ghetto loans. Black applicants for mortgage loans, he said, have been found to be refused more than twice as often as white applicants.

Shirley Dennis, director of the Housing Association of Delaware Valley, said that there has been a rise of antiredlining groups. But, she said, some have been initiated by whites and "underscored with racism."

Dennis explained that in recent years there has been a trend by young, middle-class whites away from settling in the suburbs. They are moving into the inner-city areas, but these areas are redlined and difficult to get into.

But some of these groups, she said, have been demanding that Federal Housing Authority mortgages be limited. FHA allows for 5 percent down on home purchases and twenty-five-year mortgages, a practice that Blacks have found welcome. These demands have been interpreted as keeping Blacks from revitalized core areas, such as Georgetown in Washington, D.C., and Society Hill in Philadelphia.

In summation, most panelists submitted that redlining should be stopped and those guilty of it prosecuted. Warwick was not prepared to go that far. He submitted, instead, that newspapers should stop misspelling redlining.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Now hear this**—"Emphasis Is on Character in Carter Search for No. 2"—news headline.

**Obviously guerrillas**—A U.S. Army outfit playing war games in West Germany mistakenly descended on a Boy Scout encampment. A mortified officer explained they thought the "other side" was using dirty tricks. He said they had been assigned to capture or destroy "aggressor" troops "similar to the way the U.S. Army did in Vietnam." Lucky those scouts didn't get napalmed.

**Let us prey**—Responding to the conviction of several of their members for various criminal acts, the Illinois



'You call it whatever you like. I prefer to think of our situation as "no-frills" living!'

legislature asked the governor to declare August 15 "a day of humiliation." The resolution noted that it was God, "not some superior wisdom and virtue of our own," that brought the variety of blessings they enjoy.

**Not to hurry**—The FDA ordered a ban on the use of chloroform in cough medicine, cosmetics, and other products because it is a suspected cause of cancer. The ban goes into effect July 29, but existing products may remain on the market until sold.

**Tilting at windmills, eh?**—"SAN FRANCISCO (AP)—Most people queried in a recent American Cancer Society poll are smokers but they join

nonsmokers in favoring restricted no-smoking areas in public places. The study also found that smokers are a declining minority of this state's population. Only 41% of California's adults now smoke. The nonsmoking majority includes 26% who once smoked but quit."

**The explanation**—Congressional auditors charged that postal officials falsified mail volume figures to give an exaggerated view of productivity. (Imagine an unexaggerated view of postal productivity.) They said one trick was to have mail trucks drive across scales as many as eight times to pad the weight. That would delay morning deliveries.

## Women in Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



## Right-to-lifers come to Boston

[The following guest column is by Anne Teesdale, a member of the Action Coalition for the Equal Rights Amendment in Boston. Teesdale covered the National Right to Life convention for the Boston University News.]

BOSTON—I attended the National Right to Life Committee's fourth annual convention here June 23-26, where an estimated 3,000 opponents of legal abortion were gathered.

One of the main objectives of the right-to-lifers is to pass a federal amendment to the U.S. Constitution to ban abortions. Predictably, the speeches and workshops were marked by a total disregard for the lives and rights of women, focusing instead on the "mass murder of babies." Bishop Fulton Sheen proposed that unborn babies be placed on the endangered species list along with the bald eagle and whooping crane.

No mention was made of the thousands of women's lives that have been saved from backstreet butchers as a result of the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

Outside the convention, the National Organization for Women (NOW), and Bill Baird, who runs an abortion clinic, held regular picket lines. Their

banners read: "Separate church and state, keep abortions legal" and "Abortion, a woman's right to choose."

Some Bostonians, however, rolled out the red carpet for the Right to Life Committee. The Boston City Council passed a welcoming resolution that read, in part: "The lives of the unborn are ignored by the court. We are fortunate to have as visitors these thousands of life-loving Americans, striving to protect those who cannot protect themselves."

The city council's concern for life is touching—except that this is the same city council that is spearheading the antibusing drive to deny equal education for Black children. This is the same city council that allows antibusing groups to meet in its chambers and organize the stoning of Black schoolchildren.

The right-to-lifers' concern for life took many forms at their convention. "How do you feel about capital punishment?" I asked a woman from Kentucky sitting next to me in one workshop.

"Oh, I know what you're getting at," she answered, "but it's not the same. Abortion is condemning the unborn child who has done nothing. Criminals have lawyers to defend them, and if they have committed a crime against society

they should be punished."

One of the largest workshops was called "What's wrong with the Equal Rights Amendment," led by Phyllis Schlafly, "chairman" of STOP ERA.

"American women, far from being oppressed, are the most fortunate," she claimed. "We are fortunate to live in America where we have the free enterprise system that produced great men such as Thomas Edison.

"We are fortunate to live in a society which values the family as the basic unit. The family gives a woman the right to be in the home full-time to raise her own baby.

"Just look at China or Russia where you have to put your child in a government institution. Women have special rights and privileges as a result of our Christian tradition of chivalry."

Chivalry. Christian ethics. Forced busing. Concern for life. These are the hypocritical code words for the reactionary politics that lie behind organizations like the Right to Life Committee. Their convention should serve as a warning to pro-abortion and women's liberation activists. The right-to-lifers are dead serious about reversing the gains women have struggled for and won in the past.

## ¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



## 'Worse than Nazi Germany'

[The following guest column is by Pedro Vázquez, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas.]

SAN ANTONIO—Mario's is a well-known Mexican restaurant located on the western edge of downtown San Antonio, where the biggest barrio in the city begins.

The owner of this establishment, Mario Cantú, is known as a Chicano activist, a supporter of *la causa*, and a friend of Mexican workers without immigration permits.

During the past two months, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has accelerated its campaign against undocumented Mexican workers. It has made daily raids on businesses that the agency suspects of employing "illegals."

Joe Staley, the local INS director, has described how the agency hunts down Mexican workers on the basis of tips on where "illegals" are employed.

On Friday, June 18, the agency used this procedure on Mario's Restaurant. The account of

how *la migra* raided the restaurant received wide media coverage.

The agents of the INS arrived at the restaurant around lunch time. They knew full well that business would be brisk then. Mario Cantú met them at the front entrance, denying permission for them to enter.

The news media were present. As the agents attempted to get into his restaurant, Cantú said, "I will not let them come in here without a search warrant. They think they can walk in here just like Hitler took over Germany."

The investigators were kept at bay for two-and-a-half hours until a search warrant was produced. During the wait, however, they proceeded with a campaign of harassment.

First, the agents stood at all the doors. Everyone who entered or exited had to produce proof of American citizenship. About sixty people were stopped and questioned. They had merely come to enjoy lunch at Mario's.

After the search permit finally arrived, seven agents entered the restaurant. Ceilings, freezers,

cabinets, and other places were searched. The immigration cops searched everyone in the restaurant, whether they were working or eating.

One customer was D.S. Hernández, a school teacher, who commented, "This is the most asinine thing I have ever seen in my life. It's worse than Nazi Germany."

Five people in all were arrested. One customer was arrested while sitting at a table in the dining room.

The harassment did not end when the agents left with the victims of their raid.

A few days later, Cantú and his brother had to appear before a federal grand jury in connection with the raid. After his grand jury appearance, Cantú charged that the panel was part of a campaign by the government to harass and intimidate people trying to help Mexican immigrants.

In light of this kind of attack, the Chicano community is beginning to understand more and more what *la migra* stands for and beginning to tolerate it less and less.



## Fire bombs, beatings, bribes

# Justice Dep't expands probe of FBI crime

By Diane Rupp

Still more illegal work by even more agents is turning up in the Justice Department investigation of the FBI. What began as a probe into burglaries done in the past five years has uncovered many other FBI crimes.

On March 17 the FBI found traces of recent black-bag jobs when searching the bureau's files for the Socialist Workers party lawsuit. This evidence was turned over to the Justice Department and sparked a probe into illegal FBI activities.

One government source was asked whether Leonard Boudin might have been a target of the break-ins that occurred after 1971. "Absolutely," was the answer quoted in the *New York Times*.

Leonard Boudin is the attorney for the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance in their lawsuit against government spying and harassment.

Black-bag jobs at Boudin's home raise an important legal question. The government may have interfered with the socialists' work with their attorney, it appears.

The Justice Department has found evidence of burglaries aimed at a wide range of groups, including Puerto Rican nationalist organizations.

In addition to burglaries, other



"I'm from the F.B.I. I've come to apologize."

criminal FBI activity included placing "wildcat" or "suicide"—meaning illegal—wiretaps on antiwar activists' phones. Targets included people at Queens College in New York who were protesting the war.

Agents disguised their reports so that information from burglaries and "wildcat" wiretaps would appear to have come from informers.

However, government officials admit that any insider reading the reports could tell where the information came from.

It was also common for FBI agents

to use identification from the New York Police Department or sanitation department. This way agents could carry out illegal searches or make arrests without getting the FBI involved.

G-men didn't just prowl around and eavesdrop, the investigation shows. They resorted to violence.

At least two cars in the New York area were set on fire with molotov cocktails in order to disrupt antiwar activity. Fire bombing, one government official said, was a technique "known to a lot of people."

The *New York Times* also cites a federal source admitting that FBI agents beat up antiwar activists "from time to time."

This expands an earlier report by a former agent. He told of one occasion when agents had kidnapped and roughed up an antiwar activist.

The G-men tried to make these car bombings, beatings, and kidnappings look like the work of another radical group.

It has also been charged that some high FBI officials took kickbacks from electronic supply companies. It looks like the myth of Hoover's FBI—those clean-cut supersleuths above bribery and corruption—is finished.

The investigation is climbing higher up the ladder of FBI hierarchy. The

probe may now include: Edward Miller, former head of the intelligence division; John Mohr, who was next in command to J. Edgar Hoover; and Nicholas Callahan, chief aide to FBI Director Clarence Kelley.

Miller's former co-workers recall that he was always eager to track down political dissidents. Miller once even suggested that the FBI infiltrate the Democratic party. The Democrats, he thought, had been "subverted by Communists," one of his former associates told the *New York Times*.

At a hearing on their lawsuit July 9 the SWP and YSA asked that evidence of FBI crimes turned up by the Justice Department be shared with the socialists.

Information for the new probe is not going through regular FBI channels. A special squad of G-men, nicknamed the "Dirty Dozen," has been assigned to do the work and report directly to the Justice Department, not to FBI Director Kelley.

Kelley's office is under court order to produce documents for the socialists' lawsuit. But the FBI heads can't very well turn over material from the probe that they don't even see.

U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa told the Justice Department to keep "a special alert" for information that can be turned over for the socialists' case.

## Spies say: we do as we please

# CIA admits burglaries, wiretaps against SWP

By Diane Rupp

While the FBI burglars have been operating around the country, the CIA has been carrying out black-bag jobs against U.S. citizens around the world.

CIA Director George Bush admitted break-ins and wiretaps against overseas Americans in a sworn affidavit answering questions from the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

As part of their lawsuit against government harassment the socialists have charged that the CIA has carried out mail openings, wiretaps, burgla-

ries, disruption programs, and other illegal operations.

Bush did not give any details about when or where the illegal wiretaps and burglaries happened. He simply said some of the socialists "were overheard by means of electronic surveillance conducted abroad," and that some information "was acquired as a result of several surreptitious entries that were made into premises abroad. . . ." This leaves open the question of whether the CIA is still carrying out such operations.

A legal memorandum filed with Bush's affidavit explains why the chief

spy could admit the actions as simple matters of fact.

The legal papers are in lawyers' jargon. But essentially what the CIA says is: Yes, we bugged and burglarized you. We can do anything we want.

There are laws against illegal searches by U.S. law officials and against interfering with civil rights. But the government apparently says CIA agents outside American borders are beyond the scope of law.

The government lawyers appeal to a catchall section of the CIA charter to justify any wrongdoing. The law that set up the CIA in 1947 gave the director the job of "protecting intelligence sources and methods. . . ."

When the CIA was caught spying at U.S. colleges and antiwar rallies, the agency appealed to this catchall phrase. Sure, they said, the law forbids the CIA from spying in the United States. But they were only protecting their "sources and methods," claimed the agency.

The government adds another argument: The CIA has a right to keep quiet about its wrongdoing because these acts are "secrets of state." The legal memo resorts to a lot of fancy cloak-and-dagger language to hold up its claim.

"It is indisputable that the foreign relations of the United States would be affected by disclosure of the matters inquired into [by the socialists' lawsuit]," claims the government.

Bush even went so far as to claim that some answers to the socialists' questions are "Top Secret."

But what really lies behind the tight-lipped secrecy is not really a threat of national disaster. Disclosure of the spies' activities "might compromise or embarrass our government," says the memo.

Clearly, the truth about this would embarrass America's rulers. But who gets to decide that truth and embarrassment are a threat to national security?

George Bush, chief superspy, gets to

determine what's good for the nation. And once he makes that claim he can't be challenged, says the government.

Forget that the Bill of Rights is at stake, says the memo. This is "the unfortunately necessary policy of fettering justice to promote national health."

CIA secrecy can't be questioned in



"I'm here to protect you, sweetie"

legal hearings, they say. "The courts, of course, are ill-equipped to become sufficiently steeped in foreign intelligence matters."

Congress does not have the necessary expertise or overall view to challenge the CIA director's decision either, according to government lawyers. Only the president can question the spies.

It takes the quick-witted insight of a Gerald Ford to decide what is best for us all, the government claims.

Don't worry about CIA wrongdoing, Bush recently said. He admitted "there

*Continued on page 26*

## G-man takes the Fifth

NEW YORK—An FBI agent refused to testify in the Socialist Workers party lawsuit, claiming that his answers might open him up to criminal prosecution.

Joseph Furrer was subpoenaed to describe his work for the New York FBI office.

On July 8 Furrer became the first FBI agent in history to take the Fifth Amendment. The Fifth Amendment says people cannot be forced to give testimony that might result in criminal charges against them.

The G-man gave only his name and address. After that he would not even admit that he works for the FBI.

One FBI agent who had been involved in burglaries of the SWP answered questions under oath about the break-ins. However, he only told about operations carried out from 1958 to 1966. Thanks to the statute of limitations, he is probably safe from prosecution.

Furrer, on the other hand, has run the New York FBI operations against the SWP from 1971 to the present. He could be prosecuted for any criminal acts—such as

burglaries—done in the last five years.

It seems possible that Furrer kept silent because he doesn't want to take a rap for illegal FBI work, especially in light of the Justice Department investigation of the FBI going on.

Twenty-eight agents already face criminal charges, according to news reports.

Federal Judge Thomas Griesa will review what questions Furrer can legitimately refuse to answer on Fifth Amendment grounds.

Furrer can at least admit he works for the FBI, for example. And he might be able to tell about other FBI harassment of the socialists that is not a current target of Justice Department investigation.

Leonard Boudin, attorney for the socialists, suggested that the government has an obligation to make information Furrer has available. The government could, perhaps, grant Furrer immunity from prosecution.

The socialists have scheduled another session to question Furrer.

—D.R.

## Discuss busing, S. Africa

# 3,100 gather for NAACP convention

By Baxter Smith

MEMPHIS—This Tennessee city, a frog's hop from Arkansas and Mississippi, put out the welcome mat June 28-July 2 for 3,100 delegates and observers at the first mid-South and sixty-seventh annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"What we must recall for America in these troubled times is that in 1968 Memphis became a crucial test of the national will to extend full rights guaranteed by the Constitution to all of

its people," said Margaret Bush Wilson, chairperson of the NAACP Board of Directors, in an opening night address.

"Today, we invite the South to join with us in the new struggle that is now emerging. We call upon the South to be a partner with us in liberating the North from its own psychological chains of racial bigotry and hypocrisy as that region was so instrumental in helping to release the South from its bonds down here."

The big applause that accompanied her remarks signified a perception that in the mid-1970s racism and racial discrimination are on the rise, and that the half-million-member NAACP—the oldest and largest civil rights organization—must adjust itself to combat it just as it did in the 1960s.

During the next four days—through workshops, panels, and plenaries—participants discussed and debated attitudes and programs on the major issues of education, employment, and housing that affect the Black community.

### South Africa

The convention opened on the heels of the police massacre of Blacks in South Africa. An emergency resolution condemning the slaughter was affirmed unanimously.

"The repressive measures in South Africa point up the urgency of eliminating apartheid and white minority rule in that country," the resolution said. "We urge the United States government to continue to take all public and diplomatic action to make evident its firm commitment in opposition to the racist policies of the South African regime and the barbaric treatment of its non-white citizens."

For the 700 or so grade school and college-age participants—the age of the bulk of other participants appeared to run from thirty-five to sixty-five—there was a special series of workshops and sessions geared toward them, a normal practice at NAACP conventions. South Africa was the topic of one such workshop.

A resolution adopted by the entire convention urged "NAACP units to sponsor programs to further enlighten the general community on living conditions of Blacks in Southern African countries."

A second emergency resolution adopted at the opening session denounced President Ford's antibusing legislation.

"The blatant racism inherent in this proposed legislation is clear, and is disguised neither by President Ford's continuous restatement of his personal opposition to busing for integration, nor by his use of pious platitudes such as protecting the civil rights of all Americans without unduly restricting the individual freedom of any American," the resolution stated.

"The President's proposal is a capitulation to lawlessness and the forces of racism and an obvious attempt to further political ambition at the incalculable expense of millions."

This emergency resolution generated strong applause, as did other references to busing during the week. This reflects the realization by the NAACP that the axis of the assault on Black rights turns in large part on busing and the school desegregation issue. Consequently, the NAACP's deep commitment to the attainment of equal educational opportunities for Black students has thrust the organization more and more frequently into national politics.

### Boston and busing

Despite the national campaign against busing, this convention heightened the NAACP's resolve to move ahead in its litigation and other efforts to win school desegregation.

Opposition to school desegregation has been the most severe in the city of



Sixty-seventh annual NAACP convention

Militant/Baxter Smith

Boston. The convention took note of this and demanded government action to remedy it.

A resolution pointed out that "the nation, and in particular the cities of Boston and Pasadena, has experienced a return to the racially violent days of the Reconstruction Era," including "oral and written threats of death to several NAACP leaders; the symbolic lynching of a Black minister; Ku Klux Klan-type cross burnings; numerous unprovoked and brutal assaults upon innocent citizens of Boston and Pasadena."

The convention called for an investigation of these acts by the attorney general and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, and demanded to know how Ford and Attorney General Levi intend to protect the rights of Black citizens.

In sharp language that is being heard more often from the NAACP, the resolution called upon Ford "and members of the Congress to cease cheap demagoguery and begin to obey the rule of law by upholding the Constitution and decisions of the courts."

### FBI, cutbacks

Not long ago it was disclosed that the FBI has kept the NAACP under a surveillance and disruption program through Democratic and Republican

administrations for at least twenty-five years.

The convention went on record against the FBI's behavior.

Such infiltration, one resolution said, "makes it abundantly clear why this federal law enforcement agency has often been unable to apprehend those persons who consistently violate the civil rights of blacks and other minorities" because "the F.B.I. concentration has been directed towards the activities of the victim."

The convention took note of the cutbacks in school funding that are taking place across the country. One resolution pointed to the ending of the free-tuition policy in the New York City university system and the fact that this most adversely affects Blacks and other minorities.

The body resolved to "take all necessary steps at both the local and National Office level to halt the national drift back to a state of affairs in which such education is made available only to the wealthy."

The civil rights organization also came out against reductions in Black personnel during the implementation of desegregation plans, and called for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare "to withhold funds from school districts engaging in such practices."

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## Reid attends convention

MEMPHIS—Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party nominee for vice-president and a member of the NAACP, was on hand at the convention to speak with delegates about her campaign.

Several days before the convention opened, Reid, a Memphian by birth, held a news conference here that was covered by the three major television networks, as well as radio stations and the morning daily, the *Commercial Appeal*.

"This convention takes place at a time when the Black community is under attack by powerful forces," Reid said in greetings to the convention.

"... To counter the racist offensive, a powerful response is needed from the Black community and its allies. The 15,000-strong May 17, 1975, NAACP-sponsored demonstration in Boston for school desegregation set an important precedent for what is needed to effectively combat the racist offensive. What we need today is the same kind of far-reaching social movement—with its marches, rallies, picket lines, mass meetings—that was able to dismantle the Jim Crow system a decade ago.

"This cannot be accomplished by relying on the empty election-year promises of Democratic and Republican politicians. . . .

"Never before has it been more urgent to begin relying on our own strength and resources. We need to build a Black political party to fight in our interests, rather than in the interests of the corporations that bankroll and run the Democrats and Republicans."

Hundreds of copies of the green-covered "Bill of Rights for Working People," the campaign platform of the Socialist Workers presidential campaign, and other pieces of campaign literature were distributed by campaign supporters.

Reid won applause in the labor workshop when she underscored Herbert Hill's remarks that protests were necessary to defend Black job gains.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

REID: Called for action to defend Black job gains.

## NSCAR salutes NAACP

MEMPHIS—A group of activists from the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) were present at the NAACP convention. They enlisted support for the campaign to free Gary Tyler, sold antiracist commemorative buttons for a dollar a shot, and circulated from delegate to delegate discussing the need to defend school desegregation.

Around and in between all this they managed to distribute 2,000 copies of their newspaper, the *Student Mobilizer*.

Tyler is an eighteen-year-old Black man who was framed up and convicted for the murder of a white student in Louisiana. A brother and sister of his came to the convention to solicit support for his freedom, and took home \$140 in donations and numerous endorsers for the effort.

One student coalition activist from Atlanta, Osborne Hart, was a youth council delegate and sat on the civil rights subcommittee of the convention's resolutions committee.

Maceo Dixon, a national coordinator of the student coalition who attended the gathering, sent formal greetings on behalf of the group. Dixon and the student coalition were

singled out for acknowledgment in the NAACP 1975 annual report for their aid in coordinating the May 17, 1975, probusing demonstration in Boston.

"This national convention of the Association," Dixon's greetings said, "is quite important and timely due to the continued deteriorating conditions of Black Americans. . . .

"Reports are now coming forth showing that in housing, education, and employment the plight of Blacks is worsening in relation to that of the white population. . . .

"With the present economic crisis, more funds for desegregation, education, affirmative-action programs, and other social services needed in the Black community will be few and far between. . . .

"Since the historic NAACP-called May 17, 1975, march on Boston for school desegregation, chapters of NSCAR have continued collaboration with branches of the Association. And like that historic march, we look forward to further marches, rallies, picket lines, demonstrations, and teach-ins to work on with the Association. . . . We are sure our collaboration with the Association in fighting for equality for Blacks will continue."



# Teachers discuss cutbacks, '76 elections

By Nancy Cole

MIAMI BEACH—The record 203 teachers' strikes this past year reflected "the morass of broken promises, the massive layoffs and threats of further reductions, and the general insecurity that beset the profession." So says the National Education Association's Terry Herndon.

The NEA executive director predicts there will be a similar number of strikes this coming fall.

It was in this context of continuing attacks on the nation's teachers and students that the 1.8-million-member NEA held its convention here June 26-July 1. More than 12,000 delegates and guests attended.

The 118-year-old organization looked forward to this as a historic convention. The theme was "America's Third Century: The Teachers' Unfinished Agenda." And the next step toward completing that agenda was to endorse a presidential candidate, something the NEA had never done.

Unfortunately, this step toward considering political solutions—the "final step," according to NEA President John Ryor—was limited to choosing from among Democrats and Republicans.

## Job picture grim

The job picture for teachers is grim. At the end of this school year, 61,000 teachers across the country were notified that they may not be rehired in the fall.

The NEA estimates that 91,000 from the 1975 graduating class did not find teaching jobs last year. The number of teachers unemployed or working outside the classroom has grown to more than 628,000.

Yet to raise the quality of programs and staffing to what the NEA considers minimum levels in 1975 would have required 696,200 more teachers than were on staff.

Thus major emphasis in negotiating contracts last year was put on job security and maintaining working conditions won in previous years. Such issues as class size and preparation time were central to many of the strikes.

Of the 203 strikes (there were 121 the previous year), NEA affiliates conducted 150. The American Federation of Teachers called 33. The remaining 20 were joint NEA-AFT strikes in New York State.

Increasingly, local school boards and governments have responded with injunctions, jailings, and heavy fines. Herndon believes collective bargaining and strikes are "fundamental liberties."

## Delegates hit FBI crimes

MIAMI BEACH—The NEA convention voted to condemn the "series of unconstitutional and unlawful actions carried out by the FBI, CIA, and other agencies of the federal government."

The resolution directed the NEA to "support efforts, including appropriate litigation, designed to deter such actions and to require such Federal agencies to conform their activities to the Constitution and laws of the United States."

Speaking for the resolution, Ed Fruit from Georgia said, "Some of you may have seen the front-page article Tuesday in the *Miami News* which revealed that FBI agents were actually rewarded for participating in clearly unconstitutional acts. And some of these acts took place as late as 1975."



Militant/Nancy Cole

For first time, delegates voted to endorse a presidential candidate, but leaders restricted choice to Democrats and Republicans.

"Government can only decide whether it shall protect or it shall repress its citizens as they exercise those rights. For public employees, today is the *great repression*," he told the convention.

One of the NEA's top priorities is to push for passage of state and federal collective bargaining laws for all public employees.

## Shankerites not present

Blacks and other minorities have been guaranteed proportional representation in convention delegations and on the NEA's leading bodies. During past conventions, however, proposals have come forward to rescind many NEA policies on proportional representation and affirmative action.

Not so this year. New York delegates had usually pushed these resolutions. Until this winter New York teachers belonged to both the NEA and the AFT.

These backward resolutions reflected the views of Albert Shanker, who heads both the New York City United Federation of Teachers and the national AFT.

The 1972 merger in New York State united the 105,000-member NEA affiliate with the 86,000-member AFT group. After several years of factional maneuvering, Shanker got the statewide AFT to vote to disaffiliate from the NEA in March 1976.

NEA reported at the convention that after a spring statewide membership drive, the fledgling New York affiliate is up to 20,000 members.

A cheering, foot-stamping ovation greeted the contingent of 152 New York NEA teachers as they filed into the convention.

"The merger is dead and AFT killed it in March of this year," proclaimed NEA President Ryor.

No fewer than six convention proposals dealt with the AFT. Anti-AFT sentiment was so overwhelming that there was little debate on any of them. Defeated or ruled out of order were those that suggested any continuation of merger talks with the 450,000-member AFT. Proposals to step up competition with the rival union passed.

This sentiment—understandable after the New York experience—ignores the advantages that a united teachers union would have. And it confuses the factional leadership of the AFT with its members.

For example, during discussion on a resolution urging NEA support for the Coalition of Labor Union Women, a delegate pointedly asked if the AFT was a participating union. The answer was yes. Although no one spoke directly against the CLUW proposal, that alone was enough to defeat it.

The 1974 convention decided to endorse a presidential candidate this year. After the Democratic and Republican conventions nominate candidates, the NEA will distribute ballots to this year's convention delegates.

Presidential candidates received NEA questionnaires earlier this year. The *NEA Reporter* printed excerpts from the answers of those capitalist candidates who responded.

The NEA invited all "viable" candidates to address the convention. None accepted. However, President Ford, Jimmy Carter, Frank Church, and Morris Udall consented to videotape interviews for the delegates.

The only debate—since the endorsement is to be decided later—was over a previously stipulated ballot choice of "no endorsement." The NEA Board of Directors proposed deletion. Delegates argued that to include it on the ballot would be a step backward, a move away from political activity. The motion to delete "no endorsement" passed, although sentiment was so closely divided that a standing vote was necessary.

The decision on which candidate or

candidates will be on the final ballot is left up to the NEA-PAC (Political Action Committee).

## Socialist not 'viable'

Apparently judged not "viable" by the NEA leadership was Socialist Workers party candidate Peter Camejo. Although Camejo answered the NEA questionnaire, his responses were not printed with the others in the union's paper. Nor was he videotaped or invited to the convention.

Supporters of Camejo's campaign distributed reprints of his answers to convention delegates. The socialist called for dismantling the \$100 billion war budget so that new schools can be built and teachers put back to work with smaller class sizes.

"The right to strike is unconditional," Camejo answered. He strongly supported defense of affirmative-action gains and the right of Black children to be bused to better schools.

Camejo's answers had more to do with the issues actually discussed at the NEA convention than did the stands taken by Carter, Ford, or Reagan. The latter declined even to answer the questionnaire.

"We have come to recognize that we are a formidable force in the life of this nation," NEA President Ryor said to the convention. "We are over one million, eight hundred thousand strong. We are organized."

True. But throwing that power behind Carter will do nothing to stop the campaign against teachers, against education, against all working people. The NEA bragged at its convention that 81 percent of all the congressional candidates backed by the union in 1974 won. But where has it gotten teachers?

"Labor has the organization, resources, and voting strength to be a powerful, *independent* political force," Camejo said in his response to the NEA questions. "Labor can and should organize its own political party that will run working men and women for office on a program that puts our interests first—the interests of the majority—not corporate profits."

## Convention endorses ERA

MIAMI BEACH—Having moved that New Business Item Number Ten be approved by the convention, NEA delegate Jill Fein told the convention: "The NEA has long been on record in support of the Equal Rights Amendment. But that is not enough . . . we need action!"

The Texas teacher was backed up by others speaking in favor of the resolution to "encourage local asso-

ciations to help plan and build actions" in support of the ERA on August 26.

"The NEA supports NOW's [National Organization for Women] call for a pro-ERA vigil at the White House from July 5-August 28, culminating in a march at the White House on August 28," the resolution stated. "NEA will encourage its members to participate in the vigil and march in Washington."

Speaking on behalf of the New Jersey women's caucus, Jo Giacomarra urged support for the motion. She described the "tremendous" demonstration for the ERA held in Springfield, Illinois, this past May 16. "I marched, along with 10,000 others, carrying a hand-lettered sign which said, 'NEA supports ERA.'"

"Leaders in many fields, including labor, were either present or sent telegrams in support of that action," she said. "I looked and listened in vain for some official voice from NEA."

"We all recognize the tremendous importance of financial support on issues we care about. NEA is to be commended in this area. However, it is time to put our mouths and bodies where our money is!"

Applause. No speakers against. The resolution passed. —N.C.



Militant/Nancy Cole

JILL FEIN: 'We need action' to support Equal Rights Amendment.

# THE UFW AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

## Is Jerry Brown a friend of farm workers?

By Harry Ring

(First of two articles)

LOS ANGELES—There are several important differences between the United Farm Workers and most other unions. They all reflect credit on the UFW.

Most traditional unions in this country have been so stifled by their officials that they have difficulty focusing on anything beyond another few cents an hour, and many aren't even too effective in that area.

The UFW, to the contrary, has inspired its own members and countless supporters by waging a militant struggle around broader social issues. Offering an example for other unions in this respect, the UFW has become *la causa*—a movement fighting for wages, hours, and better working conditions, yes, but in addition, for justice and human dignity.

But on one key question, the UFW does have something in common with the rest of organized American labor. In seeking to accomplish its aims, the UFW leadership places heavy reliance on the Democratic party.

Time and again U.S. labor has been

shafted by the Democratic "friends" they look to. Basically, the results achieved by the UFW in this regard have not been different.

In 1976, the UFW, to my knowledge, has backed two candidates. In California, it campaigned actively for Tom Hayden in his bid for the Democratic senatorial nomination. In several states it worked to rally support for Gov. Edmund "Jerry" Brown in his unsuccessful push for the Democratic presidential nomination.

When Brown was running for governor and emphasizing his support for the farm workers, there may have been some rationale—even if unwarranted—for the UFW supporting him.

But since his election, it is becoming apparent that Brown is playing a double game in his relations with the UFW.

To establish this, it is necessary to summarize some previously reported facts.

### 'Deceptive'

When Brown was campaigning for governor, with UFW support, he pledged to support passage of a farm

labor bill that the UFW had been pressing for in the legislature.

In office, Brown decided to present instead his own watered-down substitute for the UFW bill.

Initially, César Chávez and UFW attorney Jerry Cohen assailed the Brown substitute. Chávez branded it "deceptive." Cohen declared that the union was "prepared to fight" it.

But the union was pressured into supporting Brown's "compromise" on the grounds that it was the only one the growers and Teamsters would accept.

The Brown bill was passed and union representation elections were held. In a number of key respects the deck was stacked against the UFW. The law itself was weighted against the union. The growers and Teamsters brazenly flouted the law. The attorney for the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB), set up to administer the law, was a Brown appointee. He moved slower than a snail in enforcing the law and board rulings.

The UFW demanded that Brown fire him. Brown ignored the demand.

A delegation of prominent clergy visited Brown to describe the widespread grower-Teamster violations of the law they had witnessed firsthand. Still no action.

Yet despite the rigging, the UFW consistently outpolled the Teamsters by two-to-one margins. No thanks to Governor Brown.

Those victories in the face of seemingly insuperable odds were dramatic testimony to the depth of support for the UFW. Field hands massed so solidly behind the union that it almost came out the winner.

Almost.

The ALRB became the first state agency in the history of California to die for lack of funds. After functioning for six months, it simply expired. Its original, inadequate allotment had run out. And, it seemed, a handful of rural legislators were able to block further funding by virtue of a proviso that such allocations require a two-thirds vote of the legislature.

### Fancy maneuvers

For three months the ALRB was dormant. Some fancy maneuvers occurred during this period. A bill was introduced into the state assembly to provide new money for the board. The bill did not meet the growers' demand for new stipulations that would render the ALRB virtually impotent.

The measure was killed in committee by Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy, who insisted there must be "compromise" with the growers.

On March 11, César Chávez denounced McCarthy for playing the growers' game.

On March 16, Governor Brown appointed McCarthy his campaign manager in his bid for the presidential nomination.

Finally, this July a bill was passed re-funding the ALRB. How? Simple. Brown appointed three new members—a majority—to the board. All three were greeted by the growers as "satisfactory."

But maybe that was simply the only way Brown could get the funding through the legislature? Not likely.

The way Brown so easily sewed up the California Democratic machine vote in his presidential bid showed the power he wields in the state. And that applies fully in the state legislature. This was testified to by no less an authority than Assembly Speaker McCarthy.

A year ago, on July 3, the *Los Angeles Times* reported McCarthy as having "acknowledged that some lawmakers are displeased with the way Brown has imposed his will on the legislative process."

The article described how Brown had rammed through his original farm labor bill, adding that the process "was all but bereft of legislative input."

Why didn't Brown apply the same muscle when the ALRB ran out of money?

The cold fact is that he simply used the situation to trade away even more of the rights of the farm workers.

### Duplicity

Brown's duplicity in relation to the farm workers is not at all inconsistent with his general record.

Brown has been spending a lot of time advising people—everyone except the business profiteers, that is—to "expect less."

Why should it be assumed that field hands are exempted from Brown's reactionary moves to impose "less" on the ordinary people of California?

And if you have any doubts as to whether or not that's what the good governor is all about, just check out his record.

## Lowering expectations

Since Governor Brown was elected to office he has told the masses of people they must lower their "expectations" in a variety of ways.

A brief review of Brown's record in office confirms that he's dead serious about lowered expectations. These are some of the things he felt the people of California should not expect so much of:

- In 1975 he slashed the budget recommendations proposed by the University of California and the California State University and State College systems. The *Los Angeles Times* commented that when university administrators looked at Brown's budget, they "thought they saw a picture drawn by Ronald Reagan."
- He opposed a move in the legislature to remove controls on the

retail price of milk, which operate to keep milk prices up.

- He announced that he favored reconsideration of the school hot-lunch program. The wealthy governor said he always felt bad because his mother never prepared him a hot lunch.
- He vetoed an American Civil Liberties Union-sponsored bill preventing state agencies from compiling secret dossiers on Californians.
- He vetoed a bill requiring that prisons get a court order before holding an inmate in solitary confinement for more than forty-five days.
- A bill sponsored by the Brown administration continued medical screening of schoolchildren. But the administration refused to include funds to treat children found to be ill. One assembly member who tried

unsuccessfully to get such funding included said the fights with Reagan over medical care were "minor" compared to what they were up against with Brown.

- The medical-care bill put through the legislature by Brown in 1975 cut back sharply on dental care for the poor.

The Brown bill also eliminated false teeth for elderly welfare recipients without a statement that the teeth were medically necessary, as attested to by a dentist, a doctor, and a state consultant. ("Medically necessary," one official explained, meant being necessary to chew food prescribed by a doctor.)

Queried by a reporter as to how it was decided what was "essential" in medical care, Brown responded:

"Some people think they need more than I think they need."

## Brown Sounds Warning: Prepare to Work More, Receive Less

"More, more, more for labor!"—the late Samuel Gompers, AFL leader.

"People are going to have to work more and get less!" — Gov. Brown.

By GEORGE SEKLTON

Times Staff Writer

Picture Ronald Reagan, shortly after becoming governor, going around telling Californians they must "work more."

"For this country to maintain its leadership, we're going to have to work harder and we're going to have to accept possibly a more austere standard of living. And just trying to get that view out so it doesn't surprise people when the economy doesn't quite deliver all the goodies we've been brought up to think it has to deliver."

"It's just a fact of life. I may be wrong and I hope I am. But I think the standard of living is not going to increase the way it has in the past," he continued.

A world of limits—that's where we are. That's an important concept. It goes slightly against the grain of America. Bigger, better, we can do anything. I don't think we can do anything."

Brown's pessimism about this country's economic future is important to Californians because it is the thesis upon

which he has based his entire administration.

"Standard of living is not going to increase the way it has in the past."

By the *Los Angeles Times*, Thursday, July 31, 1975—Part 1

## State Can Do Little for Jobless—Brown

Problem Is Basically National, He Says; Governor Lashes Out at Aide He Fired

By HARRY BENNETT and KENNETH REICH

Times Staff Writers

## Brown's Stand on Jobless

Continued from Third Page

"Unemployment rates vary from state to state, and if it is just a national problem, why does it vary so much less unemployment than we have? I say it is partially because that state aggressively lobbies for all federal resources available, but Brown has no representative in Washington doing that kind of lobbying for California."

Lowest interest that the governor is portending as a liberal, but "in fact the thrust of his behavior is to balance the budget, hold down taxes and cut government spending."

"That basic philosophy is certainly no more liberal than that of former Republican president John Herbert Hoover and Calvin Coolidge."

Brown described himself, however, as "the most liberal governor in our history. The only thing I will not do is to outstrip ourselves."

"It is intellectually dishonest to

ceremoniously refusing to use a government loan as a symbolic example of his stated concern for the taxpayer's dollar. More relevant and significant was his recent passing of \$27 million from a \$115 million school aid bill, after having long proclaimed a reluctance to pour new money into old education programs without reform.

These and similar actions fit snugly into Brown's new public image—that of a fiscal conservative, somewhat in the Reagan mold, who is a tight man with the buck, an outspoken critic of inefficient bureaucracy, a dedicated

use his father. They didn't see the other side," she said. "And the campaign was not geared to show the public the real Jerry Brown."

She added, "Wait until he starts in on the private sector. He already has."

When the young governor declares "we must lower expectations"—as he has said so frequently since being inaugurated—he is not just talking about state government servants, schools and welfare recipients who do

benefit directly from the public treasury.

Continued from Third Page

difficult economic reality that no leader has ever had to face before, at least not to the extent we're going to in the years ahead."

One example of robbing Peter to pay Paul, Brown said, was his cutting proposed state employee salary rates from 8% to 7% and then using the savings to help finance a \$65 million aid increase for the aged, blind and disabled.

But "it's not enough just to talk about sacrifice from the public sector," Brown said. "People in private enterprise begin to limit themselves and their expenses."

"That's the difference," Brown said, between him and conservatives.

"I think the conservatives are willing to face the fact of inequality in our society and the lack of access to education and opportunity. Too often people

in the midst of government, but they neglect the needs of business—you know, the tax breaks, the welfare for the privileged."

Businesses have to start doing their part," he continued. "They wait government to provide the jobs. They wouldn't pay such inflated salaries if they could hire a few more people."

He said six-figure-plus salaries paid to executives of the state's largest corporations aren't needed. They're a waste to create an aura. But they are good talent. Certainly the public is without seeing that kind of

was his plan? It's

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garded as conservative.

"Was it conservative things as the farm labor public members on to control industries, to be marijuana law or the laws governing the state's health care system?"

The governor cited out his Administration range government and judicial laws dealing with out in the allowance as fact that, "Indeed, I do control industries."

Brown insisted that "society" of people agree.

SACRAMENTO (AP)—California's Medi-Cal dental contract will be challenged next year by a state consultant

people whose institute deny false teeth to about half of the challenged one and no poor who would have been eligible

"In the Administration for them last year, a state consultant

beyond question. Ever said Friday

"About 10,000 dentures were submitted last year and estimate: that the new contract will save about half of them," said Dr. William J. Do-

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## Brown Predicts Americans Will Work More, Get Less in a 'World of Limits'

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America no longer dominates the world export market, Brown pointed out. America now competes with other traders and is a prime customer of the world for such goods as automobiles, television sets and oil. Our own food is running out, he continued. And our own

"You can't keep producing more and more. It's a fact of life. The earth can generate a finite amount of energy. That's a very, very real fact. It's running out, he continued. And our own

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## Pasadena busing decision

# Ruling opens door to school resegregation

By Arnold Weissberg

PASADENA, Calif.—The United States Supreme Court dealt a heavy blow to Black rights on June 28 when it struck down a key part of the Pasadena school desegregation plan.

In its ruling, the court accepted arguments by the Pasadena school board that it should not be required to

*On the same day as the Pasadena ruling, the California Supreme Court handed down an important decision on desegregation in Los Angeles. Arnold Weissberg will take a look at it in next week's Militant.*

make yearly adjustments in assigning Black and white students to schools as a way to maintain desegregation levels ordered in 1970.

The 1970 order by Federal Judge Manuel Real had called for a formula of "no majority of any minority" in every Pasadena school.

In arguments before the court, the school board admitted that Pasadena's schools were no longer in compliance with the 1970 plan. The board claimed, however, that there was nothing they could do about this because whites had fled the district after the plan had been implemented. According to the board, white enrollment in the district dropped 37 percent after the Pasadena Plan went into effect.

In accepting the board's arguments, the Supreme Court said that the government's commitment to school desegregation could be limited to a once-only correction of segregation found to be the direct result of conscious government action. The court said that Judge Real's formula of "no majority of any minority" was too broad. In requiring yearly adjustments of busing to fulfill this formula, the court said, Judge Real had "overstepped his authority."

The court's ruling means that desegregation orders cannot require ongoing adjustments to compensate for population shifts based on racist housing practices. The effect of this is to open the door to the resegregation of the public schools.

### Six-year struggle

The national impact of this ruling marks an important victory for the racist foes of busing. The ruling also marks a turning point in the six-year struggle of Pasadena's Black community for equal education.

Located northeast of Los Angeles, Pasadena has a population of some 115,000 people, of whom 35 percent are Black. The Pasadena school district, which includes outlying areas, has about 26,000 students. Forty-one percent of the students are Black and 40 percent are white.

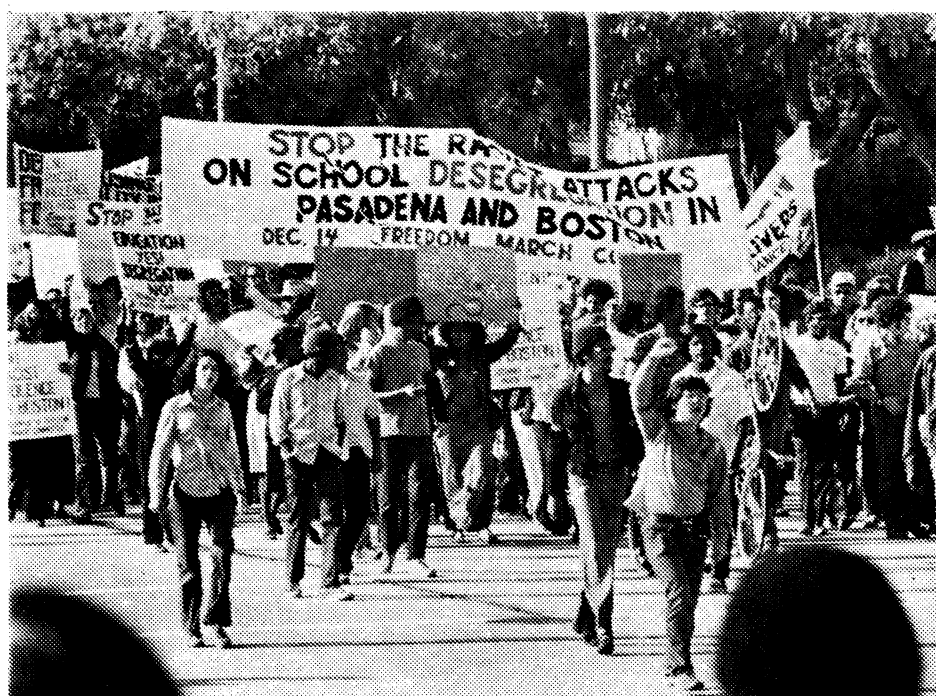
The Pasadena Plan was approved by a three-to-two vote of the Pasadena school board following Judge Real's 1970 order that the school district be desegregated. Real had ruled on a suit filed by Black and white students and parents. The U.S. Department of Justice was a co-plaintiff.

A racist counterattack began at once. It included a campaign to recall the three probusing board members.

Probusing forces—including the Pasadena NAACP, the two teachers unions, community groups, parents' groups, and churches—also mobilized successfully to defeat the recall campaign.

The racists then began organizing to install an antibusing slate in the 1973 school board elections. They ran a slate of three. Their slogan was simple: "Stop forced busing." They used a symbol later used by the racists in Boston: a stop sign.

The antibusing slate was elected,



Militant/Henry Snipper

December 14, 1975, march for school desegregation in Pasadena. 'Only the independent mobilization of the Black community and its supporters can defend and extend equal education.'

giving the racists four out of five seats on the board. The fifth board member was the only Black, Sam Sheats.

One of the first acts of the new board was the earmark of \$50,000 for an appeal of Judge Real's decision. This was the first installment in \$250,000 of taxpayers'—including Black taxpayers'—money spent on the legal fight that culminated in the Supreme Court decision.

### 'Voluntary' plan

This appeal was rejected in February 1974. In the appeal, the school board cited "white flight." The board proposed a substitute "voluntary" desegregation program.

But Judge Real rejected the "white flight" argument, pointing out that the white exodus from the city was at about the same rate as in the rest of the state. No link to school busing could be shown, he said.

Real also rejected the board's substitute "voluntary" desegregation plan. He noted that parents who had left the city to avoid integrated schools were hardly likely to be lured back when integration became voluntary.

Real's decision was upheld on appeal.

The board then shifted its tactics. It began to blame cutbacks in education on desegregation as a way to deepen public opposition to busing. During their 1973 election campaign, the antibusing board members had opposed federal aid to school programs in their platform. They claimed such aid was "counterproductive."

Then—after refusing federal aid and spending large sums to fight desegregation—the board claimed it had to make cutbacks in education because of the cost of busing.

### Sabotage

One of the first items cut was the hours of school bus drivers. Some drivers' wages were slashed as much as 50 percent.

The cutbacks also hit the "English as a second language" program, special tutoring programs, and extra-curricular trips.

Then, in March 1975, Sam Sheats was defeated in his bid for reelection to the board. At the same time, an attempt to recall racists on the board failed. This left the board without a single probusing member.

This new board, unable to entirely scrap the busing plan, proceeded to sabotage it. They proposed establishing "fundamental schools"—these would emphasize "readin', 'ritin', 'rithmetic, patriotism, and discipline."

Although enrollment in these "fundamental schools" was to be voluntary, the program, whose appeal was mainly to whites, would have had the effect of resegregating the schools.

Real ordered a halt to the program in October 1975 unless the board could prove it was not designed to undercut the desegregation order. The board failed to meet his demand.

Finally, a third appeal of the Pasadena Plan was filed with the Supreme Court. In November 1975 the court agreed to hear this appeal. On June 28 it handed down its ruling.

The official efforts by Pasadena's school board to turn back desegregation have created a climate that breeds attacks on Blacks.

The Nazis selected Pasadena as a prime recruiting area. They have been distributing vile, racist filth at the high schools.

Black community leaders have been subjected to death threats. On April 15, Rev. Harrison Bailey was nearly blinded by a letter bomb.

But reaction to the Supreme Court decision among Black leaders here suggests that the battle for school desegregation is far from over.

Asked his reaction to the June 28 ruling, Sam Sheats flatly told reporters, "They intend to keep our children segregated. The Black community will be disgusted and angry."

Pasadena Federation of Teachers President Saul Glickman agreed. "If the school board is given a free hand, many schools will be all-white and all-Black, and we'll be right back in court again," he said.

The Pasadena chapter of the Student Coalition Against Racism also condemned the decision. "The U.S. Supreme Court," SCAR said, "managed to justify school resegregation and segregated housing all in one ruling. The 'normal pattern of human migration' of which the court speaks is clearly influenced by illegal housing restrictions such as redlining."

The Pasadena decision—coming on the heels of President Ford's attack on school busing—serves notice that the courts and the politicians cannot be relied on to protect Black rights. Only the independent mobilization of the Black community and its supporters can defend and extend equal education.

## 'A giant step backward'



Militant/Nancy Cole

Participants at NEA news conference were (left to right): NEA General Counsel Robert Chanin; Norma Coombs, president, Pasadena Education Association; and Stephen Edwards, president, California Education Association.

### By Nancy Cole

MIAMI BEACH—Leaders of the National Education Association have labeled the Supreme Court decision on the Pasadena school desegregation plan a "giant step backward" with "the possible effect of destroying integrated education in Pasadena and other communities in this country."

The June 28 high court ruling came in the midst of the NEA's national convention here attended by more than 12,000 delegates and guests.

At a news conference June 29, Pasadena Education Association President Norma Sandusky Coombs

said that she and other teachers "were shocked by the Supreme Court decision because we are convinced that the Pasadena Board of Education has the intention of going back to segregation."

California Education Association President Stephen Edwards and NEA General Counsel Robert Chanin joined Coombs in denouncing the ruling as an encouraging message to other school boards resisting integration.

Coombs pledged that Pasadena teachers "will fight desperately" to maintain the desegregation plan "because we have taken a position for quality, integrated education."

# John G. Wright

## Role of a leading Marxist scholar

By George Novack

[Last month marked the twentieth anniversary of the death of John G. Wright. Wright was an outstanding theoretical leader of the Socialist Workers party and a translator of many of Leon Trotsky's writings into English.

[We are printing below a tribute to Wright by George Novack, who collaborated with Wright in teaching and writing Marxist philosophy. Novack's tribute was given in Los Angeles at the memorial meeting for Wright when he died in 1956. It was subsequently printed as an introduction to Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects* (New Park Publications: London, 1962). The printed version has been edited because of space considerations.]

Joseph Vanzler, better known by his pen name of John G. Wright, died June 21, 1956, at the age of fifty-four. His death removed from the leadership of the Socialist Workers party and the international socialist ranks one of its most productive scholars and ablest theoreticians.

John G. Wright, or "Usick" as he was called by his intimates, stood out in this land of standardized personalities, and even in our own movement, as a highly distinctive individual, an "original" in the best sense. Steady in purpose, untiring in work, and spontaneously generous, he had a volatile and inflammable temperament.

The strong feelings which were anchored in such firm dedication to the socialist cause and in personal friendships would sometimes flare up in unexpected and even, bizarre ways. This disciplined reasoner could not always contain his powerful emotions. His eccentricities of expression vexed impatient and intolerant people, but they were more endearing than annoying to those who cherished his true worth.

Not only his personality but his life spanned extremes. John G. Wright was born in the remote legendary city of Samarkand in Central Asia, the burial place of Genghis Khan. He came to the United States as a boy and acquired an education by working his way through Harvard University.

John G. Wright was a chemist by profession, a scholar by inclination, and a revolutionary socialist through the most reasoned convictions. For some years he earned a living by applying his knowledge of colloidal chemistry to commercial manufacture, but he never felt at ease in the business world.

Towards the end of the 1920s his interests more and more focused upon the revolutionary Marxist movement. His attention was first directed to the position of Trotskyism in Boston through his acquaintance with Antoinette Konikow, one of the pioneer American Trotskyists, whose daughter Edith became his first wife and co-worker.

I have known many learned men, some world-famous in their academic specialties. In the range of his cultural interests and the depth of his knowledge, John G. Wright was their equal—and he excelled the best of them in his insight into the decisive social forces of our time.

In a single conversation he would touch upon the most varied topics—the delights of the Elizabethan poets (Ben Jonson was one of his favorites); the enigma of Totemism (he was especially interested in the origin of society and primitive customs); modern painting

(he considered himself a connoisseur of contemporary art); problems of calculus; or one of the latest developments in natural science. All this learning was organized around a central axis and mobilized to serve the cause of the liberation of humanity from the evils of class rule which he so vividly detested.

All his material and mental resources were flung into the fight for socialism. He knew eight languages. Russian was his native tongue. He used it to translate for others the precious store of theoretical guidance



John G. Wright, translator of Leon Trotsky's writings.

contained in the key writings of the Bolshevik leaders. He became the main channel through which these writings were transmitted to the English-speaking world.

For almost twenty years he translated and edited writings of Leon Trotsky and other masters of Marxism. His incomparable abilities made him an exceptional collaborator for Leon Trotsky in the last decade of his life. During the Moscow Trials John G. Wright worked night and day to track down references in the testimony, and his research helped considerably to expose Stalin's frame-ups.

In the last weeks of his own life, he saw the truths about the crimes of Stalin, which he had labored to uncover against tremendous odds, confirmed to the world at large by the political heirs of Stalin who, for their own reasons, have had to disown and divulge part of his crimes.

John G. greatly regretted that he was never able to meet Trotsky in person. In 1939 he journeyed as far as the Mexican border but could not cross for fear of not being permitted reentry into the United States.

The translations for which he was best known were only a part of his voluminous literary production. For the past fifteen years there has hardly been a resolution of the Socialist Workers party, an issue of the *Militant*, or of the theoretical organ which did not contain some contribution or bear the stamp of his editing and thinking.

He was an expert and exacting editor. Many writers for our press,

myself included, often relied upon John G. Wright to work with them or to straighten out a tangled piece of copy. It might be added that on occasion we had to do the same for him.

As a party worker, John G. Wright was principally an educator, writer, propagandist, and theoretician. His special fields of competence included the development of the Soviet Union, the operations of capitalist economy, and international affairs. He followed the salient events in all these fields with close attention. He had amassed materials for a history of the Bolshevik party, but only the first section was completed and published.

John G. Wright was most at home in the domain of ideas. Philosophy, logic, and problems of the method of thought were his major preoccupation. He was familiar with the highways and byways of Western thought. His favored fields were Greek and the classical German schools of philosophy.

John G. Wright functioned on such an advanced level of generalization and so elevated a point of historical observation that he was unaware of the vast gap separating his own thinking from that of most comrades. It was sometimes necessary to step in and build a bridge between his line of thought and that of his listeners.

This weakness flowed from his strongest qualities. He had the most serious attitude towards ideas and could not tolerate any trifling with principles. Where the precise meaning of a term in translation or of the content of a key idea were involved, he was most scrupulous in preserving the theoretical heritage of scientific socialism.

It is incomprehensible to many people that Marxists, who are materialists in the analysis of social forces and such realists in pursuing the struggle for political power, should display such finikiness not only about their own principles and methods but about the theory of knowledge as a whole. John G. Wright many times explained to the pragmatists why Marxists were so demanding in questions of doctrine. This is one of the distinctive features of scientific socialism, setting it off not only from all other contemporary political currents but also from earlier movements of social progress and revolutionary reconstruction.



Wright with Art Preis (at left), author of 'Labor's Giant Step.'

Marxism is a theory of social evolution and revolution arising from and centered upon the life of the modern industrial working class, from its birth under capitalism through the struggles for its abolition and replacement by socialism. The ideological outlook and practical efforts of the industrial workers have to be based upon the highest development of scientific knowledge, just as the technology and the system of production they represent is based upon the highest development of scientific knowledge.

The successful conduct of working-class struggle requires the highest degree of historical enlightenment and consciousness from its active participants and leading organizations. It is impossible to steer the right course through the complexities of contemporary politics without a general theory of the whole movement of society and the interaction of its conflicting elements.

Just as today's technology incorporates the hard-won acquisitions of countless generations of productive labor, so John G. Wright taught that the theory of Marxism embodies the most valid and valuable achievements of human thought over the centuries. He insisted upon keeping the theoretical methods of Marxism in perfect condition for the same reasons as an efficient worker needs to keep his tools clean and sharp and his machinery smoothrunning and close fitting.

Over the past twenty years many intellectuals in the United States glimpsed these truths but only a handful adhered to them. John G. Wright was outstanding among these.

He was one of the finest representatives of the scientific consciousness and theoretical conscience of international socialism. On this side of the Atlantic, John G. Wright belonged to the same tradition as Franz Mehring, the brilliant historian of the prewar German Social Democracy, and Ryazanov, the scholar of the Russian Social Democratic and Communist parties.

These Marxist scholars and critics combined a thorough grasp of the best in bourgeois thought with a keen understanding of the cultural needs and political problems of the revolutionary labor movement. They applied their talents and energies not to decorating and defending an outworn social order but to educating the forces which will create the new world of socialist freedom.

Militant/Joseph Hansen



# World Outlook

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

JULY 23, 1976

## Prisoners of apartheid

### 1,300 jailed in South African dragnet

By Ernest Harsch

The racist white minority regime in South Africa announced June 25 that about 1,300 Blacks had been arrested in the wake of the massive uprisings that shook the country. According to a dispatch in the July 2 *New York Times* by correspondent John F. Burns, the arrests are continuing, reportedly under laws that permit indefinite detention without trial.

In an obvious attempt to prepare a witch-hunt atmosphere against the leaders of the uprisings, government officials have been claiming that the actions were fomented by "agitators" and "Communist enemies." Judging by the past practices of the apartheid regime, a new series of political trials may soon be launched under the provisions of such draconian laws as the Terrorism Act, Suppression of Communism Act, or the newly adopted Internal Security Act.

The crushing of the uprisings—during which an unknown number of Blacks were gunned down—was the most massive use of repression by the white regime so far. But it was unique only in its magnitude. Pretoria uses terror tactics against the more than 20 million Blacks in the country every day.

#### Report on repression

A report released in South Africa May 4 by the Christian Institute of Southern Africa provides a detailed view of some of the instances of repression that occurred before the June uprisings. Entitled "Detention and Detente in Southern Africa," it examines the cases of 217 persons known to have been arrested for political reasons from the beginning of 1974 to April 1976.

The overwhelming majority of those arrested were Black. Many of them were young. They belonged to such Black groups as the South African Students Organisation (SASO), the Black People's Convention (BPC), the South African Students Movement (SASM), and the National Association of Youth Organisations (NAYO). A few white student leaders from the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) were also arrested.

About fifty of the political prisoners being held in Natal Province have been linked by the authorities to an alleged guerrilla training network organized by the banned African National Congress.

At the time the report was written, only forty-six of the prisoners had been charged under the Terrorism or Sup-

pression of Communism Acts and thirty-five under the Riotous Assemblies Act. Another eighty-one were still languishing in prison, some of them for many months, without even being charged.

One prisoner, Joseph Mdluli, died in custody less than twenty-four hours after he was picked up. After seeing his body, his wife said, "A severe swelling stretched across his forehead, his lower lip was bruised and cut and his stomach was dilated to twice its normal size."

#### Political trials

There are a number of major political trials already under way. Seven members of NAYO have been charged under the Terrorism Act with allegedly conspiring to plan acts of sabotage. According to the report, they are also charged with conspiring to "study the S.A. [South African] economy and obtain information on the role that could be played by the Black labour force as a weapon to cripple the economy."

Nine leaders of SASO and the BPC are also being tried under the Terrorism Act. The charges against them stem from demonstrations of several thousand Blacks in Durban and Turfloop in September 1974, organized by the two groups to express solidarity with the Mozambican independence struggle. The specific charge against them is that they conspired to bring about change in South Africa "by violent or unconstitutional means."

One of the defendants, Zithulele Cindi, replied to the prosecution, "We are charged with plotting violent revolution but it is we who have been the victims of institutionalised violence. . . ."

After the massive Black rebellions, Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger singled out SASO and the BPC for attack, indicating that the regime may attempt to frame up more members of the two Black groups. One of those arrested in the current crackdown was Thomas Mantatha, a leader of the BPC.

The Christian Institute report also

mentions the trial of six members and sympathizers of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). On May 12, after the report was written, two of the defendants in that case, Aaron Mushimba and Hendrik Shikongo, were sentenced to death. On June 25, however, the Supreme Court in Namibia ordered the reopening of their case.

In addition to the cases against the Black political prisoners, five whites, three of whom were leaders of NUSAS, are being tried under the Suppression of Communism Act. They are being charged, among other things, with launching a campaign for the release of political prisoners and with advocating and defending "Black consciousness."

The cases cited in the report are only from the past two and a half years. Hundreds of other political prisoners have been rotting in Vorster's jails since the early 1960s, many of them on the notorious Robben Island. Among the most well-known of them are Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, and Walter Sisulu.

A report in the May issue of the London monthly *Africa* magazine described some of the torture methods used by the white police and prison officials. In addition to the application of electric shock, "Assaults on the prisoners included beating on the sole of their feet for hours with a baton, and submerging them in water, then jumping on their full stomachs." Twenty-three prisoners are known to have died so far while undergoing "interrogation."

#### Signs of opposition

Pretoria's use of widespread repression has met some organized opposition. According to the Christian Institute report, 900 persons protested outside the courtroom on March 16 while the NAYO trial was in progress. On March 18, another crowd of 700 gathered outside, later swelling to 2,000 near a railway station as they were joined by Black workers on their way home from their jobs.

An earlier report by the Christian Institute, issued in October 1975 (and later banned by the regime), mentioned a protest rally by 6,000 white students at the University of the Witwatersrand after the arrest of the NUSAS leaders. An organization called Black Sash has organized a number of picket lines against the detention of political prisoners and a Black defense group, the Charge or Release Detainees Committee, held a public meeting of 500 persons in September 1975.

The defendants themselves have displayed the new militancy that is growing among Black youth in general. They have defended their beliefs during the course of their trials and have defied the authorities by singing freedom songs and giving clenched-fist salutes to their supporters in the courtroom.

With the arrest of hundreds more Black activists since the recent uprisings, an international campaign is even more urgently needed to defend these victims of Pretoria's racist "justice."



Scene from Soweto, all-Black township near Johannesburg, after police opened fire on demonstrators June 16.

## Labour's policies spur racists

# Asian immigrants face hate campaign in Britain

By Brian Lyons

LONDON—A wave of racist abuse and violence against Britain's two million nonwhite immigrants is taking place. The racist offensive is spearheaded by the fanatical bigots of the National Front (NF) and National party (NP—a group that broke away from the NF in January). The primary target is the Asian community based in London, the Midlands, and Lancashire.

The NP has gained the strongest foothold in Blackburn, Lancashire, where two of its members were elected to the local council in May.

Thirteen thousand Asians, representing about 12 percent of the population, live in Blackburn. In just ten days during May at least thirty attacks against Blackburn Asians and their households were reported. Many local commentators have compared the situation to that in Boston, U.S.A.

### Nationwide campaign

The racist offensive has not been confined to Lancashire and the Midlands but is part of a nationwide campaign that has spread to all areas, including London. Two mosques in South and East London were desecrated by whites in May, and evening congregations at mosques are subjected to frequent harassment. A Bengali group in East London listed fifty incidents of racist abuse during May, and toward the end of the month an Asian family in the area suffered a fire-bomb attack.

The campaign of racist violence has resulted in at least three deaths. In North London two foreign students, Kimiar Chaudry of India and Ribhi al-Hadidi of Jordan, were stabbed to death by white youths May 21.

This was followed by a second assault June 4 in the West London area of Southall. Two Asian youths were the victims. One survived to tell the story of the assault; the other, Gurdip Chaggar, was stabbed to death.

The day after Chaggar was murdered a group of Asian youths were surrounded by 150 whites in Barking, Essex. Nine people were arrested, seven of them Asians who had picked up sticks to defend themselves.

### Immigration

These assaults and killings are not isolated incidents. They stem directly from the race-hate campaign carried out by the extreme right and backed by the gutter press. The central issue in this campaign has been the question of immigration into Britain.

Between May 5 and May 30 about 150 Asians with British passports were expelled from Malawi and arrived in Britain seeking a new home. The race-baiters seized on this as an opportunity to mount a hysterical campaign against the "Asian invaders."

The bourgeois press was at the forefront of the assault. It published headlines such as: "One Slips in On Every Boat"; "Asian Flood Warning"; and, "New Asian Invaders."

But it was not only the Tories and the extreme right wing who contributed to the racist torrent. Robert Mellish, the former Labour party chief whip, declared, "Enough is enough."

The Asian community has naturally looked toward the Labour government for a firm stand against the anti-Asian campaign. Asian leaders appealed to Prime Minister James Callaghan to condemn the murder of Chaggar and to meet with a delegation from the Asian community. "To our utter shock and horror we have not even received a reply," one Pakistani leader told London *Times* reporter Diana Geddes.

### Race Relations Act

In the past the British imperialists have tried to present an image of Britain as a nondiscriminatory country open to all. Part of this cosmetics job designed to cover up a deeply ingrained racism was the Race Relations Act first introduced in 1965 and modified in 1968.

In its final form this act provided legal sanctions against race discrimination in important areas such as housing and job opportunities.

In practice, however, the act has not alleviated discrimination. Most cases of discrimination are never reported. Since the act came into force eight years ago, the Race Relations Board has brought only thirty-three cases before the courts. Of these, only twenty-three have been successful—an average of less than three cases per year.

Moreover, the act makes "incitement to racial violence" an offence. This clause could be used against Asian militants who urge the victims of racist attacks to defend themselves.

The Race Relations Act is little more than a thin veneer to cover up the racist bedrock built up through Britain's history as an imperial power. In fact, the Race Relations Act was introduced at the same time that immigration restrictions were being tightened.

During the post-World War II boom free immigration was encouraged by Westminster. It provided a cheap source of labour and at the same time it helped compensate for the emigration of skilled labour from Britain to Australia and Canada.

But from 1962 onwards, as the boom tapered off, a series of acts were adopted restricting the flow of Asian immigrants into Britain. This was done first by discrimination in favor of certain skills, and then through wholesale limitations on the number of nonwhite persons permitted to enter Britain.

Racist campaigns similar to the one being carried out by the NF and NP today were waged by the extreme right of the Tory party in the early 1960s. What has happened now is that these ultraright fanatics have been emboldened by the racist policies of successive governments.

The immigration laws passed by these governments concede all major points to the racist lobby and establish



Antiracist march in London June 12

John Sturrock/Report

principles around which racist sentiment can be mobilised.

The introduction of the current immigration act in 1971 saw the first real national mobilization of Asian immigrants in response to the attacks on their rights. Six thousand demonstrated in London. Since the passage of the 1971 immigration act, however, most immigrant organisations have tended to work within the framework of the act to get the best deal possible.

Nonwhite immigrants frequently face police harassment; the continual tightening of immigration restrictions leaves many in fear of being cut off from their families abroad; and some face deportation. Since the 1971 act was introduced, 230 immigrant families have been forcibly repatriated—the highest number being in the last year.

### New mood

Long-standing grievances such as these, combined with the recent racist attacks, have led to a new mood among the oppressed Asian population. Southall, scene of the murder of Gurdip Chaggar, has also been the area where Asians have gone the furthest in mobilizing against the racist attacks.

Almost immediately after the murder of Chaggar became known several hundred Asian youths marched to the local police station. They were met by three lines of policemen barricading the entrance to the station.

On June 7, extra police were brought in to monitor two antiracist marches, and a third demonstration that evening drew 3,000 persons.

The most explosive new factor in this situation is the radicalisation of the Asian youth. Many were born in Britain and they correctly insist that they have a right to be here just as much as the whites.

The anger and radicalisation of the Asian youth has marked all the protest actions in the Asian community to such an extent that the more conservative elements are openly appealing to the government.

### 'March of Unity'

A "March of Unity" in Southall June 12 drew about 6,000 participants, mostly Asians. Many Asians joined in

as the march passed through the local community. This march was sponsored by trade union groups, churches, the Labour party, the Liberal party, the Communist party (CP), the International Socialists (IS), the International Marxist Group (IMG—the British section of the Fourth International), and forty Asian organizations.

Three other antiracist marches took place in London that same weekend. The most significant of these was in the East London area of Whitechapel, where 2,000 persons, mostly Asians, demonstrated.

In searching for a correct course to take the movement forward, the Asian youth are under a variety of pressures. The CP appears to be heavily involved in Asian immigrant groups, and it has put forward the demand that the government ban marches of the NF and NP and prosecute those who make racist speeches.

While the Stalinists urge reliance on the government, centrists like the IS have advanced an ultraleft strategy exemplified by an appeal in the June 12 issue of *Socialist Worker*, the IS paper. It said: "Have you had a good fight with the racists? Let us know about it. Send your reports to *Fightback*, *Socialist Worker*, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2."

Both the Stalinists and the centrists ignore the need for a mass movement to defeat the racists, and both let the government off the hook on the issue of its racist immigration policies.

The IMG was the only group on the Southall demonstration to march under the slogan of "Repeal the Immigration Laws!" The leaflet distributed by the IMG stated that "the support for the immigration laws by the trade union and labour leaders fosters the racist sentiment inside sections of the working class. An indispensable step in rooting out this racist menace is the building of a powerful movement inside the labour movement to force the repeal of the immigration laws."

As the crisis of British capitalism continues to deepen, racist attacks on the Asian community will intensify. Only a mass response by the Asian community and its allies can defeat the ultrarightists.

'No past, no future'

## Europe's Communist parties meet in East Berlin

By Gerry Foley

Before agreeing to participate in the conference of European Communist parties in East Berlin at the end of June, Yugoslav President Joseph Tito reportedly insisted that this meeting "must have no past and no future." That is, it could not revive any international Communist organization or lay the groundwork for a new one.

With such a condition, the East Berlin conference obviously had rather unambitious goals. It seems to have been used essentially as a sounding board for proclaiming the "independence" of the West European CPs from Moscow.

Thus, the meeting served a function more like that of the declaration ending the Communist International in 1943 than of reconsolidating a world movement. There was no discussion. The statement agreed on was notably emptier than even those of the last two international conferences, which the Kremlin was able to bring together only by promising that nothing controversial would be taken up.

The net effect of this conference was to reassure the Western capitalist powers that so far as Moscow and its satellite parties are concerned there is actually no world Communist movement and no international Communist strategy other than agreement on "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism in each country and internationally.

The Communist International was abolished in a similar period of open alliance with imperialism. Regardless of the freezes and thaws in the cold war, the breakup of international Stalinism has, for a number of reasons, proved to be irreversible. In pursuing their own narrow and immediate interests, the various bureaucracies are pulled more and more apart. They have no common goal to reconcile them, no perspective of a world socialist economy resolving their specific problems.

### 'Socialism in one country'

"Socialism in one country" in the plural means competing nationalisms, and even the danger of war among "national Communist states." The second most powerful Stalinist regime, Peking, even insists that in "the inevitable war" between U.S. imperialism and Soviet "social imperialism," Washington would be the more "progressive" side.

In 1948, the Yugoslav CP was excommunicated from world Stalinism simply because its leaders refused to follow Stalin's orders.

Now, Moscow had to promise not to raise the problem of Peking to get even the European CP leaders in the same room. After the purge trials that Stalin ordered in Eastern Europe in 1949-50, and other such inquisitions designed to root out any thoughts of independence among the subordinate bureaucracies, the other CP leaderships will not hear of any condemnations, even of parties that openly side with the class enemy against "the party of Lenin."

In fact, one of the participating Stalinist regimes, Romania, maintains an entente with China, and not long

before the conference there were even reports that the Soviet maneuvers in the vicinity of the Balkan country were intended as a threat.

Despite these tensions, however, Moscow has given Bucharest considerable leeway in international policy, and scarcely protested at its opportunist dealings with the Zionist regime in Israel and the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile.

### Czechoslovakia

As long as the Ceausescu leadership in Romania permits no freedom of speech or organization for the workers, the Soviet bureaucracy obviously is prepared to bide its time. On the other hand, the breakdown of bureaucratic dictatorship, as in Czechoslovakia, prompted the Kremlin to send in troops regardless of the consequences. Democracy for the workers threatens Stalinism itself. Conflicts of interest among the various Stalinist bureaucracies, no matter how sharp—apparently even if they threaten war—do not.

The Kremlin is also prepared to wink at the persecution of its own supporters by other Stalinist bureaucracies. The trial of some pro-Soviet figures in Yugoslavia was, however, postponed until after the end of the conference, apparently out of an apprehension that these jailed "friends of the Soviet Union" would be a kind of corpse on display at the love feast between Tito and the heirs of Stalin.

Brezhnev's speech to the conference was twice as long as those of the other CP leaders. The protocol-conscious Soviet bureaucracy thereby reminded the CP leaders that the Kremlin is still the sun around which the "independent" satellites revolve.

### Center stage

However, the West European CP leaders, in another sense, were the stars of this affair. It was really a stage for them. Brezhnev acted as a master of ceremonies, pointing out:

"It is precisely thanks to their consistent and tireless struggle for the basic interests of the broad toiling masses that the CPs in Italy, France, Finland, Portugal, as well as Denmark, the German Federal Republic, and other capitalist countries, have become real political forces. One of the strongest testimonies to this is the outstanding success of the Italian CP in the recent parliamentary elections, a success that gladdens us all and for which we congratulate our Italian comrades."

Brezhnev apparently was not particularly disturbed when the Italian CP head, Enrico Berlinguer, told reporters of the country's most important capitalist newspaper, *Corriere della Sera*, that the NATO alliance would enable his party to build "socialism with a human face" without any fear of Soviet intervention.

Of course, the attempts of the Western CPs to make themselves more acceptable to voters in their countries can cause problems. The Kremlin dislikes Western CPs speaking out in defense of victimized dissidents in the Soviet Union. This is attested by the Soviet bureaucracy's counterpropagan-



Brezhnev with Tito (left), who postponed trial of pro-Soviet figures in Yugoslavia to avoid 'putting a corpse on display at a love feast.'

da efforts. The fact that the French CP protested the imprisonment of Leonid Plyushch forced the Kremlin to release a left-wing dissident, dealing a significant defeat to bureaucratic repression and the propaganda designed to justify it.

### 'National colors'

At the conference, French CP head Georges Marchais focused on the idea that socialism in his country would be "in the national colors" and therefore "democratic." He did not say whether the "national peculiarities" of other countries required bureaucratic dictatorship.

In fact, Marchais made it clear that his only concern about democracy was that if the French CP were identified with the kind of totalitarian repression practiced in the Soviet Union its appeal to the voters would be seriously diminished.

Nonetheless, the fact that Marchais and Berlinguer are obliged to criticize certain aspects of Stalinist repression in the USSR undermines the political justifications offered for this system. In the same way, the conflicts among CP-ruled states and CPs in capitalist countries make it difficult for the Kremlin to maintain any cohesion in the international Stalinist movement.

Fundamentally, the Stalinist parties in capitalist countries are intertwined with the Soviet bureaucracy. Their perspectives are tied to the Kremlin's power. Their appeal to their own working class, as opposed to that of the Social Democrats, is that because of their international connections they seem more independent of the local capitalists and U.S. imperialism.

The smaller Stalinized workers states have a certain material base for independence. There is more of a chance for a breakaway, although it inevitably raises the threat of war, if it is carried all the way. In general, their survival depends politically and even economically on the power of the Kremlin. Nonetheless, the inevitable and increasing conflicts of interest

among the bureaucracies are eating away the foundations of Stalinism.

The various bureaucratic leaderships could agree among themselves to cover up their most acute differences for the sake of reaffirming their common policy of accommodation with capitalism. What they could not cover up was the spreading shock waves sent out by the victory of the Polish workers against the bureaucracy's plans to cut their standard of living for the sake of improving its trade with the West. This semi-insurrectional strike raised a specter that cast a pall over the conference, because it symbolized the dilemma of Stalinism at the same time as giving a glimpse of the forces that will sweep it away.

The Polish bureaucracy has not only proved that it cannot organize the economy efficiently, it cannot even keep its finger on the pulse of the masses and is repeatedly surprised by powerful explosions from below that threaten its survival.

It was the combination of Soviet economic pressure—the increase in the price of Soviet oil, among other things—and the pressure of the capitalist world market that obliged the Polish bureaucracy to try to raise food prices, even though it had reason to fear the result. There is no solution to this dilemma within the framework of Stalinism.

This conference "without a past or a future," as Tito insisted, appropriately marked a new stage in the decline of Stalinism. These bureaucracies have no past because they have turned against the revolution that created the Soviet state, on which they are fundamentally based. They have no future because by their very nature they are forced to destroy the foundations of their rule.

These parties have shown their distance from revolutionary traditions and perspectives also by the fact that when world capitalism has been hit by its worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, they have taken the opportunity to try to achieve a more comfortable accommodation with it.



Brezhnev with Italian CP head Berlinguer (right), who recently said NATO could help his party build 'socialism with a human face' free from threat of Soviet intervention.



# OAS chief helps Chilean military cover up torture

Evidence of torture of political prisoners in Chile was covered up by Alejandro Orfila, secretary general of the Organization of American States, when he reported on a trip to the Tres Alamos detention center held during the OAS meeting in Santiago.

In a June 19 television broadcast, Orfila said that none of the prisoners he spoke with had said they were undergoing coercion "at that moment."

The cynicism of this statement was revealed by the prisoners themselves.

"I told him I had been raped and given electric torture," Alicia Alvarado, a former university professor who has been imprisoned more than a year, told *Washington Post* reporter Joanne Omang.

Orfila also met with jailed civil liberties lawyers Hernán Montealegre and Fernando Ostornol. According to a report in the June 22 *New York Times*:

... the meeting lasted an hour and both attorneys provided specific accounts of torture undergone by prisoners in the hands of security agents before reaching Tres Alamos.

They included accounts of prisoners identified by persons now in the camp who were last seen in interrogation centers such as Villa Grimaldi, a former discothèque now used to conduct questioning of prisoners.

In answer to a charge by women prisoners that Cuatro Alamos, the maximum security area adjoining Tres Alamos, was a place where prisoners were taken never to reappear again, Orfila said he had walked through Cuatro Alamos and found no prisoners at all. Legal aid lawyers stated that there had been many prisoners there before the OAS meeting opened June 4.



'Our immediate concern is eliminating, uh, social problems'

In addition, Orfila reported finding health conditions and food "adequate." Several women prisoners said these conditions had improved markedly in the two weeks prior to the OAS conference.

This effort to whitewash the Pinochet junta was helped along by the final text of the resolution on human rights in Chile passed by the OAS June 14. By a vote of 15 to 8, the question of Chile was buried in a general resolution calling for respect for human rights throughout the continent. Moreover, the proposal for a report on Chile to be prepared by the Human Rights Commission for next year's gathering of the OAS was shelved.

# Argentine junta orders stiff penalties for dissent

The Videla junta's plan to stamp out virtually all political activity in Argentina was made more explicit with the passage of three new laws June 2. They ban by name forty-eight organizations and provide penalties of up to eight years for participation in the activities of such groups.

Earlier decrees had banned political activity in general and named five Trotskyist and Maoist groups specifically prohibited.

Target of the stiffest penalties in the June 2 laws are those involved with twenty-two organizations associated with the Peronist left, among them the Juventud Peronista (Peronist Youth), Juventud Trabajadora Peronista (Peronist Worker Youth), Movimiento Peronista Auténtico (Authentic Peronist Movement, a split-off from the official Peronist movement), and Frente Antiimperialista por el Socialismo (Anti-imperialist Front for Socialism).

The headquarters of the listed organizations were ordered closed and all their bank accounts frozen. Anyone involved in activities of one of the groups—activities of an organizational character, spreading their ideas, collecting funds to be used directly or indirectly for their benefit, or displaying emblems of any of the organizations—is liable to a sentence of three to eight years in jail.

For possessing, showing, distribut-

ing, publishing, reproducing, printing, or supplying material referring in any way to the banned groups, one is liable to a sentence of two to six years. The same penalties apply to anyone responsible in the mass media who publicizes anything about the organizations.

A second decree lists another twenty-six organizations, including the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party) and other Trotskyist groups, Maoist organizations, and even some political prisoner defense committees like the prestigious Foro de Buenos Aires por la Vigencia de los Derechos Humanos (Buenos Aires Forum for the Protection of Human Rights).

The same "offenses" apply to these groups but the penalties are less severe (e.g., for participating in activities of an organization in this group one is liable to two to four years in prison, instead of three to eight).

The only significant left organization absent from the lists is the Argentine Communist party.

The third decree concerns political parties in general. Among other provisions, it stipulates a sentence of one month to three years for carrying out any organizational or ideological work, or organizing a political meeting, collecting funds, or displaying party emblems for any party.

## World news notes

### Juan Carlos names new premier

King Juan Carlos I named a new head of the Spanish government July 3. Adolfo Suárez González replaced Carlos Arias Navarro, whose resignation was accepted by the king July 1. Suárez, who began his political career in the fascist Falange, had been serving as head of the state-run National Movement—the only legal political organization in Spain under Franco. His policies are not expected to be any different than those of Arias.

### Israelis gun down West Bank youth

Nadeli Shantur, a sixteen-year-old Palestinian youth from Nablus, was shot dead by Israeli occupation troops July 2. The Israeli forces also wounded at least fifteen other persons and arrested more than 100 protesters in the West Bank town.

The shooting was the Israeli regime's response to the second day of demonstrations against a new tax that will raise most consumer prices by 8 percent. West Bank merchants shut down their shops July 1 to protest the tax, and police used tear gas to break up Palestinian demonstrations in Nablus and Jenin.

Protests continued the following day, when a tax office and a branch of the Israel National Bank were burned in Nablus. In addition to opposing the tax, which is designed to help the Israeli regime buy more arms, the demonstrators shouted slogans of support for the Palestinian and Muslim leftists in Lebanon's civil war.

### Poland's Gierk promises to try again

Polish Communist party leader Edward Gierk, who was forced into rapid retreat June 25 when massive protests over increases in food prices broke out, said July 3 that higher food prices were unavoidable. However, he promised "to consult with the nation" before trying to move again. Gierk, who has reason to know, said, "Nothing can be done in Poland without support of the whole community."

### Iranian regime kills ten 'terrorists' . . .

Iranian officials said June 29 that police had shot down ten persons in Tehran that day, including two women. No policemen or bystanders were reported wounded in the alleged shootout with "Communist terrorists," according to the regime's report.

According to its own figures, the shah's regime has killed well over sixty persons this year, although the actual death count is thought to be substantially higher. All opponents of the shah's dictatorial rule are labeled terrorists by the regime.

### . . . Plots auto 'accident'

When the shah changed the Iranian calendar in March, backdating it 1,180 years in honor of the founding of the Persian monarchy, considerable opposition was aroused. The majority of people in Iran consider themselves Muslims and did not react favorably to the shah's elimination of the traditional Islamic calendar.

One opponent of the change, Azizollah Rahimi, a retired army colonel, brought charges against the government, arguing that the debasement of the calendar violated the Iranian constitution.

Rahimi, who had previously drawn the shah's ire and a two-year prison term for acting as a defense attorney for political opponents of the dictatorship, has now become the victim of a new attempt to silence him.

The April issue of *Khabar Nameh*, an opposition newspaper published outside of Iran, reported that the government tried to kill Rahimi by arranging an auto "accident." *Khabar Nameh* said that Rahimi was injured in the crash, but had no further information on his condition.

### Italian CP gains parliamentary post

A meeting of six Italian parties July 3 agreed to give the post of speaker in the Chamber of Deputies—the lower house in the Italian parliament—to a member of the Communist party. The post had previously been held by the Socialist party.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the Christian Democrats, the CP, the Socialists, Republicans, Social Democrats, and Liberals. Republican leader Ugo La Malfa described the atmosphere as "very, very good."

### Cabinet minister denounces Trudeau

Jean Marchand, who held the post of environmental minister in Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau's cabinet, resigned June 30 with a statement protesting Trudeau's handling of a reactionary strike by English-speaking pilots and air traffic controllers. Other French-speaking ministers were also said to be considering resigning over an agreement that calls into question the status of the French language in the airline industry.

The English-speaking pilots and controllers struck against the use of French in control-tower broadcasts at the big international airports serving Montréal. They claimed that directions in two languages would be confusing and a threat to safety, as if directions weren't given in numerous languages in international airports all over the world.

The real issue in the reactionary airline strike was whether or not French will be accorded the same status as English in practice as well as in law. The bigots said no, and Trudeau buckled to the pressure.



## Proposition 15

# Why Calif. nuclear power initiative lost

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—An attempt to check the proliferation of nuclear power plants in California lost by a two-to-one vote in elections last month. The ballot initiative, known as Proposition 15, received 1.9 million votes, while 4 million were registered against it.

Proposition 15 would have forced the nuclear industry to meet certain safety standards in order to run the plants at full capacity.

The stakes were high. The nuclear industry—manufacturers, fuel suppliers, utilities, and contractors—has a potential billion-dollar business building and operating nuclear power plants.

They spared no expense to defeat Proposition 15. As of May 4, a month before the election, the No on 15 committee reported more than \$1.7 million in contributions over \$10,000.

Pacific Gas and Electric, one of the largest utilities in the state, kicked in \$330,000. Bechtel Corporation, a major builder of nuclear power plants, contributed \$182,000. General Electric, the largest supplier of power plant equipment, came across with \$141,000. (Not all of these contributions were cash. Much of it was "in kind"—equipment, services, and volunteers.)

A great deal of the money to defeat Proposition 15 came from other states—another indication of how seriously the nuclear industry took the initiative.

The state of Kansas is investigating two corporations there whose contributions to the No on 15 committee may have violated state law, which forbids corporate contributions to any kind of electoral activity.

Altogether, the nuclear industry spent about \$3.8 million to defeat the proposal. Much of it probably came from a "war chest" established by the industry to defeat Proposition 15 and similar initiatives around the country.

By contrast, supporters of Proposition 15 raised slightly over \$1 million, nearly all of it from individual contributors.

Powerful economic and political forces were arrayed against the initiative. The chair of the No on 15 committee was former Gov. Edmund Brown, Sr., a powerful Democratic party politico and father of the present governor. Virtually all the politicians—Democrat and Republican—lined up against the measure.

The influential *Los Angeles Times* twice polemicized against the initiative, editorially warning of economic disaster should it pass.

TV viewers and radio listeners were bombarded with pro-nuclear power propaganda in the days leading up to the vote.

### How it lost

Yet an early poll showed public opinion about equally divided on Proposition 15. How did the opponents of the initiative manage to win such a landslide?

The first place to look for an answer is at the strange behavior of Governor Brown.

Brown remained publicly "neutral" on Proposition 15. The Democratic presidential hopeful claimed that taking a stand would "lend the aura and prestige of his office" to whichever side he backed.

But Brown managed to take time out from his campaign for president to use what the *Los Angeles Times* called "considerable executive muscle" to ram three bills on nuclear safety through the legislature.

Brown admitted the bills were an alternative to the tougher regulation of Proposition 15. In reality, the three bills, signed by Brown only five days before the election, will do almost nothing to make nuclear power safe. Their carefully designed purpose was solely to give the illusion of action and undercut the pro-15 vote.

### Labor officials' position

Joining the anti-15 chorus, unfortunately, was most of the labor officialdom in California. The state AFL-CIO and various county units publicly

opposed the initiative.

The extremely shortsighted position of these bureaucrats was based on a "loss of jobs" should the initiative pass—the old argument that any construction is good, no matter how harmful its effects, because it may provide some jobs for construction workers.

This is the kind of thinking, logically extended, that would have supported building concentration camps in Nazi Germany.

And this "practical" approach of the dues-hungry bureaucrats is not all that practical. Far from providing jobs, allowing the nuclear industry to run amok would probably mean a loss in jobs. The energy industry is one of the most highly automated industries in the world. The nuclear plants themselves are almost completely automated.

The labor bureaucrats' claim that protection of the environment and jobs are mutually exclusive is dangerous for the unions.

By lining up with the capitalists—whose scramble for greater profits constantly endangers human life—the union officials will inevitably permit a wedge to be driven between the unions and broad sections of the population. Many people may come to see the unions as partly responsible for any nuclear disasters.

### Issues unclear

Proposition 15 might have been able to pass despite the opposition if the dangers of nuclear power in the hands of profit-oriented capitalists had been made sufficiently clear to the voters.

However, the job of explaining the issues was complicated by a lack of clarity among pro-15 forces about whether their goal was regulation or shutdown.

This was an important issue. The opponents of Proposition 15 referred to it as the "Nuclear Shutdown Initiative," maintaining that its passage would cause a shutdown of all nuclear power plants in the state and would

prohibit the construction of any more.

The initiative said no such thing. It merely maintained that plants had to be proven safe, or have their maximum output cut to 60 percent of capacity. The utilities admitted that they couldn't operate profitably at that level of output and would probably shut down the plants themselves.

Many advocates of Proposition 15 sought only to regulate nuclear power, believing that it could be made safe to use. Others believed it could never be made safe and saw the initiative as a means of ending the use of nuclear power. The opposition, they later conceded, effectively exploited this seemingly contradictory approach.

One prominent exponent of completely halting the use of nuclear power was Nobel Prize winner Harold Urey. In a letter to the *Los Angeles Times*, Urey outlined the great dangers of nuclear power. He argued that nuclear power "appears to be an obsolete technology that should be phased out as soon as possible."

Urey may or may not be right about solving the problems associated with nuclear power. They are grave problems indeed, problems for which no solution has yet been found despite twenty-five years of research and millions of dollars spent.

But it should not be ruled out in advance that these problems can be solved. A scientific community that can develop nuclear plants may well be able to make them safe.

### Profits vs. safety

But one thing is clear: nuclear power will never be safe as long as it is in the hands of the capitalists. They are not interested in safety, only in profits. That's why unsafe plants have already been built. And continued high profits are the reason why the nuclear industry spent so much to defeat Proposition 15.

The industry likes to assure us that there is virtually no radiation leak from nuclear power plants. But that's true only when the plant is operating properly.

They don't like to talk about the possible consequences of a serious accident. A conservative study made by the Atomic Energy Commission in 1965 estimated that a nuclear plant disaster could result in 45,000 deaths, 100,000 injuries, and cause \$17 billion in damage. Other estimates range even higher.

But the industry is not particularly concerned. What counts for them is that nuclear power plants will be extremely profitable because the utilities won't have to pay for them. We will, through tax subsidies and higher utility rates.

The plants will also mean a bonanza for the corporations that own and control the world's uranium. The same companies that control the world's oil also control the uranium, and they have managed to raise the price of uranium from eight dollars a pound to forty dollars a pound in two-and-a-half years.

Nuclear power may represent a step forward for humanity, or Harold Urey may be correct when he says that we must lay it aside and never use it. But we will never find out while the capitalists control it.

Nuclear power is only one of many areas in which the rulers of America have demonstrated their contempt for the rest of us. Their response to the environmental movement—"We can't afford to clean up"—shows that they value their profits over human lives.

If nuclear power can be developed safely, it will only be when the profit motive is removed. That means that we need a new kind of society, one in which working people themselves democratically control industry and decide what shall be developed and how.

Nuclear power cannot be entrusted to those who see an "economic disaster" affecting their profits as more dangerous than a human one.

## Lina Wertmuller's 'Swept Away' & 'Seven

The films of the Italian scriptwriter and director Lina Wertmuller have been highly acclaimed—and with good reason. She not only has a remarkable talent but—and this has not been so well realized—is a penetrating critic of capitalist society.

Of the five of her films that have appeared in the United States, two, *Swept Away* and *Seven Beauties*, are still being frequently shown. This review will limit itself to them. It happens that, together with *Love and Anarchy*, they are her best.

In *Swept Away* a party of wealthy, bored sophisticates is cruising in the Mediterranean. Especially obnoxious among them is one of the women, who is discontented and sharp-tongued, spoiled and sarcastic. She quarrels incessantly with

### Film

her husband and is imperious with the sailor who waits on them at meals.

She taunts her husband—a “radical chic” sympathizer of the Communist party—with the Communists’ toadying to the Vatican and their failure to support women’s freedom to choose abortion, and she causes the sailor, whom she surmises to be a Communist, to fume internally by speaking caustically in his presence of Stalinist totalitarianism. Although she herself is scarcely a critic of the Communist party from the left, her witticisms are sharp thrusts at its opportunism and bureaucratism.

#### On a rocky island

When the motor on a launch in which the sailor is taking her to join the rest of the party breaks down, the launch is first disabled and then swept by the wind to a rocky island. As it becomes clear to them that there is little hope of a rescue, an amusing reversal takes place, with many fine, subtle touches.

Whereas before she had insisted on having her food prepared just so, complained of his smelly shirt when he was serving her, commented on his incompetence as a sailor, and appropriated his sweater when she was chilly, he now insists on her waiting on him and doing his laundry, remarking on how inefficient she is, and kicks her into the cold out of the deserted hut he has found, which she assumed he would share with her. His sexism is the mirror image of her former attitude of class superiority.

Wertmuller’s social criticism is at its sharpest when the sailor carelessly tosses his leftover lobster into the fire as she, famished, is attempting in vain to gnaw at a small, spiky shellfish she has caught. In reply to her remonstrance, he asks her if this is not what the rich do when they burn food while the poor are starving in order to send prices up. The



'Swept Away'

inhumanity of what many take for granted under capitalism hits home strongly when it becomes a matter of the relations between two people.

The sexual relationship is also reversed. Before, she and the other women had flaunted themselves before the sailors in lolling about in the sun, indifferent to their presence and indeed secretly enjoying provoking them sexually. Now, after brutally slapping her about, he holds back when she is sexually attracted to him, telling her first that she must beg him and then that she must give herself in love, not just in sexual passion.

Molly Haskell, the film critic of the *Village Voice*, has charged that Wertmuller is identifying with male sexism in having an idyllic romance develop, the implication of the film being that every woman really wants to be dominated by a virile, masculine lover. But this woman is not every woman. She is an upper-class, jaded woman bored by the vapidness of her existence. Moreover, the sailor as well as she is transformed by their experience. He gives up his sexism, as she gives up her snobbery.

#### Desert romance?

*Swept Away* is not a masochistic sexual fantasy like *The Sheik*, the Rudolph Valentino movie that is the classic example of the desert romance. Wertmuller is cleverly playing with the conventions of the desert romance, not merely presenting still another such romance. She humanizes her characters and looks with amused detachment as well as with sympathetic understanding at them.

The sailor and the woman find happiness and fulfillment in love and unalienated labor. But the sailor must continue to prove himself. “You still do not know me,” he tells the woman. When they sight a boat, he signals it, although she begs him not to do so, in order to demonstrate his certainty that she will continue to love him even off the island. When she is brought back to her former society, however, she cannot leave it. Ironically, he, who had boasted, “You still do not know me,” finds that he has not known himself. He is shattered by his loss of her.

Both of them at the end are different from what they were at the beginning. She is quiet and subdued among her jesting companions, regarding them with sad meditation, no longer her previously loud, shrill-voiced self. He looks poignantly at his wife. Having surmised what has happened, she has raked his face with her fingernails. Instead of kicking her away, as he would have done before, he takes up the heavy bag she has been carrying and walks along beside her.

Although *Seven Beauties* has its moments of humor, it is a deeply somber film, as *Swept Away* is

not. Russell Baker of the *New York Times* attacked it as deriving entertainment from the spectacle of Nazi concentration camps and preaching the moral that mere survival is more important than adherence to any kind of moral values. He could not have been more wrong.

“Seven Beauties” is a Neapolitan petty Mafia type who is governed by the *machismo* code of honor. When his sister is seduced and prostituted, he feels it incumbent upon him to kill her seducer. Unfortunately, he has not been able to contrive it that his victim has a gun in his hands so that he can plead that the killing was both a crime of passion and self-defense. In desperation, “Seven Beauties” hacks the body into three parts and sends these parts in suitcases to three different cities.

Although he is initially affronted by the idea of claiming insanity as being against his sense of honor, he is, fearing execution, persuaded to do so by his lawyer. Since his Mafia boss has not come forth with any money, “Seven Beauties” permits his sister, because of whose prostitution, ironically, he had committed the crime, to pay the lawyer with her favors.

#### Mussolini tirades

In prison he shams insanity by delivering a tirade to his fellow prisoners in the manner of Mussolini. He is sentenced to ten years in a hospital for the criminally insane. On his way to the hospital, speaking to a socialist who has been sentenced to twenty-eight years for antifascist propaganda, he says he never has paid much attention to politics, but he likes Mussolini, who has built an empire and made other nations respect Italy.

“Respect” is the word he had constantly used in connection with his sense of honor. He won’t be a clown, he had vowed; he will have proper respect paid to him. But not only does his code of honor dehumanize him, causing him to engage in the atrocities of murder and mutilation; it makes him clownish, comically wrestling with the inert corpse, stumbling along with his three heavy suitcases, and declaiming, while striking a heroic posture, that he will never be taken alive as the police sneak up on him, grab him, and hustle him off.

The resemblance between “Seven Beauties” and Mussolini—with his strut, his braggadocio, his murders, and his talk of national honor—is unmistakable. Mussolini, viewed in a certain way, was as much a clown as “Seven Beauties,” and his notion of “honor” was equally destructive. “Seven Beauties” survival by betraying his code is,



Lina Wertmuller



# Beauties'

therefore, shameful only because, unlike the socialist prisoner, he has nothing worthier to replace it.

Released from the hospital after volunteering to go to the front, he deserts, is captured by German soldiers, and is placed in a concentration camp. Here are the grimmest scenes of the film. The similarity of the pajama and flat-hat garb of the concentration-camp prisoners and that of the prisoners in the Italian jail and of the patients in the hospital for the insane suggests, however, that the Nazi concentration camp is only an extension of the normal repressive mechanisms of capitalist society.

## Future society

An old anarchist prisoner tells him that the camp, crammed with emaciated prisoners, is a preview of the society of the future. With human beings crowded in upon each other and the earth's resources exhausted, people will fight over a rotten apple. The only hope, says the old anarchist, is for humanity to reject the "order" of fascism and find an inner harmony in itself.

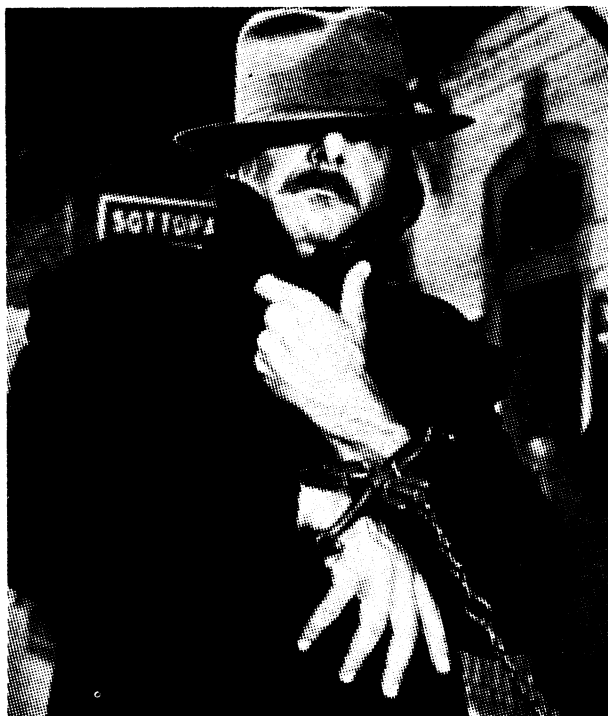
The anarchist volunteers to help make up the number who are to be executed, cries out, "I'm going to jump into the shit," makes a gesture of defiance, and dives into the latrine cesspool, the fetid water bubbling over his head as he is machine-gunned to death. To drown in literal shit is preferable to suffocating in the shit of such a society.

## Sadism

"Seven Beauties," however, survives by practicing a pathetically and comically weak imitation of his old seductive ways with women on the woman commandant of the camp, a monstrous giantess. She sadistically and contemptuously uses him for her sexual kicks and then makes him one of the prisoner-deputies in charge of ordering the execution of other prisoners. After having killed a man because he had made his sister a whore, he makes a whore of himself, sending others to their deaths.

At the end he returns to his home, where he finds the young women prostituting themselves for the money of the American soldiers. It is a society of prostitutes all over again. He regards somberly the girl who as a fresh-faced adolescent had adored him and who has now become a whore like the rest. He tells her they will get married and start breeding children to fight for rotten apples in the world of the future. "Seven Beauties" is left with this vision of life, which we see as what will happen—unless the old anarchist's dream of a new human being in a new society is realized.

Lina Wertmuller has been granted a contract by Hollywood. Let us hope that she is able to retain her independence of spirit. —Paul Siegel



'Seven Beauties'

# New Calif. ALRB to stall UFW

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The recently refunded Agricultural Labor Relations Board will be very slow in getting started. Most likely, it will not resume holding union representation elections until 1977.

That's the estimate of David Willis, interim director of the ALRB. In a telephone interview, he said that Bishop Roger Mahony, who is now withdrawing as chairperson of the ALRB, had estimated that the new board could begin functioning as early as October. But, Willis said, this was an "opinion," indicating it was not a realistic one.

Willis said that Gov. Edmund Brown's three new nominees for the board will not be confirmed by the legislature until its present recess is over in August. Even after they are confirmed, he continued, the new members will proceed slowly in getting the ALRB machinery back in motion. The board will want to go "a little slower" than previously, Willis said, and be sure its field agents are "properly trained" and function "correctly."

According to Willis, press reports that the state legislature had established a "watchdog" committee over the ALRB are not correct. He said bills to create such a committee have been introduced into the legislature, but will not be voted on until it resumes its session in August.

The slated schedule for the ALRB means there will be no representation elections in the grape fields until the spring of 1977. This year's harvest will be over by late summer or early fall. Union representation elections are held only during periods of peak employment.

The new board's plan to "go slow" indicates the problems the United Farm Workers will face in trying to get the necessary action to ensure fair elections with the results certified without endless delay.

Because the UFW consistently outpolled the Teamsters, the ALRB was permitted to become defunct early this year amid demagogic charges that it was "biased" toward the Farm Workers.

In actuality the board persistently dragged its feet in dealing with violations of the law and in

## Prop. 14 push is on

LOS ANGELES—The United Farm Workers is moving ahead in its campaign for a yes vote on Proposition 14, the farm labor initiative which the union placed on the November ballot.

If approved by a majority of California voters, Proposition 14 would put into effect a stronger statute than the one adopted by the state legislature.

Sources in the UFW said that while the union is weighing the possible consequences of the recent decision to refund the ALRB, it is likely that the farm unionists will press ahead with the drive for approval of Proposition 14.

certifying elections. Such certification is necessary before contract negotiations can begin.

The previous five-member board included one Chicano and one Anglo sympathetic to the UFW. Brown's replacements—selected to satisfy the growers—are all Anglo lawyers and machine Democrats.

The ALRB policy of "going slow" can only perpetuate the present sweetheart contracts between the growers and Teamsters and delay even further the efforts of farm workers to select a union of their choice.

# Ky. Blacks mobilize for busing

By Kathy Murphy and Debby Tarnopol

LOUISVILLE—A July 2 hearing on a plan for the second year of busing here became the focus of mobilizations by supporters and opponents of school desegregation.

U.S. District Court Judge James Gordon announced the busing plan June 17. It called for busing 900 additional Black schoolchildren, with no increase over last year's levels in the number of white students bused.

Black parents demanded the hearing on the plan for the 1976-77 school year, charging that it unfairly placed the burden of busing on the Black community.

The day of the hearing a crowd of more than 200 people, 90 percent Black supporters of busing, overflowed Judge Gordon's courtroom.

The judge tried to justify the plan by explaining that busing 900 additional Black students would be equivalent to busing 3,500 to 4,000 white students. It would thus be more economical in meeting the required ratio of Blacks to whites in the schools. (The desegregation order sets this at no less than 12 percent and no more than 40 percent.)

Benitha Ellis, a mother of three schoolchildren and a member of United Black Protective Parents, protested the judge's reasoning. She pointed out that the Black community was not responsible for the school segregation that made busing necessary. "Yet you are only going to bus more Blacks," she said.

Ellis explained that whites bused into formerly Black city schools during this school year were much safer than Blacks bused into the previously white county schools, which have been the scene of racist attacks against Black students.

Rev. Charles Elliot of the King Solomon Baptist Church made clear that the objections to Gordon's plan were not directed against the use of busing. "It's all we have right now," he said. "We don't mind busing another thousand. We just don't want to take the whole burden." Elliot also said he didn't think lack of funding should be an issue, since the U.S. government can always find the money for something it really wants.

After listening to the witnesses, Judge Gordon said he would consider adjusting the June 17 plan to make it more equitable.

After the hearing, many of the busing advocates held a spirited rally on the sidewalk outside the courthouse.

While Black parents were demanding equal

education, the racist Ku Klux Klan was readying a march down the main street of Shepherdsville in nearby Bullitt County. On July 3, 160 marchers wearing traditional Klan garb paraded to the cheers of 400 to 500 onlookers.

Twelve Blacks courageously watched from one street corner. Among them was Rev. Charles Kirby, pastor of the Southern Star Baptist Church in Louisville and head of the Kentucky Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The Black onlookers discussed organizing their own march in Shepherdsville to counter the racist mobilization.

A march in Louisville had also been called for July 3 by several white-supremacist groups. But despite predictions of a turnout of three to four thousand, only four demonstrators appeared in the morning rainfall.

The racists here are frustrated that the June 14 Supreme Court decision not to hear Boston's antibusing appeals exhausted their legal remedies.

Protesting forces will need to unite in large, visible mobilizations to stop the threatened racist violence and defend Louisville's second year of school desegregation. The outcome of the current battle to beat back the racist drive against busing depends on this.



KKK demonstration in Shepherdsville. Blacks are defending second year of busing in Louisville against racist attacks such as this.

# Prof faces dismissal for exposing Pentagon spy

By Elizabeth McNulty

CHICAGO—The administration of Northeastern Illinois University is trying to fire Dr. Daniel Stern, a professor of sociology. This is the third time in eight years the administration has sought to dismiss Stern for his political ideas and activities. Formal proceedings against the professor were begun last April and have been going on for several months.

Stern, a tenured full professor, has been a central figure in the radical movement on the campus. He heads a research group on government repression and is the faculty advisor to the Union of Puerto Rican Students.

The latest witch-hunt stems from a December article published in two Puerto Rican student newspapers. In the article, Stern exposed the fact that Dr. Samuel Betances, another member of the school's sociology department and a figure in the Puerto Rican independence movement, was a paid employee of the Pentagon.

Documents received by Stern through many requests under the Freedom of Information Act showed that Betances worked as a consultant to the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) and other military groups. Betances had kept this secret from the students and his associates in the Puerto Rican independence movement.

The DRRI was a response by the U.S. military brass to the militancy of Black and Latino servicemen and women that arose during the Vietnam War era. Masquerading as an

affirmative-action program, its purpose is to head off and co-opt militant groups protesting racism.

The revelation of his employment by the DRRI stirred controversy and discussion within the Puerto Rican movement. He was censured by the Union of Puerto Rican Students and came under fire from the Federation of Puerto Rican Socialist University Students, the youth group associated with the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

Arturo Rivera, president of the federation, condemned Betances for claiming to be a socialist and *independentista* while, at the same time, working for "the war machine that is responsible for the enslavement of not only our people but also the rest of the world."

Betances has admitted that he worked for the Pentagon, and has refused offers of space in student newspapers to answer the accusations raised by Stern. Nevertheless, the sociology department and the administration are trying to fire Stern for "causing demonstrable damage to the professional reputation of Dr. Samuel Betances."

The Stern Defense Committee points out the blatant absurdity of the charge. In a statement, the group noted, "If Dr. Betances's reputation has been 'damaged', it would be fair to say that his own questionable political activities were the cause." The committee says this is a politically inspired witch-hunt and an attack on the right to free speech.

## ...NAACP convention

Continued from page 14

In employment matters, the gathering called on Congress to adopt the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, legislation pretending to guarantee full employment.

At last year's convention the rapid rate of layoffs of Black workers sparked a major discussion of seniority and layoffs. The NAACP has long stood in defense of equal employment opportunities. But the labor officialdom at that convention mounted a huge effort to steer the NAACP from its position that Black workers with low seniority should not have to suffer disproportionately to white workers at a time of layoffs.

At this convention representatives of the labor officialdom appeared to have agreed not to argue the issue and the NAACP's stand of last year was upheld.

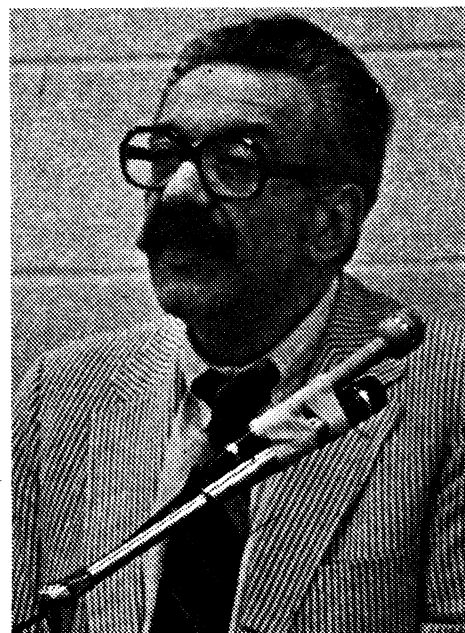
Herbert Hill, labor director of the NAACP, stressed several times at the labor workshop that demonstrations and protest actions were needed to complement legal initiatives.

Other resolutions the convention adopted called for compliance with fair-housing statutes, the increased hiring and upgrading of Blacks in the media, and discontinuation of the discriminatory issuing of less than honorable service discharges to Blacks.

With the convention occurring during a presidential election year, and with President Ford leading the charge against equal opportunities for Blacks, some observers speculated that the NAACP might cast aside its practice of not endorsing candidates. Some thought the convention would back Jimmy Carter or recommend voting against Ford. But this did not occur.

At one evening session, however, representatives from the Democratic and Republican national committees gave talks.

U.S. Rep. John Anderson of Illinois



NAACP's Herbert Hill stressed that protest actions are needed to complement legal initiatives.

spoke for the GOP, and said he is a Ford supporter. U.S. Rep. Andrew Young of Georgia, an early Black Carter supporter, presented in unvarnished terms why he thought Blacks should back Carter.

A point that touched off overtime discussion in the corridors and lavatories was the announcement by Executive Director Roy Wilkins that he would not be forced into premature retirement by "vindictive" board members.

Wilkins charged unnamed board members with being after his scalp because of his age and reputed incompetence. The announcement caught the convention by surprise, but the board later agreed that at its meeting in September the date of retirement of the seventy-five-year-old Wilkins would be announced.

## Calendar

### CHICAGO

**OPEN HOUSE AND GRAND OPENING OF WEST SIDE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY.** Hear tapes by Malcolm X and meet the socialist candidates for U.S. Congress and lieutenant governor. Sat., July 24. Open house, 11 a.m. to 6 p.m. Tapes, 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. 5967 W. Madison. Ausp. SWP. For more information call (312) 379-2394.

### CINCINNATI

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Building the revolutionary party.** Speaker: Carol Knoll, on *Internationalism*. Mon., July 19, 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.

### DENVER

**THE CHICANO LIBERATION MOVEMENT.** A socialist educational conference. Sat., July 24, 11 a.m.: *History of the Chicano movement since 1846*. Speaker: Juan José Peña, chairperson, New Mexico Raza Unida party. 1 p.m.: *Chicanos and the 76 elections*. Speakers: Juan José Peña; Everett Chavez, Concerned Citizens for Equal Education; Priscilla Schenk, SWP candidate for Congress, 1st C.D. Militant Bookstore, 1379 Kalamath. Donation: \$1. Ausp. Colorado SWP '76 Campaign Committee. For more information call (303) 534-7354.

### DETROIT

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BARBECUE.** Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate; Paula Reimers, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; B.R. Washington, SWP candidate for Congress, 1st C.D.; John Hawkins, SWP candidate for Congress, 13th C.D. Sun., July 25, 3 p.m., refreshments; 4 p.m., dinner; 6 p.m., rally; social to

follow. 4210 Vernor (corner of Scotten). Donation: \$3.50. Ausp. Michigan Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee. For more information call (313) 961-5673.

### MINNEAPOLIS/ST. PAUL

**VICTORY RALLY FOR SOCIALIST WORKERS BALLOT DRIVE.** Speakers: Bill Peterson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Libby Moser, SWP candidate for state senate. Sat., July 24, 8 p.m. Party to follow. 15 4th St. SE, Minneapolis. Donation: \$1. Ausp. Minnesota Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

### NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Special educational weekend. **Three classes on Marx's theory of crisis.** Teacher: Tim Wohlforth. Fri., July 23, 8 p.m.—*The method of Capital*. Sat., July 24, 10 a.m.—*The limits of capitalist production*; 1 p.m.—*Capitalism as a world system*. Libreria Militante, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C). Donation: \$1.50 for all classes. Ausp. Catarino Garza for Congress Campaign. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

### PITTSBURGH

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN BARBECUE.** Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate; Carla Hoag, SWP candidate for Congress, 14th C.D. Sat., July 24. Barbecue, 5:30 p.m.; rally, 7:00 p.m. 5916 Bryant Ave., Highland Park. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp. Western Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

### QUEENS

**BARBECUE ON LONG ISLAND.** Meet the candidates. Keith Jones, SWP candidate for Congress, 7th C.D.; Mac Warren, SWP candidate for Congress from Roxbury, Massachusetts. Sun., July 18, 1 p.m. 1513 Falmouth Ave., New Hyde Park, Long Island. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp. Queens Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For rides and more information call (212) 658-7718.

## ...Blanco

Continued from page 3

went to Sweden, where he lived for two years.

Although he tried to return several times, no country anywhere in Latin America would accept him.

Last fall a palace coup occurred in Peru. The previous "revolutionary" military officers were replaced by others. To help refurbish their image, they announced that all exiles could return to their homeland.

Thousands of Peruvians welcomed Blanco's return. They had not forgotten his heroic role as a peasant leader.

The Morales Bermúdez regime apparently had not forgotten either.

## ...Indians

Continued from back page

The FBI has consistently claimed that the FBI Cointelpro disruption activities were discontinued in 1971. But FBI documents brought to light through the Socialist Workers party suit against the government show Cointelpro-style attacks have continued.

Moreover, according to *New York Times* stories, sources inside the FBI have revealed that agents have been responsible for kidnappings, fire bombings of cars, and unprovoked assaults against radicals. (See story on page 13.)

The FBI says the information in the "Operation BICENT" documents that have become public came from "a source with insufficient contact made to determine reliability, but in a position to have information."

The FBI admits sending this out to cops all over the country with the purported aim of "preventing violence," although the FBI had "not one shred of proof" to back the story.

It would have been impossible for AIM—or anybody else—to put together, train, and equip an army of 2,000 people without leaving "a shred of proof."

Moreover, Kelley was forced to admit under oath that "the American Indian Movement has fine goals and has many fine people."

The picture that emerges is that the FBI knew the "dog soldier" memo was a pack of lies when they sent it out. The agency sent it out not to prevent terrorism, but to provoke cop terrorism against AIM.

In the past three years AIM mem-

bers and associates have been victims of countless shootings, beatings, and other attacks—including several assassination attempts, some of them successful.

Much of this occurred on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. The FBI has direct responsibility for investigating major crimes on Indian reservations.

Yet, when asked on the stand, Kelley said he couldn't remember the FBI investigating even one of the dozens of murders of Indians on Pine Ridge.

There are eyewitnesses to several of these crimes who have positively identified cops as the aggressors. No one has been convicted for these crimes.

Yet the FBI doesn't bother to investigate. Maybe it doesn't have to. Maybe all the details are locked away in an FBI file labeled "preventing violence—Operation BICENT."

## ...spies

Continued from page 13

are some grubby things" in the CIA's workings. But, the superspy promised, "if we find a mess in our own house, we clean it up."

A look at some of the "grubby things" that have come to light does not inspire confidence, however.

The CIA has tested drugs and poisons on unsuspecting victims, bought elections in Europe, paid for coups in Latin America, tried to assassinate Lumumba in Africa, and carried out weather-control operations to ruin Cuba's sugar crop.

All this was done in the name of national security.

Now that George Bush has admitted that his spies did black-bag jobs, another question is raised once more. Why didn't the committees appointed by the president and Congress to investigate the CIA turn up this evidence?

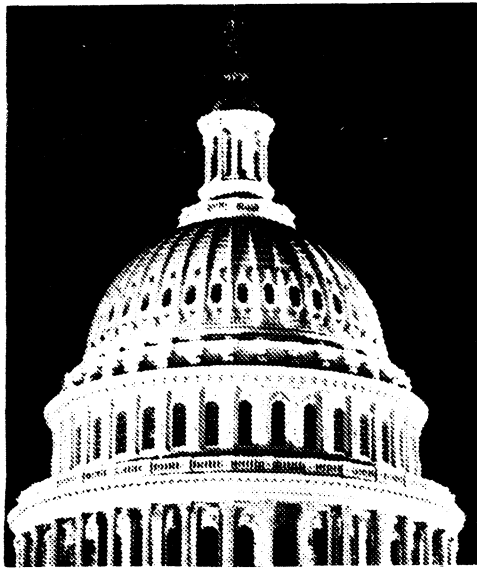
The Rockefeller commission claimed it reviewed all the CIA files it thought "could be pertinent to full investigation." Yet it didn't probe into what the CIA had done to Americans overseas.

The Church committee investigating for the Senate claimed to "uncover the truth of alleged abuses." But it missed these worldwide black-bag operations.

The socialists are not satisfied with the government's arguments. They plan to contest the CIA's claim that spies can carry out a war on democratic rights in the name of national security.



# Waiting for them to defend Black equal rights?



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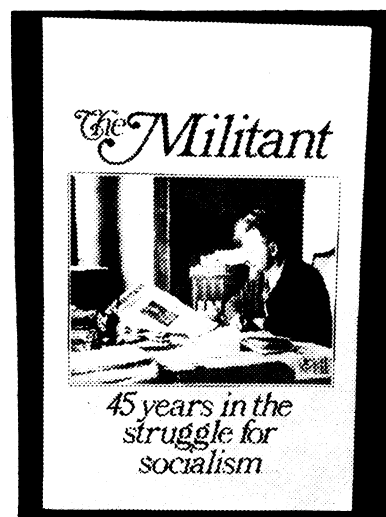
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# THE MILITANT

## 'Operation BICENT'

# Secret FBI plot against Indians

By José G. Pérez

FBI Director Clarence Kelley gave testimony July 7 corroborating the existence of a secret FBI plot against the American Indian Movement.

"Operation BICENT," the code name for the plot, came to light in late June when the Native American Solidarity Committee, a group that works closely with AIM, obtained coded teletype messages sent by Kelley.

"Dog soldiers, who are pro-American Indian Movement (AIM) members, who will kill for the advancement of AIM objectives, have been training since the Wounded Knee, S.D., incident in 1973," one message said. "These dog soldiers, approximately 2,000 in number, have been training in the Northwest territory [and] Arizona."

Kelley charged that the "dog soldiers" would gather in mid-June in South Dakota—using an International Indian Treaty Conference called by AIM and a traditional Indian religious ceremony as "cover."

The "dog soldiers," according to Kelley, would conduct anti-bicentennial terrorism July 1-5. This included shooting public officials, sniping at South Dakota tourists, blowing up government buildings, blowing up power plants, "burning" farmers, and assaulting the South Dakota state penitentiary.

The July 11 *Michigan Free Press*, an Ann Arbor weekly, reported that Sen. James Abourezk (D-S.D.) had obtained a copy of what was apparently the same or a similar memo to one sent by the FBI law enforcement agencies across the country.

FBI officials confirmed to the *Michigan Free Press* that the document had been sent out across the country. They refused further comment, however,

saying they were "under explicit instructions not to discuss the case."

The FBI memorandum said that Senator Abourezk's son was stockpiling weapons for the "dog soldiers." Abourezk's office called this report "false and unfounded." Abourezk charged the FBI was trying to ruin his reputation because he has criticized the bureau.

An AIM spokesperson said, "The whole idea is harassment. I've never even heard of these 'dog soldiers.'"

The FBI continued to disseminate the "dog soldier" story even after it had been publicly exposed and denounced by the Native American Solidarity Committee.

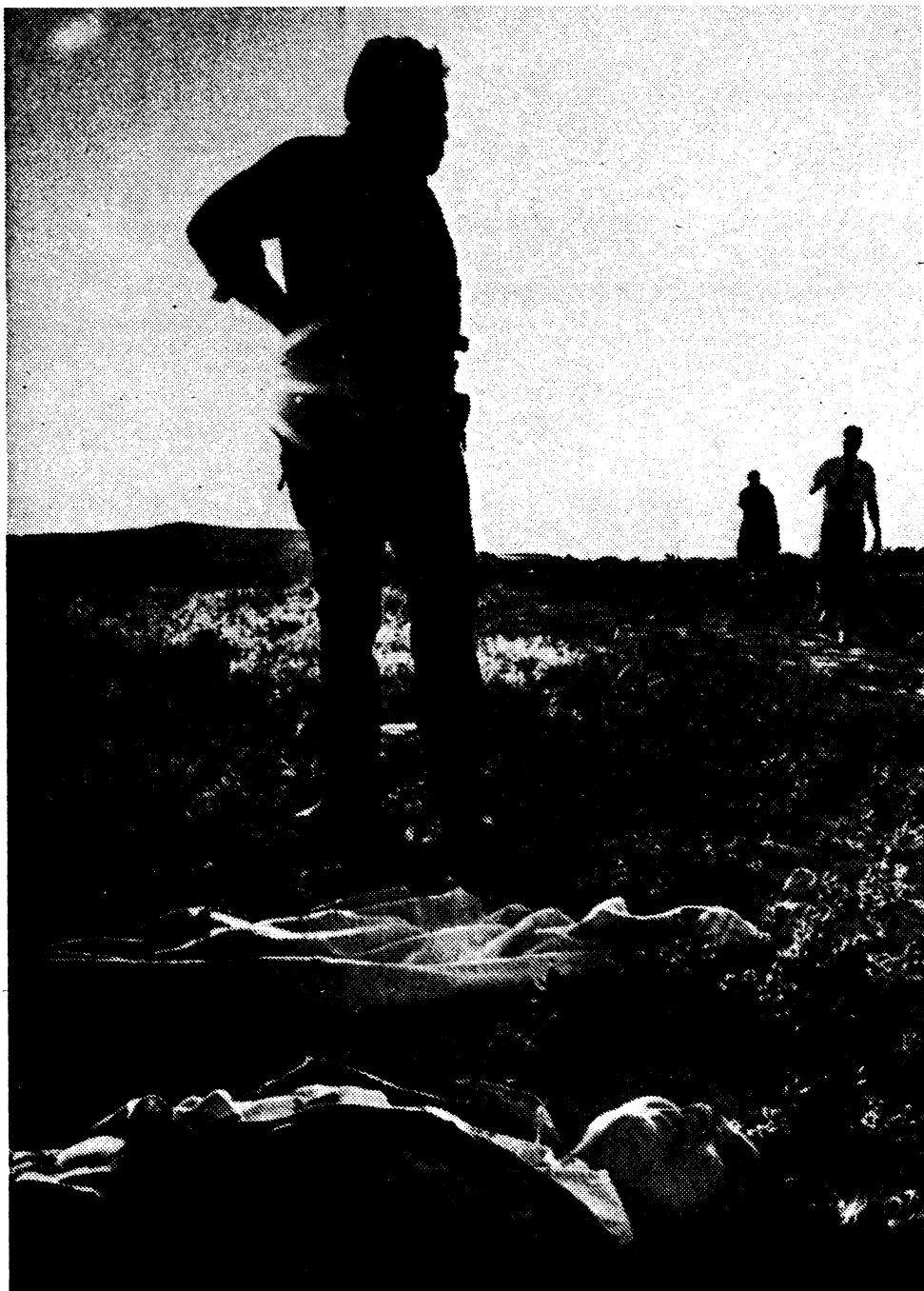
On July 2, the FBI sent law enforcement agencies a bulletin alerting them against possible terrorism by AIM, Students for a Democratic Society, and Chicano organizations.

This document came to light in the case of AIM members Darrelle Butler and Robert Robideau. The two are charged with murder in the June 1975 shooting deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, and are on trial in Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Defense attorneys for the two introduced into evidence a copy of the July 2 bulletin sent to the Connecticut State Police.

The defense contends that Butler and Robideau did not shoot the agents and that the deaths of the two G-men were a direct product of the FBI's drive to smash AIM.

Defense attorney William Kunstler said the FBI document was designed to give police a pretext for creating incidents and killing activists. Among other things, this memorandum said part of AIM's terrorist campaign was to kill "a cop a day in each state."



Kevin Barry McKiernan

Cop looks over body of murdered Indian after 'shoot-out' June 26, 1975. Secret documents show how FBI works to provoke harassment and violence against American Indian Movement.

The document identified Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales as a leader of the Brown Berets. The memo charged that Gonzales was part of the terrorist plot and had a rocket launcher, explosives, hand grenades, and ten to fifteen M-16 rifles.

Gonzales, a nationally prominent leader of the Denver-based Crusade for Justice—not the Brown Berets—testified for the defense July 6. He denied having the weapons or planning assassinations.

FBI Director Kelley had also been subpoenaed to testify at the trial July 6, but failed to appear. This prompted Federal District Judge Edward McMa-

nus to order Kelley to present himself the following day to explain why he should not be found in contempt of court.

With a contempt citation hanging over his head, Kelley showed up and took the witness stand.

Kunstler asked about the "dog soldier" story: "Is it not a fact, Mr. Kelley that there is not one shred of proof in the hands of the FBI?"

"I know of none," Kelley conceded.

Kelley denied that the memorandum was part of the FBI's counterintelligence program and said the FBI no longer carries out such programs.

*Continued on page 26*

## AIM leader fights for asylum in Canada

[The following is reprinted from the July 5 *Labor Challenge*, a Canadian revolutionary socialist newspaper.]

By Brian Lyons

VANCOUVER—A packed courtroom saluted Leonard Peltier, leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), when he was brought to the dock for a decision on his extradition hearing on June 18. Judge W.R. Schultz immediately ordered the courtroom cleared. Sheriff's deputies and Vancouver police proceeded to physically evict Peltier's supporters.

In an empty, locked courtroom, Judge Schultz ordered Peltier, a veteran of the Wounded Knee occupation of

1973, to be held for extradition to the United States. He upheld four of the five frame-up charges against Peltier.

The hearing, which lasted more than a month, became a focal point of the Native struggle in North America. Peltier denied the charges against him, and asked for political asylum in Canada.

He charged that the U.S. government is seeking his return to punish him for political, not criminal, offenses. If the extradition order is carried out, Peltier will be in very grave danger.

Several defense witnesses testified during the hearing that Native people are harshly treated in American jails, and that in South Dakota, where

Wounded Knee is situated, racial prejudice against Natives is so great that Peltier would have no hope of a fair trial.

Recently, several Native militants have mysteriously "committed suicide" in jail, or have been killed by apparently accidental causes.

If he is forced to return to the U.S., a similar fate could await Leonard Peltier.

Peltier drew this sharply to the attention of the court, pointing out that if extradited, he would be subject to cruel and unusual punishment.

The Canadian "Bill of Rights" states that no law shall be applied so as to impose "cruel and unusual treatment or punishment."

The cynical judge was unimpressed. In rejecting Peltier's plea for asylum, Judge Schultz cited as a precedent for his decision the case of a Black man extradited from Canada to South Africa. In that case the judge had decided that although the punishment awaiting the man might be cruel, it would not be unusual for a Black in South Africa.

Peltier plans to appeal the decision. When all avenues of appeal are exhausted, the extradition becomes effective only if the order is signed by federal Justice Minister Ronald Basford. But, as journalist Nick Hills wrote in the *Vancouver Sun*, "It is difficult to see the Canadian government refusing to return Peltier."