

THE MILITANT

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



Militant/Harry Ring

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 40/NUMBER 31
AUGUST 6, 1976
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JULY 28

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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.

TIBBS GETS NEW TRIAL: The Florida State Supreme Court has reversed the murder and rape convictions of Delbert Tibbs. With the death penalty about to go into effect in Florida, the thirty-five-year-old Black man's life was in imminent danger. The high court ordered a new trial for Tibbs because of conflicts in trial testimony.

Tibbs, a writer from Chicago, was hitchhiking through Florida at the time of his arrest in February 1974. Although he did not resemble the description of the assailant, he was brought to trial and convicted by an all-white jury.

This is the last issue of the Militant before our two-week summer break. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the issue dated August 27.

'HANDS OFF REFUGEES IN ARGENTINA': More than seventy-five people attended a meeting July 23 at the United Nations Chapel in New York to protest the persecution and murder of political refugees in Argentina. Speaking at the event were U.S. Rep. Edward Koch (D-N.Y.), Rev. William Wipfler of the National Council of Churches, and Eddie Kaufman of the London Secretariat of Amnesty International. Mirta Vidal, executive secretary of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), chaired the meeting.

Three days later a group of thirty people picketed the Argentine consulate.

These protests were sparked by the June murder of two Uruguayan legislators and last week's kidnapping of thirty more Uruguayans in Argentina.

FBI PROMOTES CROOK: Six groups that have been victims of FBI attacks protested the promotion of Chicago FBI head Richard Held to the number two position in the bureau.

At a July 27 news conference in Chicago, the groups charged that the G-man withheld documents in a civil suit that accuses the FBI and local authorities of conspiracy in the murders of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Held's credentials also include directing attacks on the American Indian Movement at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

Participating in the news conference were: American Indian Movement, December Fourth Committee (a group publicizing the civil suit charging conspiracy in the deaths of Hampton and Clark), Socialist Workers party, Puerto Rican Socialist party, CASA (an antideportation group), and National Lawyers Guild.

In a related development, Minneapolis lawyer Ken Tilsen revealed that Held once sent an anonymous poison-pen letter to a Minnesota prosecutor to discredit Black students. The students were facing state charges for occupying a university hall.

OLYMPIC FIRINGS: "Security." That's the reason—the public reason—why the Organizing Committee of the Montréal Olympics has fired dozens of employees. Among the targets are members and supporters of: Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes; Gay Coalition Against Repression; League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (Canadian section of the Fourth International); and Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (sympathizing group of the Fourth International).

Several of those fired have filed a complaint with the Québec Commission on Human Rights. They are also demanding that all police files be opened and illegal spying and harassment ended.

MINERS' WILDCAT: Miners have walked off the job in West Virginia. Their protest against being "kicked around" by federal judges is spreading through Ohio and is expected to reach into Pennsylvania. Miners began the wildcat strike July 19 in response to a \$50,000 fine slapped on a United Mine Workers of America local near Charleston, West Virginia. A federal judge penalized the coal miners for not returning to work after a grievance-inspired walkout. Now miners are demanding that pending injunctions and fines against all UMWA locals be dropped and that there be no reprisals against the strikers.

BLACK RIGHTS SUPPORTERS MEET: Leaders of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR) met July 20. Students and parents from Queens gave reports on the struggle to desegregate Andrew Jackson High School. Discussions also focused on defending Gary Tyler, an eighteen-year-old Black youth who was falsely convicted of murder in Louisiana.

SANITATION STRIKE DEFEATED: A strike by Black sanitation workers in Raleigh, North Carolina, has been crushed by city officials, reports *Militant* correspondent Jim

Rogers. The workers were seeking a 3.5 percent increase in wages.

The city fired all 157 strikers and hired scabs. On July 15 city officials announced that all the jobs would be filled by the next day, prompting a number of strikers to return. Union leaders called off the strike July 16. Fewer than one-third of the strikers were rehired. Those rehired lost all sick leave and other benefits.

A COMPUTERIZED MILITANT: Beginning with the August 27 *Militant*, our entire mailing operation will be computerized. This will make it easier to expand our circulation, but there are bound to be bugs in the new system. Let us know if your subscription does not arrive or if the address contains errors.

REPRESSION AND POETRY: "A moving, disturbing, and profoundly terrifying book of poems." This is how the July issue of *Library Journal* describes *God's Shadow: prison poems*. Reza Baraheni, the prominent Iranian poet, describes his experiences during 102 days in the torture chambers of the shah. The book is available for \$6.95 from Abjad Publications, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003. Abjad Publications also distributes a Persian edition. For those attending the upcoming Socialist Workers party convention, the book will be available at a reduced rate.

NEWSPAPER GUILD WINS AT D.C. 'POST': In a National Labor Relations Board election at the *Washington Post* July 17-21, Newspaper Guild Local 35 defeated the company-sponsored "Washington Newspaper Union." The results are a setback for the *Post* management's efforts to break other newspaper unions after driving out the press operators last winter.

Despite this victory, victimizations by the *Post*'s management continue. On July 21 a federal grand jury indicted eight more press operators for alleged "destruction of property" and "rioting" during last winter's defeated strike at the paper.

COPS HARASS WORKERS LEAGUE: Huntington, California, cops dug up an old city ordinance to harass supporters of the Workers League. On July 10, cops raided a dance sponsored by the group. They arrested eleven people for "dancing without a license." Sheila Leburg, WL candidate for Congress, charged police with deliberately harassing her campaign.

—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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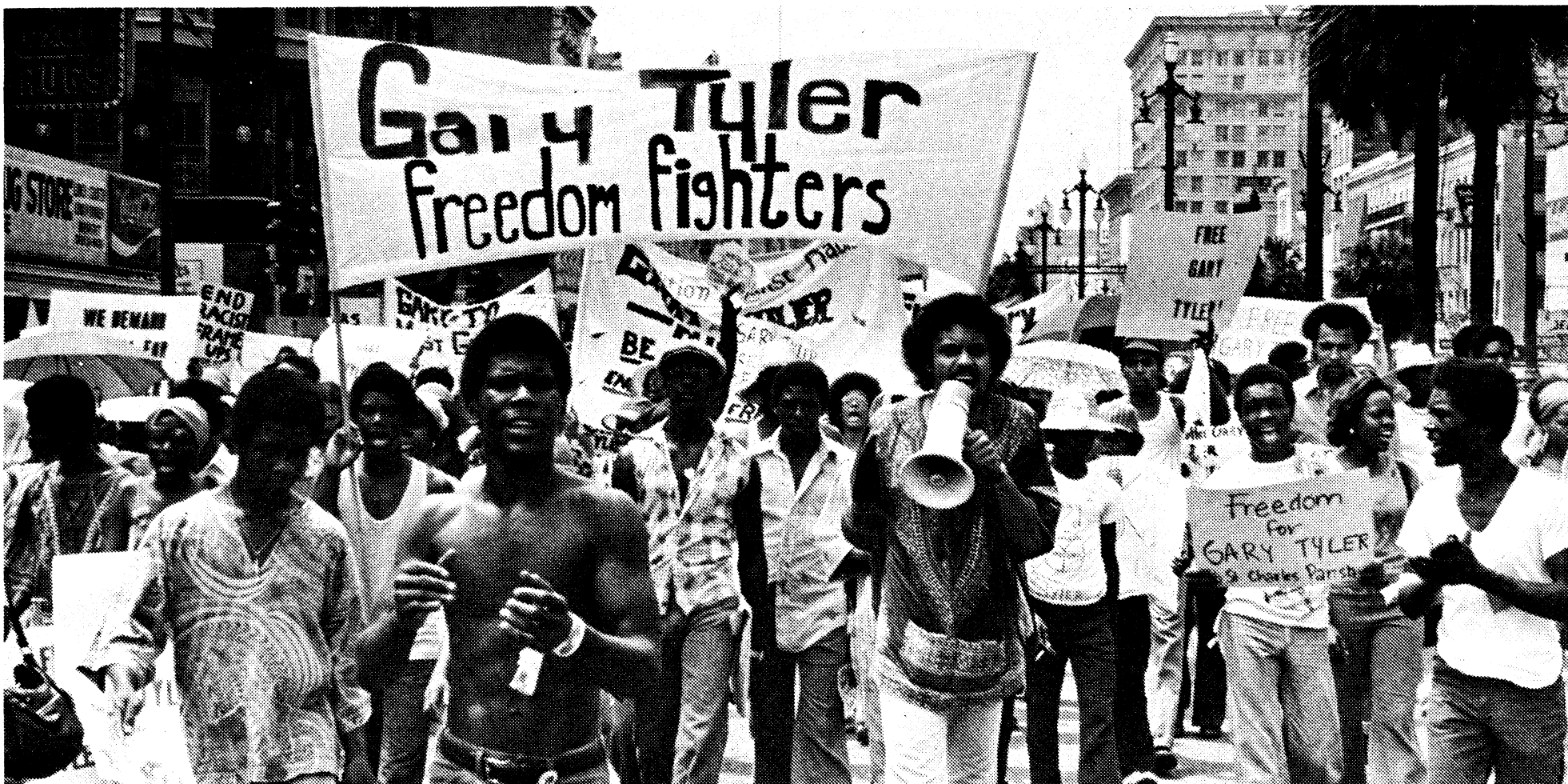
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Part of crowd at July 24 'Free Gary Tyler' march

Militant/Joel Aber

1,000 march in La. to free Gary Tyler

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—On July 24, under a scorching summer sun, 1,000 supporters of Gary Tyler rallied, marched, and shouted one message, loud and clear: "We're gonna kick. We're gonna fight. We're gonna save Gary Tyler's life."

Two banners at the front of the march told the story to downtown shoppers on Canal Street. Proclaiming "St. Charles Parish Supports Gary Tyler" and "Gary Tyler Freedom Fighters," the banners were held by a contingent of 200 Black people from Tyler's home community, St. Charles Parish, Louisiana, followed by students from New Orleans mobilized by the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR).

Tyler is an eighteen-year-old Black youth falsely charged with the killing of a white youth on October 7, 1974, and convicted by an all-white St. Charles Parish jury last November.

The march down Canal Street was preceded by a rally at city hall, across the street from the Louisiana Supreme Court. The court is expected to hear Tyler's appeal for freedom this fall.

Featured speakers at the rally were Walter Collins, coordinator of the Gary Tyler Defense Committee; Bill Hampton, brother of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, who was shot to death in his bed by Chicago police in 1969;

and Tyler's mother, Juanita Tyler.

After greetings from Black community leaders in New Orleans, sixteen-year-old Terry Tyler came to the microphone and gave a clenched-fist salute. The response from the crowd was electric: "Free Gary Tyler, Free Gary Tyler!"

"I want to thank you all for helping to free my brother," Terry Tyler told the crowd. Again they shouted, "Free Gary Tyler!"

Terry and his classmates at Destrehan High School have organized the Gary Tyler Freedom Fighters. In the week prior to the rally, the Freedom Fighters and the Student Coalition Against Racism went door to door through the towns in St. Charles Parish urging everyone in those Black communities to come to New Orleans July 24.

At each home, they asked for small contributions to charter buses for the day. The Freedom Fighters and SCAR members drove through St. Rose, Norco, and New Sarpy with bullhorns announcing that buses were available to bring people to New Orleans for the demonstration.

The loudest, longest applause at the rally was reserved for Juanita Tyler. "What me and my family have been through for the last two years has not been easy for us," she said. "Please continue to stand by me and fight for

Gary."

"Mothers," she warned, "just like it was my son, it could be any of your sons."

An attack on one is an attack on all. Hampton delivered the same message. "If it's Fred Hampton at 4:30 a.m., it can be Gary Tyler today," he said. "We will free Gary Tyler just as we freed Angela Davis, just as we freed Joanne Little. And we'll bring justice in the Fred Hampton case."

Hampton urged continued mass rallies as the only way to free Tyler. Later he told the *Militant*, "The coalition to free Gary Tyler should be broadened. The whole state of Louisiana should be brought into it. More pressure must be brought on the state and national officials."

The breadth of support for Tyler was reflected in the greetings to the rally. Speakers included Minister Ahmad Atai of the Nation of Islam; Kurte Pellerin, president of the NAACP Youth Council; Rev. Byron Clay, vice-president of the Louisiana Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Marie Galatas of the Grass Roots Organization for Women; Musheer Fandan, representing the New Orleans SCAR; Carl Galman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Terry McGillis from Fight Back; and Bill Rouselle of the Free Southern Theater.

Greetings were read from State Rep.

Avery Alexander and from Scharlette Holdman, executive director of the Louisiana American Civil Liberties Union.

The crowd was overwhelmingly Black, overwhelmingly youthful, and 100 percent determined. They came not only from St. Charles Parish, but also from the housing projects and universities in New Orleans, and from Texas, Alabama, Georgia, and Maryland.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund organized a Southwide contingent. Other supporters from around the country included members of the Socialist Workers party and International Socialists.

Shoppers along the march route shouted their approval and joined the march.

In addition to the colorful placards and banners with the slogan "Gary Tyler Must Be Freed," other signs demanded, "Abolish the Death Penalty" and "End Racism from Soweto to Destrehan."

"Today is just the beginning" of the movement to free Tyler, defense committee coordinator Walter Collins told Channel 6 news July 24.

At the rally, \$700 was collected for the defense fund. Readers may send contributions to: Gary Tyler Defense Fund, c/o Mrs. Juanita Tyler, 736 Mockingbird Lane, Destrehan, Louisiana 70047.

NAACP takes N.Y. police chief to court

By Scott Cooper

OSSINING, N.Y.—The Ossining branch of the NAACP has filed charges in federal court against the head of police here. The NAACP is asking the court that Warren Stahl be found in contempt for violations of a 1973 court order that prohibited cops from using excessive force or engaging in racially discriminatory conduct.

The charges stem from two incidents during Ossining's bicentennial celebration July 4. What happened was the subject of a July 12 meeting sponsored by the Political Action Committee of the NAACP.

Melvina Thrower—her left arm in bandages—spoke to the mostly Black audience of seventy. She described how

police arrested her fourteen-year-old son because he was allegedly uncooperative when they questioned him about fireworks.

When Thrower found her son was being arrested, she asked if she could drive him down to the police station. The police refused. But the cops said she could ride in their car.

The police then attacked both Thrower and her son.

Thrower said the police had her son in a "scissors hold" and were choking him. "You could actually hear the gurgling in his throat," she said.

When the Black woman tried to protect her young son, the cops attacked her.

A neighbor of Thrower's vouched for her charges. The cop, she told the meeting, "had a night stick around his throat and was choking him."

The second incident involved Roderick Facey, an eighteen-year-old Black youth. Facey was carrying a car-repair tool when he was stopped by two cops.

The cops asked him what the tool was and examined it. Then a third cop, Nugent Zaccardi, showed up.

Zaccardi confiscated the tool, arrested Facey, and handcuffed him. While en route to headquarters, Zaccardi slapped and punched Facey several times.

Police charged Melvina Thrower with second-degree assault. They charged Facey with disorderly conduct

and possession of fireworks.

The NAACP organized a big show of support for the two defendants when their cases came up July 13. The courtroom was packed. The case against Thrower was "adjourned in contemplation of dismissal." The charges against Facey are also expected to be dropped.

Police Chief Warren Stahl has been heavily criticized in recent weeks. Many people have called for his resignation.

Stahl complained that young people had been throwing firecrackers at his home. The chief cop told reporters he "would have no more compunction about shooting them [youths who threw firecrackers] than I would dogs."

Socialist petitioning in California

Over 100,000 signatures!

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—As of July 25 the Socialist Workers party had passed the 100,000 mark in its petition drive to put its presidential slate on the California ballot.

The drive is continuing full speed ahead. To be certified for the ballot 100,000 signatures of registered voters are required. The party intends to submit substantially more than that to ensure socialist candidates a place on the November ballot.

Success in the petition effort means a socialist ticket will be on the statewide ballot for the first time in four decades. It will be a first for the Socialist Workers party.

The very fact that it is possible to gather such a huge number of names on socialist nominating petitions is testimony to the depth of popular commitment to democratic rights in this country. It also reflects the growing disillusionment with the two major parties. And it underlines the political dedication and capacity for hard work on the part of SWP campaigners.

The petitioning period opened July 5 with September 3 as the deadline for filing.

Ballot restrictions

The scope of the effort has been truly prodigious. Until it recently reduced its petition requirement from 300,000 to 100,000, California had the dubious distinction of having the most undemocratic election law in the entire country. Now it only ranks among the very worst.

It is worth reviewing how the law is rigged to comprehend what has been involved in meeting its requirements.

Until this year, an independent nominating petition had to be signed by 3 percent of the registered voters. Then it was reduced to 1 percent, still a solid 100,000.

And that's only the tip of the proverbial iceberg. To begin with, the 1 percent isn't really 1 percent. It's more

than 1.5 percent.

The law requires that an independent nominee obtain the signatures of 1 percent of the number of California voters who were registered prior to the 1974 general election. There were a shade under 10 million registered then, establishing the 100,000 requirement.

But after the election all those who did not vote were purged from the rolls of registered voters. That means that today there are not 10 million but only 6.6 million voters eligible to sign petitions.

Those 6.6 million registered voters must be sought out among a much larger body of adults. The federal government estimates that there are 14 million potentially qualified voters in California. Only a minority are actually registered.

Soliciting enough people to secure the 100,000 signatures is a big enough job in itself. And state officials have stayed awake nights to figure out how to make it harder.

To begin with the law requires that the petition must stipulate that the person signing is thereby committed to support the nominee at the polls.

This is as unenforceable as it is unconstitutional. When voters are in the secrecy of the polling booth, nobody knows how they vote. People can sign a petition either because they support the nominee politically or for the entirely valid reason of supporting the right of a minority ticket to a place on the ballot.

But it can take time to explain that to a concerned potential signer.

Signing itself is a time-consuming job. Each person must hand print their name, then sign. They must also fill in the complete address from which they are registered to vote.

Separate petitions

Not only that. In addition to its presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the SWP is also nominating Omari Musa for the U.S. Senate. But Musa's name cannot appear on the same petition as the presidential slate. A separate petition is required.

The party must, therefore, have people sign the petitions not once but twice. Actually, 200,000 signatures are needed, not 100,000.

Furthermore, residents of each of California's counties sign a separate petition for their county. If that weren't enough, residents of each city and unincorporated area must sign on separate sheets.

Petition at any busy shopping center and you'll run into people from as many as ten cities. The petitioner has to carry a stack of sheets and be able to provide one for the proper city.

Other obstacles are thrown up as well. Petitioners can obtain signatures only in the county of which they are a resident. This prevents campaigners from moving around the state to one or another area that might be more productive than their own.

Other obstacles have been included. For instance, with the eighteen-year-old vote, college campuses are an excellent source of signatures. But petitioning is set for during the summer months, when campus attendance is minimal.

SWP petitioning effort

Despite all this, and more, the SWP is well on its way to obtaining many more than the necessary signatures. The effort being poured in is proving commensurate with the size of the job.

On Saturdays there have been as many as 250 petitioners on the street. Many have also been going out in the evening after finishing a day's work.

In addition, there has been a substantial force of full-time volunteers.

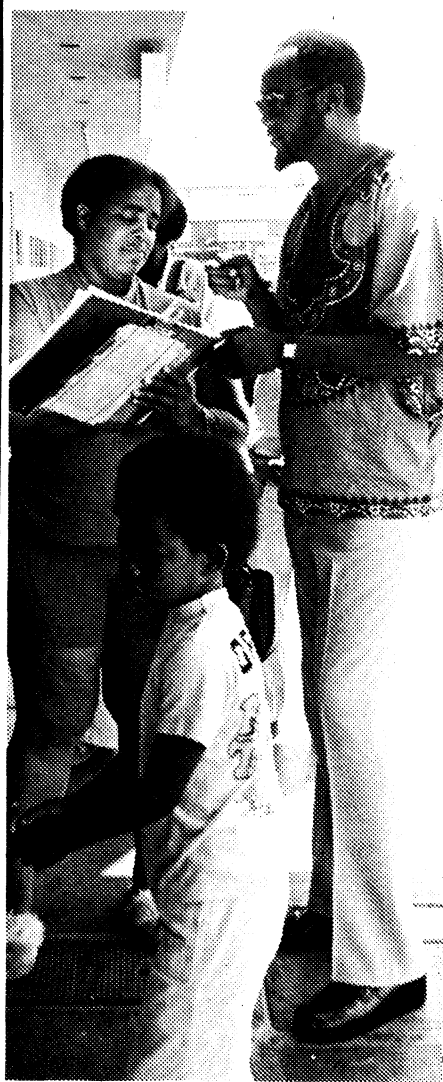
The first week there were fifty throughout the state. By the end of the second week it was close to sixty. By the time drive is over it may approach eighty.

The work is intense and can be grueling. Yet they are obviously persuaded it is worth the effort.

For one thing, they have seen that the very petitioning process has proven an important way of getting out the name of the party to a greater number of people than ever before.

By the time the drive is over, well over a half a million people will have been spoken to. Many of those who sign receive a leaflet featuring principal planks of the party platform. Those

Signing petitions



Militant/Harry Ring

Omari Musa, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. senator from California, joins supporters in Watts area circulating nominating petitions. More than 100,000 signatures have been collected for Musa and the SWP's Camejo-Reid ticket.

indicating greater interest receive a copy of the platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," in English or Spanish.

And with a place on the ballot, the party will be in an unprecedented position to reach a broad audience with its socialist message.

California is a state where the media have tried particularly harder to impose a curtain of silence around the SWP. The party's suit against the federal government, and the consequent revelations, has gone a long way toward piercing that curtain. A place on the ballot will take that process significantly further. Because of California's political weight in the country, this will prove a factor nationally as well.

It is such political considerations that have sparked this remarkable campaign.

SWP certified for Ohio ballots

By Chris Gauvreau

CLEVELAND—Despite the attempt by Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown to keep the Socialist Workers party off the state ballot, the SWP's presidential, vice-presidential, and senatorial candidates will appear on the Ohio ballot in November. News that the SWP will be on the ballot came July 21.

Earlier, on July 14, the secretary of state announced that the Communist party, the "United States Labor party," the Socialist Labor party, the American party, and Eugene McCarthy would be on the ballot. But Brown claimed that the SWP had filed "insufficient signatures."

In fact the SWP had filed over 11,000 signatures—more than twice the number legally required for each candidate.

In the 1974 statewide Ohio elections the SWP's candidate for governor, Nancy Brown, polled nearly 100,000 votes.

Nevertheless, it took a concerted campaign by civil liberties activists to rebuff the secretary of state's attempt to keep the SWP off the ballot this fall.

Richard Niebur, president of District 7, United Electrical Workers, protested the SWP exclusion to Ohio officials. Other inquiries were made by Donald Jacobs, director of the Greater Cleveland Inter-Church Council; Lil Janis of the Americans for Democratic Action; and Ms. Brokaw of the League of Women Voters.

The SWP's candidate for the U.S. Senate, Melissa Singler, appeared on a TV talk show and in numerous radio interviews, and was interviewed by the political editor of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*.

Ohio Secretary of State Brown held out for seven days altogether. On July 21 word came over UPI that a "recount" of the Cuyahoga Board of Elections "discovered" more than 1,000 signatures for the SWP candidates. The SWP was on.

Rightist challenge quashed in Mass.

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—The right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees' attempt to keep the Socialist Workers party off the Massachusetts ballot fell through at hearings here July 20.

In its typical reactionary jargon, the NCLC, which also uses the name "U.S. Labor party," declared that the SWP had been guilty of "pervasive fraud" in the signature collection.

But in hearings before the State Ballot Law Commission the NCLC could not produce one shred of evidence to back up their phony charges. They then tried to gain extra time.

The state commission dismissed the request.

In addition to the SWP's national Camejo-Reid ticket, this puts Carol Henderson Evans on the Massachusetts ballot for U.S. Senate. Mac Warren, the socialist candidate from the Ninth Congressional District, was not challenged and will also be on the ballot.

Petitions stolen

LOS ANGELES—Nominating petitions bearing signatures of 7,000 voters were stolen from the California Socialist Workers party. The petitions to put the SWP presidential slate and its senatorial nominee on the ballot were in the trunk of a car owned by Sam Manuel, Crenshaw campaign manager. The car was stolen from in front of his home July 27.

The petitions had been removed from the campaign office because of the party's experience locally and nationally with political burglaries. It was the first time that a substantial number of petitions were collected in a single place.

The theft followed on the heels of the revelation that an FBI hireling was responsible for the burglary of the party's Denver office.

The California SWP demanded action on the petition theft from federal, state, and local officials. The theft violates both a federal and state statute relating to interference with election activities.

Initially, local police said the matter could be treated only as a "routine car theft." However, at a July 28 SWP news conference, two detectives were in attendance.

At the conference Peter Camejo reiterated the demand for official action and declared the SWP campaigners would intensify their efforts to secure the signatures necessary for a ballot place.

Roundup of SWP national petition drive

By Dick Roberts

Where do we stand with petitioning? What's left to do?

The Socialist Workers party is conducting its largest ballot drive in history to put the party on state ballots across the country for the upcoming elections.

The goal is thirty states and the District of Columbia.

By July 27:

- Nine states have certified SWP petitions, meaning that the SWP will appear on these ballots in November.

- In seven states petitions have been filed more than fulfilling the legal number of required signatures. These have not yet been validated.

- Petitioning is under way in seven states and the District of Columbia.

- Petitioning is planned for seven other states.

- More than 240,000 signatures have been handed in.

- This doesn't include the more than 100,000 signatures already collected in California as petitioning goes into its final stretch there, but signatures have yet to be filed.

Legal obstacles

Last winter, nationally syndicated TV journalist Bill Moyers filmed a piece on the SWP's presidential candidate Peter Camejo as Camejo campaigned in Boston. Moyers emphasized the tremendous legal obstacles that the Democrats and Republicans have erected to keep smaller parties off the ballot.

"It's easier to get a camel through the eye of a needle than for minority parties to get on the ballot," Moyers concluded.

He wasn't exaggerating. And it seems to be support for the socialists' democratic right to be on the ballot that stands in the center of the minds of the tens of thousands of people who are signing the petitions in state after state.

After all, the SWP suit against government harassment is in the press day after day and many people know about it. Not the SWP but the police agencies of the U.S. government, notably the FBI and CIA, have been violating democratic rights year-in and year-out. It is the socialists who are leading the struggle to defend people's rights.

The mood is caught in a number of ways.

Reported on the facing page are the

rapid turnarounds by election officials that took place in Ohio and Massachusetts. In Ohio the government made a phony challenge of SWP petitions; in Massachusetts it was the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC).

But in both cases, when the SWP asked for help, Black, labor and civil liberties activists were quick to register their protests against these antidemocratic challenges—and the challenges were quashed.

In Michigan, the SWP and the Communist, Socialist Labor, Communist Labor, and Human Rights parties have joined in an American Civil Liberties Union suit against the state, contesting a new law on primaries that threatens to ban smaller parties from the ballot. (In this one state, although the more than 23,000 signatures filed by the SWP a year ago have been validated, final appearance of the SWP on the November ballot hinges on the decision in the ACLU suit.)

Seven states

Similar obstacles and similar support for smaller party ballot rights is reported in seven states where SWP signatures have been filed but validation of the signatures is being withheld.

Militant correspondent Dayne Goodwin reports from Salt Lake City, Utah, laws that require smaller parties to hold *ten county conventions!*

Goodwin notes the local officials' hostile attitude in the fact that the Cache County sheriff has admitted to tracking down the names of signers of Communist party petitions.

In Missouri SWP supporters have filed 25,304 signatures, well over the 17,844 signature requirement. This is the second attempt to get on the ballot in Missouri. The SWP was arbitrarily ruled off in 1974.

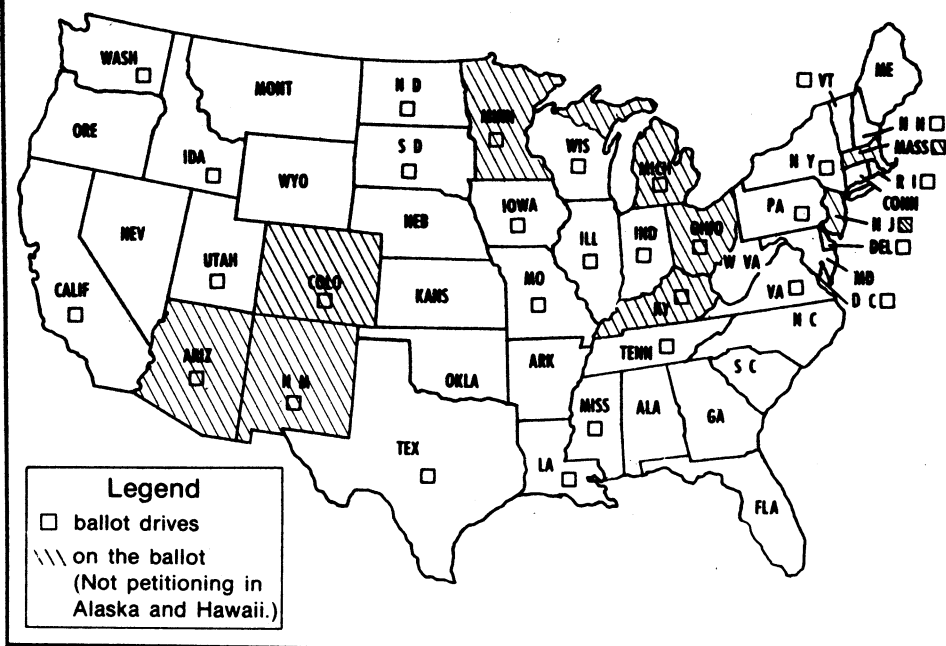
Helen Savio, the socialist candidate for Missouri governor, and Dan Brogan of the Peace and Freedom party, Missouri affiliate of the People's party, have announced the formation of the "Committee for an Open Ballot."

In Texas, as the *Militant* reported last week, more than 31,000 signatures were filed and a campaign to win support for the SWP's right to be on the ballot has been launched.

It was last March that 50,000 signatures on SWP petitions were filed in Pennsylvania, but an NCLC challenge remains unresolved. Petitions have

PUT CAMEJO AND REID ON THE 1976 BALLOT!

Goal: 30 states and District of Columbia



July 27, 1976

Currently petitioning:

California
Delaware
Illinois
Indiana
Rhode Island
South Dakota
Virginia
Washington, D.C.

Filed but not certified:

Idaho
Louisiana
Missouri
Pennsylvania
Texas
Utah
Wisconsin

Certified:

Arizona
Colorado
Kentucky
Massachusetts
Michigan
Minnesota
New Jersey
New Mexico
Ohio

also been filed but not certified in Idaho, Louisiana, and Wisconsin.

The success of SWP petitioning is tied to new receptivity to socialist ideas. According to *Militant* correspondent Mark Allen in Minneapolis, socialists set up a campaign-petitioning table in the downtown shopping area.

Campaigners staffed the table from 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. A total of 3,500 signatures were obtained on petitions—1,000 in a single day. "About 1,500 campaign brochures were distributed, and there were sales of the *Militant* and campaign buttons as well," Allen says.

Many people signed, he thinks, because they saw the banner reading "Help Put Socialists on the Ballot. Sign Up Here."

New York view

Ed Heisler in the SWP national campaign headquarters in New York says that almost 750,000 copies of the SWP's platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," have been distributed in the campaign as of this week.

Heisler believes the number is going to get much higher in the final intensive stretch of socialist campaigning, after the August SWP convention. He explained why.

"We expect more and more interest in the socialist alternative," Heisler said. "Look at the capitalist candidates running over themselves in this vote grab. Ronald Reagan picks the most liberal Republican in the Senate as his running mate.

"It's not only what this tells you about the conservative Reagan. What does it tell you about the liberal Senator Schweiker?"

"All of them work for the capitalists," Heisler continued, "and that is why all of them are avoiding the most pressing concerns of working people.

"There are a lot of people who are concerned about what's happening to them and what's happening to everybody else. Look at that battle of the New York hospital workers, the long strike against the rubber barons, the spreading strike in the coal fields.

"A lot of these people in various struggles are going to see that the capitalist candidates are completely unconcerned with the problems they have. The capitalist candidates are *against* them.

"Many will say to themselves, 'Capitalist politics isn't for me any more. I'm going to do something that counts. I'm going to support the socialist campaign, and maybe join the SWP.'"

Heisler noted that there were seven states where the SWP plans to petition but hasn't started yet: North Dakota, Mississippi, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Tennessee, and Iowa.

"We need volunteers to help in these states as well as the states we're currently petitioning in," Heisler said. (The socialist directory on page 31 lists the campaign headquarters around the country.)

Given the whole drive, how many states is the SWP actually going to get on? "We haven't given up in one place yet," Heisler answered.

Help petition to put

Camejo & Reid
on the
'76 ballot!

Contact: Socialist Workers 1976
National Campaign Committee,
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y.
10014

Chairperson, Linda Jenness; treasurer, Arthur
Hughes



Militant/Kris Kimmell

Spreading socialist ideas. SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo campaigning in Philadelphia.

Carter woos Chicanos

Making empty promises in return for votes

By Miguel Pendás

LOS ANGELES—Jimmy Carter recently called together a meeting of "Mexican-American leaders" where he made known his views on the question of "illegal aliens."

Carter doesn't mind talking with people who may be able to help him win votes in the Chicano community, as long as they're polite about it. Screened out of the meeting were some ill-mannered types, who, at a previous get-together, had reportedly "screamed" at the gentleman from Georgia.

The second meeting, held in Houston early in July, was put together by Henry Lacayo, a functionary of the United Auto Workers. *Lacayo*, curiously enough, is the Spanish word for lackey.

The participants in the Houston meeting apparently weren't just picked for their manners. Among others they included Gov. Raúl Castro of Arizona and Gov. Jerry Apodaca of New Mexico.

One observer described the assemblage as "establishment people . . . double-knit Chicanos who wear suits and ties and have a fairly high income."

Carter's position on immigration is not a new or a good one. It pretty well reflects the consensus among capitalist politicians. Carter said he favors giving "legitimate status" to undocu-



Texas's Bexar County Democratic party convention delegates

mented migrants lucky enough to have escaped *la migra* for a certain period of time. How much time? Carter's not saying. He's "studying" that.

One thing he did make clear. He's not talking about granting citizenship rights, just work permits.

He says he favors a law like the Rodino bill, which would fine employers for "knowingly" hiring undocumented workers. Virtually the entire Chicano movement has agreed that such a bill would victimize not the employers, but the workers—"legals"

as well as "illegals."

For those immigrants not deemed to have been here long enough to qualify for work permits, Carter favors the same solution as do all the other racists—deport them. As president, you see, he will have to "enforce the law."

Also, he says, "illegal immigrants contribute greatly to the unemployment problem."

If justice is to be done even to some of these undocumented workers, why stop with work permits? Why not full citizenship rights? If they're going to

work here, they deserve the same rights as the next person. The catch to work permits is that they can be revoked. Come another depression, they'll be trucked back over the border, like so many cattle.

And why a time period? If one person deserves the right to stay and work, why not everyone? Is Carter interested in human rights or simply a well-regulated supply of supercheap labor?

Carter certainly didn't have much worth saying to Mexican-Americans whose votes he's looking for. Imagine what he has to say about "illegals" behind closed doors to his big-business cronies.

It's also interesting to note the attitude of the "double-knit Chicanos" on this. When the same ideas that Carter put out were mouthed by other politicians, many of these people said they disagreed. The difference, I suspect, is that Carter is also talking about some government posts for the right, polite, people. He promised to name a Mexican-American to his "intimate" White House staff.

To the most polite of all at the gathering, he even gave his home phone number. ("The one right at my bedside," he said.)

I hope these *vendidos* have lots of intimate meetings with Carter where he smiles a lot and they act real polite. They deserve each other.

New round of devastating cuts hits CUNY

By Izabella Listopad

NEW YORK—Developments in the month of July in the City University of New York system show that the end of free tuition and open admission was just the beginning of a continuing attack on education.

At the beginning of the month, Robert Kibbee, chancellor of the twenty-campus system, announced cuts totaling \$69 million.

Izabella Listopad is a student at Queens College and a member of the local executive committee of the New York City Young Socialist Alliance.

The budgets of individual campuses were reduced anywhere from 10 to 23 percent. CUNY officials called the cuts "devastating," pointing out that some institutions might have to be closed permanently because the cuts were so severe.

No one knows how many professors will be dismissed. More than 900 are being laid off from three of the larger colleges alone, including a few dozen tenured faculty.

Other staffs have also been cut

drastically. One CUNY official told the *Militant* the work load in some offices "is impossible to handle" because most of the workers have been laid off.

These cutbacks are the direct result of a bill passed by the Democratic-controlled state assembly, ratified by the Republican-controlled state senate, and signed into law by Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey at the urging of Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame.

The bill was supposedly designed to "save" CUNY, which had defaulted on a faculty payroll at the end of May. But in reality, it imposed tuition and cutbacks.

The leadership of the Professional Staff Congress, the faculty union, supported the bill. This helped lay the basis for the present attack on faculty members' jobs.

Instead of learning from the experience, the PSC officials are continuing the same "cut somewhere else" strategy. A month and a half ago it was support to tuition in exchange for paychecks.

Now, PSC officials are saying that layoffs are acceptable, as long as they're "minimized . . . particularly where tenured staff are involved."

By Roberta Frick

NEW YORK—The strike by workers at New York's voluntary (private nonprofit) hospitals successfully beat back a management attempt to break the union.

But events after the strike at Beth Israel Hospital, where I work, show that management is determined to harass and victimize union activists.

• On Monday, the first day back, three workers in the pathology department were told by their supervisor to go home because there wasn't enough work to do. The union protested, and management backed down.

• Seven workers in the dietary department were told, "The volunteers can do a better job than you, so go home." Some of these "volunteers" had served as paid strikebreakers during the walkout.

The union explained that dismissing

the seven would provoke a renewed walkout. The seven were allowed to return to work.

• In the X-ray department, union members were told to train several "volunteers" to handle their jobs. This would place management not only in violation of the contract, but also in violation of the law that says X-ray technicians have to be licensed.

The workers told management they would not train the "volunteers," and the management has made no retaliatory moves.

• Union delegate Caryl Towner was harassed by her supervisors for handling grievances in the first few days after the strike. Finally, she received a written memorandum warning her to regain her "common sense" and "curtail all union activity on the job."

Delegates have the right to handle



N.Y. DEMOCRATS CAREY AND BEAME: Destroying education to 'save' it.

by Avon products. People directly from what's called "the world of finance"—Wall Street brokerage houses—were also named.

grievances on hospital time, and Towner informed management that she will continue to exercise that right.

• César "Tony" Vascones, the picketer who was savagely beaten in the Thirteenth Precinct police station, suffered additional harassment when he returned to the job. He called in sick the first day he was supposed to be back, and on the second day when he came in he was told he needed a note from a doctor to return to work.

When the doctor in charge of employee health saw the bruises on Vascones's body, he was outraged. The doctor quickly wrote a note, handed it to Vascones, and said, "Give this to them. If this is not enough, tell them to speak to me directly." Vascones was allowed to return to the job and will receive full pay for the day he called in sick.

1199ers harassed following NY strike

July burglary of SWP offices

FBI informer confesses Denver break-in

By Robert Spencer

DENVER—In a startling development, an FBI informer has been identified as the burglar who carted off files from the Socialist Workers party here.

The Justice Department in Washington has dispatched investigators to Denver as part of a broader probe into FBI burglaries around the country.

The disclosure of the FBI's involvement in the break-in also has major ramifications for the socialists' \$37 million lawsuit against government harassment.

At a July 28 emergency hearing in federal district court in New York, Judge Thomas Griesa issued an unprecedented order to the FBI to turn over to the socialists, before noon on July 30, all files in the FBI's possession relating to the informer and to the break-in. In a highly unusual step, Griesa specified the files be produced without any deletions by the FBI.

Judge Griesa brushed aside frantic objections from government lawyers that the release of the files would "damage the ongoing criminal investigation" into the burglary now being conducted by the Justice Department.

This is an "urgent matter," said Griesa. The FBI files on the informer, he added, are "of great relevance to this lawsuit."

The judge also rejected a motion by government lawyers to block the socialists' attorneys from interrogating the informer under oath.

Disproves Kelley's claim

The revelation that the FBI was involved in the burglary here, which occurred July 7, proves "completely false FBI Director Clarence Kelley's claim that the FBI no longer engages in illegal "intelligence gathering" activities. It also adds new weight to the socialists' charge that government informers are used to carry out criminal acts.

The informer, whose name is Timothy Redfern, has admitted that the FBI paid him \$400 a month for his work as a fink in the Denver chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance.

After news reports tagged Redfern as the burglar, YSA members visited his apartment and found it decorated with Nazi emblems. Redfern confessed his role in the burglary and provided some details of his activities as an informer.

Since then, however, Redfern has refused to answer questions from reporters.

The FBI link to the burglary was first publicly disclosed in the July 23 *Rocky Mountain News*, a major daily here. A front-page headline read, "Probers trying to learn if FBI was involved in burglary."

The next day, Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), flew here to collect facts about the FBI's role in the break-in. The defense fund is the civil liberties organization financing the socialists' suit.

This suit has already forced the FBI to admit that the SWP was the target of at least ninety-four burglaries between 1960 and 1966. Information on more recent burglaries, turned up as a result of court orders in the case, has sparked the Justice Department's inquiry into the FBI's continued use of burglaries to gather data on radicals.

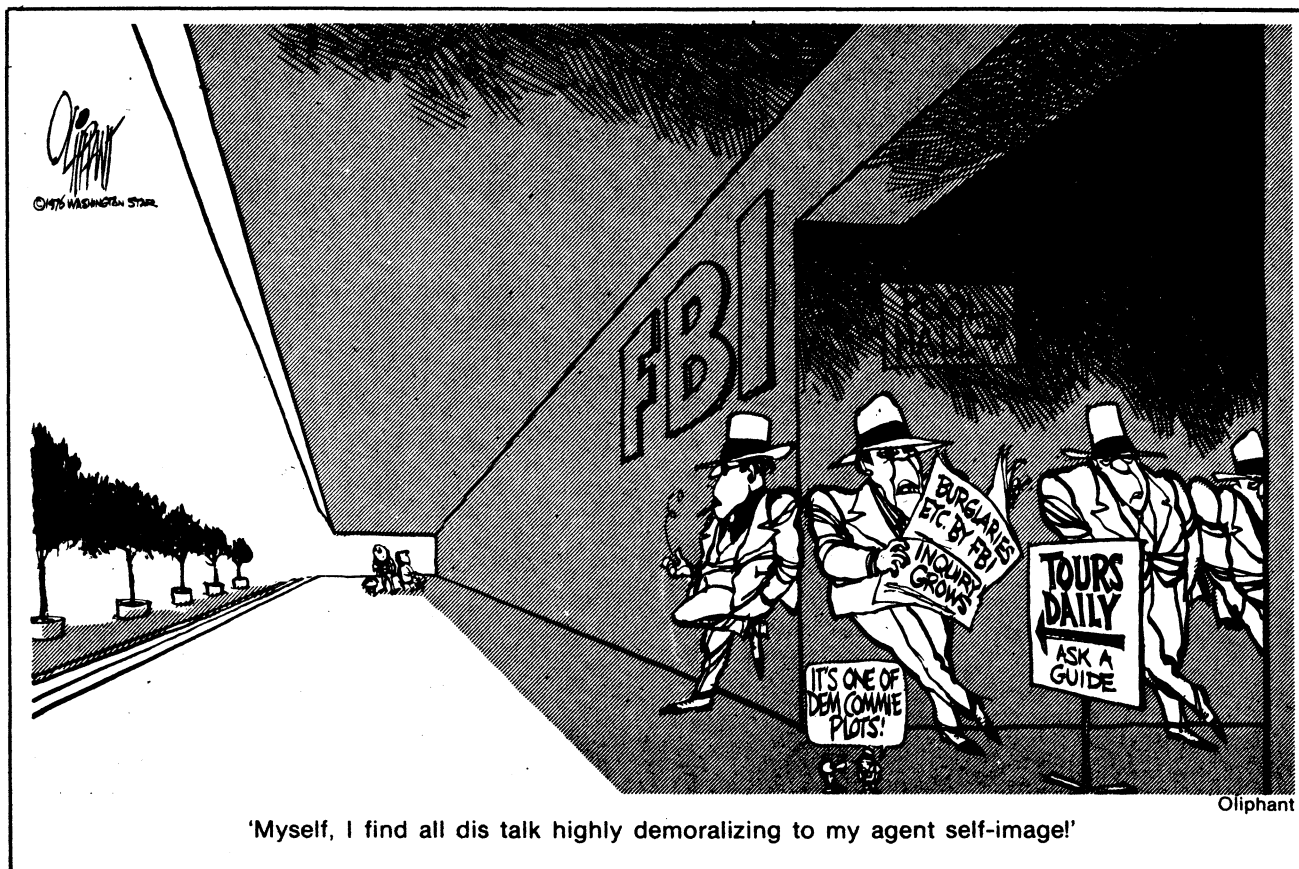
This investigation, which has tied several dozen FBI agents to criminal break-ins, has centered, according to news reports, on crimes that took place in 1972 and 1973. The decision to probe the Denver events is the first time that current FBI activities have been brought under the sweep of the inquiry.

New York Times reporter John Crewdson, in a July 27 dispatch from Washington, wrote, "The decision to send investigators to Denver was reportedly reached here last night after Justice Department lawyers learned of allegations by the informer, Timothy Redfern, that an F.B.I. agent in Denver had taken possession of four cartons of documents stolen from the party before the local authorities were notified of the burglary."

City officials in Denver were understood to have contacted the Justice Department directly to demand an investigation into FBI involvement in the break-in.

'Black bag' job

At a news conference on the day after the burglary, the Denver SWP had pointed out that the theft had all the earmarks of an FBI "black bag" job. However, an FBI official told reporters that the



bureau had "absolutely no knowledge of the break-in."

But on July 24, the *Rocky Mountain News* reported that Denver police chief Arthur Dill had said that the Special Agent in Charge of the Denver FBI had told police where the files could be found.

The whereabouts of the files when located by the police have been variously described as "a house" and "a car." The *Rocky Mountain News* reported that "a source" would not rule out the possibility that the files had been handled by Special Agents of the FBI.

Prior to the identification of Redfern in the newspapers, Denver cops had told SWP members that there were two suspects in the case, both Black, who were wanted for a series of other burglaries. However, the cops offered no explanation for why ordinary burglars would be interested in the files of the SWP.

Police Chief Dill was quoted as saying that the files were recovered after a "suspect" talked to a cop who had "some rapport" with him. Dill told the *Denver Post* that the cop in question had "some connection" with the burglary.

According to one version, the burglar had told the cops, "You can't arrest me, I'm an FBI agent."

Redfern has not yet been charged in the SWP break-in. He is reportedly already facing charges in connection with another burglary.

At a widely covered July 24 news conference here, the PRDF's Stapleton announced that attorneys for the socialists were preparing to take a deposition, a form of sworn testimony, from the Denver FBI Special Agent in Charge about his knowledge of the break-in. The SWP will also require the FBI to make available for depositions any other Special Agent with knowledge of events surrounding the break-in.

Rep. Schroeder asks inquiry

DENVER—U.S. Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.) has requested a "full investigation" by the Justice Department into the FBI's role in the July 7 burglary of the SWP offices. The request was made in a July 23 letter from Schroeder to U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi.

Schroeder also sent a letter to the Denver SWP supporting its call for an investigation. Said Schroeder, "Numerous investigations by Congress have demonstrated that agencies with police powers, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, have in the past grossly overstepped their legal authority."

Schroeder added, "The seemingly harmless break-in at the Democratic headquarters in Washington led to the entire Watergate fiasco. Surely, the political files of the Socialist Workers party must be held as sacred as those of the Republican or Democratic parties."

One G-man, John Almon, has been identified in the press here as Redfern's "control" or immediate supervisor.

"We intend to carry this investigation through to the end," Stapleton declared.

Juan José Peña, state chairperson of the New Mexico Raza Unida party, told the news conference that the break-in at the SWP headquarters was similar to break-ins of Raza Unida party offices in several counties in New Mexico. Peña was in town to speak at a conference on Chicano liberation sponsored by the SWP.

"It is very clear to us that agencies which are supposed to protect our rights are being utilized to harass those with ideals opposed to certain 'majority' groups in this country—specifically the Democratic and Republican parties," Peña said.

Priscilla Schenk, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Colorado's First Congressional District, told reporters the SWP would ask Colorado Democratic Sen. Gary Hart to use his position as a member of the Senate intelligence oversight committee to open an investigation and conduct hearings into the burglaries and other FBI attacks on socialists, Chicano activists, and others in Colorado.

Series of attacks

The July 7 burglary was only the latest in a series of acts of political harassment against the Denver socialists. The most serious occurred on April 5, when several shotgun blasts were fired into the SWP headquarters, breaking windows, damaging literature, and leaving the walls pocked with pellet holes. Since then the outside of the building has been vandalized several times.

In December 1973 the home of a member of the Young Socialist Alliance was burglarized while she was attending a YSA convention. Various political records and files were left in disorder.

In none of these cases have the police made any arrests or located any suspects.

This past Monday, July 26, the day Redfern's identity was exposed, a photograph of a Nazi poster was found pinned to the door of the YSA office at Metropolitan State College.

Stapleton told the *Militant*, "We don't know if Redfern is a lone Nazi sympathizer or part of some ultraright organization connected in some way with the cops or the FBI. In either case, this story is going to shed a great deal of light on the kinds of people the FBI employs as informers, and the kinds of activities they carry out."

Stapleton emphasized that if the FBI obeys the court order to produce its files on Redfern, it will be the first time in history that an FBI informer's file has been made public.

In her statement to the news conference here, SWP candidate Priscilla Schenk emphasized that "we intend to use every legal and political means available to us to demand a full investigation and to force the truth into the open. We urge all individuals and organizations who support civil liberties to join us in this vital effort."

August 26

ERA Day actions set

By Ginny Hildebrand

In many cities women's rights supporters are planning to commemorate the anniversary of ratification of the woman's suffrage amendment by making August 26 "Equal Rights Amendment Day."

In Philadelphia ERA supporters will gather August 26 at John F. Kennedy Plaza for a rally from 4:30 to 6:30 p.m.

Forty-five activists began to plan the Philadelphia event at a July 21 meeting. Participants included members of the National Organization for Women (NOW), National Black Feminist Organization, Women Strike for Peace, Socialist Workers party, several Black community churches, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Gay Activists Alliance, and the Women's Union.

Representing labor support for the ERA were members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and six unions, including National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees Local 1199C, Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Candle-bearing marchers will light up Broad Street in Newark, at midnight on August 26. Some demonstrators will wear ankle-length dresses as a reminder of the women who marched time and again until they'd won the right to vote. Newark, Essex County, and Montclair NOW chapters are organizing the action.

In Madison, Wisconsin, ERA supporters will march from the University of Wisconsin campus to the state

capitol on Saturday, August 28. The demonstration was called last month at a statewide convention of the National Organization for Women.

In neighboring Illinois, ERA supporters are angry that their legislature did not discuss and ratify the ERA during the spring. To dramatize the importance of speedy ratification, activists will hold their own legislative session in Chicago August 26. The event, organized by NOW, will also discuss employment and marriage rights.

Following the mock legislative session, NOW is sponsoring a concert at Northeastern University at 7:30 p.m. It will feature Ginnie Clemens and Margie Adams.

On August 29 in Chicago, women will portray the lives and contributions of outstanding American women at a "Women and Herstory" seminar. The event is being sponsored by the Militant Forum. (For time and place call (312) 939-0737.)

Cleveland office workers leaving their file cabinets, phones, and typewriters for lunch on August 26 will find a rally in Public Square. NOW chapters in the area are sponsoring the event. The welfare department chapter of AFSCME Local 1746 has endorsed the rally. Several women in the union have formed an ad hoc committee to publicize the event among workers in downtown office buildings.

As reported in earlier issues of the *Militant*, marches, debates, and picnics are also planned in Boston, New York, Atlanta, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Louisville, and Seattle.

NOW vigil in fourth week



Militant/Nancy Cole

In this bicentennial year women still don't have legal equality. This is the message of Equal Rights Amendment supporters holding a daily vigil at the White House this summer. Carolyn Maxon (above) is a member of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in Ames, Iowa. She interrupted her vacation in the capital to join the NOW vigil for a day. The protest began July 5 and will run until Saturday, August 28. On that day Washington, D.C., area NOW chapters are holding a "Shoulder to Shoulder" march around the White House to cap the summer activities in support of ERA ratification.

N.Y. parents: 'Day care, not welfare'

[The following interviews were conducted in mid-July. At the time, a court injunction preventing the closing of forty-nine child-care centers was in effect. On July 20, District Court Judge John Cannello lifted the injunction. The city could stop funding the centers, he said, since it had complied with his order to hold hearings on the cutbacks.]

[As of July 22, the Alianza Cívica Tropical day-care center (mentioned below) had shut down. Volunteers at some of the centers are trying to keep them operating.]

[Cliff Conner works in a preschool education program and is a member of the Socialist Workers party.]

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—Carmen Castillo is a Puerto Rican working mother. Her three-year-old son Emil has been enrolled in the Alianza Cívica Tropical day-care center in the Bronx. The city planned to close the Alianza and forty-eight other centers on July 1. However, a federal court order has delayed the closings.

I asked Carmen Castillo what happened when she found out her child's center was threatened.

"I had to find another center. If I don't have someplace to keep him during the day, I'll have to stay home. I won't be able to work and I'll have to go on welfare."

"I don't understand why they're doing this. I read in *El Diario* [New York City Spanish-language daily] that it would cost less to keep the day-care centers open than to pay for the welfare checks for all of us who have to quit working."

I asked if she'd been able to locate another center for Emil.

"Yes, but it didn't work out. I only took him there for two weeks. He



Militant/Martha Harris

started having emotional problems; he would cry every morning when I left him and when I came back in the afternoon he'd be crying again.

"I went once in the middle of the day to see how he was doing; he didn't know I was watching. He was just sitting there, not playing with the other kids or anything. He wouldn't even go outdoors to play. And he'd always been very happy at the other center."

"Why the change?" I asked.

"Well, the Alianza is the only bilingual center anywhere close to here. Emil was the only Spanish-speaking child in his group at the new center. None of the teachers could speak Spanish. He was miserable."

With the federal court injunction temporarily keeping the Alianza center open, Emil is back there again.

I spoke to Rebecca Soto, whose three-year-old daughter Kimara also attends the Alianza center. What would she do if the cutbacks forced Kimara out of the day-care program?

"It would be really rough," said the

mother, a bank teller in the South Bronx. "I have to work. I guess I'd have to get a baby-sitter."

"What would that cost?" I asked.

"At least twenty-five dollars a week. It would probably cost me more than a quarter of my take-home pay. But I'd have to do it if they closed the day-care centers."

Rebecca Soto is also anxious over the educational loss Kimara would suffer.

"These centers are very good for children. They're not just being watched all day. They're learning things at the same time. They're learning what it's like to be around other kids their own age."

I spoke with several women as they came to pick up their children at Greenwich House in lower Manhattan. City funds for this center aren't enough to correct violations of the city's standards. This means the center could lose its license when it's reviewed in November.

Donna Hundley-Jackson is working on a college degree. If the city closes the doors of Greenwich House to her

daughter Aishah, it will also shut off her own educational plans.

It's the same story for Arlene Cassario. "It would put me out of school," she said. A job would also be out of the question: "There's no alternative—there'd be nobody to take care of Yvonne and John but me."

Denyse Robinson would also be in a real bind. "I'd have to find a way to keep working—I'm not financially able to quit my job—but I don't know what I'd do. My mother might be able to take care of Christina for me. But she runs a restaurant and that's not the best place for a child to be all day every day. I can't get a baby-sitter because the ones I've checked into charge as much as a salary for a regular job."

Finally, I buttonholed a day-care teacher, Michelle Vallon, as she was leaving Greenwich House for the day. She told me that even though her center is still open, the budget cuts have diminished the quality of care. Children transferring from closed centers have swelled enrollment at Greenwich House. Meanwhile, layoffs are shrinking the numbers of professionally trained staff members.

Money for transportation and activities has been cut to the bone: children can go on field trips and outings only if their parents send money to cover expenses. The food budget has been severely slashed, the parents' activity funds are gone completely, and the family counselors have all been sacked.

Hildreth Battiste, the center's director, said "sweat, toil, and love for Greenwich House" has inspired parents and teachers to organize one benefit after another. They hope to bring in enough money to correct violations so the center can hold onto its license.

As Battiste put it, "We're trying to stay alive any way we can."

Issues facing AFT

How can teachers defend jobs, wages, schools?

By Jeff Mackler

The annual convention of the 475,000-member American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, will convene in Bal Harbour, Florida, August 16-20. More than 3,000 delegates are expected to attend.

The convention follows a year of turmoil for teachers. The AFT national office reports that more than 40,000 teachers received end-of-the-year termination notices in the fourteen states where AFT membership is greatest.

Jeff Mackler is the organizer of AFT Local 1423 in Hayward, California, and a delegate to the AFT convention.

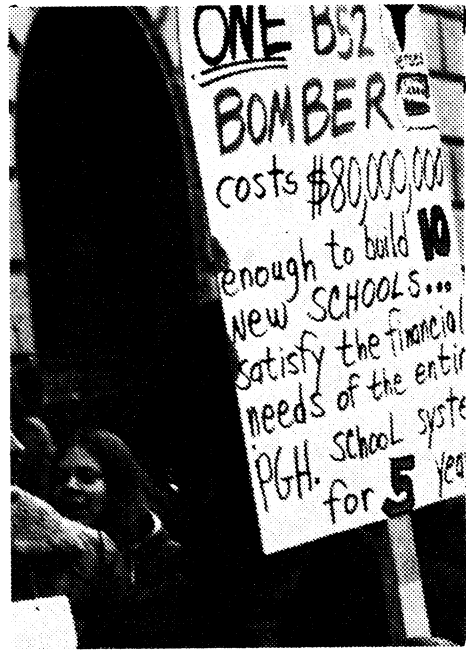
Eleven thousand were fired in New York, 10,000 in Michigan, and 6,000 in California.

During 1975, 200,000 AFT members—40 percent of the entire union—were forced to strike. All of the strikes were defensive actions to forestall layoffs, to save existing contracts, or to win modest salary adjustments that failed to match the increased cost of living.

In many school districts teachers have suffered severe setbacks. In Berkeley, California, nearly 20 percent of the teachers have been fired. These layoffs are racially discriminatory. Fully 70 percent of those laid off in Berkeley are Blacks, Chicanos, or other minorities—hired in past years through affirmative-action programs. The pattern is the same throughout the country.

Unfortunately, AFT officials have failed to draw the lessons of the disastrous experiences of recent years, or to organize any effective defense of teachers' interests.

The theme of this year's convention, "Teachers in Politics: the American



Militant/Fred Stanton

Striking Pittsburgh teacher last December has good idea on school financing, but AFT President Albert Shanker supports Democrats' and Republicans' squandering of billions on war budget.

Heritage—the American Dream,” is geared to mobilize the resources of the AFT to support those same politicians who have been directly responsible for the drive to weaken or break public employee unions.

Although the presidential candidates of both the Democratic and Republican parties have been invited to address the delegates, no one has any doubt that the AFT tops will introduce a motion to endorse Democrat Jimmy Carter. AFT President Albert Shanker and other union leaders will join with Carter in placing full blame for the state of the economy on the Ford administration. This is conscious deception.

As a delegate to the recent Democrat-



ic party convention, Shanker pleaded with its platform committee for a full-employment economy. At the same time his Democratic “friends of labor” in New York City were voting to fire additional thousands of teachers and other public employees.

While Shanker urged the Democrats in Washington to support federal collective bargaining legislation, his own union's contract was being torn up by local Democrats.

While Shanker calls for greater funding for education, union-endorsed Democratic politicians from coast to coast are slashing school budgets.

The truth of the matter is that both the Democrats and the Republicans are engaged in a direct attack on the

standard of living of working people, in order to better ensure the profits of those who control these parties—the giant corporations and the rich.

The AFT officialdom's political ties to these antilabor politicians cripple the union's ability to resist the assault on education.

An alternative to this dead-end strategy will be presented to the convention through a resolution introduced by the Hayward Federation of Teachers in California.

The resolution calls on the AFT to “use its resources now employed to elect Democratic and Republican ‘friends’ of education and labor to instead encourage labor's political break from these two parties through independent labor campaigns, making labor the political champion of this country's poor and working millions.”

This resolution was prompted by the experience of Hayward and other California teachers with Democratic Gov. Edmund “Jerry” Brown and innumerable other Democrats. Brown, who was billed by both the California Federation of Teachers and the California Teachers Association as education's friend, began his career as governor by slashing school finance measures, eliminating 6,000 teaching jobs, and effectively freezing salaries for those who remain.

In discussing a strategy to counter these attacks, Hayward teachers also considered the crisis of school finances. More and more teachers are finding themselves engaged in self-defeating battles with working people in their own communities as they join in strained alliances with local school boards to support tax increases to fund schools.

The funds to maintain and improve education ought to come out of the

Continued on page 30

Local leaders campaign for AFT to back busing

By Jeff Mackler

The debate on school busing at the American Federation of Teachers convention will be crucial for the future of the union.

The racist campaign to block school desegregation through busing is part of the nationwide assault on public education. Teachers have a vital stake in fighting all aspects of this assault.

Defending the right of Black and other minority students to attend desegregated schools is the only way the AFT can expect to win the trust and support of minority communities, support we urgently need.

Last year's AFT convention witnessed a sharp retreat on this question when AFT President Albert Shanker and the AFT executive board fought to defeat all resolutions supporting school busing for desegregation.

Shanker told the delegates that the AFT did not know whether busing was

“the best way to desegregate Boston schools or Chicago schools or Cleveland or California or anywhere else.” He argued that the problem was not busing but rather the need for funds to improve substandard schools.

Obviously we need billions of dollars to improve the schools. But Black students have the right to an equal, desegregated education now—not sometime in the distant future. Shanker's arguments echo the racist “separate but equal” doctrine of the last century.

Tragically, the Boston AFT filed suit last year to overturn key aspects of the court-ordered desegregation plan in that city. Instead of counseling the Boston local on this mistaken course, the Shanker leadership reinforced it.

Shanker opposed a resolution to call on the government to physically defend Black students in Boston being brutalized by racist mobs. “Boston

today is not Little Rock,” Shanker said. But AFL-CIO President George Meany has taken the opposite position. Meany has spoken out strongly on the need for the labor movement to support busing.

After last year's convention, a group of AFT local officers and leaders throughout the United States formed an ad hoc AFT Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education. The committee has spent the past year organizing support for a probusing resolution that will be introduced by several locals and state federations at the AFT convention.

More than 120 AFT officers have endorsed the resolution, including AFT local presidents in California, Minnesota, Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan, Washington, D.C., Louisiana, Indiana, Florida, and elsewhere.

In a mailing sent to all 2,200 AFT locals, the committee pointed out, “It is clear that we are witnessing a growing attack on school desegregation. There is no doubt that efforts to seek a constitutional amendment to prevent busing and the president's stated opposition to the law of the land, have emboldened racist individuals and organizations. The result has been a concerted effort to resist, sometimes with organized violence, school desegregation plans throughout the country. For these reasons, it is imperative that the AFT act now to reaffirm its commitment to desegregation through busing.”

The national NAACP has agreed to send Michael Myers, its assistant director, to address a meeting at the convention sponsored by the AFT Committee on Desegregation and

Equality in Education. This indicates the high priority the civil rights group gives to winning the AFT to a strong probusing stand.

The AFT's current “no position” on busing is tantamount to endorsing the inequality that exists throughout this country, with schools in minority communities kept far below the standards for white schools.

Delegates to the coming AFT convention will have the opportunity to weigh and reverse this backward stance. Doing so will be an important step toward putting the AFT on a course of fighting together with the minority communities for better education for all students.



Militant/Joseph Ryan

'Be it resolved...'

The resolution drafted for the AFT convention by the Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education proposes the following:

“Be it resolved that:

“1. The AFT affirm its support for busing to achieve desegregated schools and help achieve equal educational opportunity.

“2. The AFT continue to support all efforts for massive federal funding of public education, including remedial and bilingual education programs, as the only means to

raise the standard of education and improve the classroom conditions of teachers and students.

“3. The AFT encourage its local affiliates to actively support and participate in efforts to desegregate public schools through busing.

“4. The AFT call for the full intervention of local, state, and national authorities when racist elements seek by force to prevent Black students from attending desegregated schools.

“5. The AFT publish this resolution in the *American Teacher*.”

Free Gary Tyler

The 1,000 demonstrators at the July 24 Free Gary Tyler rally in New Orleans set an important example of how to defend the victims of racist police and government frame-ups. The demonstration was a crucial component of the legal and political struggle necessary to win the eighteen-year-old Black youth's freedom.

Particularly noteworthy was the turnout of young Blacks mobilized by the Gary Tyler Freedom Fighters and the New Orleans Student Coalition Against Racism.

The steadfast determination of Gary Tyler's family and his defense committee have tapped the energies and creative abilities of a new generation fighting for its freedom from racist injustice.

The New Orleans action showed the potential for a truly massive national defense on Gary Tyler's behalf. His case has become a symbol of Black oppression in this society.

All of Gary Tyler's supporters should unite to reach out to thousands more in a fight to get him out of prison.

Dems fight for jobs

On July 22, the Democratic-controlled "veto proof" Congress finally mustered enough votes to override a presidential veto. By big margins in both houses they authorized spending \$4 billion for public works jobs.

But don't rush down to the state employment service yet. There are 10 million unemployed. At best, 260,000 jobs will be created by this bill. It'll make a dent in unemployment charts that you'll need a microscope to see.

A few months ago, Congress approved a \$6 billion version of the bill, which is still pretty stingy. Ford vetoed that as inflationary, and apparently the Democrats agreed. They upheld the veto.

It's not that Congress is getting thrifty with our money. Just a couple of weeks before enacting the jobs bill, they voted \$32 billion for new weapons, including \$1 billion to start building the B-1 bomber. They're not misers when it comes to big bucks for big business.

In all fairness to the Democrats in Congress, though, it should be noted that they are quite serious about some jobs—their own. This fall they're going to campaign as the party that's against unemployment, and they hope the \$4 billion will at least keep them from the jobless lines.

An alternative

A refreshing contrast to the Democrats' jobs-for-Democrats plan this year is the program being put forward by the candidates of the Socialist Workers party. They have ideas for providing jobs that are reasonable and workable: For example, scrap the \$115 billion war budget for useless armaments and use the money to put the unemployed to work providing things we really need—such as schools, hospitals, cleaning up the environment.

The Democrats' convention is over and the Republicans' is coming up. This summer the big news media are devoting full attention to these carnivals. But there's another convention that they won't be saying much about. That's the SWP convention.

The socialists will be talking about a variety of proposals. They will be developing a strategy that can defeat the drive by the two capitalist parties to roll back our standard of living and democratic rights.

In contrast to the Democrats, who refused to allow even a couple of hours to talk about the issues, the socialists will discuss at length what can be done to defend the interests of Blacks, women, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans.

This is because the SWP—unlike the two parties of big business—is organized by working people to fight for their own interests.

If you like the ideas of the socialists and are interested in seeing what an SWP convention looks like, contact the SWP branch nearest you in the Socialist Directory on page 31.

And for news about a different kind of convention this summer, look for coming issues of the *Militant*.

Likes China series

I would like to compliment the *Militant* on the special feature series on China by Dick Roberts. This is a very valuable addition to the paper's comprehensive analysis and reporting on the international workers movement.

I hope that you will be able to include a series of similar comparison to the China series on the Moscow Stalinists. While the special news items in the World Outlook section are great, a series of articles would be helpful even if they were limited to the one topic of the Stalinists' bureaucratic manipulations, such as light and heavy industry.

I would also like to add my voice to those who have written the *Militant* in favor of the new cover format.

Jim Callahan
Portland, Oregon

[Editor's note—As planned, the series of articles on China will include analyses of Soviet society. This week's installment takes up the question of the evolution of the Stalin regime.]

St. Louis teachers picket

Three hundred persons demonstrated recently at a picket line sponsored by American Federation of Teachers Local 420, the St. Louis Teachers Union, to protest the failure of the board of education to come to an agreement on a contract for the coming school year.

The main issue involved is salaries. The base pay of teachers is now \$8,500 and the union is asking \$10,500. The board has offered a complicated and inadequate schedule of pay raises.

The board also tried to scrap the sick-leave policy and is attempting to force teachers to take additional course work or perform fifty hours of "community service" in order to be eligible for raises.

The executive board of the union has passed a resolution calling for a "no contract, no work" position and will recommend that teachers vote for a strike at a mass meeting called for September 6 if there is still no agreement.

The general feeling among union members is that the board of education is trying to provoke a strike and weaken the union. In board propaganda they cite the Supreme Court ruling upholding the firing of striking teachers and a Missouri court decision voiding the right of collective bargaining for teachers that was won in the St. Louis teachers' strike in 1973.

Helen St. John
St. Louis, Missouri

Inhuman prison conditions

On June 18, 1976, approximately seventy men were forced to peacefully protest the inhuman practice of placing five and six men into cells that were designed for only four men by having themselves placed in the segregation unit here at Stateville Penitentiary.

They chose to place themselves in segregation rather than allow the administration here to pack them into these tiny cells like sardines. They chose this alternative only after their pleas went unheard by the officials.

The men who chose this alternative were mostly college and high school students. Some were within a semester of receiving their hard-won degrees.

Due to their protest they are threatened with being transferred from their educational assignments.

Human beings are being literally packed into tiny cells. The

administration here cares less whether this overcrowding will permit us to live like human beings, and they show no respect for basic human rights.

Unless we can generate some concern from our brothers and sisters in the community we are in an almost hopeless state.

We are asking that those of you who read this and would like to assist us in our struggle to gain our elementary human rights, write letters to the governor of this state and to the director of the department of corrections demanding that they put a stop to the overcrowding and that they return the peaceful protesters to their original assignments. With your help we can win.

Letters can be written to: Gov. Daniel Walker, Office of the Governor, Illinois State Capitol Building, Springfield, Illinois 62706, or Director, Illinois Department of Corrections, 201 Armory Building, Springfield, Illinois, 62706.

The Spark Collective
Joliet, Illinois

[The *Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.]

Aborted reader

My subscription is not to be renewed due to your views promoting killing 750,000 babies a year by abortion. Social justice and civil rights begin at birth.

G.W.
Evansville, Indiana

Lozada for Congress

I was very happy to read Jeff Powers's article on Froben Lozada (*Militant*, June 18), Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress.

What Powers did not mention was Froben's ability—especially with Chicano audiences—to popularize Marxist *dichos* (old sayings) within the Chicano movement. I remember when many of his concise explanations about Democrats, racists, and the system were incorporated—uncredited—into Raza Unida literature.

Probably the most wonderful thing about Froben is his rapport with Chicanos. In 1971, I traveled with him through South Texas and attended a barbecue held in his honor and attended by several hundred people. The respect and esteem in which he was held at that and other subsequent events have convinced me that he is one of the, if not *the*, most loved Chicano socialists.

I certainly urge people in the Ninth District in Oakland to support Froben Lozada for Congress.

Mariana Hernández-Alarcón
East Los Angeles, California

Northeastern U.'s Dr. Stern

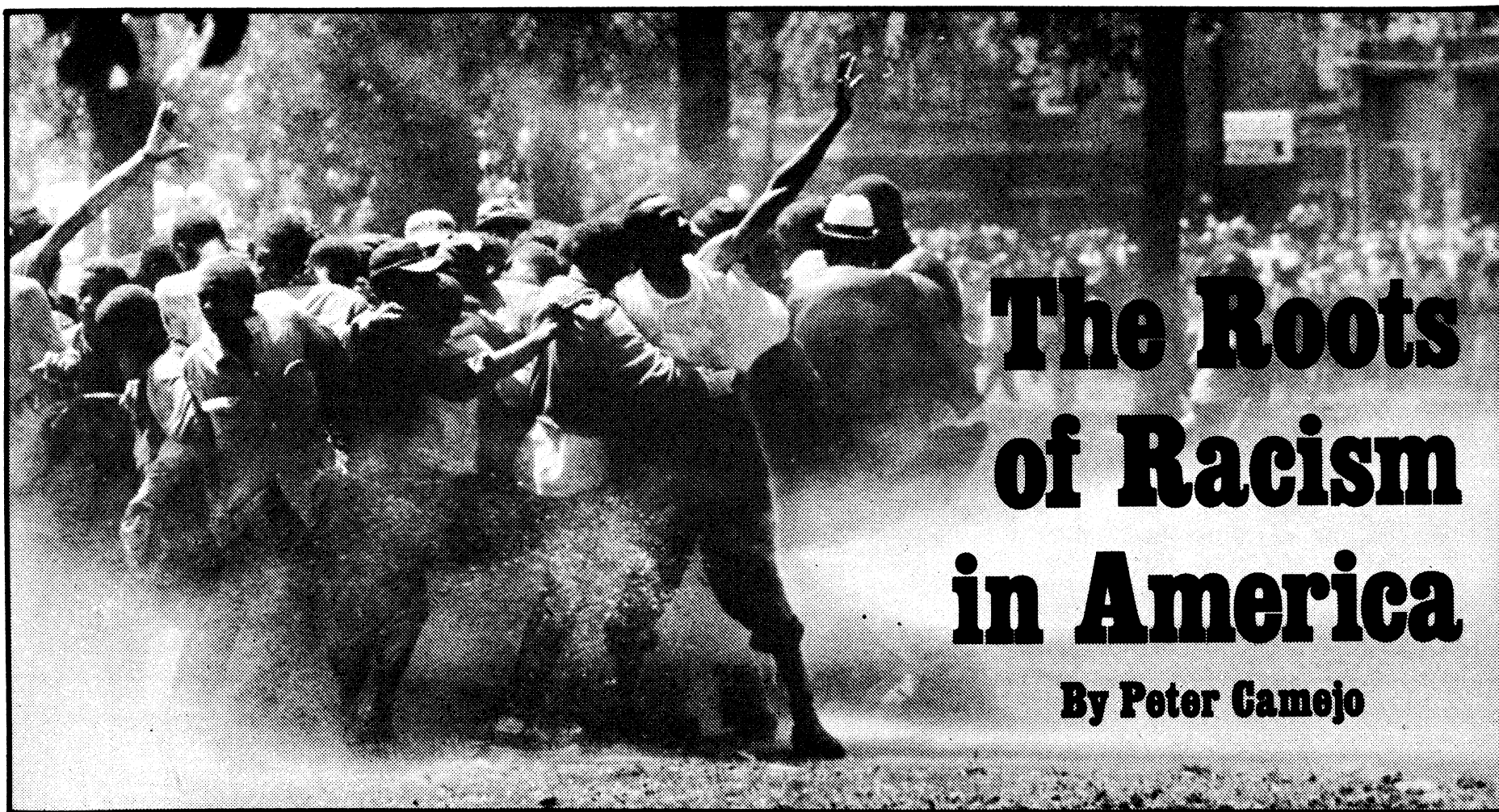
The headline that appeared on my article (*Militant*, July 23) concerning the attempt to fire Northeastern Prof. Daniel Stern was very misleading. The headline read, "Prof faces dismissal for exposing Pentagon spy." Dr. Stern never accused Samuel Betances of being a spy.

He exposed the fact of Betances's employment as a paid consultant for the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI). In this capacity Betances gave

international **socialist** review

Trade-union Democracy-- Past and Future

**Frank Lovell discusses
three versions of
American trade-union history**



The Roots of Racism in America

By Peter Camejo

Bob Adelman

**First Time in English:
Letter From Trotsky on Antifascist Struggle**

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Meaning of Death Penalty

The U.S. Supreme Court ruling upholding the death penalty was a major blow to human rights. Under the terms of this decision, more than 300 people face the electric chair, the gas chamber, and other barbaric methods of official murder.

The media have attempted to portray the court decision and the state death penalty laws that preceded it as a concession to "public opinion." In reality it is the fruit of a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign by the capitalist rulers. In pressing for restoration of the death penalty Democratic and Republican party politicians and propagandists have sought to stir up racist resentments against Blacks, who are supposedly the "criminals" who are "getting off easy" in the courts.

Thus the reinstitution of the death penalty is consistent with the attacks on school desegregation, discriminatory layoffs, and attacks on social services. It is part and parcel of the general racist offensive that is an aspect of the current attack on the living standards and rights of all working people in this country.

The Supreme Court decision reflects a decision by the ruling class to strengthen its legal and extralegal instruments of terror in order to preserve an unjust and outmoded system. The reinstitution of the death penalty in the name of "law and order" is consistent with the refusal of federal and local governments to defend the basic legal rights of Blacks against fascist and ultraright hoodlums in Boston and Chicago. This basic policy explains why the court has defied civilized world opinion by upholding capital punishment.

In this country, revulsion against the death penalty has been growing among working people for many decades. After 1967, the use of capital punishment was held in abeyance under the impact of the widespread opposition to official violence and injustice sparked by the civil rights and antiwar movements.

The mass sentiment against capital punishment is reflected by the fact that even advocates of the death penalty like Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan have been strangely silent on the question since the court decision. They sense that a posture of cheering the impending bloodbath will not help them with the voters.

The majority decision, written by Justice Stewart, stated sanctimoniously, "Capital punishment is an expression of society's moral outrage at particularly offensive conduct." The real meaning of the death penalty can be seen by examining the kind of "particularly offensive conduct" that has been punished in this way in the past.

Throughout the history of class society, the

death penalty has been a weapon used by the ruling class to defend its wealth, power, rank, and privileges against the great majority. The United States has been no exception to this rule.

In 1887 August Spies and other leaders of the Chicago labor movement were executed on false charges of murder as a result of the Haymarket bombing. Their real "offensive conduct" had been organizing demonstrations for the eight-hour working day.

The death penalty was used in 1927 against Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Italian-born anarchists who were framed up on charges of robbery and murder during the post-World War I witch-hunt. Their real "crime" was refusing to give up their revolutionary views.

The Rosenbergs were electrocuted in 1953 because they refused to help the FBI frame up others on phony "spy" charges.

Today the death penalty is used to intimidate Black youths like Gary Tyler who stand up to the racist authorities and refuse to confess to crimes they did not commit.

But there are other actions that do not at all constitute "particularly offensive conduct" in the eyes of the cops, courts, and politicians.

The engineers of the Vietnam War, who are responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese and 50,000 Americans, have gone unpunished.

William Calley and the top brass responsible for the My Lai massacre are also free. Jimmy Carter, an advocate of capital punishment as a "deterrent," declared "American Fighting Men's Day" in Georgia in response to Calley's conviction in 1971.

Real estate operator Bernard Bergman—who forced elderly people to live and die in subhuman conditions in his nursing-home chain—is in no danger of execution. He has been sentenced to four months in jail.

The CIA's professional assassins have nothing to fear from the court's decision.

The cops who shoot down dozens of Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans each year in the streets of our cities will not feel "deterred."

The struggle against the death penalty will be advanced by efforts to expose the frame-ups of Gary Tyler, J.B. Johnson, Stanton Story, and other Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Native American activists. Massive protests can stay the hands of the executioners.

Opponents of the death penalty can also support Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice president, who are fighting for a society in which capital punishment will be only a dim memory from a barbaric past.

Blow to Apartheid

The world was shaken by the upsurge of South Africa's Black masses that exploded in Soweto in June. Thousands of Black workers and youth rebelled against the racist system in South Africa known as apartheid.

The rebellion spread from Soweto—a Black city with a population of about one million on the fringes of Johannesburg—to Black com-

munities across South Africa. Black university students rose up, holding demonstrations, occupations, and other actions.

Significantly, white students and Black workers demonstrated together in defense of the Soweto rebellion in the streets of Johannesburg.

The South African regime admitted gunning down 174 Blacks during the rebellion. Doctors' reports indicate the real death toll could be twice that number. An official statement issued June 25 admits that 1,298 persons, including many children, were arrested during the protests. Massive arrests and detentions directed against all forms of opposition to apartheid continue.

This repression has not snuffed out the militancy of the South African masses. Their strikes, demonstrations, and other protests are rooted in a deep crisis for South African imperialism that could lead to the toppling of the apartheid regime.

South African imperialism has suffered important setbacks in southern Africa. In Angola, it was militarily defeated by the MPLA and Cuban forces, and politically defeated by the international opposition that prevented the United States from coming to its rescue.

In Zimbabwe, called Rhodesia by its white settlers, the South African masses see the example of growing mobilization against a white-settler regime whose days are clearly numbered.

Meanwhile, the social and political power and the confidence of the Black majority in South Africa are growing. Today there are more than seven million Black workers in South Africa, concentrated in urban areas like Soweto. The increased industrialization of South Africa has given them increasingly decisive positions in that country's economy.

The "new policy" for Africa, heralded by Kissinger during his visit to Africa and his meeting with South African Prime Minister John Vorster, is aimed at squeezing out more time for the apartheid regime and enlisting the neocolonial states in southern Africa such as Tanzania, Mozambique, and Zambia in the job of helping to curb the liberation struggles.

Washington fears that the collapse of the South African regime would threaten the profitable investments of U.S. capitalists in the apartheid economy. Washington fears that the example of the freedom fight in South Africa will fuel the struggles not only by Blacks in the rest of Africa, but also by millions of Black people in the United States.

The labor movement, students, and civil rights organizations in this country have an important responsibility. We have to build a movement to expose and protest Washington's role in propping up the South African racist regime.

The first thing opponents of apartheid around the world can do is demand the release of the thousands of political prisoners held by the South African government because they support Black equality. South Africa's Blacks are entitled to the basic democratic rights to protest, demonstrate, and organize to fight the racist regime. An international campaign to free these people will be an important assist to the struggle for freedom and equality for South Africa's Black millions.

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The *International Socialist Review* appears in the *Militant* that is published the first week of every month.

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Trade-union Democracy--Past and Future

Frank Lovell contrasts the versions of American labor history put forward in recent books by Victor Reuther, Frank Marquart, and Farrell Dobbs.

The Brothers Reuther and the Story of the UAW/A Memoir, by Victor G. Reuther. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1976.

An Auto Worker's Journal The UAW from Crusade to One-Party Union, by Frank Marquart. Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park and London, 1975.

Teamster Politics, by Farrell Dobbs (third of four-volume series on the Teamsters union). Monad Press, 1975.

By Frank Lovell

Unions were originally voluntary associations of workers organized to protect themselves against unjust employer-imposed work rules and to demand higher wages and a better standard of living. The organizers envisaged a broad reorganization of society and the establishment of a more just government by the vast majority—a government controlled by the working class instead of the employing class.

The early CIO movement of the 1930s was a mass crusade, animated with the same fervor for radical social change that inspired the first unions a century earlier. Yet today the unions are bureaucratized almost beyond recognition. How did this happen?

The above books deal with union democracy in the United Auto Workers union and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Taken together, they describe and explain how the will of the majority asserted itself in the formative years of the modern labor movement, and the process by which this majority involvement and control was eroded.

The authors deal with many other problems besides union democracy, but this issue brings most of the others together.

Reuther and Marquart seek formal guarantees of union democracy—or of a state of affairs within the unions that *they define* as union democracy. Dobbs, on the other hand, explains the class-struggle policy that is necessary to keep the democratic process active and viable.

These accounts of the union movement in the turbulent half-decade before World War II agree on most of the essential facts, but disagree on their meaning.

There is no disagreement, for example, that the new, industrial unions of those years were organized and led in class battles by radical workers, who belonged to the Socialist party, the Communist party, and the revolutionary socialist forces who in 1938 formed the Socialist Workers party.

What happened to shape the unions during World War II and since is a disputed subject. But Marquart, Reuther, and Dobbs would agree that the UAW and the Teamsters are less democratic today than in the upsurge of the 1930s.

The Reuther Brothers

Victor Reuther tells the story of *The Brothers Reuther*—himself, Walter, and Roy—participants in the leadership of the UAW from the formation of the union until 1972, when Roy and Walter were dead and Victor retired. It is an interesting story.

The account of the Detroit police and FBI

Frank Lovell is the national trade-union director of the Socialist Workers party. He has been a member of the United Auto Workers union since 1955, and was a leader of the Detroit branch of the SWP in the 1950s and 1960s. Previously, he was a member of the Carpenters union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

involvement in assassination attempts on both Walter and Victor shows the extreme means that are used by the employers and their agents to impose their control upon unions and to destroy them if possible. But few new facts about the development of the UAW and the role of the Reuthers are revealed.

Their story is told in the way Victor Reuther would like it to be remembered: the early socialist commitment of the Reuthers (lightly glossed over); their support of Roosevelt's war policy (which Reuther tries to distinguish from jingoistic support of the war and wholesale surrender of union rights by the Stalinists); their struggle for control of the UAW at the 1946 and 1947 conventions (presented as a principled programmatic struggle conducted in the interest of union democracy); their postwar involvement with the State Department and the CIA in their intervention in the affairs of European and Latin American countries (described as an honest effort to advance the cause of unionism and working-class needs as opposed to the subversive aims of the CIA and George Meany); the AFL-CIO merger in 1955 and the UAW disaffiliation in 1968 (presented as an attempt to unify the union movement that failed because of the reactionary policies of the Meany gang.)

Victor Reuther wants to be known and remembered as a champion of union democracy. He tells about the 1937 sit-down strikes in Flint, Michigan, at the General Motors plants, and the important part he and Roy played in those strikes. He recalls the determination of the strikers, their solidarity in action, the confidence of the leaders, and the democratic participation of the vast majority that was essential to the success of the sit-down strikes. However, he hides the treacherous role of Michigan Gov. Frank Murphy, who conspired with General Motors to end the occupation of the plants without recognizing the UAW.

Reuther describes the CIO as a crusade, which it was; he says the UAW never became "a simple bread and butter union." The UAW, more than any of the other CIO unions, retained the crusading spirit, he says. It never lost the social consciousness that inspired the early organizing drives.

Under the leadership of the Reuther caucus the UAW during the postwar years championed the cause of oppressed Blacks (Walter Reuther marched at Selma, Alabama, with Martin Luther King); it supported the antiwar movement against the U.S. policy in Vietnam (Victor Reuther and UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey helped organize the Labor Assembly for Peace and urged a negotiated settlement in Vietnam, but not withdrawal of U.S. troops); it endorsed and helped finance the United Farm Workers union under the leadership of César Chávez (Walter Reuther marched with Chávez at Delano, California); it incorporated most of the democratic forms adopted in the early years (the establishment of a Public Review Board to guard against bureaucratic violations of democratic procedures is Reuther's guarantee of union democracy).

This is the image the Reuthers sought to project, and with some success. The UAW under the leadership of Walter Reuther was seen by many as the most democratic union in the world, a union that sought to defend the interests of the working class and worked for social betterment.

Victor Reuther describes the UAW as a crusade that never ended, that continued until the untimely death of Walter Reuther in an airplane crash in 1970. The farsighted leadership of the Reuther administration supposedly guaranteed that the UAW crusade for "social equity" will continue. That is the public relations version of UAW history that Victor Reuther helped create and seeks to preserve. It looks smooth from the outside.

Seamy Side of UAW History

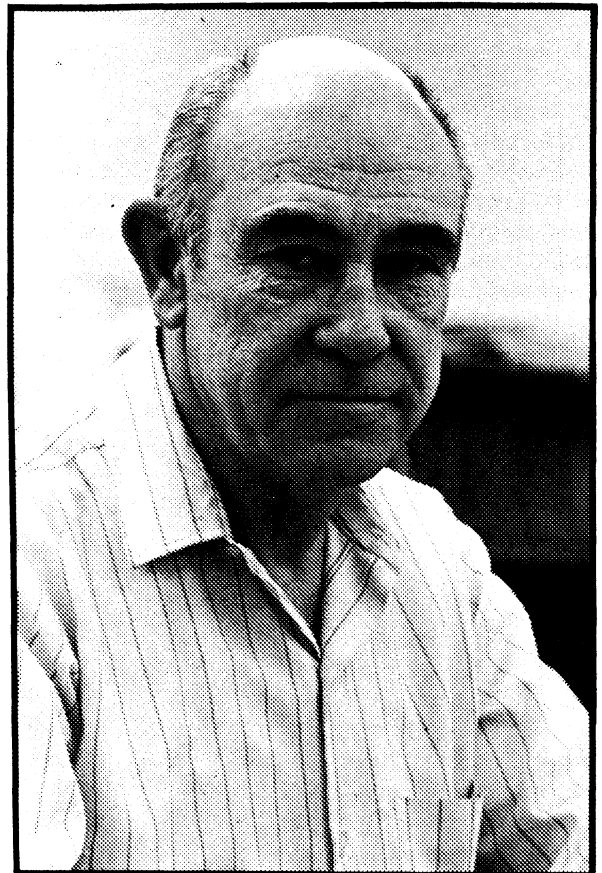
Frank Marquart tells a different story. There is

a seamy side to UAW history. This is the side Marquart saw for most of the twenty-seven years he worked for the union, long associated with the education staff. His short volume is a collection of remembrances and retrospective commentary. There are serious lapses of memory on his part, but his impression of the UAW are closer to the truth than Reuther's version. Marquart tries to tell how the UAW was transformed from a democratic union into a bureaucratized institution.

Both Reuther and Marquart tell about the pre-CIO period in the auto industry. Marquart began his working life in a Detroit auto plant in 1914, at age fourteen. Walter Reuther got a job as a toolmaker in the Ford Highland Park plant in 1927.

The Reuthers and Marquart were active in Detroit radical circles in the early 1930s, but there is no evidence that they knew each other until later. Marquart was older. He associated with radical worker groups—the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the Proletarian party, and some Socialist party study circles. He read Marx and Engels, also books by Daniel DeLeon and Karl Kautsky.

The Reuthers identified more closely with the radical students of those years, and were active in 1930 in organizing the Social Problems Club (affiliated with the League for Industrial Democ-



FRANK LOVELL

Mary Jo Hendrickson

racy) at the College of the City of Detroit (now Wayne State University). They read books by Upton Sinclair, Will Durant, Stuart Chase, H.G. Wells, Gustavus Meyers, and other popular debunkers of the capitalist system. They organized campus meetings for Scott Nearing, Harry Laidler, Norman Thomas, and other socialist agitators.

The radical movement of the early 1930s had its roots in the pre-World War I Debsian socialist movement, strongly influenced by the 1917 Russian revolution, and fired by the 1929 economic crisis. Most radicals looked to the planned economy of the Soviet Union as an alternative to capitalist anarchy.

We find Marquart and the Reuthers together inside the Socialist party after the successful sit-down strikes of 1937. Both writers report some of the same incidents, and relate common experiences, but Marquart (who in Reuther's book is "Marquardt") reveals more of the political life of the SP than Reuther does. His *Journal* is put together like a series of slides flashed on a screen showing what he saw inside the SP and inside

the union apparatus while the UAW was being converted from a crusade to what he calls a one-party union.

He takes us inside the Detroit SP in 1937-38 where there were two branches, one for UAW members and the other for lawyers, teachers, small businessmen, etc. We see Mannie Seidler, SP organizer, angrily telling Marquart, "Walter Reuther is a power-hungry bastard who wants to become president of the UAW, and those guys around him like Woodcock and Mazey are opportunists who are using the Socialist Party as a training ground to promote their union careers!"

Looking back on that incident, Marquart comments: "How prophetic he was!" It does not occur to him to question, even at this late date, what kind of party the SP had become.

Among the UAW leaders who belonged to the Detroit SP at that time were Kermit and Genora Johnson. The Johnsons and other militants quit the SP in 1938 to join the Socialist Workers party. The SWP was founded by revolutionary socialists, including many members of the SP youth group, the Young People's Socialist League, who were expelled in 1937 from the SP. This development is conveniently omitted in Marquart's book.

Some prominent SP leaders, unlike the inexperienced Seidler, were advising Reuther to quietly dissociate himself from Socialist candidates in the 1936 general election. They were also looking for ways to covertly support Roosevelt and the New Deal Democrats. The Stalinists of the Communist party, likewise, in the 1936 election and after followed a slick formula for supporting Roosevelt and the Democratic party by urging workers to "defeat the fascists at all costs!" (Meaning the Republicans.)

There is no further mention of the SP by Marquart or Reuther after this crucial turning point in the party's history. Thereafter, everything is described from the vantage point of their respective positions inside the UAW.

How Marquart Saved His Job

Marquart tells us that in 1938 he was ordered by the executive board of Dodge Local 3, where he was the education director, to explain to the local membership why the UAW strongly endorsed the reelection of Democrat Frank Murphy for governor of Michigan.

Marquart felt that workers should vote for the Socialist candidate, but he dutifully prepared his talk about all the good things Murphy was said to have done for the UAW and concluded with this advice: "Workers must judge Governor Murphy—as they must judge all candidates running for office—on the basis of his record." And that is how Marquart saved his job that time.

Later, as editor of the *Voice of Local 212* and a staff member of the education department of that UAW local, Marquart established a Town Hall forum, conducted debates, and wrote a socialist-oriented column titled "Plain Talk." Political action, the labor party, contract demands such as the wage escalator clause, wildcat strikes, and many other issues were discussed and debated.

Top officials of the local were unhappy about this, and there was one subject they declared out of bounds. That was, "Resolved that the international UAW officers be elected by referendum." After this was debated, Marquart says, "one of the local officers told me that under no circumstances must I raise the referendum question in the *Voice of Local 212*." Soon thereafter a scheduled panel discussion on union ethics was canceled "because the officers locked the door and we couldn't get in." Marquart says he got the message and discontinued the local 212 Town Hall.

The testing of ideas in free and open debate was possible in the UAW if the bureaucracy allowed it, and then only if it did not threaten the bureaucratic structure. Talk was allowed only if it didn't provoke action by the membership.

The contending power factions in the UAW were both ardent supporters of Roosevelt and the Democratic party before and during World War II, and both sought collaboration with the auto corporations in compliance with the dictates of the Roosevelt administration. The power struggle kept the UAW open to democratic discussion within these prescribed limits during the Second World War and after, until the government-inspired witch-hunt in 1947.



The men and women who built the UAW. Above: sit-down strikers inside Flint, Michigan, plants in 1937. Below: women rally outside plant.

Marquart shares the notion of many workers that in union politics one set of crooks is needed to watch the other. Reuther, with the aid of the FBI and other antiunion forces, defeated the Stalinists and subdued or eliminated most UAW militants in 1947. When one gang gets the upper hand, democracy disappears.

There was no principled difference between the contending power blocs. When the final showdown came, it was easy for most secondary leaders of the losing faction to transfer their allegiance to the entrenched bureaucracy and accept the new relationship.

In a short slide titled "Ghosts Within," Marquart shows what happened to the opposition when the Reuther faction gained control. He has former Dodge Local 3 President Pat Quinn tell his own story:

"We're ghosts, that's what we are, the ghosts within. [Quinn speaking.] When my opposition in Dodge Local 3 defeated me the last time I ran for president, Walter Reuther called me to his office . . . you know, I belonged to the anti-Reuther slate. Walter offered me a job in the International; he knew damn well that if I went back in the shop, I'd stir things up . . . I'd build a strong group and unseat the pro-Reuther administration in the next local election. That's the last thing Walter wanted, so he put me on the International payroll to get me to hell out of Dodge local.

"Walter's a sharp operator; he knows how to weaken his opposition in UAW locals. You'd be surprised at all the reps on the staff who were one-time political enemies; even some who were known Communists. I'll be frank; we got bought off. Some of my union local caucus friends accused me of selling out. In a way, I did. But what kind of a fool would I be if I didn't accept

Walter's offer? At my age and with my broken health, how long would I last if I went back to the Dodge paint shop? I've been out of the factory for years; if I had to go back now and buck production, I'd probably drop dead in a week's time."

Pat Quinn probably never knew it but he gave up the class struggle—"sold out"—long before he lost his union post to the Reutherites and was given a job at Solidarity House to get him out of the way. The same is true of Marquart, who continued until the day he retired to be of value to the bureaucracy far exceeding his pay.

In one of Marquart's stories about techniques for worker education he relates how he and another "old socialist" used films to good advantage at a UAW-sponsored open-air meeting in 1938. He says the two of them recalled the times they gave socialist talks and got nothing for their efforts—except perhaps the satisfaction of telling the truth, which he forgets to mention. "Now we get paid for talking to workers, but if we so much as mentioned the word 'socialism,' the union officers would throw us out," his comrade said quietly.

They spoke even more quietly about socialism during World War II, when they got paid to give their win-the-war talks.

During the repressive decade of the 1950s, union officials and their hirelings had little or nothing to say about civil rights, civil liberties, union democracy . . . or anything else of importance. Occasionally there would be a mild protest against the warmongers, the bigots, and the witch-hunters from Reuther or some UAW local official. But such protests were rare and never intended to arouse any response from the ranks of the UAW.

Friday Night Socialist Forum

The only place in Detroit in those years—1954 into the late 1960s—where such questions as socialism, union democracy, the labor party, capitalist economic recessions, shorter hours of work, the wage escalator clause in union contracts, the fraudulent two-party system, the struggle for Black liberation, the imperialist war machine, and other subjects relating to the problems of working people were freely and openly discussed was at the Friday Night Socialist Forum, sponsored by the Socialist Workers party. It was held every week and attended by many auto workers, students, all shades of radicals, supporters of the Cuban revolution, Black nationalists, and others. Speakers included on occasion UAW members and officials. Paul Silver, president of a UAW local, debated the issue of union support for the Democratic party on at least two occasions.

Carl Hessler, founder of Federated Press and closely identified with the Stalinist caucus in the UAW during World War II and before, spoke several times at the forum, once on "The Rise and Fall of the CIO." On another occasion he debated George Breitman of the SWP on "Should Radical Workers Vote for Democrats?"—taking the affirmative.

Ernest Mazey, mentioned frequently in Marquart's *Journal*, spoke on civil liberties at the Friday Night Socialist Forum on more than one occasion. The UAW research department sent a young "labor economist" to participate in a symposium. The president of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, Mary Ellen Riordan, spoke at a panel on public education. Professors from Wayne State University lectured on their special subjects when invited by the forum.

About the only figures in Detroit who were interested in free speech or radical politics during the repressive decade and who did not attend or speak at the Friday Night Socialist Forum were Frank Marquart, B.J. Widick, and a few other old school social democrats. It wasn't that they weren't invited. Everyone was welcome.

One of the lectures at the forum was presented by a member of UAW Dodge Local 3, Beatrice Hansen. She was the younger sister of Genora Johnson and a member of the Socialist Workers party. Her talk, given in 1955, was titled "A Political Biography of Walter Reuther—The Record of an Opportunist."*

This talk, published as a pamphlet by Merit Publishers in 1969, ought to be read by all those who read Marquart's *Journal* or Reuther's *Memoir*. It fills the blank spaces with essential information. What happened to the SP? What was Walter Reuther's relation to it? Why did democracy flourish in the union at one time, and what forces suppressed it?

At the second convention of the UAW in South Bend, Indiana, in April 1936, Walter Reuther was elected to the union's executive board. His only credentials at that time were his experience as a skilled worker in the auto industry and his active membership in the Socialist party.

At that UAW convention the delegates adopted unanimously a resolution for a farmer-labor party. Hansen tells what else happened there: "Later in the convention, it is true, another resolution was introduced—that the UAW should endorse and work for the election of Franklin Roosevelt in that year's presidential election. But most of the delegates regarded this as in contradiction to the farmer-labor party resolution, and the interesting thing is that they voted this pro-Roosevelt resolution down.

"Roosevelt heard about this, got worried, and put some pressure on John L. Lewis; and Lewis put pressure on the convention. Lewis told the UAW leaders through his lieutenant, Adolph Germer, that if they didn't endorse Roosevelt the CIO would not give them the \$100,000 contribution for an auto organizing drive that had previously been promised to them. In the last five minutes of the convention the resolution endorsing Roosevelt was again brought to the floor, and this time it was rushed or railroaded through without discussion—also without enthusiasm."

This was done with the acquiescence of both the SP and Stalinist caucuses. The Reuther group in the SP either voted for the resolution or remained silent. The Stalinists did likewise because Earl Browder and other top leaders of

the CP were then looking for a way to trick the radicalized workers into supporting Roosevelt. They finally hit upon a scheme of not openly endorsing Roosevelt for fear that an official endorsement by the CP would prove embarrassing to him, but to campaign against his Republican opponent. Thus, the Stalinist campaign slogan in 1936 was "Defeat Landon at all cost!"

The SP ran Norman Thomas again for president in 1936 and was more critical of Roosevelt than the Stalinists were, but the SP did not attempt in any way to discipline its union members like the Reuthers for their disgraceful silence on the pro-Roosevelt resolution at the 1936 auto workers convention.

"Right here," says Hansen in her sketch of Reuther's political career, "in 1936, we can put our finger on the time when he had already gone opportunist, departing from the teachings and example of Eugene Debs, and subordinating his politics or even changing them in order to promote his career as a great labor leader."

Reuther did not openly dissociate himself from the SP at that time and hit the campaign trail for Roosevelt. Far from it. Auto workers in those days looked to the radicals, Communists and Socialists, for leadership. It was to the advantage of an aspiring union official to be known as a socialist.

In October, 1937, Walter Reuther was a candidate for Detroit Common Council, endorsed

'There is no guarantee of rank-and-file control in the union except through action in defense of working-class needs, at all levels of economic and political struggle.'

by the UAW. He said, "As an automobile worker, as a union official, as a member of the Socialist party, and as a patriotic citizen of Detroit, I pledge myself to the service of all the people of the city."

He resigned from the Socialist party in 1938 and supported Democrat Frank Murphy for governor of Michigan upon the insistence of Sidney Hillman and John L. Lewis, who promised in return to promote Reuther's fortunes in the UAW. This was done with the full knowledge of the SP top leadership, including Norman Thomas. It explains Marquart's problem in UAW Local 3 when he was inclined to support the SP gubernatorial candidate against Murphy.

Both Marquart and Reuther fail to recall these facts about their own past because they long ago put them aside as of no consequence.

Questions But No Answers

For Marquart the central question is: Why did the auto union cease to be a crusade for social change, and what could have prevented its conversion into an institution of the status quo? He never gets beyond the incidents that describe *how* this happened. Several times he asks the question: Why? But the answer never comes, not even a hint of it.

Marquart asks a former UAW shop steward why the steward system broke down, and when did stewards lose their power in the auto shops? Here is the answer: "The war did it. Yes, the war killed it. In 1942 the UAW gave up the right to strike. What power does a union have when it gives up the right to strike. What power does a union have when it gives up the right to strike, even gives up the right to threaten to strike? No sooner did we surrender the strike weapon than the employers gave us a hard time. Grievance procedure became a joke. At each step of the procedure, supervision would answer with a flat NO.

"When the company and the union agreed to set up a so-called impartial umpire system, we stewards became mere referral agents. The union contract got larger and more complicated, union procedure became more legal, grievances got

channeled right up to the international union and finally to the umpire. It became more and more difficult to settle grievances on the job; now an outside party settled them."

This provoked sharp clashes in the shops and severe struggles in the UAW. The various wartime government agencies, the corporate managements of the auto industry, and the UAW officialdom combined to impose the new system of compulsory arbitration on the auto workers.

The workers had on their side the democratic procedures within the UAW, vestiges of the formative years. They argued, took votes, called wildcat strikes to protect their rights in the shops. But they were forced eventually to accept the arbitration system, to submit to the decisions of an outside "impartial" party over whom they had no control.

Marquart believes that the contending power caucuses helped to preserve the democratic procedures in the union. It is true that the forms of democracy remained. But how did this serve the workers when the leaders of both caucuses supported the no-strike pledge and accepted compulsory arbitration of all grievances? These union caucuses were organized to support the leaders, not to control them.

Caucuses have never ceased to exist in the UAW. They exist to the present day for the purpose of electing local union officials every two years when the gang that happens to be out of office challenges those who are in office. In this way local officials are frequently unseated, but these contests do not change union policy because the top international officials are beyond the reach of the small local caucuses and have established their own one-party regime.

Would matters improve if the one-party regime were overthrown and a two-party system installed? Marquart gives as an example the International Typographical Union, which has operated for many years with a two-party system. Candidates for president and secretary and all executive board posts campaign on party tickets, the Independent party against the Progressive party. They are elected by referendum ballot. Union members are not required to cast a slate vote; they can cross party lines and often do. In some ITU locals the members reject both parties and elect officers who belong to neither. This gives the appearance of greater democracy.

The ITU is much smaller than the auto union, and there is greater membership participation in the ITU. But with all this the ITU is not much different from the UAW so far as membership control is concerned. Both organizations are bureaucratized, all basic decisions being made by the international executive board. In the ITU all such decisions are submitted to referendum vote of the membership, but by the time this happens the membership is left with little or no choice.

Furthermore, both parties in the ITU are committed to the policies of craft unionism and class collaboration. There is little difference between the "Progs" and the "Indys".

Guarantees of Democracy?

What Marquart and many others in the union movement are looking for is guarantees of union democracy. This is not a new quest. When Marquart was a young man he must have heard from his friends in the IWW that the only guarantee of rank-and-file control is limitation on the term of office. The Wobblies argued that the power of office is corrupting, and that no one should be allowed to serve for more than one year without returning to the point of production for purification.

After a while the job seekers found out how to beat this. They formed a clique and began rotating the offices among themselves. Some would go back to factory work or into the mines or harvest fields from time to time, but it wasn't long before they explained to the members that the work of the organization required all their time and there was no opportunity for any of them to take the required purification treatment.

All the schemes that have ever been invented to guarantee that unions, or any other organizations, will remain under the control of the membership have failed. The most elaborate safeguards can breed the most dictatorial bureaucracy.

Marquart's sketches of the UAW at different times in its evolution are instructive. When the UAW was a crusade in the formative years it was

*Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 40 cents.

The FBI vs. the UAW

In his book Victor Reuther describes the UAW's experience with the FBI. Cointelpro papers and other secret files have already exposed many FBI crimes against socialists, Blacks, antiwar activists, and political dissidents. It is clear the FBI hates the trade unions too.

In 1948, a would-be assassin blasted Walter Reuther with a powerful shotgun. There was a huge outcry against the crime, and members of Congress asked the FBI to investigate.

But J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director at the time, made no secret of his refusal to act. Attorney General Tom Clark told a UAW lawyer what Hoover answered. "Fellows, Edgar says no," reported Clark. "He says he's not going to send the FBI in every time some nigger woman gets raped."

A year later Victor Reuther was seriously wounded in a shotgun attack. This time the Senate passed a resolution asking for FBI help to find the

criminals.

Again the sleuths did nothing. Although they had the shotgun used and footprints of the attackers, the FBI never solved the case.

"The FBI entry into the Reuther cases had visible effects on local police authorities," reported a private eye hired by the UAW. "They seemed to sit further down on their fannies than they had, if that was possible."

After three years of doing nothing the FBI closed the case.

Even today the FBI refuses to give Victor Reuther the complete files on these attempted assassinations.

The Reuthers' help to the CIA and purging of communists from the labor movement—this wasn't enough for Hoover. In his eyes the Reuther brothers and UAW were still just trouble-making trade unionists.

—Diane Rupp

a democratic organization. This is what Marquart seeks to recapture. But the crusade he remembers was not confined to the auto industry. It was a crusade to establish industrial democracy, to end the system of wage slavery, to create jobs for all, to reduce the hours of work, and to organize an economy of abundance with freedom and equality for all and favoritism for none.

These ideas are necessary to any popular crusade against the evils of modern society, even when the immediate objectives are more limited, as they were with the UAW and the CIO movement. This is why it was the radicals, with their greater vision, who organized and led the UAW in the early years.

The UAW was a democratic organization in the beginning because it could not achieve its first objective—recognition of the right to collective bargaining—without the support and participation of the vast majority of auto workers and their natural allies. A class-struggle policy was the only solution for the workers. Strike actions and mass demonstrations were the only means available to them. To protect against the political traps and hidden pitfalls of the employers and their government agents, the young union leadership had to take into account the irreconcilable conflict between the employing class and the working class. Many sought to understand and explain this, looking to the lessons of history and political economy as taught by the radical and socialist movement.

In the auto industry the Socialist and Communist parties, which many of the frontline union leaders looked to for help and support, were inadequate, and the revolutionary socialist forces too weak. Control of the unions passed into the hands of officials who sought peaceful collaboration with the Roosevelt administration and the employers. The important decisions were made in the councils of the Democratic party and in union-management negotiations, not in union meetings.

The union membership lost the essential elements of union democracy: the ability of the membership to make decisions and act upon them. There is no other guarantee of rank-and-file control in the union except actions in defense of working-class needs, at all levels of economic and political struggle.

The full story of how this could and did happen—but in another industry—is told by Farrell Dobbs in *Teamster Rebellion*, *Teamster Power*, and *Teamster Politics*. A fourth volume, *Teamster Bureaucracy*, is scheduled for publication next year.

Farrell Dobbs is one of the few union leaders from the 1930s who understood the need for working-class independence on the political level. His books about the Teamster strikes in Minneapolis and the transformation of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters from a narrow federation of craft-bound local organizations into an industrial union explain why the working class must have its own independent political party. More than that, he explains the decisive role of the working-class vanguard party (the Communist League of America, later constituted as the Socialist Workers party).

Of the several books of memoirs and reminis-

cences that have recently appeared by leaders and participants in the strike struggles and the CIO movement of the 1930s, the books by Dobbs are the only ones that explain why radical parties flourished at that time. Most of the other books have been by members or former members of the Communist party (Len DeCaux's *Labor Radical, From the Wobblies to CIO, A Personal History*), or by those who were identified with the Socialist party (Reuther and Marquart), but none of them try to explain the purpose and program of the party they belonged to, or the role of that party. That is because most of them long ago abandoned the ideas they held as union militants and strike leaders in their youth. They write now only to describe the rise and decline of the union movement as they saw it, and to justify whatever part they may have played.

Dobbs writes with a different purpose. His books are texts for union militants and trade-union organizers of the future. The first thing he tells us is why he joined the Communist League of America and what the participation of the members of this party meant to the success of the truck drivers' strikes in 1934.

Nothing Happens by Accident

He goes on to explain that nothing happens by accident. The course of events is planned by the employers, usually. In Minneapolis in 1934 the employers' planning group was the Citizens Alliance, and it had successfully disrupted union organizing and maintained open-shop conditions for several years. The workers' planning committee was the Communist League, and it aimed to make Minneapolis a union town. To that end, from the first strike of coal-yard drivers to the successful conclusion of what amounted to a general strike, every stage of the struggle between the workers and the employers was carefully planned down to the last detail.

The third lesson Dobbs explains is that the workers must develop their own class organizations, including a political party, and win allies among the other victims of capitalist society such as small farmers, merchants, students, oppressed minorities, women; and never rely upon organizations and institutions of the employing class (government agencies, arbitration boards, Republican and Democratic party politicians.)

The fourth is that nothing can be won by workers in a shop or industry or in this society without struggle, always with agreement and participation of the majority. This is decisive for union democracy.

These are axioms of a class-struggle policy, the basis for the development of a broad class-struggle left wing in the union movement. The specific program of a future left wing will be dictated by current issues: unemployment, inflation, government corruption, bureaucratic control of the unions, antistrike legislation, suppression of civil liberties, attacks on the rights of minorities, the burden of a vast military machine, the threat of future wars.

On the eve of the U.S. entry into World War II Dobbs proposed the following program in a pamphlet titled *Trade Union Problems*:

"1. A rank and file referendum for the unifica-

tion of the entire trade union movement on the basis of the preservation and extension of the industrial form of organization.

"2. Unity of the employed and unemployed. The trade unions to assume full responsibility for the organization of unemployed.

"3. Full democracy in all the unions. The return of the policy making powers to the rank and file.

"4. Against class collaboration. For class struggle policies.

"5. For an Independent Labor Party.

"6. Against racial discrimination. For the immediate repeal of all union laws restricting membership rights of the Negroes and other racial minority groups.

"7. For special attention by the trade unions to the problems of the youth.

"8. For the defense of the strike weapons, including the sit-down. Against all attempts to incorporate the unions or impose government regulation.

"9. Against imperialist war."

This was suited to the state of the union movement and the problems of the working class in this country at the beginning of the decade of the 1940s, when it was clear that the Roosevelt administration was heading for war and preparing to shackle the unions to the war machine.

The program Dobbs put forward at that time was based on his experience as a leader and organizer of the Teamsters union from 1934 to 1940.

The struggle in the Teamsters union and extending into the broader union movement in the north-central states was in some respects more complex than the CIO organization of the mass-production industries. The Minneapolis Teamster leaders undertook to transform the existing union structure; also they were confronted in Minnesota with the Farmer-Labor party, which they sought to bring under the control of the new and revitalized unions.

There was never any question that these leaders in Minneapolis would have considered bending their political goals to suit the dictates of top union bureaucrats, as happened at the 1936 convention of the United Auto Workers. They would never have considered collaboration with the CIA. The clear class-struggle program of the union leadership in Minneapolis ruled out such developments. The program made the leaders and separated them from the corruptible elements in the union, of which there were plenty at the top and some in the ranks.

The revolutionary socialist leaders in the prewar Teamsters union were defeated and jailed by the combined forces of the Roosevelt administration and the Tobin bureaucracy in the union. This story will be told by Dobbs in the fourth of his series, *Teamster Bureaucracy*.

The advent of war and the prowar policy of the Stalinists and social democrats in the union leadership sealed the fate of the only genuine left wing in the unions at that time. This was the defeat of democracy in the Teamsters. And during the war, democracy was eroded everywhere, as the union movement became bureau-

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cratized under the government's wartime wage freeze and no-strike controls.

Some have said that the class-struggle policy failed. James R. Hoffa, onetime president of the Teamsters union who disappeared last year, boasted in a TV documentary that "we [meaning himself and some goons hired by Tobin] defeated the Trotskyites in Minneapolis." He ignored the fact that the powerful repressive forces of the

government were brought against the Minneapolis Teamsters.

The present leaders of the UAW, some of them survivors of the 1930s, occasionally congratulate themselves on their survival—as does Victor Reuther in his *Memoir*. What they have to tell about the history of the union movement and their part in it is interesting, sometimes informative.

But the deterioration of the union movement can be explained only by the advocates and practitioners of the class-struggle policy. So in this respect, as in all others, the policy that won the big strikes and founded the modern union movement is proved superior. This is the policy that will restore power to the union movement and return control to the ranks. None other can.

The Roots of Racism in America

How was racial oppression maintained under new forms after slavery was abolished? Why is racism so central in American capitalist society? In his new book, Peter Camejo finds answers to these questions in the hidden history of the rise and fall of Radical Reconstruction.

Following is the introduction to Peter Camejo's book *Racism, Revolution, and Reaction: 1861-1877*, to be published this month by Monad Press. © 1976 by Monad Press, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

By Peter Camejo

This 200th year since the Declaration of Independence also marks the 111th year since slavery was abolished. Yet nonwhites continue to suffer flagrant discrimination throughout America. Although the fact is admitted by almost everyone, there are few consistent explanations of why this injustice persists and seems to many unsolvable.

During the 1950s and 60s the civil rights movement raised the hope that, with the elimination of all laws specifically discriminating against Blacks, a gradual process would set in leading to full equality. Gains were made at various levels through the mass struggle itself. But now, a decade after the crest of the civil rights movement, it is clear that, despite the elimination of anti-Black laws and even passage of laws specifically protecting the rights of Blacks, oppression and discrimination remain with no end in sight.

Recently the disparity in income between Blacks and whites has begun to widen. Black income is now about 56 percent that of whites—that means Blacks live at about half the standard of living of whites. Segregation in housing, jobs, and education is prevalent. Unemployment among Afro-Americans continues at twice the rate for whites, and in some areas the disparity is even greater.

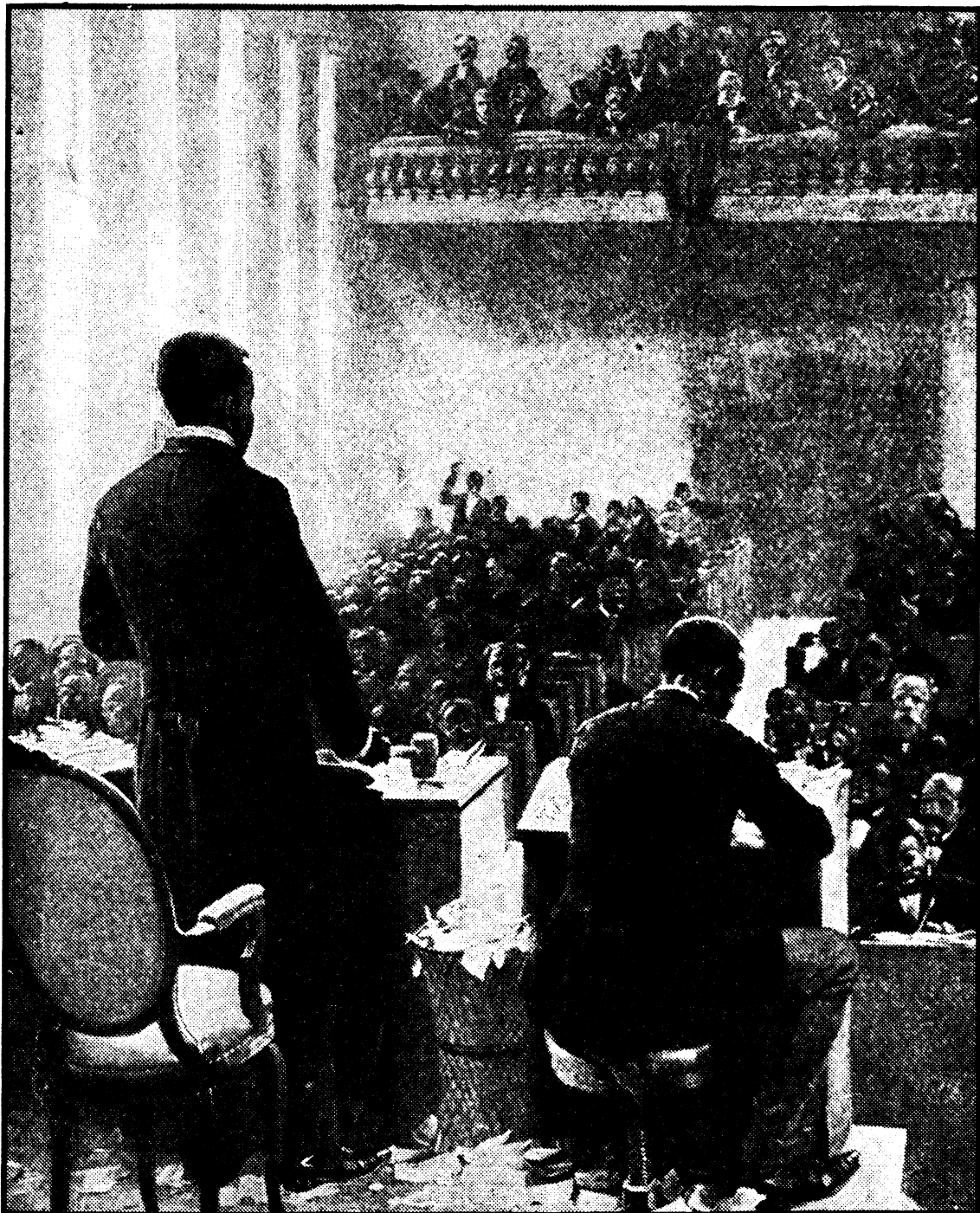
The evils and injustices are indisputable. Yet accredited social scientists seem incapable of explaining the secret of their persistence. This problem, usually called racism, seems to have such a grip on U.S. society that it is able to prevent the discovery of its cause.

The usual explanation given is highly simplistic: namely, the prejudice of whites, especially working-class whites, which liberal politicians, commentators, and sociologists are constantly bemoaning. We are told that, for some unaccountable and perverse reason, people with white skins seem determined to dislike those with darker skins. Why this is so and why it is so persistent is shrouded in mystery.

If an individual, brick in hand, waited in front of a school to kill or maim a child because of the child's color, such a person would be considered deranged, arrested, and sent to a mental institution. But when a few hundred stand together with bricks and bats yelling "kill niggers," that is considered a political protest. What this proves is that this psychotic disorder is generalized and has its source, not in an individual aberration, but in the social structure.

What are we to conclude when mayors, governors, and even the president of the United States, as well as the editors of many major dailies, express sympathy with the goals of these psychotic people? Of course, these notables, like Pontius

Peter Camejo is the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party. He began his study of Black history and the Reconstruction period while an activist in the civil rights struggles of the early 1960s.



Blacks debate the issues in South Carolina legislature, 1873

Pilate washing his hands of the affair, dissociate themselves from the "methods" used. Clearly the matter goes far beyond considerations of individual psychology and political hypocrisy. The mentally disturbed few who are impelled into the streets consciously seeking to harm Blacks, and the condoning officials, are but by-products of the larger and more powerful socioeconomic forces that give rise to racism, forces that derive enormous material benefits from the perpetuation of racism.

Racism to one degree or another exists in all advanced capitalist nations, including Japan. But the extreme forms of racism found in the United States have been matched only in Nazi Germany and South Africa. As recently as the 1930s the phenomenon of public lynchings still existed here. Thousands of people would gather to watch another human burned alive or tortured to death. Elected representatives and law enforcement officials would often participate in these Roman holiday events. Sometimes Democratic Party

officials would address these gatherings—not to halt, admonish, or recommend psychiatric help—but to encourage the lynchers. When the schedule of a lynching was known far enough in advance, newspapers and radio stations often would announce the time and place. There were even instances when the railroads ran special excursion trains to the scene. The federal government, whether under a Republican or such a liberal Democrat as Franklin D. Roosevelt, would always refuse to interfere.

Although the political climate today, thanks primarily to the mass civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s, has caused this particular form of murder of nonwhites to lapse, we must ask ourselves how such racist atrocities, as well as the current forms of racism, can be explained.

Marxists and most serious non-Marxist historians recognize that racism had its origin in the establishment of chattel slavery in the early stages of the development of capitalism. While slavery had generally disappeared in Europe during

feudalism, it took a new lease on life in the West as commercial capitalism grew. Slavery was introduced into the New World colonies to solve the problem of an acute labor shortage. Racism, the theory that those with white skins are superior to those with black skins, was gradually elaborated to justify this chattel slavery. First came slavery, then racism.

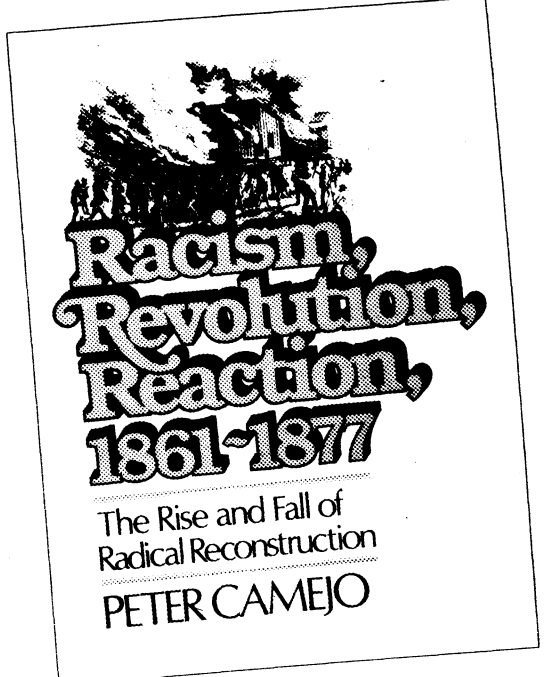
This historical fact poses the question: Why has racism and racial oppression survived the abolition of the original cause, chattel slavery? What is responsible for its perpetuation? This question is particularly crucial for the study of American history because chattel slavery was ended in such a cataclysmic manner.

The existence of slavery in the southern part of the United States created a social formation which found itself in conflict with the development of industrial capitalism. The struggle for supremacy between the two finally led to a military showdown and a titanic civil war, the most momentous event of the nineteenth century.

In that conflict the deaths on both sides totaled 623,000. This is a figure only slightly less than all the deaths sustained by the United States in World Wars I and II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War, combined. If the wounded are added, the casualties reached 1,094,453. For the Union, which had 22 of the 31 million population at that time, this meant one out of every ten adult males was a casualty, and for the Confederate states (including the Black population) it meant one out of four.

A conflict of such magnitude had a profound effect on the entire population. Existing attitudes of whites toward Afro-Americans were especially shaken by the fact that the decisive turning point in the conflict was the freeing and arming of Blacks. This great revolutionary war destroyed chattel slavery forever in the United States. That development in turn confronted American society with a most formidable problem: What would now happen with the Afro-American people and other nonwhites? Would they be considered equal to whites and assimilated as those from Europe—Irish, Germans, Scandinavians and Italians—had been and would be? For a short period significant steps were taken in this direction. Then the course of the nation was sharply reversed.

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The interconnection of events in the phases constituting this second American revolution and its aftermath are not as confusing and impenetrable as most historians like to make out. Why racism survived slavery can be concretely and scientifically explained. The reason our present society has so difficult a time with this problem is that an honest accounting points the finger of guilt directly at the present capitalist system and its ruling class. The same social system that gave rise to chattel slavery found it necessary to abolish it, but it also found the by-products of slavery—racial oppression and the ideology of racism—extremely valuable for further use.

Just as chattel slavery was originally established because it was profitable and produced

racist ideology as its justification, the racial oppression of our epoch owes its strength to the profit motive and it, in turn, has promoted racism for ideological support

Historians try to convince us of the reverse. Most often they begin by complaining that racist ideology among the mass of whites, especially uneducated plebian whites, made it impossible to do away with the peculiar circumstances of Black oppression. To this argument they usually add that, since the Blacks had just emerged from slavery, they were not educationally qualified for a status fully equal to that of whites.

A look at the facts points to exactly the opposite conclusion. The racism of the white masses showed signs of disintegrating under the impact of revolutionary events. The industrial capitalists who came to control and dominate American society, including the two big political parties, had to wage a long campaign, which included an armed counterrevolution and an enormous propaganda effort involving the rewriting of history, to assure the continuance and reinforcement of racism.

From the end of the Civil War into the 1880s it was demonstrated again and again that the most successful tactic for winning votes among plebian whites in the North was an appeal against the mistreatment of Blacks in the South.

The turn towards granting the ex-slaves equal rights with whites in 1867 had the support of the majority of white workers and farmers in the nation. This was indicated by the triumph of the Radical Republicans in the decisive elections of 1866—before Blacks could vote. It did not mean that the mass of whites had abandoned racist attitudes but that such attitudes had been greatly weakened and a strong antiracist current was flowing. The later revival and strengthening of racism was rooted in socioeconomic factors much more powerful than the ideological carry-over from pre-Civil War times.

An understanding of the rise and fall of Radical Reconstruction is therefore essential for understanding why racial oppression and racism have become integral parts of present-day society.

The Most Democratic Government Ever in the South

The following is an excerpt from Chapter 5 of Peter Camejo's book *Racism, Revolution, Reaction, 1861-1877*. The chapter is titled "Class Struggle Under the Radical Regimes."

The most "radical" aspect of Radical Reconstruction was the opening it provided for Black labor to wage struggles in its own behalf. Blacks, who had been slaves only a few years earlier and who had not even had the right to vote the day before, were now registering, voting, and sitting as delegates to write their state constitutions. Later they would take seats as legislators in their state capitals and even in Washington, D.C.

In all, fourteen Blacks would go to Washington as congressmen from six different Southern states, and two from Mississippi would enter the Senate. Several others were elected to Congress but were refused their seats on one pretext or another. Most of these representatives were ex-slaves. On the other hand, there was not a single Black from the North in the House until the 1920s and none in the Senate until 1966.

It is difficult to grasp the full revolutionary implications of this Black representation. No parallel exists in the United States today, there not being a single worker, much less a socialist, in the House or Senate. The election of Black legislators was testimony to the depth of the revolutionary changes unleashed by the Civil War. Even though some of them maintained moderate political positions they were, regardless of the rhetoric used, above all representatives of the oppressed nationality of Afro-Americans, a nationality composed almost entirely of laboring people.

The voice they raised in the halls of Congress was anomalous among the paid representatives of the Robber Barons. They spoke up for the Cherokees and other dispossessed Indians and for the hounded Chinese laborers in the West. They sought to increase the rights of women and argued for federal support to education, a concept that would not be accepted for another generation.

In the South the pressure and influence of Black officeholders resulted in a series of progressive reforms. Most important, of course, was the elimination of the Black Codes and the guaranteeing of juridical rights for Afro-Americans, including the right to serve on juries, hold office, speak, organize, and serve in the police and militias.

Other important reforms were also achieved. An enormous demand went up from the Afro-American people for schools. There was more interest in education among the ex-slaves than among the poor whites, who were not caught up in such a profound social transformation as was the Black population.

General Pope, referring to his military district, which included Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, wrote in 1867: "It may be safely said that the marvelous progress made in the education of these people, aided by the noble charitable contributions of Northern societies and individuals, finds no parallel in the history of mankind. If continued, it must be by the same means, and if the masses of the white people exhibit the same indisposition to be educated that they do now, five years will have transferred intelligence and education, so far as the masses are concerned, to the colored people of this District."

By 1869 there were 9,000 teachers in the South instructing the children of ex-slaves. By the next year there were 4,300 schools with close to 250,000 Black children in attendance. Apparently these students learned fast, as the following student-teacher exchange indicates.

Teacher: Now children, you don't think white people are any better than you because they have straight hair and white faces?

Students: No, sir.

Teacher: No, they are no better, but they are different, they possess great power, they formed this great government, they control this vast country. . . . Now what makes them different from you?

Students: MONEY. (Unanimous shout)

Teacher: Yes, but what enabled them to obtain it? How did they get money?

Students: Got it off us, stole it off we all!

The first statewide free public schools in the South were established during Radical Reconstruction. The Black lawmakers sought schools for both Blacks and whites and preferred integrated schools. Integration for all schools was established by law in Louisiana and at the university level in other states. In most cases separate schools were established because most whites insisted on all-white schools before they would allow their children to attend. When schools of higher learning were integrated many whites withdrew.

New rights were granted to women during Reconstruction. The first divorce and property rights laws for women were passed. Better facilities for the care of the sick, blind, and insane were established. The judicial system and penitentiaries were modernized.

Albion W. Tourgee, a Union soldier who settled in North Carolina after the war and wrote *A Fool's Errand*, the best-known historical novel in defense of Radical Reconstruction, summarized the achievements of those governments as follows: "They instituted a public school system in a realm where public schools had been unknown. They opened the ballot box and jury box to thousands of white men who had been debarred from them by a lack of earthly possessions. They introduced home rule in the South. They abolished the whipping post, and branding iron, the stocks and other barbarous forms of punishment which had up to that time prevailed. They reduced capital felonies from about twenty to two or three. In an age of extravagance they were extravagant in the sums appropriated for public works. In all that time no man's rights of person were invaded under the forms of laws."

The governments under Radical Reconstruction were in many ways the most democratic the South has ever had up to the present day.

Leon Trotsky on Antifascist Struggle

Should the labor movement or antiracist movement support laws supposedly aimed at restricting the rights of fascist or ultraright organizations? Trotsky offers some advice in this letter, published for the first time in English.

Introduction

Should working people or Black people support laws or other government restrictions ostensibly aimed at suppressing fascist or ultraright organizations?

This question has arisen recently in at least two cities—Milwaukee and Chicago. In Milwaukee last year, City Attorney James Brennan responded to widespread protests against Nazi vandalism and racist attacks by proposing an ordinance that would ban all literature that “exposes the citizens of any race, color, creed or religion to contempt, derision or obloquy.”

The Milwaukee Socialist Workers party opposed the proposal, saying that any curtailment of democratic rights will be used by the government against the labor movement and the antiracist movement rather than against the racists. The party pointed to the hypocrisy of the city government, which has done nothing to apprehend and prosecute those responsible for the actual racist attacks.

The Communist party, on the other hand, praised the measure in an article in the *Daily World* entitled “Milwaukee Council gets anti-hate literature bill.”

Similarly in Chicago, where there has recently been an outbreak of anti-Black violence, Mayor Richard Daley has attempted to give the appearance of doing something about it by taking legal steps to close down a Nazi headquarters. Meanwhile, Chicago City Hall continues to let those who have assaulted Blacks roam the streets and continues its policies of fighting to maintain segregated schools, housing, and racist hiring practices.

The following letter by Leon Trotsky, published here in English for the first time, is a valuable contribution to the debate over what attitude socialists, trade unionists, and antiracist fighters should take toward such “antifascist” laws.

Hitler's seizure of power in Germany in 1933 opened up a period of deep social unrest in many European countries. Native fascist and right-wing movements, emboldened by the Nazi example, began to organize violent attacks on workers organizations. In France they also launched an armed attack on the Chamber of Deputies on February 6, 1934, leading to the resignation of the liberal Daladier government.

The French Trotskyists responded with a call for a workers militia so that the workers could defend themselves. “Vigilance committees” were formed throughout the country, composed primarily of trade unionists and supporters of the Communist and Socialist parties, to provide the workers with a means of defense against rightist

attacks.

In countries like France and Holland, the ruling class began to move to the right, seeking to construct a “strong” (Bonapartist) state that would keep “both right and left” under control.

In December 1935, shortly before Trotsky wrote this letter from Norway, the French parliament passed a law disbanding all paramilitary organizations. It obviously could just as well be used against the workers' self-defense organizations as against the fascists, but the Stalinists and Social Democrats in parliament voted for it.

The idea was at once picked up in Holland, where it got the support of the conservative government headed by Premier Hendrik Colijn. Trotsky's letter, dated January 13, 1936, was an attempt to orient the Dutch Trotskyists to oppose the bill, and to provide them with arguments and even amendments that they could use against it. At this time the leader of the Dutch Trotskyists, Henricus Sneevliet, was a member of the Dutch parliament. The letter does not seem to have been printed in Holland.

Trotsky's letter was published in the February 1936 issue of *Informations Dienst*, a discussion bulletin of the German Trotskyists in exile. It has been translated from the German by Russell Block for a forthcoming volume of the *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series published by Pathfinder Press. Copyright © 1976 by Pathfinder Press, Inc.

Pathfinder's editors have been unable thus far to learn what happened to the Dutch bill and would appreciate receiving pertinent information at 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

By Leon Trotsky

Dear Friend:

The question of our attitude toward governmental measures ostensibly aimed against fascism is highly important.

Since bourgeois democracy is historically bankrupt, it is no longer in a position to defend itself on its own ground against its enemies on the right and the left. That is, in order to “maintain” itself, the democratic regime must progressively liquidate itself through emergency laws and administrative arbitrariness.

This self-liquidation of democracy in the struggle against right and left brings to the fore the Bonapartism of degeneration, which needs both the left and the right danger for its uncertain existence in order to play them off against one another and to progressively raise itself above society and its parliamentarism. The Colijn regime has seemed to me for a long time to be a potentially Bonapartist regime.

In this highly critical period, the main enemy of Bonapartism remains, of course, the revolutionary wing of the proletariat. Thus, we can say with absolute assurance that as the class struggle deepens, all emergency laws, extraordinary powers, etc., will be used against the proletariat.

After the French Stalinists and Socialists voted for the administrative disbanding of paramilitary organizations, that old scoundrel Marcel Cachin wrote in *l'Humanité* approximately as follows:¹ “A great victory. . . . Naturally, we know that in capitalist society all laws *can* be used against the proletariat. But we will strive to prevent this, etc.”

The lie here is in the word “can.” What should have been said was: “We *know* that as the social crisis deepens, all these measures *will be used* against the proletariat with tenfold intensity.” There is a simple conclusion to be drawn from this: We cannot help build up the Bonapartism of degeneration with our own hands and supply it with the chains it will inevitably use to bind the proletarian vanguard.

This is not to say that for the immediate future, Colijn will not want to free his right elbow from the excessive presumptuousness of the fascists. The social revolution in Holland does not seem to be an immediate threat. Big capital hopes to allay the threatening dangers by using the strong, concentrated (i.e., Bonapartist, or semi-Bonapartist) state. But to keep the real enemy, the revolutionary proletariat, within bounds, Colijn will never completely eliminate or even sidetrack fascism. At most he will simply keep it in check.

That is why the slogan for the disbanding and disarming of the fascist gangs by the state (and voting for similar measures) is reactionary through and through. (The German social democrats cry: “The state must act.”) This would mean making a whip out of the proletariat's hide, one which the Bonapartist arbiters *might* use to softly caress the fascist rear ends here and there. But it is our binding responsibility and duty to protect the hide of the working class, not to hand over the whip to fascism.

There is another aspect of the same situation which seems even more important. Bourgeois democracy is a sham *by its very essence*. The more it flowers, the less it can be utilized by the proletariat (compare the history of England and the United States). But the dialectic of history commands that bourgeois democracy can become a *powerful reality* for the proletariat at the very time when it is falling apart. Fascism is the outward sign of this degeneration.

The struggle against fascism, the defense of the positions the working class has won within the framework of degenerating democracy, can become a powerful reality since it gives the working class the opportunity to prepare itself for the sharpest struggles and partially to arm itself. The last two years in France, since February 6, 1934, have given the workers organizations an excellent opportunity (and perhaps one that will not be so soon repeated) to mobilize the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie on the side of the revolution, to create a workers militia, etc. This precious opportunity is supplied by the decay of democracy, by its clear inability to maintain “order” by the old means, and by the equally clear danger which threatens the working masses. Anyone who does not take advantage of this situation, who calls on the “state,” i.e., the class enemy, to “act,” in effect sells the proletariat's hide to the Bonapartist reaction.

1. Marcel Cachin was a leader of the French Communist party and editor of its newspaper *l'Humanité*. The law referred to by Trotsky was introduced into the French parliament by a reactionary deputy in the name of “national reconciliation.” Eager to prove themselves “responsible” politicians, Socialist and Communist party leaders Léon Blum and Maurice Thorez rose to endorse the proposal. It passed immediately.



Nazis surround home of Black family in Chicago. Mayor Daley talks about “anti-Nazi” legal measures, while refusing to assure protection of Black community.

Therefore, we must vote against *all measures* that strengthen the capitalist-Bonapartist state, even those measures which may for the moment cause temporary unpleasantness for the fascists. Naturally, the social democrats and the Stalinists will say that we are defending the fascists against Father Colijn, who, after all, is better than the evil Mussert.² We can say with assurance that we are more farsighted than the others and that future developments will completely confirm our perceptions and our demands.

We can, however, formulate certain amendments which, when they are rejected, will make it clear to every worker that what is at stake is not the fascists' rear ends but the proletariat's hide. For example: 1) Workers pickets are not to be affected by this law under any circumstances, even when they are obliged to take action against strikebreakers, fascists, and other lumpen elements; 2) the trade unions and the political organizations of the working class reserve the

2. Adriaan Mussert was the leader of the Dutch fascist organization, the Nationaalsocialistische Beweging (National Socialist Movement), which was founded in the 1920s. Mussert functioned as Hitler's agent during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands in the Second World War.

right to construct and arm their self-defense organizations in the face of the fascist danger. The state is committed to aid these organizations with weapons, ammunition, and financial support on demand.

In parliament, these motions will sound rather strange and Messrs. Statesmen (and the Stalinist posturers) will regard them as "shocking." But the average worker, not only in the NAS,³ but in the reformist trade unions as well, will find them quite justified.

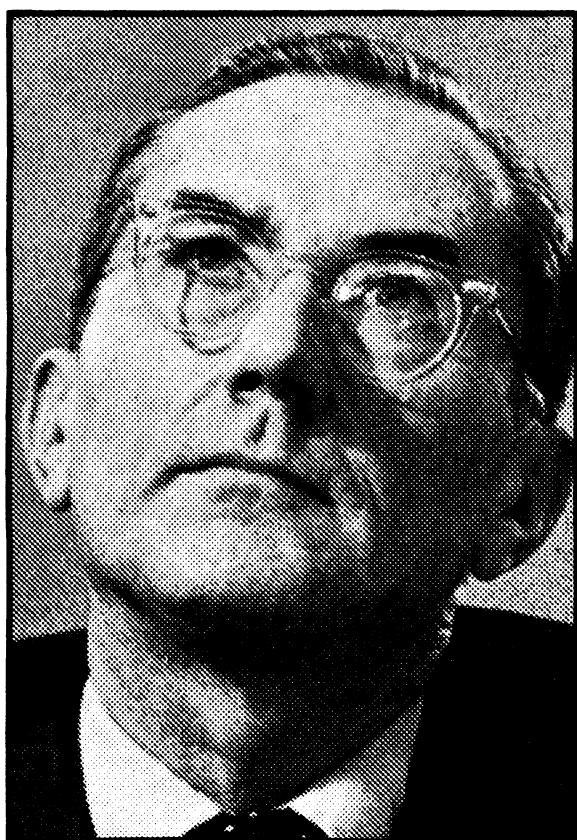
Naturally, I offer these amendments only as an example. One could, perhaps, find better, more exact formulations. Will Messrs. Social Democrats and Stalinists deny their support or even vote against them? Even if they vote *for them*, the motions will fail nevertheless, and then it will be absolutely clear why we vote against the government motion as a whole—and we *must* do this without any second thoughts whatsoever for the reasons given above (even if the Colijn parliamentarianism rules these amendments out of order on the grounds that they apply only to

3. The NAS (Nationaal Arbeids Sekretariat—National Labor Organization) was a small left-wing trade-union grouping whose principal leader was Sneevliet.

propaganda technique and not to the essence of the matter).

We have to take strong measures against the abstract "antifascist" mode of thinking that finds entry even into our own ranks at times. "Antifascism" is nothing, an empty concept used to cover up Stalinist skulduggery. In the name of "antifascism" they instituted class collaboration with the Radicals.⁴ Many of our comrades wanted to give the "People's Front," i.e., class collaboration, positive support in the same way that we are ready to support the united front, i.e., the separation of the proletariat from the other classes. Starting from the thoroughly false slogan "People's Front to Power," in the name of "antifascism" they go still further and declare that they are inclined to support Bonapartism—for voting for Colijn's "antifascist" bill would mean nothing less than direct support for Bonapartism.

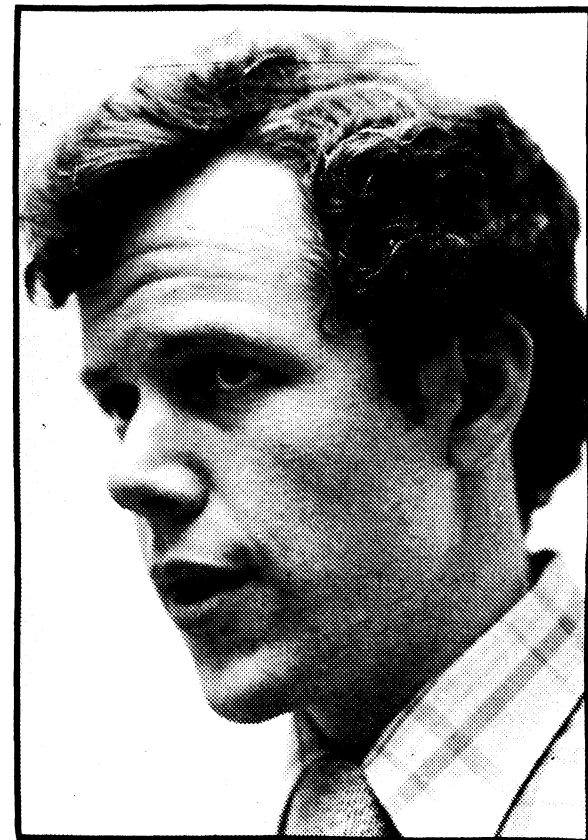
4. The Radical (or Radical-Socialist) party was the main capitalist party in France between World Wars I and II, and the chief capitalist component of the People's Front coalition that was elected to office in May 1936.



WILLIAM COLBY

Socialists vs. the CIA

Syd Stapleton Debates William Colby



SYD STAPLETON

Susan Ellis

On April 11 some 1,000 students at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale attended a "Debate on the CIA" sponsored by the Graduate Student Council.

On one side was William Colby, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

On the other was Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund and a member of the Socialist Workers party National Committee. The PRDF is a civil liberties organization publicizing the multi-million-dollar suit filed by the socialists against government spying and harassment.

The event was originally scheduled to be a lecture by Colby, but after protests by an ad hoc group, the Graduate Student Council and Colby agreed to change the format to a debate.

Colby and Stapleton had previously debated at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, March 8.

The debate began with prepared remarks by both speakers.

Following are excerpts from the rebuttals and question-and-answer period that followed the initial presentation. The remarks were transcribed and edited for grammatical smoothness. Neither speaker has had the opportunity to revise his comments for publication.

Colby. With respect to some of the specific allegations—the CIA helping to overthrow Allende. No, the CIA did not have anything to do with the military coup against Allende.

What we tried to do was to support the democratic forces and media in Chile, looking

forward to the elections of 1976.

Assassination is a very flamboyant kind of a word and I think that most Americans and I myself are against it. I was against it in the early 1960s. I turned down suggestions to that effect.

Shout from the audience. "What about the Phoenix program?"

Colby. I'll answer the Phoenix program if you want to. I've been against assassinations all along.

But if you will read the Senate report on the subject you will find that the CIA didn't assassinate anybody. [Uproar from audience.]

There were five pages in the report that stated that there were only two assassination attempts where the CIA did try to go out to see if they could kill somebody, but neither of them died. [Laughter from audience.]

On the question of prosecutions of our people which Mr. Stapleton raised, no, there haven't been any prosecutions and I don't think there should be. Because the activities that were undertaken were undertaken in the belief that they were approved at the top level of the government—that is, that they reflected the consensus of what the American people, and the Congress, and the executive were thinking at the time.

In respect to accusations about the FBI, I'm not going to comment; I wasn't in the FBI.

I believe the Constitution of the United States, if we follow it and if we apply it, will reflect what our American people want and what they expect as things that should be done and as things that should not be done.

Stapleton. Mr. Colby said that the CIA was not involved in the overthrow of the Allende regime. I think that's just not true.

The CIA has been involved in the overthrow of governments in the past, and I don't see that there has been any reexamination of the CIA's policy that has led it to renounce that course of action.

Now, on the allegation that the CIA has never killed anybody.

In fact, Operation Phoenix was a program aimed at the suppression of the political structure of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam. It resulted somehow in the deaths of 20,000 people, according to a number of independent accounts.

Now, the last point was that people shouldn't be prosecuted for activities that were supported by the executive branch and by Congress. I don't think it accomplishes anything to say these were bipartisan policies, as a way of exculpating the people who carried them out.

Question. What kind of Neanderthal justification exists for the CIA to give money to an Italian political party?

Colby. The basic answer to your question I cannot discuss specifically, since I am constrained by certain bonds of secrecy. [Laughter.] But I did refer to the fact that the CIA did assist various democratic and socialist forces in free Western Europe when it was threatened by possible political subversion supported by the Soviet Union during the forties and fifties.

I believe that I have said publicly that we have

not given one dime to the Italian parties in the past six months to a year.

Stapleton. When the debate at Cornell took place, one of the points that Mr. Colby made was that the United States had the right and responsibility to carry out activities around the world to insure its security.

The CIA's conception of the security of the United States is not to protect democracy in Europe. It's to support friends of the United States, including the same kind of people that Lockheed was supporting in Japan and in Italy—not friends of democracy, but right-wingers verging on fascism.

Question. Mr. Colby, are you saying that operatives who were involved in illegal activities should be let off the hook, but if one of the operatives leaks information beforehand, making an assassination not a reality, then that person would be thrown in prison?

Colby. I think the question is really, should the CIA keep secret something that was wrong? I think President Ford has stressed several times that he will not allow secrecy to be used to keep secret something that was wrong, meaning illegal.

If it is wrong, meaning a wrong policy, it can be discussed behind closed doors with the committees of the Congress representing the American people.

Stapleton. Of course, it's interesting that you say we should not allow secrecy to hide something wrong. The only problem is, we have to find out about it first before we can know whether secrecy has been used to hide something illegal.

That's the difficulty with that formula.

On the question of assassination, take the CIA's role in the murder of Patrice Lumumba. I don't think that question has been explored adequately. It's simply not true that the people the CIA targeted for assassination somehow managed to survive. Because Patrice Lumumba did not.

Colby. Patrice Lumumba was killed by totally separate forces in Africa. It had nothing to do with any group the CIA was in touch with.

Stapleton. How do we know?

Colby. I do know. [Laughter.]

Question. Would each of the speakers comment on the Daniel Schorr matter?

Stapleton. I think what we're seeing in the attack on Daniel Schorr is an attempt by the intelligence agencies to intimidate critics of their activities.

As information has come out through people like Daniel Ellsberg and Daniel Schorr in the past few years, there has been an increasing awareness in the United States that the government has been carrying out policies which the people of this country have not been asked to approve and have not approved.

The answer of the intelligence agencies is not to open their files, to respond to the requests for information about their activities. Instead they try to create a hysteria about the threat of lost secrets and damage to our "intelligence capabilities."

I think Daniel Schorr should be defended, and whoever leaked the information should be defended as someone who was doing an important and immeasurably valuable service to the American people.

Colby. I, of course, have already publicly defended Daniel Schorr. But I think the people who gave him the information should be punished.

Question. Mr. Stapleton, do you think the KGB does a better job in protecting the interests of Russia than the CIA?

Stapleton. I don't know, the KGB may be more or less efficient than the CIA. It isn't a matter of concern to me particularly. I think as Americans we have a problem to deal with. Our government has set up agencies like the CIA, which is having



In former CIA Director William Colby's answer to a question during the debate, the sleuth came within a hairbreadth of openly stating for the first time that "Operation Phoenix," which he headed while assigned to Vietnam, was in fact a massive program of political assassinations.

Colby was trying to substantiate the allegation that the Thieu regime in Vietnam had mass support, and he cited various steps that were taken at the CIA's insistence to shore up the puppet's image. In the course of his remarks, Colby said, "And the Phoenix was part of it. Phoenix was an effort to identify who the communist cadres and leaders were and to stop bothering their

followers. . . . And this was another case where I personally gave instructions against assassinations."

Colby continued, "Yes I'll admit that people were wrongfully killed. Some—and the figure 20,000 is used because I reported that 20,000 had been killed, but not assassinated—85 to 90 percent of them had been killed in military actions. . . ."

Stapleton said after Colby's comments: "We've heard a revealing admission here, and that is Mr. Colby's startling statement that of the 20,000 people who died in the Phoenix program, 10 percent of them were not killed in military action—that is, 2,000 were assassinated."

an inimical effect on the rights of people in this country and around the world. And that's the problem we have to deal with.

Question. Mr. Colby, are you in favor of ending all spying activities against the Socialist Workers party? And what is the CIA doing to protect us from the Democratic and Republican parties? [Sustained laughter and applause.]

Colby. I can assure you the CIA wasn't doing anything to protect you from either the Democratic or the Republican party in the United States, and I'm pretty sure that it hasn't done anything since I left.

Now, on the second part of the question. I wouldn't give any party an absolute carte blanche. I would look at the question of whether there is any foreign support or manipulation, and I would say that it is reasonable for the CIA to look at whether this is happening.

Within the United States that's the FBI's job. Outside the United States that's the CIA's job.

Stapleton. Well, there's obviously a dual standard being used here because there are certain institutions that operate overseas, like Gulf Oil, that engage in political activities in the United States and that aren't subject to surveillance and infiltration by the CIA and the FBI.

So some become a target and some don't. And I don't think the criterion is foreign links. The CIA and FBI target those people whose activities are inimical to the interests of the rulers of this country.

Question. Mr. Colby, what's the status of the files on domestic dissidents being held by the CIA?

Colby. The president of the Senate and the speaker of the House wrote me a letter asking me that I destroy nothing. I've directed my people to comply with that letter, but I also said that I hoped we would have the biggest bonfire I knew of as soon as that letter of restriction was lifted.

Stapleton. I assure you that officials of the CIA and FBI would like to have a big bonfire of all the files we haven't seen, and they're going to try

and organize it as soon as possible.

Question. When should the CIA overthrow foreign governments?

Colby. In the first place, there is a perfectly practical matter. You don't overthrow a foreign government, you help somebody in that country who wants to overthrow the government do it. [Laughter.]

I think that's an important fact, because there's an image that somehow you just pull a string in Washington and—bang!—it goes. That's not true.

The second answer is when. I think it should be used sparingly.

I think there are situations, however, where a force in a country indicates it will turn the country into a force hostile to the United States, that you can perhaps avoid a more serious problem later by operating through some assistance to friends.

It's not an ideological urge to go over there and remake the world in our image. It is a matter of the direct interests of the people of the United States.

Stapleton. This is precisely the point I was trying to make earlier, that the CIA and its defenders continue to claim the right to try to overthrow governments.

And that's a very important point Mr. Colby made about how they don't try to create images of the United States around the world. That's completely true.

They don't try to establish constitutional freedoms around the world. They don't try to establish a bill of rights in Brazil or Uruguay or Greece or Chile.

The CIA is trying to support people it feels are "friends" of the United States, people like Chiang Kai-shek, Pinochet, and the rest.

Question. I am an Iranian and I and other Iranians think that the CIA had a lot to do with the coup in Iran in 1953. I would like to know if Mr. Colby will support our right to look at CIA files and see for ourselves what the CIA has done to our country and why we don't have any democratic rights. Why we have to suffer a

dictatorship. [Sustained applause.]

Colby. The Freedom of Information Act gives a citizen of the United States an opportunity to go to the government and get hold of government documents, with a few exceptions outlined in the act. I do not believe that the CIA should be responsive to every foreigner who comes to the front door and asks for a look at his files. [Applause.]

Question. For Mr. Colby: what is subversion, foreign and domestic?

Colby. I think the word subversion, there are quite a number of different definitions of it—no very precise ones. It basically means working underneath to pull out from under the structure, the things that hold something up, to penetrate it, infiltrate it, and so forth.

That's the general meaning but I don't have a

pat answer for that question.

Stapleton. It's a very good point that subversion is not a very precise term. It's used by the FBI, for example, to target people for harassment whom the FBI considers "subversive." And there's no telling what they mean. It just means they want to get you.

'The Magic Flute'--A Marxist Interpretation

Ingmar Bergman's film of the Mozart opera takes a new look at this puzzling tale, whose origins can only be explained through the Marxist view of human development.

By Jim Morgan

Bergman's version of *The Magic Flute* is beautiful, worth seeing several times.

But what is Mozart's *Magic Flute* all about, anyway?

On the surface, this Masonic morality play is about Enlightenment overcoming the Dark Ages. The forces of light are represented by Sarastro and his priestly Brotherhood. Opposed to them stand the Queen of the Night and her spear-wielding Ladies. (In an interesting switch, the three Ladies rescue Prince Tamino from a dragon and then view him as a sex object.)

Patriarchy vs. Matriarchy

At another level, the opera is about the "battle of the sexes." Its patriarchal bias shows up in many ways: the antifemale Brotherhood are the good guys; a sexist contempt for women (as one of Sarastro's priests says, "A woman does little, gossips much") is even more pronounced than the opera's racism (black is ugly; white is beautiful).

One is tempted to interpret the story with "colors reversed," so to speak. Nietzsche tried to interpret the Bible with God as a tyrant opposed to progress ("Thou shalt not eat of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge"). So one might see Sarastro and his Temple of Wisdom as tyrannical and fraudulent. In fact, these are the very charges raised against him by the Queen of the Night.

Sarastro's Brotherhood, which preaches "love, duty, and forgiveness," is actually based on slavery. Evidently the slaves, whose "foreman" is Monostatos, the lustful Moor, are supposed to be Black. And the powerlessness of women is implicit in the all-male rule.

Of course, it is not hard for Sarastro to preach forgiveness. For he is on top. He has bested the queen—who desires vengeance to the point of wanting to burn down Sarastro's temple. It seems Sarastro has partially overthrown her rule. And to make sure the queen is finished, he has stolen her only daughter for the purpose of instilling in her the patriarchal rules of the game.

Pamina, daughter of the Queen of the Night, becomes a central character in the opera. Around her the struggle is concretized. The queen sends Prince Tamino to rescue her from Sarastro. Tamino is a bit like Don Quixote, with Papageno the bird-catcher as his Sancho Panza. Tamino knows nothing of Pamina, but immediately (and quixotically) falls in love with her picture. Their marriage is to be arranged, first by the queen, then by Sarastro.

Tamino betrays the queen's trust, as Sarastro persuades him to join the Brotherhood. Tamino reveals his reason for going against the queen: "She is a woman, with a woman's mind."

This betrayal increases the queen's fury. In a fit of rage she gives Pamina a dagger and orders her to kill Sarastro—or else be disowned forever.

Jim Morgan, a member of the Upper West Side, New York, branch of the Socialist Workers party, is a student of philosophy and economics at the New School for Social Research. He is an amateur musician and has taught music in the New York public schools.



MOZART

The wavering Pamina is ruthlessly forced to choose between helping her mother destroy the patriarchy or severing all connections with the matriarchy. (The queen may be compared to the "Furies" of ancient Greek mythology, those remnants of the overthrown matriarchy who visited revenge on men. For evidence of an actual prehistorical matriarchy, see Frederick Engels's *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Pathfinder Press, 1972; Evelyn Reed's *Woman's Evolution*, Pathfinder Press, 1975; and Elizabeth Gould Davis's *The First Sex*, Penguin, 1972.)

Good Guys vs. Bad Guys (Gals)

A note on Bergman: Unlike Schikaneder, Mozart's librettist, Bergman portrays the queen as unambiguously evil—in spite of her beautiful arias. Mozart's queen is not so simple. She feels wronged and oppressed by Sarastro. She becomes more and more frustrated and desperate—to the point of joining forces with the evil Monostatos. But she is evidently sincere, not only in her rage, but in her initial dealings with Prince Tamino.

Bergman, however, shows her to be completely devious from the beginning. But it is she who gives Tamino his magic flute (which tames the beasts à la Orpheus). And it is her ladies in waiting who bid Tamino and Papageno to follow the advice of the three angelic boys (who are in fact good spirits). This latter point, which shows a connection between the queen and the forces of good, is erased by Bergman. He has the boys introduce themselves, singing the part Mozart wrote for the Ladies.

Furthermore, Bergman changes Sarastro into Pamina's actual father. Thus his abducting her from her mother is made more palatable. Like a good liberal, Bergman attempts to smooth the rough edges, playing down the sexist and racist elements. He omits the duet of the priests: "Beware of woman's tricks; that is the first law of our order."

'Woman's Place'

And what is Sarastro's excuse for stealing Pamina from her mother? He says the queen is "proud and weak"—"only a man should guide"

Pamina. "You women need to have a man in control of your hearts, otherwise every one of you tends to go far out of your sphere."

Why such concern about a woman's "sphere"? Mozart wrote *The Magic Flute* in 1791, at the time of the French revolution, the triumph of bourgeois society over feudalism. But the "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" did not apply to women (or Black slaves). (At the end, the queen, her Ladies, and the Moor sink into the earth, crying, "We are all cast into eternal night.") Lest women, inspired by the bourgeois-democratic revolution, become too "uppity," it was necessary to emphasize their proper "sphere." They were needed by capitalism to reproduce and raise the labor force and serve as a "reserve army of labor."

In a sense, women had a more respected place under feudalism, in which production was carried on in the family and women were recognized as producers alongside men. As production moved out of the household into the business world, women were seen more and more as "doing little, gossiping much." Women's private labor as housewives became only the labor of consumption (cooking, etc.). As such it remained in "darkness," never entering the marketplace to become socially evaluated or recognized as a constituent part of social labor.

Thus *The Magic Flute* expresses a parallel between the overthrow of the matriarchy and the overthrow of feudalism, both of which brought women down a notch. But a problem arises: Was there not something progressive in the overthrow of the matriarchy, just as in the ending of feudalism? Is there an element of truth on Sarastro's side?

Yes. The overthrow of the matriarchy was progressive in the sense that it brought about a class society that made possible enormous cultural and technical advance. Culturally: a group of "priests" (Sarastro and company) were set free from labor so as to develop culture (Sarastro's Temple of Wisdom). Technically: the social division of labor was developed, bringing about a higher productivity of labor.

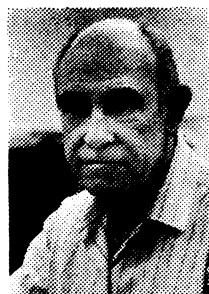
And by overthrowing feudal restrictions, capitalism has developed the world market and brought about an industrial revolution. This has prepared the way for worldwide culture and the ending of capitalist exploitation along with the end of class-divided society.

But the problem is that culture and advanced technology are used by those in power to maintain their privileged rule. Culture and science are bound up with class society and debased into making such things as atomic bombs. One "solution" is to reject science in favor of astrology or to return to a more primitive way of life. (The Queen of the Night wanted to burn down the Temple of Wisdom; but she offered nothing positive to put in its place.)

The solution lies not in destroying technology but in using it and building on the class culture of the past in order to bring about a new classless society in which everyone will have real access to culture, wealth, and leisure. For the "magic" of technology, the power that can destroy the earth, is also the power that can create a new world if working people, the descendants of Papageno and Papagena, can get control over it.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Man with a future

lectures and advice to the U.S. military brass on the problems of race relations in the military.

The DRRI has been totally ineffective in its supposed purpose as an affirmative-action program within the military. Its real purpose is to head off and co-opt militant groups protesting racism and to provide some window dressing.

Betances, a figure in the Puerto Rican movement, had kept his employment with the Defense Department a close secret. When it was revealed, he was severely discredited within the Puerto Rican movement and criticized by the radical Puerto Rican student groups at Northeastern.

The Northeastern Illinois University administration is trying to railroad Dr. Stern by accusing him of unethical behavior by causing "demonstrable damage to the professional reputation of Dr. Samuel Betances."

The Stern Defense Committee has repeatedly pointed out that if Dr. Betances's reputation was damaged by the exposure of true facts, it is due to his own questionable political activities. It is for this reason that the error in the headline should be corrected.

Elizabeth McNulty
Chicago, Illinois

CP won't fight city hall

The Communist party has not even mentioned once in its newspaper, much less voiced support to, the landmark suit of the Socialist Workers party against the U.S. government.

The SWP's suit has been responsible for releasing and publicizing thousands of documents detailing decades of government harassment of socialists and other political activists.

Meanwhile, the CP says it too has been harassed and has even asked the government to release records of this harassment.

However, according to an article in the *Poughkeepsie Journal*, Communist "party officials have declined to sue for these documents because they are convinced that the FBI has doctored the records."

CP presidential candidate Gus Hall told the *Journal*, "What Nixon did with the tapes, the FBI has done with our records."

Laurie Byrd
Poughkeepsie, New York

Democrats hired scabs

The Democratic convention's prolabor image was tarnished somewhat by the discovery that heavy-handed credential officials had kept an AFL-CIO film crew out of Madison Square Garden.

At the July 15 meeting of the New York City Central Labor Council, Bill Morgan of Cameramen Local 644 and Julius Margolin of Motion Picture Studio Mechanics Local 52 protested the exclusion, and also pointed out that nonunion film crews had been used, in violation of a prior agreement.

"Every nail was union but on film crews we got the raw end of the deal," Morgan said.

Steve Beck
New York, New York

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

Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons was reminded on a national television show a couple of years ago that his two immediate predecessors, Dave Beck and James Hoffa, had both gone to jail. He was asked what he thought his chances were. Fitzsimmons said he didn't intend to go to jail if he could help it.

This was before the disappearance of Hoffa. And since Fitzsimmons grants few public interviews, he hasn't had to say anything openly in recent months about the threat of a jail sentence. His performance indicates that he may be trying to keep out of jail, but his efforts seem misdirected and unpromising.

Several federal agencies are picking at criminal misuse of the union's \$1.4 billion Central States Pension Fund. There is also a separate investigation of the embezzlement of \$2.38 million from Teamster Security Funds of Northern California. Some of Fitzsimmons's close associates are suspects in the disappearance of Hoffa and have recently been indicted on charges of kidnapping and murdering a New Jersey Teamster official in 1961.

At least one of the big trucking firms under union contract is complaining bitterly that rival companies, financed with union funds and operated by business partners of union officials, pay lower wages with union approval.

There is deep resentment in the ranks of the union. Several opposition groups have developed to challenge the way Fitzsimmons and the gang around him are running the two-million-member organization.

To make matters worse, Fitzsimmons is unable to find the political protection he enjoyed when his friend Nixon was in the White House.

The way Fitzsimmons ran the union convention last June in Las Vegas didn't help promote the image of a good guy who ought to be defended against his enemies and the bad company he keeps. The convention was policed by goons who seemed to be trying to conform to the movie version of gangland hit men.

The lone opposition delegate was roughed up outside the hall and silenced on the convention floor. Fitzsim-

As if to remind everyone that even old prisoners can have a rewarding future, the eighty-two-year-old Dave Beck was brought to the convention podium to denounce critics of corrupt union leaders.

Fitzsimmons, however, wants to be sure that he gets his rewards now. The convention raised his yearly pay to \$156,250, plus an unlimited expense account and exclusive use of a Learjet plane. His apparent control

over the union was increased by giving him power to appoint "international representatives" whose salaries and perquisites he determines.

Having in this way secured his immediate prospects, Fitzsimmons seemed to take a longer look into the

future. The Central States Pension Fund is reported to be under new management, with final decisions on the disbursement and investment of funds resting with Daniel Shannon. He is described as incorruptible, a former protégé of Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley. Apparently Fitzsimmons decided on his own or was told by others to look for cover.

Another, earlier, move in this direction might be palmed off as an attempt to clean up the union. Local 413 of the Teamsters in Columbus, Ohio, was seized last February by a forty-member squad of Teamster "organizers." They handed the local union president, Vito Mango, a notice to vacate, signed by Fitzsimmons.

The notice listed specific charges, among them: 1) failure to ballot properly on a proposed dues increase; 2) acts of violence against employers, employees of the union, and members; 3) mishandling of union dues; 4) improper transfer of money from the union's Health and Welfare Trust Fund; 5) causing dissension among local executive board members, business agents, and the membership.

It may be that Fitzsimmons thinks his conduct will help keep him out of jail. But it is hard to believe that any of this is very carefully thought out. It could be that there are other consequences Fitzsimmons fears more than jail, and is trying to postpone.



By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Not yet uhuru

They had trained for months and years to get to the Montréal Olympics for that one moment when they would be Steve Austin and Jamie Summers no more. When they would step out as six-million-dollar men and bionic women to swim, dive, high jump over the moon, and run fast, faster, fastest.

But when they arrived, the James Gilekses, Mike Boits, and Filbert Bayis had to step back into their roles as mild-mannered Steve Austins because their governments were among the twenty-some African and other nations that opted to boycott the Olympics.

There was considerable disappointment among the athletes and fans that this happened. After years of training for this moment, the world would not be witness to some of the best athletic match-ups possible. This fan—if to the chagrin of some—shares that disappointment.

The issue was said to have been the admission of New Zealand into the games. It had recently toured a rugby team in apartheid South Africa, and the African and other nations said if New Zealand was not booted out they would boycott.

"We will not align ourselves with a country that has sports ties with South Africa," said the chairperson of Kenya's National Sports Council.

If such a practice were closely followed there would be jillions of boycotts. Nearly every country—from the United States and the Soviet Union to some of these same boycotting countries—regularly allow their

athletes to participate in sports events with South Africans.

Now don't go off half-cocked. This fan is not one of those "politics and sports don't and shouldn't mix" types. Any examination of Blacks in sports will reveal that racial discrimination—a political phenomenon—has kept them off the center stage despite their skills. And it has taken struggles—political efforts—by Blacks to achieve equality in sports.

The point is that there should have been an Olympics protest by these countries. But the boycott was short-lived, had little staying power politically, and hurt the athletes—the wrong people.

Instead, the countries should have let their athletes compete. But months ago the countries should have been—and still should be—initiating a big campaign to educate humanity about the South African regime and who profits from racist oppression.

Then they should have called for a massive protest turnout at Montréal. They should have organized protests of millions throughout Africa. And with their resources and authority they could have called on their friends in the Caribbean, the rest of the Americas, the Middle East, Asia, and Europe to do the same.

If protests on that scale had occurred it would have been a much more powerful gesture to the Black victims of apartheid inside South Africa. And, by the way, there wouldn't have been a peep from at least one fan who wanted to have his cake and eat it too.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



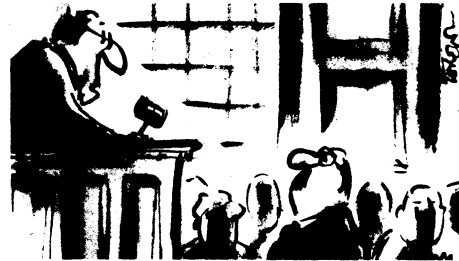
A city with heart—Los Angeles City Council members, who recently hiked their \$30,000 salaries 10 percent, aren't just looking out for number one. They also reinstated free bus trips for senior citizens. The bus, which provided trips to the zoo, etc., was discontinued for lack of funds. But the good council members voted \$2,500 to keep it rolling until New Year's.

Social tip—In case you're considering a party, here's a good suggestion from Mrs. Del Webb, widow of the late real estate tycoon: "Start out with

champagne and caviar and you never go wrong."

Philosophical—An Atlanta grand juror charged that a judge refused to authorize a crime probe, explaining, "Organized crime will never be eliminated; a tolerable level will have to be accepted as a fact of life." However, the judge assured, "The court will act if and when the problem reaches crisis proportions."

On guard—Gillette, the company that pioneered razor blades with built-in obsolescence, agreed to stop conning



Warrington Trently, this court has found you guilty of price-fixing, bribing a government official, and conspiring to act in restraint of trade. I sentence you to six months in jail, suspended. You will now step forward for the ceremonial tapping of the wrist.'

buyers of Right Guard into thinking they are getting more for their money. They will stop using oversize boxes with false lids, sides, and bottoms. The government also hit them with financial penalties for the deception—fines and legal fees totaling \$7,500.

The sacred institution—**WASHINGTON (UPI)**—Married persons are usually healthier than the formerly married, but healthiest of all are those who never wed, according to the government's first statistical study on the relationship of marriage to illness."

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Our 'democratic' system

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

When we go to school in this country, the textbooks boast that there is no system of government that is fairer than ours for every man and woman. If you don't like the Republicans, you can vote for the Democrats. Historians have written books describing the futility of smaller parties or independent candidates trying to stick their toe into the electoral arena.

But just in case someone does decide to run for office outside the two capitalist parties, the system has a second line of defense. On the books are an untold variety of laws and restrictions passed by the Democrats and Republicans to keep socialists and independents off the ballot.

In California, for example, friends and supporters of the Socialist Workers party are required to collect 100,000 signatures to put our party on the ballot. An exorbitant number!

In New York City, the drive to get me and the other socialist candidates on the ballot will begin August 17. Scores of people will fan out through the predominantly Puerto Rican Lower East Side on street corners, in the housing developments, and in

the shopping areas. I need 3,500 valid signatures to get on the ballot. We will collect many more, however, to make it as difficult as possible for anyone to bump us off the ballot.

The capitalist politicians have a third line of defense. They sometimes have right-wing goons—like the National Caucus of Labor Committees—or their own flunkies challenge the signatures gathered and filed. In 1974, a Democratic party official in New York unsuccessfully challenged the SWP petitions. Another Democratic official told the *New York Times* that he was "sick of those minor parties siphoning votes away from us."

My Democratic opponent, Edward Koch, has to collect 1,205 signatures, barely a third of what I have to get. And it's almost 100 percent certain that no one will challenge *his* signatures. He's a member in good standing of one of the parties of the ruling rich.

But this self-styled "liberal with a human face" willingly stoops to trying to kick independent candidates off the ballot. In 1972 one of Koch's staff members challenged the Socialist Workers party, the Free Libertarian party, and the Tenant's party. The SWP beat his undemocratic move, but he succeeded in eliminating the other two groups from

Catarino Garza



the ballot.

Seems funny, doesn't it? *They* are the ones with the big full-time staffs, millions in legal and illegal campaign funds, and high-powered coverage in the news media. But heaven forbid that people should get any strange ideas. Socialists on the ballot might set an example to independent Puerto Rican or Black candidates—or to labor candidates. After all, millions of people are so fed up with the government that they don't even bother to vote any more. A lot of these people will be open to voting—and fighting in other arenas—*independent* of the big business parties. If they have the alternative.

We are not going to let the power brokers who are responsible for the exploitation of millions succeed in keeping the socialist alternative off the ballot. They may win temporary victories, but even in states where they've kept the SWP off the ballot before, hundreds of people are back in the streets again in 1976. In some states, we've filed suit against reactionary ballot laws. This year we aim to be on the ballot in thirty states.

If you agree with the right of the Socialist Workers party to be on the ballot, join us in New York the last two weeks of August. We need your help!

Their Government

A Mondale for all seasons

WASHINGTON—Carter's choice for a vice-presidential running mate has been greeted with wild relief by the nation's liberal commentators. It's not Hubert Humphrey, but Sen. Walter "Fritz" Mondale is the next best thing, having been Humphrey's constant political companion since he first worked on HHH's election campaign in 1948.

Perhaps, the liberals dare to hope, Carter's selection of Mondale means the Georgia peanut farmer will be campaigning out the progressive side of his mouth this fall. Carter's "intentions" were "clarified," said the *New York Times*, by choosing "so devoted and unquestionable a liberal."

The *Times* "Man in the News" piece described Fritz as one "who finds it impossible to hold a plastic smile and difficult to slap a back."

Lest you think this bodes change for the Carter technique or program, the Democratic presidential candidate assures us that he is "completely satisfied" that Mondale could "support with enthusiasm my own positions." That was after he and Mondale had discussed what Carter calls the "litmus paper issues," including "forced busing."

Carter opposes busing, but Republican Sen. Bob Dole gleefully calls Mondale "Mr. Busing." Fritz plans to shake that epithet as fast as possible. Questioned by reporters, he said he had never been "an advocate" of busing. It's just that he isn't against enforcing the law, "which occasionally requires busing."

I recall the first time I had a chance to observe Fritz firsthand. It was at a hearing of the Senate Intelligence Committee last December. The committee had just heard from a former FBI informer who after infiltrating the Klan had joined murderous attacks on civil rights activists.

Mondale didn't have any questions for him, but when the spotlight moved to an FBI official, he showed concern. As long as the bureau stayed in the area of criminal investigation, Fritz noted, it did okay. But when it moved to the realm of "political ideas," the FBI "bungled its job."

"I started in politics years ago," the Minnesota senator continued, "and the first thing we had to do was to get the Communists out of our party and out of the union. We did a very fine job."

Nancy Cole



The point apparently being that they didn't need a secret police agency to do the job. At least, he added, as far as he knew the FBI and CIA didn't help out. "We just ran them [Communists] out of the meetings on the grounds that they weren't Democrats and they weren't good union leaders, and we didn't want anything to do with them."

Then in June, I caught Mondale's act at the national conventions of AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) and the National Education Association. Fritz had to fill in at the AFSCME convention for Carter, who at the last minute decided the fish were biting in Plains. He had never bothered accepting an invitation to address the NEA meeting.

In retrospect, I think Carter picked a real soul mate. My notes indicate only one memorable Mondale quote—delivered with great passion to teachers at the NEA gathering:

"Nothing is more beautiful than the face of a healthy child . . . [pause, the suspense builds] . . . And that's what this country needs more of!"

Jimmy Carter couldn't have said it better.

Layoffs, wage freeze

Phila. city workers face cutbacks

By Terry Ann Hardy

PHILADELPHIA—The municipal crisis that has plagued New York City for the past year is spreading south. Here in Philadelphia, working people are under attack through higher taxes, layoffs, wage cuts, and cutbacks in health, transportation, and other services.

The main weapons of the ruling rich in this attack are the Democratic party administration of Mayor Frank Rizzo and the capitalist-owned mass media.

The first victims have been public employees. The latest battle began on June 30, when the contract expired between the city and its 24,600 nonuniformed employees. Negotiations between the city and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) broke down because the city refused to offer any wage increase and said it was delaying layoffs only until it thought it could get away with them.

The unions had been demanding a 4.5 percent wage increase, the same amount granted to police and fire fighters this spring, and no layoffs.

For months, Earl Stout, president of AFSCME District Council 33, which represents 22,000 city employees, had said his union would strike rather than accept a wage freeze or layoffs of any union members.

No picket lines

On July 1, however, no picket lines were set up at work sites. City workers didn't know whether they were supposed to report for work or staff picket lines.

Confusion abounded outside the city hall complex as employees hesitated for as much as an hour to go to their jobs. Elevator operators reported for work an hour late.

"This is a half-hearted strike if I ever saw one," said Alfred Doyle, a city custodian for eleven years.

Union sources were quoted later as saying they had never intended to stage a strike. They had thought "it was a good bargaining technique," one source said.

Instead, the city's nonuniformed workers began a slowdown aimed at affecting city services over the July 4 weekend. In addition, city workers in almost every department refused to accept overtime assignments for night work and the bicentennial weekend.

City Managing Director and Rizzo crony Hillel Levinson announced that the city would dock the pay of all workers who participated in the slowdown. "Even if the workers put in eight hours a day, if they only give us four hours of productivity, they'll get four hours' pay," Levinson said.

The city has suspended sixty-two sanitation workers for "not putting in a full day's work." According to Levinson, "These are immediate suspensions with the intent to dismiss."

The sanitation department is already so understaffed that the workers put in many hours of overtime just to keep up with trash collection.

AFSCME leaders called off the slowdown after the first week, but workers are still refusing overtime.

'Tough it out'

As the stalemate goes into its second month, the ruling class in this city refuses to budge. The city's last offer was a two-year contract with no wage increase the first year and 6.5 percent the second year.

One union official pointed out that "by the second year, without a pay raise now, we would be 17 percent behind in the cost of living and taxes alone."

The Rizzo administration clearly intends to "tough it out." "We're past the critical Fourth of July weekend,"



Hospital workers protest last February against closing of city hospital. Democratic administration is now extending mass layoffs to other departments.

one city official said, "which was a threat hanging over our heads. Now we can hold fast and let the pressures build up and see who they build up on faster, the union or us."

This attack on city workers is the latest round in the ruling-class offensive against Philadelphia workers. The first assault came when the Rizzo administration announced the closing of Philadelphia General Hospital, the only city hospital, by July 1977.

The closing of PGH, which serves 236,000 patients yearly, is an attack not only on city workers but on the right of the Black and Puerto Rican communities to health care.

On July 1, working people here were hit with an increased city wage tax—now 4 percent, the highest in the country. Homeowners suffered a 29 percent property tax increase. In addition, water and sewer rates will increase by 50 percent in August.

Last May, the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) claimed they had a budget deficit. They threatened to shut down bus, streetcar, and subway service, raise fares from thirty-five to fifty cents, and lay off 345 workers.

Transit layoffs

When the SEPTA workers were laid off, the Transport Workers Union (TWU) initiated a slowdown and threatened to strike July 4 unless they were rehired.

"The mayor and politicians of this city better send a message to the people coming to visit," Merrill Cooper, secretary-treasurer of TWU Local 234 told 1,000 cheering members at a meeting in June. "Tell them they better bring tricycles . . . they better bring roller skates. If SEPTA doesn't rehire these men, not a wheel will turn in the SEPTA system."

City officials took the threat seriously, and negotiated a settlement with the TWU before July 4. Thirty of the 345 drivers laid off were rehired. TWU President Ned Le Donne passed this off as "the greatest victory that a union could ever achieve."

The capitalist politicians and newspapers say the reason for these breakdowns and impending catastrophes is that the government has been spending too much on public services and now has a budget deficit. Back in January, the Rizzo administration "discovered" a deficit in excess of \$80 million, although it had claimed a surplus of \$12 million in the 1975 city budget.

It turns out that almost half the deficit consists of debt service payments that were due in 1972. (Debt service means interest and principal repayment to banks and other city bondholders.)

In 1972, during Rizzo's first term, the banks agreed to postpone collection of the debt until 1976. It probably looked like the cheapest way to buy Rizzo another term in office, by waiting until after the November 1975 election to demand repayment.

New loan crisis

In November 1975, the city had to borrow \$25 million from the banks at a record high interest rate of 10 percent in order to pay off the interest on its old bonds. In return, the city agreed to layoffs and cuts in social services. The banks demand these cutbacks as a guarantee that their interest payments are and will continue to be the top priority in city finances.

The city now has \$82 million in short-term debt payments due December 3. It will have to borrow more money to pay off this debt in December. But by the beginning of the summer no bank had agreed to buy any city bonds.

In July, having proved its seriousness about attacking social services, wages, and unions, the city was able to sell \$60 million in bonds to the banks. Deputy Finance Director Irwin Davis called the successful sale "a pat on the head that we've remedied our defects."

That's the crisis in a nutshell: drastic cuts in the living standards of workers to ensure the profits of the banks.

For working people, the crisis promises only to get worse. The public school system has announced that its deficit will run to \$66 million. One reason for the city's hard line toward AFSCME is that teachers and school employees will expect their contract to at least match that of other city workers.

The Rizzo administration and the school board have told the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, whose contract expires in September, not to expect any wage increases. The PFT represents 14,000 teachers and 8,000 nonteaching employees in the Philadelphia schools.

The antilabor austerity program of the Rizzo administration is going to get worse before it gets better. Growing numbers of workers in Philadelphia are beginning to recognize this harsh reality, and are discussing how best to fight back.

One-day walkout by Atlanta AFSCME

By Martha Shockey

ATLANTA—City employees here carried out a highly effective one-day work stoppage July 19 demanding payment of a \$500 wage increase that had been promised and later withdrawn by Mayor Maynard Jackson.

Heads of city departments acknowledged that virtually no one except supervisory personnel showed up for work on what was designated "City Employee Day" by Local 1644, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Eight hundred workers marched on city hall to confront Jackson. They demanded that he honor the wage agreement he negotiated and signed last March.

That agreement called for an immediate \$208 raise to be followed by the \$500 increase by July 1. When July rolled around the mayor declared the city government had no funds for the promised second step.

Under pressure from Local 1644's campaign, however, Jackson offered a one-time bonus reportedly ranging from \$100 to \$200. The discovery of this bonus money contradicted Jackson's original claim that the city was broke.

"The mayor is lying to us," declared James Malone, head of the AFSCME public works chapter, at a recent membership meeting.

Local 1644 is an overwhelmingly Black union that worked hard to elect Jackson as Atlanta's first Black mayor. But his antilabor actions have revealed the true face of the city's



JACKSON: Threatens to fire any city employee who strikes.

Democratic administration. After refusing to grant the promised raise, Jackson threatened to revoke the union's dues checkoff rights if it led any sort of work action.

Undeterred by these threats, the union proceeded to organize a "safety program" slowdown and the one-day strike.

Jackson addressed the angry workers at city hall, assuring them that he sympathized with their problems and had always supported their right to organize. But, he said, the city could not afford a raise unless AFSCME agreed to layoffs.

When the workers returned to their jobs the next day, they found a memo from Jackson declaring that any city employee who goes on strike will be fired.

USSR: the bureaucracy consolidates its power



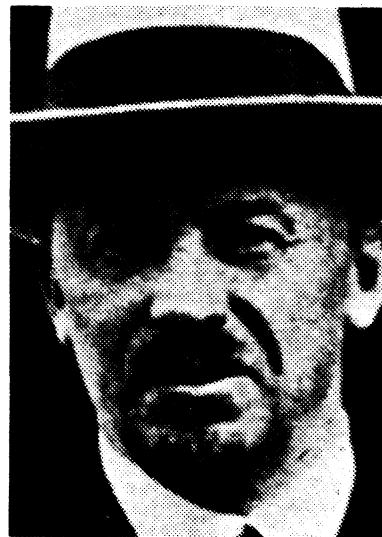
KAMENEV
executed



ZINOVIEV
executed



RYKOV
executed



BUKHARIN
executed



RADEK
fate unknown

By Dick Roberts

(Sixth of a series)

Most defenders of Moscow and Peking who claim that "socialism" already exists in the Soviet Union or China would nevertheless agree that democratic rights are drastically restricted in both countries.

The USSR and China are ruled by monolithic parties. Policy is decided at the top. Free discussion is outlawed. Writing, both political and artistic, is heavily censored. There are no alternative parties and the press is completely controlled by the state. Voicing an independent critical opinion can land anyone in jail.

A reminder of the absence of democracy in China came with the Tien An Men Square demonstration in Peking last April.

In that event the Peking police had removed thousands of wreaths placed in honor of Chou En-lai at the Martyrs' Monument in Tien An Men Square. An enormous crowd, estimated at more than 250,000, demonstrated against the removal of the wreaths. The crowd was routed by the police. Hundreds were arrested. Since then radical Chinese students from Hong Kong to Chinatown, New York, have protested the Tien An Men Square repression.

The traditional argument in defense of Moscow's and Peking's repressive policies is that harsh measures are necessary now in order to build a democratic socialist society in the future.

Leaving aside the question of at what point "socialism" would exist in a postcapitalist society, are the regimes in Moscow and Peking headed in this direction? Do the rulers of the Soviet Union and China really aim to build a society of workers and peasants democracy?

State apparatus

To get at these questions it is helpful to begin with the Marxist conception of the state. In his famous pamphlet *The State and Revolution*, Lenin quotes a summary of this conception by Engels.

"The state, then, has not existed from all eternity," Engels wrote. "There have been societies that did without it, that had no conception of the state and state power. At a certain stage of economic development, which was necessarily bound up with the cleavage of society into classes, the state became a necessity owing to this cleavage."

State power is repressive power. It protects the interests of the class that rules: in capitalist society, the interests of the capitalist class against those of the working class. Engels continued:

"We are now rapidly approaching a stage in the development of production at which the existence of these classes not only will have ceased to be a necessity, but will become a positive hindrance to production. They will fall as inevitably as they arose at an earlier stage. Along with them the state will inevitably fall. The society that will organize production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers will put the whole machinery of state where it will then belong: into the Museum of Antiquities, by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze axe."

For Marxists the overthrow of capitalist rule means the dismantling of the capitalist state

apparatus and its replacement by a workers state, to rule in the interests of the majority. But this workers state is *transitional*. As the new classless society is built, the need for the repressive power of the state is eliminated. The state itself will "wither away," as Marx said.

Lenin's view

"We ourselves," Lenin wrote, "the workers, will organize large-scale production on the basis of what capitalism has already created, relying on our own experience as workers, establishing strict, iron discipline supported by the state power of the armed workers; we will reduce the role of the state officials to that of simply carrying out our instructions as responsible, revocable, modestly paid 'foremen and bookkeepers' (of course, with the aid of technicians of all sorts, types, and degrees). This is *our* proletarian task, this is what we can and must start with in accomplishing the proletarian revolution. Such a beginning, on the basis of large-scale production, will of itself lead to the gradual 'withering away' of all bureaucracy. . . ."

But the Soviet state has not withered away. It has become a monstrous repressive apparatus dwarfing most capitalist regimes. The Kremlin bureaucracy has not become a "modest" officialdom subordinate to the needs of workers; *the bureaucracy itself took over the state in order to protect its own interests against those of the Russian workers and peasants.*

Russian civil war

The bureaucratization of the Russian revolution is rooted in historical developments that were not foreseen by the Bolsheviks when they overthrew tsarism in 1917. The Bolsheviks thought their revolution would spread to the West. They believed that Bolshevik power would be overthrown by

foreign imperialism if the workers in one or several imperialist countries in Europe did not seize power and prevent this.

"We are in a besieged fortress until other armies of the international socialist revolution come to our aid," Lenin wrote in a letter to American workers in 1918.

The imperialists invaded Soviet Russia. Led by former tsarist generals and backed by virtually every imperialist power, the White Guards attempted to crush workers' rule.

The Russian civil war lasted for three years. Ultimately the Red Army under Leon Trotsky repulsed the reactionary attack. The Bolsheviks were aided by the fact that workers all over the world rallied to their support. In 1919, for instance, workers in Seattle, Washington, prevented arms from being shipped to aid the White Guards.

But there were no successful revolutions abroad. Imperialism, defeated on Russian soil, nevertheless succeeded in confining Soviet power within Russian frontiers. Furthermore, the civil war left the Soviet economy devastated, with production levels well below prewar tsarist times.

The civil war claimed the lives of thousands of revolutionary-minded workers and cadres of the Bolshevik party.

In the ensuing climate of desperate poverty and demoralization, careerists rose to the leadership of both the Bolshevik party and the Soviet state apparatus. Their central concern was their own bureaucratic privilege. The spirit of revolutionism gave way to opportunism in the ranks of the new bureaucracy.

Social advances begun on all levels by the Bolsheviks under Lenin were taken back piece by piece under the Stalin regime. Between 1917 and 1927, for example, the Soviet government passed a

Victims of the purge

Gregory Zinoviev (1883-1936), Bolshevik leader, Lenin's closest collaborator in the decade preceding 1917. Chairman of the Communist International from its founding in 1919 to 1926. Executed.

Leon Kamenev (1883-1936), Bolshevik leader, chairman of the Moscow Soviet and of the Communist party political bureau after Lenin's death. Executed.

Ivan Smirnov (1881-1936), Bolshevik leader, hero of the civil war in Siberia. Executed.

Sergei Mrachkovsky (1883-1936), Bolshevik leader, famous civil war commander. Executed.

Yuri Pyatakov (1890-1937), Bolshevik leader. Lenin called him and Bukharin the "two ablest young men in the party." Executed.

Karl Radek (1885-1939), leader of the Communist International in Lenin's day. Either died or was executed in prison.

Gregory Sokolnikov (1888-1939), Bolshevik leader, people's commissar of finance from 1922 to 1926. Died or was executed in prison.

Nikolai Muralov (1877-1937), Bolshevik leader, head of Moscow military district and Central Committee member under Lenin. Executed.

Leonid Serebriakov (1890-1937), secretary of Bolshevik Central Committee. Executed.

Mikhail Tukhachevsky (1893-1937), outstanding military commander in civil war, appointed marshal of the USSR in 1933. Executed.

Alexei Rykov (1881-1938), Bolshevik leader, succeeded Lenin as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. Executed.

Nikolai Bukharin (1888-1938), Bolshevik leader, second president of the Communist International, member of Lenin's political bureau. Executed.

Nikolai Krestinsky (1883-1938), Bolshevik leader, secretary of the Central Committee, Soviet ambassador to Germany in Lenin's time. Executed.

Christian Rakovsky (1873-1941), Bolshevik leader, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet, Soviet ambassador to London and Paris. Died or was executed in prison.

series of new laws giving women legal equality with men. Marriage became an easy registration process. The concept of illegitimate children was abolished. Free, legal abortion was made every woman's right. But during the 1930s every one of these gains was taken away.

The destruction of the promise of revolutionary advance for workers and peasants required the destruction of the revolutionary party. When Lenin died in 1924, the new regime unleashed a furious attack on Trotsky and Leninism that has not died down to the present day.

Through assassinations, purges, trials, and imprisonments, ultimately leaving millions in concentration camps, the new bureaucracy asserted its triumph over the masses.

State terror

It is not possible to explain the extent of Stalin's violence and repression solely on the basis of one man's personality, as many bourgeois critics try to do. It is equally false to pretend that the terror of the Stalin regime was "merely excessive," as Stalin's admirers in the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking camps attempt to do.

Isaac Deutscher described the extent of the purge trials in his biography of Stalin. "Of the endless trials, public and secret, four were of the greatest importance: 'the trial of the sixteen' (Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, Mrachkovsky, and others) in August 1936; 'the trial of the seventeen' (Piatakov, Radek, Sokolnikov, Muralov, Serebriakov, and others) in January 1937; the secret trial of Marshal Tukhachevsky and a group of the highest generals of the Red Army in June 1937; and 'the trial of the twenty-one' (Rykov, Bukharin, Krestinsky, Rakovsky, Yagoda, and others) in March 1938.

"Among the men in the dock at these trials were all the members of Lenin's Politbureau, except Stalin himself and Trotsky, who, however, though absent, was the chief defendant. Among them, moreover, were one ex-Premier, several vice-Premiers, two ex-chiefs of the Communist International, the chief of the trade unions (Tomsy, who committed suicide before the trial), the chief of the General Staff, the chief political Commissar of the Army, the Supreme Commanders of all important military districts, nearly all Soviet ambassadors in Europe and Asia, and, last but not least, the two chiefs of the political police: Yagoda, who had provided 'evidence' for the trial of Zinoviev and Kamenev, and Yezhov, who had done the same for the trials of all the others."

Stalin & Mao

Peking doctrine maintains a high place for Stalin, second only to Mao himself. The central reason for this is to blur the sharp line separating revolutionism from bureaucratism. The regime in Peking has stamped out workers and peasants democracy with no less vehemence than Moscow. Mao's supporters praise the period when Stalin ruled the Soviet Union.

For example, Martin Nicolaus writes in *Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR* (originally a series published in the *Guardian*): "The Soviet Union of the mid-1930s was predominantly a scene of triumph and unity. Its elementary features were that state power was solidly in the hands of the working class; the major opposition blocs within the party had been exposed and defeated and the unity of the party was strong. . . . It was this triumphant spirit that animated the party's 17th Congress of 1934. . . ."

Nicolaus betrays a profound antipathy to Leninism. For if state power was solidly in the hands of the working class, why would it be necessary to unleash horrendous state terror against a workers party? Beginning in 1934 the Bolsheviks were tried, imprisoned, and murdered en masse. "Unity of the party" consisted solely of obedience to the bureaucracy.

Nicolaus seems to be unaware of the fact that two years after the seventeenth congress of the Soviet Communist party, which he extolls for its "strong unity," 70 percent of the members of the Central Committee elected at that congress were arrested and shot.

The terror of the Stalinist state was rooted in the objective necessity for it to wipe out practitioners of Leninism—those who believe that socialism can only be built through the struggle for workers and peasants democracy.

Over the dead bodies of the leaders of the first successful workers' revolution, the Soviet bureaucracy erected a state to protect and defend bureaucratic privilege.

This state is unalterably opposed to socialism. It is an obstacle that will have to be removed by the Soviet workers to complete the task the Bolsheviks began.

San Antonio Chicanos demand U.S. charges against killer-cop

By David Salner

SAN ANTONIO—Frank Hayes, chief of police in Castroville, a town near here, got away with murder.

That was the reaction of Chicanos here when they heard a state court gave Hayes a two-year sentence for executing Ricardo Morales. The community is demanding that the Justice Department intervene and prosecute Hayes to the full extent of federal law.

Here's what happened:

It is September 14, 1975. Hayes sets out to arrest Ricardo Morales.

Morales, an unemployed construction worker, has been accused of two misdemeanor thefts, but that is not why Hayes wants him. Morales was in court two days earlier and took care of the matter.

Hayes tells his son-in-law, Dennis Dunford, why he wants Morales: "I am going to shoot him three or four times," Hayes tells Dunford.

Hayes asks Dunford to come with him. Hayes needs a witness to a "shooting in self-defense."

At 10:25 p.m. two of Hayes's deputies arrest Morales at his home. Hayes arrives with Dunford, and hits Morales. Hayes says, "Let the s.o.b. go, uncuff him and let him run so I can shoot him."

With Hayes and Dunford in one car, the two deputies in another, they proceed to a rendezvous at a remote point on U.S. Route 90. From there they go down a dirt road, where they stop.

Hayes pulls a shotgun, takes Morales from the deputies, and orders the two to leave.

"I have killed me a Mexican before," Hayes says, "and I am getting ready to kill me another."

The two deputies drive about a mile, turn off their headlights, and park.

Meanwhile, Hayes takes the handcuffs off Morales and tells him to walk down the road. A couple of minutes later the two deputies hear a muffled sound.

Morales is dead.

The Chicano's body has been ripped to shreds by a shotgun blast at point-blank range.

Hayes tells Dunford it was an accident. They load the corpse into the car and drive to rejoin the two deputies. They tell the deputies Morales struggled

for the gun and it went off accidentally.

Then Dunford and Hayes return to the scene of the shooting, where they try to cover up the bloodstains. They put the corpse into the trunk and then drive to Hayes's home.

There they wash and clean the car. Hayes's wife, daughter, and sister-in-law then take the body to a relative's ranch more than 300 miles away where it is buried in a shallow grave.

A clear-cut case of premeditated murder?

Read on.

Hayes was indicted for murder, a capital crime. His trial was moved to San Angelo, 200 miles away, where a jury that included no Chicanos and only one Black heard the case.

His trial ended July 8, when the jury returned its verdict.

The jury reasoned that Hayes did not murder Morales—that was done by the shotgun shell. Hayes was guilty only of attacking Morales—aggravated assault. Hayes was sentenced to not less than two years' imprisonment.

María Morales, widow of Ricardo, sat in the San Angelo courtroom as the jury announced its verdict. Then she cried. "I just wanted to see justice done," she said. "I don't think he got what he deserved."

This was followed by a July 14 Justice Department decision to close its file in the case without bringing federal charges against Hayes. The Justice Department says it has a policy of not enforcing the law when there is a conviction in state courts.

On July 17, a San Antonio press conference to protest the kid-gloves treatment of Hayes drew more than 200 people. Fifty groups, including virtually every Chicano organization in the area, sent representatives.

"It's been said we are a patient people, we turn the other cheek," said Manuel González. "Well, how many cheeks do we have?" González is national president of the League of United Latin American Citizens.

"The Morales family, two or three months ago, is going to be your family tomorrow if we don't stand up and protest this," charged Patrick Flores, a bishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio.

Rubén Sandoval, an attorney for the Morales family, voiced their demand that the federal government prosecute Hayes for violating Morales's civil rights.

Since the news conference, the campaign for justice for Ricardo Morales has been gathering steam.

On July 21, more than 200 students attended a rally at the University of Texas at San Antonio. Speakers included Sandoval, Charles Cotrell of the ACLU, and Rosie Castro, a leader of the Raza Unida party.

On July 22, it was reported that U.S. Rep. Henry González had written several letters to state and federal officials urging further action in the case.

On July 22, U.S. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen added his voice to those demanding that the Justice Department consider reopening the case. He urged Attorney General Edward Levi to meet with a delegation of Chicano leaders to hear arguments on the issue.



Frank Hayes (left) murdered Ricardo Morales, pictured here with wife María.

Immigration arrests activists

By Pedro Vázquez

SAN ANTONIO—The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, or *la migra*, as it is known to Chicanos, is on a campaign to victimize Chicano activists in this city.

On July 13, at 11:30 p.m., Mario Cantú was arrested at his restaurant by U.S. marshals. Cantú was charged with "conspiracy to harbor and shield illegal aliens, knowingly and willfully," and was released on \$5,000 bond.

On July 23, Ignacio Pérez was picked up at the crack of dawn for "attempting to shield illegal aliens from detection." As of July 26, Pérez was being held in jail in lieu of \$25,000 bond, which a judge said must be put up in cash.

Both Pérez and Cantú are well-known Chicano activists in this area. Cantú was a founding leader of TU-CASA, an antideportation organization. Pérez was a leader of the Chicano student movement and a supporter of the Raza Unida party.

The charges against the two stem from a June 18 raid on Mario's Restaurant, which Cantú operates.

Cantú stood by his constitutional rights and refused to let *la migra* enter without a search warrant.

When they obtained a warrant and searched the restaurant, the immigration cops left no stone unturned. Everyone was grilled about their citizenship, including a few visibly upset Anglos. Five people were arrested for having no immigration documents.

As he was being released from prison, Cantú said, "I believe it is a privilege and an honor to be charged with coming to the aid of people whose only crime is trying to find a job and support their families."

In an interview with the *Militant*, Cantú said he was being singled out as an example of what can happen to any person who challenges *la migra*.

"It is obvious," Cantú said. "They are trying to scare merchants and businessmen who try to do the same as I did and exercise their rights by forcing the immigration to show some legal reason for making a raid on their business."

In Review

Women champions

Once upon a time, women were barred from the Olympics, even as spectators. That's how the Olympic story began twenty-seven centuries ago when men ran a 200-yard race in ancient Greece.

Whew! Have things changed.

This year women wrote a new chapter and stole the main character roles. ABC's "Wide World of Sports" brought the spectacular achievements of female athletes into millions of kitchens and living rooms.

Women across the country tuned in especially to see Olga Korbut. In 1972 the Soviet gymnast dazzled the world

Television

with her abilities and unprecedented showwomanship. Many of her young admirers have since taken to the balance beam and uneven parallel bars.

Korbut's first exercise on the bars this year was magnificent—almost perfect. But "almost perfect" was no longer a sufficient measure of greatness.

A new dictionary definition of "perfect" might include as one of its synonyms a name—Nadia Comaneci.

This fourteen-year-old Rumanian was not satisfied with flying around the bars—seeming to defy the laws of gravity. She challenged the laws of motion too. Swinging onto the high bar into a hand stand, she stopped, motionless for a few seconds.

She performed equally spectacular feats on the balance beam, where she also received perfect "10" scores.

Comaneci and the other gymnasts are short and slight. They hide the strain and struggle that lie behind each movement with an easy grace.

It's different with the women swimmers. Their exertion is as obvious as the muscles that stand out on their large frames.

As seventeen-year-old Kornelia Ender stepped up to the starting block, sportscasters called her the "bionic woman." Electronic timers clocked three new world records for Ender as she swam her way to four individual gold medals.

One night the woman from the German Democratic Republic passed a grueling endurance test. She swam two races within the space of thirty minutes and won both.

A new Olympic event for women is basketball. If you could stomach the sexist commentary from ABC's Kurt Gowdy and basketball pro Bill Russell, it was great to watch. The problem is American sportscasters just aren't used to seeing women playing this sport. So during the game between the United States and Canadian teams Gowdy showed his chauvinist ignorance: "These women can pass behind their backs, dribble, scramble, and shoot." What did he expect them to do? Sweep the ball around the court with a broom?

The hustle and skill of these women buried the old "women's" basketball rules forever. "Don't dribble more than three times. Stay on your half of the court," gym teachers used to tell women. So we "protected our reproductive organs" and "femininity" and soon left the courts to the boys.

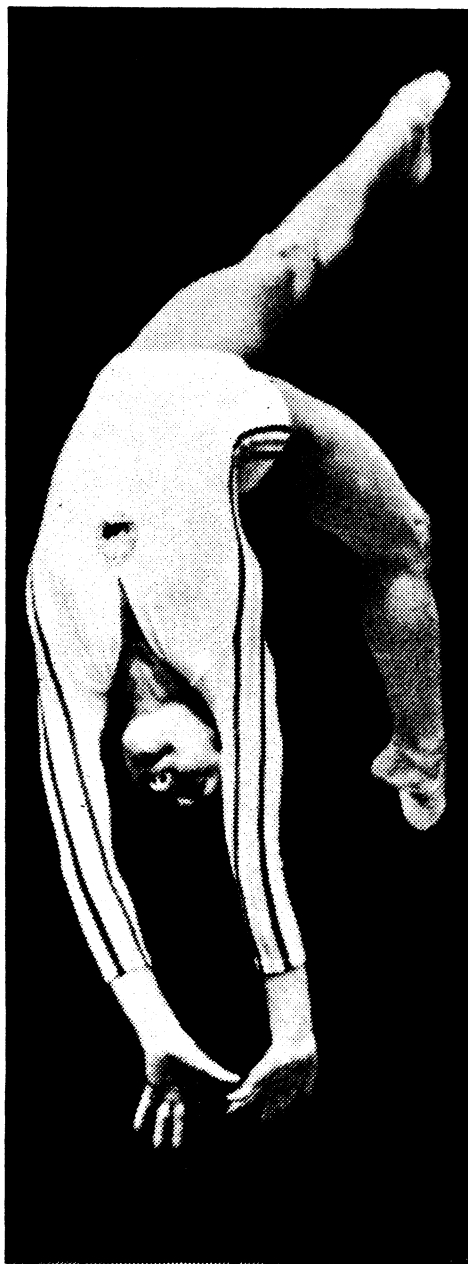
In the Olympic games, the Soviet Union team topped them all. In addition to having all-around good players, the team had seven-foot-two Yuliana Semyonova. This team showed that in skill and size women can be a match for male players.

In fact, the performance of women in many events has sparked speculation and debate: Maybe the physical differences between men and women are "more an artifact of social or cultural restrictions imposed on the female . . . than a result of true biological differences between the sexes." This is the conclusion of Dr. Jack Wilmore, a researcher of women's physical abilities.

In his studies Wilmore shows that boys and girls are equal in strength until they turn ten or twelve: the age when girls are expected to retreat to the sidelines.

An article in the July 31 *National Observer* points out that the gap between the record times of male and female swimmers and long-distance runners is dramatically narrowing.

Anyone arguing that women are basically physically inferior to men is blinded by prejudice. The truth is we haven't had the chance to see what women's full potentials are. Outstanding female athletes will be the exception as long as sex stereotyping and



NADIA COMANECI

economic discrimination is the rule. Once we rid ourselves of those shackles, then we'll see.

While today's female champions haven't written the conclusion to the story of women in sports, they are inspiring our sex to unprecedented achievements. And two women in particular have written a happy ending to this chapter. No man or woman ever executed an Olympic gymnastic feat perfectly. Not until Nadia Comaneci did it this summer, seven times, and the Soviet Union's Nelli Kim did it twice.

—Ginny Hildebrand

Eyewitness account

Chicago mob attacks

[On July 17 an open-housing march of some 200 persons was viciously attacked by 1,000-2,000 white racists as it entered Marquette Park, an all-white community on Chicago's southwest side. The following eyewitness account of that day's events is by Cecil Lampkin, chairperson of the Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism. Lampkin participated in the march and served as a marshal.]

The march began at the headquarters of the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Movement in the predominantly Black community of West Englewood. We marched on Seventy-first Street toward Marquette Park.

About six blocks from the park we encountered the first hostile whites. They shouted, "Niggers go home," and other epithets.

About two blocks from the park, the debris really started to fly.

Clearly, the racists had organized in advance. Stored in most alleys and intersections were stockpiles of rocks and bricks.

A brick hit one woman in front of me. It struck her mouth. She bled profusely. I saw at least two others injured by huge chunks of concrete. But the stoning at this point was a drizzle compared to the storm we encountered at the southeast corner of the park itself.

There, from one to two thousand

white racists were throwing apples, tomatoes, full bottles and cans of beer, and firecrackers at us. I even saw a baseball bat and a tire iron sailing through the air.

One of the most amazing things about what was going on at that point was the behavior of the police. They had been ordered by a judge to protect us. About 90 percent of the missiles were coming toward us from our right side. But almost all the cops were behind us on our left side!

In spite of this, we were able to protect ourselves pretty well. We used



Militant/Mark Satinoff

NSCAR leader Cecil Lampkin

SWP's Pulley blasts

By Andrew Pulley

CHICAGO—Recently I picked up the *Chicago Daily News* and was appalled to find that Mike Royko, one of the best-known columnists in Chicago, had written a column supporting the bigots who have been terrorizing Blacks in the Marquette Park-Chicago Lawn area.

Royko says it's "understandable" why whites want to keep Blacks from moving into Marquette Park. "There's not one iota of evidence to indicate that when a working class neighborhood begins to change racially it will remain livable and whites can remain there," Royko writes.

Royko blames Black people for the

Andrew Pulley is the Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from Chicago's First Congressional District.

bad conditions in many Black areas. He implies that Blacks are too lazy to keep up their neighborhoods, while the whites in Marquette Park (even though many of them don't have much money) have created "clean, neat homes maintained with sweat, callouses and carefully hoarded money."

This racist poison has to be answered. This is particularly true since Royko has in the past been a supporter of civil rights struggles, including Martin Luther King's marches back in the 1960s for open housing in the Marquette Park area. He is listened to by people who might close their ears to the Nazis.

Royko's assertion that Black people destroy all the working-class neighborhoods we move into is absurd on the face of it. There is a whole lot more than "one iota" of evidence that when Black working people can get the kinds of jobs and income the whites of Marquette Park enjoy, our neighborhoods are also "neat" and "clean."

What about the large numbers of us who do live in deteriorated neighbor-

hoods? Is this Black people's fault? Are we lazy or possessed of some inferior genes, as Royko implies?

No. Slums (both Black ones and white ones) are caused by poverty. And because of racial discrimination a high percentage of Black people in this country are poor.

If you're poor, if you don't have a job, or if you're on welfare, it's hard to maintain an apartment or house. This is all the more true because landlords and city services discriminate against Blacks. Garbage pickups, street cleaning, pest control, and street repairs are all inferior in poor neighborhoods. Landlords neglect the buildings. Banks practice redlining, which means they have a policy of not lending money for home repairs in slum areas.

All these things add to demoralization and hopelessness in our communities. That leads to drugs and crime, which make things even worse.

Royko argues that whites like those in Marquette Park haven't been given any significant privileges over Blacks. The whites in Marquette Park aren't rich, he says, the median income in the area being only \$11,000. And, he adds, this was earned without benefit of preferential hiring and special scholarships that Blacks receive.

What about this? Are Blacks in slum areas given just as great a chance "to make it" as the whites of Marquette Park? The answer is No! Whites, because they are white, have a better chance of getting the jobs and education needed to make even the modest sum of \$11,000 a year. Black people, on the average, make much less.

Who is responsible? Certainly not Black people! In the past several years Black unemployment has increased. Why? Is it because all of a sudden a certain percentage of Blacks got lazy?

No. We are victims of a racist system and of policies that are beyond our control. Black unemployment is high because the people who run this country have a policy of keeping it

Marquette Park open-housing marchers

the picket signs as shields, and the picket sticks to bat down the stones and concrete.

We made it into the park still under fire. There, police had set up a barricade in the shape of a horseshoe. At least 1,000 racists lined the barricade and continued throwing the bottles and rocks at us from three directions.

The march back was almost a rerun of the march to the park. The only difference was that we were pelted for eight or nine blocks instead of two. The racists followed us up to the B&O railroad tracks that divide the Black community of West Englewood from the Marquette Park area.

When we finally got across the tracks, we knew we were safe. But a lot of us were hurt and bleeding. Almost everyone had been hit at least once. I had been hit five times.

The role played by the police was outrageous. Judge Grady had ordered them to provide up to 1,000 police to protect the march, but there couldn't have been more than 250 cops out there.

At no point did the police attempt to disperse the racist mob. Almost all the sixty or so racists arrested had hit policemen.

When we were inside the horseshoe at the park, the cops said we couldn't leave until reinforcements came. They kept us waiting in a cross fire of bricks and bottles for a half hour. Then only twenty-five extra cops showed up.

I want to point out that our people showed tremendous restraint. We made

Media smear: Blacks blamed for violence

Typical of efforts in the Chicago media to blame the July 17 violence on the open-housing demonstrators instead of on the racists was an editorial in the July 20 *Chicago Daily News*. It stated, in part, "Citizens have the right to assemble and protest peacefully, as the 150 civil rights marchers did under heavy police protection. But with that right comes a responsibility, one that the march leaders abrogated. While legally unaccountable, they can be blamed not only for the weekend's violence, but also for the increased black-white passions and tensions that lie in the wake of the incident."

A more accurate picture—one that also points to the complicity of the

police in the racist violence—was drawn by one of the legal observers on the march. Steven Lubet, assistant professor of law at Northwestern University, wrote in a letter published July 22 in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, "Like every other observer, I was appalled at the violent racism of many of the neighborhood residents. I was even more appalled, however, by the virtual free hand that our attackers were given by the police. The police made no effort to disperse the hostile crowd and only sporadically attempted to arrest any of the hundreds of rock throwers."

"The newspapers have since reported that most of those arrested were charged only with disorderly

conduct and released on their own recognizance. This is yet another example of the subtle approval that the authorities give to attacks on Black people. The crimes I saw committed certainly warranted charges of aggravated assault and aggravated battery."

Rev. Edgar Jackson, a leader of the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Movement, which led the march, charged in a news conference, "It is clear that the police and the city were in a conspiracy to allow us to be attacked, injured, and even killed. They wanted to 'prove' that our march was wrong and that the city had been right in attempting to deny a parade permit."

it clear before we started that our march was to be peaceful and that we wanted to make clear that the responsibility for any violence had to be placed clearly where it belonged—on the racists.

After the march, we held a meeting at which we decided to sue the city and the police for violating the court order. A decision was also made to ask for a permit for a larger march into Marquette Park on August 14 and to demand that federal troops protect this march. Unfortunately, however, this

date conflicts with a major annual event in the Black community, the Bud Billiken Day Parade.

We want to build a united coalition for our future demonstrations. The way I see it, this is key because all antiracist forces are not yet united in the kind of powerful coalition that can struggle successfully to win open housing and equal access to all public facilities in Chicago.

I think the Bud Billiken Day Parade on August 14 offers an excellent opportunity to move ahead in this way.

Thousands of people will be participating in this cultural event, which is sponsored by the *Chicago Defender*, a Black daily newspaper here.

While a smaller number of people might want to march on Marquette Park that day, I think these people could most effectively begin to mobilize mass support by building an open-housing contingent that reaches out to the thousands in the Bud Billiken Day Parade instead. This will help us involve more people in future activities.

Royko column backing segregationists

high. They've decided that a relatively high unemployment rate is good for dealing with inflation and for dampening the wage demands of all workers, Black and white. Blacks bear the brunt of this high unemployment because of racial discrimination.

Royko argues that "it is being unrealistic to expect whites to meekly pack up and leave whenever the black city wishes to expand. Just as nations don't accept border changes peacefully, willingly, neighborhoods like Marquette Park aren't going to, either."

But no one is asking any whites to "pack up and leave." Whites leave when a Black moves next door because of their own racism and the conniving of white real estate sharks who panic other whites into selling cheaply so they can sell the same homes to Blacks at high profits.

Blacks only want the right to go anywhere in the city, and live anywhere we please. If a white moves out of a house and we have the money to buy it, it is our right to do so.

The idea that Blacks are responsible

for our condition and that whites are justified in keeping us segregated is a theme we've been hearing more of these days. Not just from the out-and-out racists, but from liberals like Royko and some of the top politicians in this country. When whites started throwing rocks at school buses in Boston, we heard it from some of the liberals there. And we heard it from President Ford, who said he sympathized with the antibusing forces.

This retreat by many liberals and the racist demagoguery of the politicians is not a chance happening. It does not come out of the blue. It results from a change in the economic and political situation. In the 1960s the ruling circles in this country felt it wise to give some concessions to Blacks in the face of the rise in Black militancy. But in the context of their new economic troubles today, they are taking away some of the things Blacks won in the past decade.

In line with this, the decision-makers in Washington have decided to maintain Black unemployment at a high level. They've decided to cut back education, the numbers of Blacks going to college, public health care, public housing, child care, and care for the aged.

In the face of the economic squeeze, which hurts both white and Black workers, racist sentiment is being whipped up. Some whites are taking out their frustrations on Blacks. The real source of the economic problems is hidden by the politicians and "opinion makers" and the door is left open for racist demagogues who tell whites that Blacks are the enemy, that it is Blacks who threaten their jobs, homes, schools, and economic security.

There is a need for Blacks and the real friends of Black people to answer these lies. We have to hit the streets in protests that demand solutions to social problems in a way that places the blame for them where it really belongs.



NOT RACIST?: Part of July 17 mob that attacked open-housing demonstrators in Marquette Park.

We have to fight for a reordering of the priorities of this country—for taking the funds spent on war and using them instead for public works programs that can put the millions seeking jobs back to work, building housing and maintaining hospital, child care, and educational facilities. We have to stop the cutbacks. We have to fight within the union movement against speedup, against discriminatory hiring and firing, and for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay so that existing jobs can be spread around to more workers.

We have to fight for school desegregation and open housing, and for the simple right of Blacks to go anywhere we please without fear of physical attack.

In doing this, we have to recognize that we will not simply be defending ourselves from racist attacks by a handful of bigots, but from the racist policies organized by the top politicians in this country. We have to

recognize that both the Republicans who control the executive branch and the Democrats who control Congress are responsible for the attacks on the Black community.

There is widespread dissatisfaction in this country over the way these politicians are acting. We have to organize this dissatisfaction. We can and should do this by organizing protests that mobilize every possible supporter of Black rights. But we also need to educate people at these protests about the need for them to oppose the Republican and Democratic parties at the polls.

My campaign in the First Congressional District and the campaigns of other candidates of the Socialist Workers party across the country say that, because the Democratic and Republican parties do not represent us, we need to build a new political party that will be controlled by and that will represent working people. This will take time, but the time to begin is now.



Andrew Pulley

Santucho killed in Argentine clash; was main leader of guerrilla group

By Judy White
From Intercontinental Press

Mario Roberto Santucho, the central leader of the Argentine Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—Revolutionary People's Army), was killed in a confrontation with security forces July 19, according to a number of press dispatches from Buenos Aires. Several reports said that the second in command of the ERP, Enrique Gorriarán Merlo, was also killed in the clash, which took place near Buenos Aires.

Santucho, a courageous and dedicat-



SANTUCHO: A courageous and dedicated militant.

ed militant, mistakenly viewed guerrilla actions by small armed groups as an effective means for combating repression and winning political power for the oppressed majority. He was a founding member of the ERP, one of the main guerrilla groups in Argentina. The ERP was set up in 1970 by the *Combatiente* faction of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party).

At that time, the PRT *Combatiente* was the section of the Fourth International in Argentina. There had been a split in the PRT in 1968, leading to the formation of two public factions. The PRT *Verdad* was accused by the faction headed by Santucho and others of being "rightist." The *Combatiente* group set out to form a "people's army" to conduct "revolutionary war" in Argentina.

The PRT *La Verdad* became the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina.

The PST recently suffered the loss of one of its central leaders, Arturo Gomes, who died of a heart attack. Gomes was a member of the PST Secretariat and political editor of the party's paper, *Avanzada Socialista*.

One of the ERP's most spectacular actions was the March 21, 1972, kidnapping of Oberdán Sallustro, the general director of the Argentine branch of Fiat Concord. When the guerrillas' terms were not met, Sallustro was executed.

Five months later, on August 15, 1972, Santucho helped lead an escape from the Rawson penitentiary in southern Argentina.

Twenty-five guerrillas participated in this escape and fled to a nearby airport where six of them managed to get aboard a plane bound for Chile. Santucho was among the six.

His nineteen comrades were delayed in reaching the airport and surrendered to the authorities with no resistance. Days later, sixteen of them were murdered in cold blood at the Trelew prison. Sometime later Santucho returned to Argentina to resume functioning with the ERP. It was in a Buenos Aires press conference, where he was one of four representatives of the ERP, that the organization publicly dissociated itself completely from the Fourth International and Trotskyism.

In February 1974 the ERP was one of four guerrilla organizations to launch the Junta de Coordinación Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Coordinating Committee). This committee, organized to carry out a strategy of "revolutionary war" throughout Latin America, a process "converging around the axis of armed struggle," was founded by the ERP, the Bolivian ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army), the Tupamaros of Uruguay, and the Chilean MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

All of these organizations have suffered severe repression in recent years. The only one still notably active was the ERP.

However, the ERP and other Argentine guerrilla groups have been heavily hit by repression especially in the year and a half since the army launched its campaign to exterminate subversion.

In addition, the families of guerrillas have frequently been singled out as special targets for repression. The July 16 issue of the French revolutionary-socialist daily *Rouge* reported that two members of Santucho's family—his sister Manuela Erminda Santucho and his sister-in-law Cristina Navajos de Santucho—were arrested in Buenos Aires July 14.

Calendar

BOSTON

THE FRAME-UP OF SACCO AND VANZETTI.
Speaker: Bev Scott, SWP. Fri., Aug. 20, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth, Fourth Floor. (Kenmore Square). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Boston Socialist Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

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...AFT

Continued from page 9

profits of the giant corporations and from the billions now squandered by the federal government on armaments.

Teachers need an alliance with other unions and community groups to take the tax burden off workers and small homeowners and place it on those who have the ability to pay. Any fight to reverse the regressive methods of school financing is certain to mean a head-on conflict with the Democratic and Republican parties, which legislate and protect the unequal tax structure at all levels of government.

Experienced delegates to AFT conventions are well aware that reversing the union's reliance on capitalist politicians to solve labor's problems is not an easy task. But a real alternative to the Shanker misleadership of the AFT will be forged in the struggles of teachers to unleash the real power of the labor movement, independent of the two parties of war, racism, and rule by the rich.

...Poland

Continued from back page
the workers at all levels.

Gierek is seeking to preserve the grip of this bureaucracy by using "consultations" to give the appearance that the government retreat on prices represents a genuine step toward workers democracy.

But Gierek is combining this carrot with the stick of repressive moves aimed at intimidating those workers who are not fooled.

The confidence and militancy of the rapidly mounted protests June 25 shows that the desire for workers democracy in Poland is widespread and can be ignored by the regime only at great risk. The pressure this sentiment exerts was indicated by the decision of the government-controlled press to publish an open letter soon after the protests signed by eleven Polish intellectuals.

The letter called for a "real dialogue" to cure the "serious ailment" of Polish society. One of its signers was Jacek Kuron, a Marxist who had been imprisoned by the Gomulka regime for his role in antibureaucratic struggles during the 1960s.

Another open letter, delivered June 29 to the parliament and signed by seventy Polish intellectuals, said, "We are of the opinion that discussions cannot be held behind closed doors. To make nationwide discussions more authentic, it is necessary to widen democratic freedoms."

These repressive moves by the Gierek government have proven embarrassing to the Italian Communist party, which is trying to present itself as a suitable governmental partner for Italy's Christian Democratic party.

A July 20 dispatch in the *New York Times* reports that "Italy's Communist Party asked Poland today to treat food rioters with 'moderation and clemency' and said socialist countries should give the workers an active role in solving social conflicts."

La. governor defies labor protests, signs open-shop 'right to work' law

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—Louisiana's Democratic governor, Edwin Edwards, signed into law July 9 a union-busting "right-to-work" bill less than twenty-four hours after it passed the state senate.

On July 7, 12,000 angry trade unionists massed at the capitol building in Baton Rouge demanding defeat of the bill. By an overwhelming two-thirds, the senators ignored the wishes of organized labor and voted for the so-called "right-to-work" measure.

As union members from all over the state arrived in Baton Rouge July 7, they learned that Governor Edwards was about to deliver a surprise address to both houses of the legislature. The capitol buzzed with rumors that Edwards would ask the senate to defeat the bill.

Hundreds of unionists ringed the capitol steps with picket signs. Unable to squeeze into the senate galleries, thousands jammed the stately marble halls that are usually the province of big-business lobbyists. They wore lettering designating their union locals: T-shirts of a Teamster local in Shreveport; stickers on the clothes of members of the United Teachers of New Orleans; women with hard hats from a steamfitters local in Lake Charles.

A hush fell over the crowd as Edwards's speech was piped over the AFL-CIO's public address system. Instead of opposing the "right-to-work" law, the governor urged its passage, with some "compromise"

amendments excluding from its provisions those few workplaces that are already union shops.

The capitol grounds resounded with booing and hissing. The angry union members saw Edwards's speech as no compromise at all, but a knife in the back of Louisiana workers.

The state senate was also quick to get Edwards's message. The next day, when most of the demonstrators had gone home, the senate quickly passed the bill without the governor's "compromise" proposal.

Louisiana thus became the twentieth state, and the last in the South, to have a "right-to-work" or open-shop law. The law prohibits contracts specifying that all employees at a workplace must become union members or pay dues; that is, it outlaws the union shop and agency shop.

The law prohibits workers from insisting that co-workers who are nonunion pay their fair share of the cost of benefits they receive through union representation.

When Edwards signed the antilabor bill July 9, he ominously warned, "Those who own the . . . industries and capital investments in Louisiana have a right to expect that their property will be protected. . . ."

"Nothing can be gained by violence," Edwards continued, "and the full weight of organized society will be placed behind law and order."

The unions expect rough economic times ahead. They could not get much comfort from the governor's thinly veiled threats.

Only one month earlier, on June 8, Edwards was the featured speaker at a rally of 8,000 workers in Baton Rouge sponsored by the state AFL-CIO.

At that rally, Louisiana AFL-CIO President Victor Bussie introduced the Democratic governor as "our friend in the governor's mansion," who could be counted on to fight the "right-to-work" law. Edwards had been elected with the solid backing of the union leadership.

The "right-to-work" bill was railroaded through the legislature by the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry (LABI), which admits it spent more than \$400,000 on lobbying, and perhaps \$1 million if you include a union-baiting TV and radio advertising campaign.

The news media called this the biggest legislative clash ever between the employing class and the working class in Louisiana.

LABI has already announced it will push other antiunion bills after the passage of "right-to-work."

The state AFL-CIO views the open-shop campaign as part of a national drive to lower workers' living standard. AFL-CIO literature points to lower wages than Louisiana's in the surrounding Southern states with their long-standing open-shop laws.

The strategy the AFL-CIO leadership relied on to meet this attack on Louisiana working people included a few rallies, but consisted mainly of an attempt to out-lobby big business and corral "friends" in the legislature. This strategy met with defeat.

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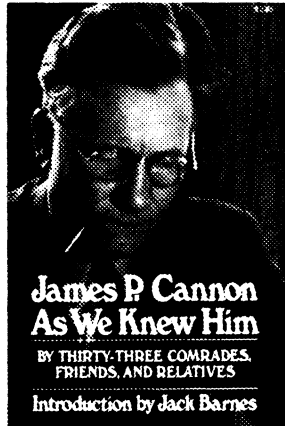


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Steel union activist shot in Houston

By Sara Johnston

HOUSTON—At 7:20 a.m. on July 26, someone with a rifle tried to kill Ben Corum.

Corum, fifty-two years old, is a member of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) from Bonfield, Illinois, and an activist in the Steelworkers Fight Back movement for union democracy led by Ed Sadlowski, director of USWA District 31.

He is one of a team of Sadlowski supporters from the Chicago-Gary district who have been traveling throughout the South organizing for Steelworkers Fight Back.

Corum was handing out leaflets to USWA members at the gates of Hughes Tool Company here when the would-be assassin, about thirty feet away, shot him from behind with a .22-

or .25-caliber rifle.

The bullet struck Corum in the neck and narrowly missed his spinal cord. It was a shot to kill.

Corum was taken to the intensive-care unit of a local hospital and is now listed in "good" condition.

David Julian, a recently elected delegate to the August USWA convention from Local 1742 at Hughes, was leafleting with Corum. Julian told the *Militant* that the shot came from a brown Ford sedan carrying three men whose faces were hidden by cowboy hats.

Houston police have so far refused to launch any serious investigation of the attempted murder, claiming that without the license number of the car they can do nothing.

Two days after the shooting, police

had not even taken a statement from eyewitness Julian. Nor had they questioned Hughes guards on duty at the gate when Corum was shot.

When asked to provide protection for Corum in the hospital and for steelworkers leafleting at plant gates, homicide department officer James Pierce declared, "There's no such thing as police protection in Houston."

The FBI office in Houston is reported to be investigating the shooting. Interference with union elections is a violation of federal labor law.

The Steelworkers Fight Back team and several Houston USWA members had been distributing literature at Houston plant gates for a week. During that time they were physically attacked twice at Armco Steel. Their attackers at Armco included officials of the Steelworkers local there.

The shooting took place just hours before the team was to depart for Dallas.

Team member John Askins, a seventeen-year veteran of USWA Local 2374, called the attempted murder "an intolerable attack against the union movement."

"The suggestions contained in the literature that was being distributed are for a change in the Steelworkers union, to make it more responsive to the needs of the rank and file," Askins said.

"These proposals have to be discussed and decided democratically by union members. Terrorism can't be permitted to interfere with our discussion."

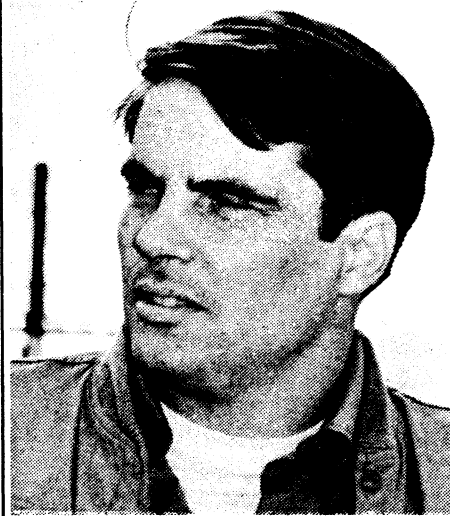
Askins called on steelworkers District 37 Director Jim Ward, the officers and members of the Hughes and Armco locals, and the other thirty-three USWA locals in Houston to join in condemning the shooting.

Ward has so far said only that his attitude is "hands off the entire matter."

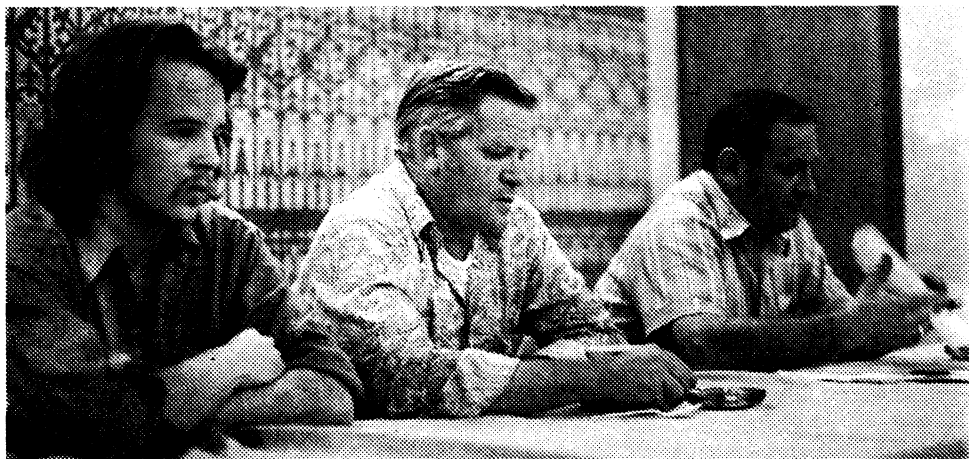
W.W. Woods, president of Local 1742 at Hughes, said, "I do not condone violence." But he went on to insinuate that the attack took place because workers at the plant were allegedly angry at being "handbilled in the past by communists."

One Houston Steelworkers official has spoken out clearly against the shooting. Fabian Greenwell, president of Local 16000, said that such assaults

Sadlowski demands investigation



Ed Sadlowski, director of steelworkers District 31, immediately condemned the 'reign of terror' in Houston against supporters of his union reform movement. Sadlowski called on the federal Labor Department and the FBI to investigate violations of labor and civil rights laws. Sadlowski also sent a telegram to steelworkers President I.W. Abel urging him 'to join me in condemning this violence and to put the full resources of the international union behind efforts to punish the perpetrators and prevent any recurrence of these heinous crimes.'



Steelworkers at news conference protest attempted murder. From left, David Julian, witness to shooting; Jack Russell and John Askins, members of Steelworkers Fight Back team touring South.

'An attack on all labor'

[The following telegram was sent by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, to I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, and to Ed Sadlowski, director of USWA District 31.]

The attempted murder of Ben Corum, a member of the United Steelworkers, in Houston July 26 is an attack on the steelworkers union

and the entire labor movement.

It is typical of the violence promoted by the open-shop movement, the Ku Klux Klan, professional strike-breakers, and others used by corporate management to weaken and destroy the unions.

We support wholeheartedly actions by the Houston labor movement and by all leaders and locals of the United Steelworkers to see that those responsible for this crime are apprehended and prosecuted.

Polish workers jailed for price protests

By Peter Seidman

Thirteen workers were sentenced July 19-20 to prison terms of three to ten years for their part in protests that forced the Polish government to back down on plans to increase the price of food.

The protests erupted June 25, one day after Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz announced price increases of 100 percent for sugar, 69 percent for meat, and 30 percent for butter and cheese.

Those sentenced were workers in the two biggest centers of revolt.

Seven workers were convicted of damaging state property and blocking railroad traffic in the Warsaw suburb

of Ursus. The seven, all males aged twenty-one to thirty-five years, worked at the Ursus tractor plant. According to Polish officials, all seven pleaded guilty to the charges.

Six other workers were sentenced in Radom, an industrial city sixty miles south of Warsaw. They were charged with attacking people and property during the June protests.

Both trials were closed to Western reporters and received little publicity in the Polish media.

So far, the thirteen are the only ones who have been prosecuted for the demonstrations.

There were massive protests against

similar announcements of food price hikes in 1970. Those protests forced Communist party head Wladyslaw Gomulka to step down.

Gomulka's place was taken by Edward Gierek, who reversed the proposed price increases.

Gierek moved to avoid Gomulka's fate by announcing June 25 that the price increases would not go through as planned.

"We want to discuss it further in the mass media, in meetings and consultations in factories and plants," he said in a July 4 television speech.

The trials began just a few days after the Politburo of the Communist

party approved a new price hike proposal. This July 13 proposal will boost meat prices by 35 percent, but leave other food prices frozen for the rest of the year.

The bureaucracy's inability to increase agricultural productivity and thereby lower food prices shows how it is an obstacle to the full benefits that could be obtained if genuine workers democracy prevailed in economic planning.

Workers democracy requires the creation of a plan for national and local production that results from a full discussion by elected representatives of

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