

THE MILITANT

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

Solidarity with Portuguese workers and African rebels



Lisbon. Postal workers discuss strike demands. For news and analysis on why this strike was lost, and on struggle in Portugal's African colonies, see pages 5-7.

Portugal & Africa: meaning for U.S. workers

Three recent events have highlighted the critical new stage of the revolutionary upsurge in Portugal and its African colonies.

- Last week Portugal's 30,000 postal workers were forced to end their courageous three-day strike, because of a campaign of slander and intimidation by the Spínola government and the organized strikebreaking of the Communist Party.

- A week earlier General Spínola, president of the provisional government, made a major pronouncement that essentially excluded independence for the colonies in the foreseeable future.

- At the same time as the postal workers were being forced back to work, General Spínola was holding secret talks with

President Nixon in the Azores.

Nixon promised financial and other support to Spínola, as well as "understanding" for Spínola's problems in pushing back the mass upsurge that has spread through Portugal and the colonies since the April 25 coup. This pledged assistance from U.S. imperialism is an ominous threat both for the independence struggles in Africa and for the Portuguese workers and peasants.

Nixon sees the great importance of the developments in Portugal from the point of view of the bankers and monopolists in the United States and throughout the world. But the fate of the upsurge in Portugal is equally important for the workers and oppressed peoples in this country and internationally.

First and foremost, the events in Portugal are important because they represent the opening stages of a *revolution*. The rising up of the Portuguese people has dealt a powerful blow to dictatorships throughout the world. It has provided a glimpse of the inspiring creativity and solidarity released as the masses of working people begin to take some control over their lives.

The powerful mass actions, and the beginnings of democratic organization of the Portuguese workers, have shown that the working masses could run things much better than the capitalist rulers.

The demands of the Portuguese people for an end to the colonial wars are confirmations

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In Brief

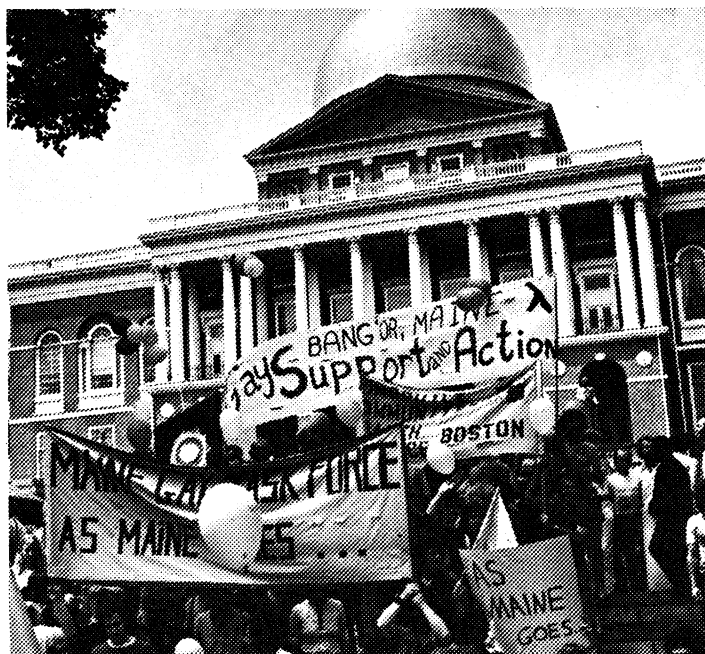
DUKE POWER EVICTS STRIKING MINERS: Eight coal-mining families who live in company-owned homes near Duke Power Company's Brookside mine received eviction notices June 20. The families were given 30 days to vacate their homes.

The eight miners are among 19 whom Duke fired for having been convicted of violating a court order limiting the number of pickets at the struck mine. The company's action comes more than a month after the convictions, which the miners are appealing.

United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller denounced the action as "one more vicious attempt on the part of Duke Power Company to intimidate the Brookside miners rather than negotiate a settlement."

BOSTON GAY-PRIDE ACTION: Coming from all six New England states, 1,000 people marched through Boston to the Boston Commons on June 22 in the fifth annual Gay Pride Parade there. The action was the local kick-off of week-long activities, which will culminate in the Christopher Street Liberation Day demonstration in New York City June 30.

Participants in the Boston action included activists in key gay-rights struggles in New England during the past



Gay Community News/Ed Braverman

year—members of the University of New Hampshire Gay Student Organization and the Worcester Gay Union, which at present is leading the fight to have a gay civil rights ordinance passed in that central Massachusetts city.

After the march there was a short rally where the demonstrators heard brief speeches from various leaders of the gay movement.

SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS LEVY COURT-MARTIAL: On June 19 the Supreme Court upheld the "general article" of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. The court ruled against former Army captain Howard Levy, who had been convicted by a general court-martial under this article in 1967. Levy was charged with willfully disobeying orders and making disloyal statements about U.S. policy in Vietnam. He had urged Black enlisted men not to go to Vietnam if ordered to do so.

The article that Levy was convicted under forbids "conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman" and "all conduct of a nature to bring discredit upon the armed forces." Levy had challenged this article on the grounds that it is unconstitutionally vague.

Released from prison pending appeal in 1969, Levy had already served almost all of his sentence, and the Army has said it won't seek to return him to the stockade.

According to the June 19 *New York Post*, Levy feels the decision was "disappointing but not surprising." He went on to say, "From the beginning I have had little faith in the Supreme Court exonerating me. In the final analysis, the Supreme Court is a conservative institution."

HAITIAN SPEAKOUT: The Ad Hoc Committee for Defense of Haitian Refugees hosted a community speakout in Brooklyn June 21. The rally of 125 was in defense of more than 400 Haitian refugees seeking asylum in the U.S.

A slide show illustrating the oppressive living conditions of Haitians was shown. A lawyer for the refugees told of the case of one refugee who was present and who also spoke.

Speakers and messages of support were received from the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; Africa Information Service; New Beginning Movement; Newark Congress of African People; Socialist Workers Party; United Farm Workers; Pan African Students Organization in the Americas; Black Economic Survival; and National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199.

Brooklyn Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm sent a message saying she would "urge the Department of Immigration and Naturalization to grant asylum to the Haitian refugees."

DEMAND NEW TRIAL FOR KILLER-COP: The recent acquittal of Thomas Shea, a New York City cop who shot Clifford Glover in the back last April, has led to protests in the Black community of Jamaica, Queens. The 10-year-old Glover was Black.

Since June 20, picketers have gathered at the Gertz department store. Organized by the Central Queens Community Association, the protesters are demanding that Gertz use its influence on the Jamaica chamber of commerce to demand a new trial. They are demanding that Shea be tried for use of excessive force and on the federal charge of violating Glover's civil rights.

WITCH-HUNT LEGISLATION SCRAPPED: What was left of the Subversive Activities Control Act (the McCarran Act) has been struck down by U.S. District Court Judge John Sirica.

The law, enacted in 1950, established the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB), which had the power to label organizations as "Communist-action" or "Communist-front" groups. In 1953, the SACB declared the Communist Party to be a "Communist-action" group and ordered its members to register with the government.

Before Sirica's recent ruling, which was handed down in May, the act had been drastically weakened by a series of court rulings, and the SACB itself had been disbanded. But one provision of the law remained. It required members of the CP to precede all paid broadcasts with the "warning" that they were being made by members of a "Communist-action" organization. Sirica ruled that requirement unconstitutional.

In a related victory for civil liberties, the Wisconsin state legislature, according to an account in the *Daily World*, has repealed the Gettelman Act. This law, reports the *Daily World*, "described the Communist Party as a 'criminal conspiracy,' and barred, among other groups, the Third International and 'any other organization that teaches sedition' from holding a place on the ballot."

RACIST IMMIGRATION BILL VETOED: The Field-Knorr bill, which would have penalized employers of "illegal aliens," was vetoed by New York Governor Malcolm Wilson in the last hours of the legislative session June 17. Wilson vetoed the bill because it encroached on federal jurisdiction over immigration.

The racist legislation would have increased job discrimination against workers whose accent or dark skin would make them suspect.

A June 5 news conference called to demand the veto of the bill involved Bert Corona of CASA, the Los Angeles-based antideportation organization; Maria Piedra of the Coalition of Latin Americans and Friends of Latin Americans (CLAN); Bronx Assemblyman Armando Montano; and spokespeople for the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Committee Against Racism, and a number of religious groups.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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Vietnam veterans: angry victims of Nixon's 'home with honor' fraud

By MIGUEL PENDAS

It took a 17-day hunger strike by disabled members of the American Veterans Movement in Los Angeles last February and March just to get the head of the Veterans Administration (VA) to hear them out.

When Donald Johnson came to face the vets, many of them paraplegics, the burly 6 foot, 5 inch VA chief brought along two armed guards.

As the vets testified March 25 to their grossly inadequate treatment in VA hospitals, Johnson "stonewalled" it. The VA is not giving anyone a "free ride" was his stock answer.

Within a month after that confrontation, Nixon had dumped the VA head. Apparently Johnson's candor had become too much of a political liability. Even the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Disabled American Veterans, traditionally conservative groups, had joined in the call for his ouster.

But dumping Johnson hasn't changed anything. His callousness typifies the attitude of capitalist society toward its veterans, not just the 6.8 million from the Vietnam war period, but from all its wars.

The politicians who declare the wars, and the wealthy bankers and industrialists who profit from them, are never the ones to do the fighting. Instead, it is young working-class men who are drafted or induced to risk their lives. They are led to believe that they are fighting to defend the noblest of ideals and that they will be well cared for when they return from overseas.

Empty promises

But when they do return, they find that all those high-sounding promises were just that and little more. Veterans come back to a life of unemployment, disgraceful medical care, racist discrimination, bureaucratic red tape, and inadequate educational and disability benefits.

The cruellest hoax is perpetrated on the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican GIs, who were drafted in disproportionately high numbers to fight in Vietnam and were shoved to the front lines to die at three times the rate of whites, all to defend a "democracy" they have yet to experience.

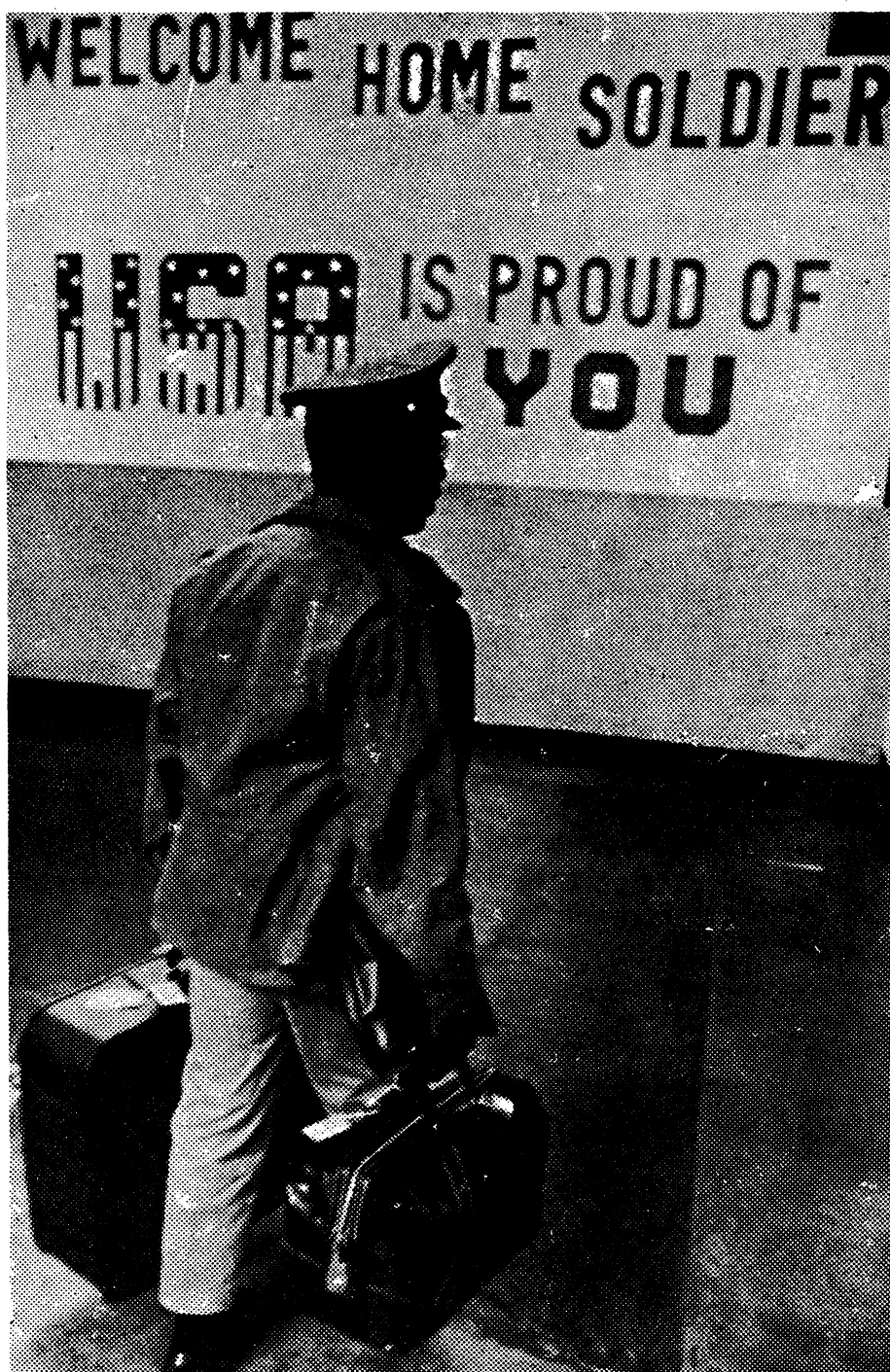
In his March 29 speech on "Honor Vietnam Veterans Day," Nixon assured the nation's veterans that the American effort in Vietnam was "in good conscience, honorably undertaken, and honorably ended."

Nixon's praise for the war adds insult to injury for the men who had to fight it. Most of them—like the majority of other Americans—came to abhor Washington's bloody effort to prop up the corrupt, reactionary Thieu dictatorship in South Vietnam.

Even as Nixon spoke, statistics were being compiled on the dramatic increase in unemployment for vets since last year. In the first quarter of 1974, the official jobless rate for Vietnamese vets aged 20 to 24 jumped to 12 percent. For Blacks in this bracket, the rate soared to 18.9 percent—a 122 percent increase over the end of 1973. Some "honor."

Inflation continues unchecked, eating away at miserly GI pensions, disability benefits, and education allotments.

The rate of returning GIs who suffer psychological disorders runs to 50 percent, many times higher than for previous wars.



'Welcome home' to unemployment, racism, poor health care, and paltry benefits.

It is estimated that 700,000 GIs came back from Vietnam with a drug problem. But they too have been tossed on the scrap heap and ignored by the government. Narcotics dealers in Saigon and Bangkok enjoy more U.S. aid than do GIs.

Education benefits

There is a crisis in education benefits for GIs, too. During the latter half of 1973, the Veterans Administration inexplicably delayed sending millions of education checks, some for as many as six months. Many veterans, living from one check to the next, were forced to drop out of school. VA director Johnson dismissed the affair as a clerical "goof," and blamed it on his office workers.

But many veterans have pointed out that their education benefits are deteriorating, even when they do get the checks on time. GI Bill benefits for unmarried Vietnam vets amount to only \$1,980 a year. That's for tuition, fees, books, clothing, and food. Dollar for dollar, this is about half the benefits that were available to World War II-era vets. It is far less than what is needed to go to college.

In response to veterans clamoring for some action on the educational crisis, the administration offered an 8.2 percent increase in benefits this year. This really amounts to a cutback, since it does not even make up for inflation.

Similarly, Congress is considering proposals to increase educational benefits, but the most likely one to

pass will only be for 13.6 percent more. This would barely make up for inflation since the last increase, thus leaving benefits as inadequate as before. And every month Congress stalls, prices go up.

The protests of the American Veterans Movement that led to the confrontation with Donald Johnson focused attention on the crisis in the VA hospitals. The immediate impetus for these protests came from the conditions in the spinal-cord-injury ward of the Long Beach, Calif., VA hospital.

Hospital conditions

The vets pointed out that the hospital is overcrowded. There are not enough doctors or staff. Paraplegics and quadriplegics, who need almost total care, are often left to lie in their own excrement for hours. This can cause fatal infections.

There are only 170 VA hospitals in the whole country and some vets have to travel hundreds of miles to get to one. A wall of bureaucratic red tape has been constructed by the VA to discourage vets from asking for the care they need. Some complaining patients have been beaten, vets say.

These contentions are backed up by hospital workers in the American Federation of Government Employees in Los Angeles, a union that is predominantly Black and female. They say that many patients' conditions are only aggravated as a result of a stay in a VA hospital.

In addition to the Los Angeles vets' protest, other actions have occurred. On March 29, as Nixon brayed about "peace with honor," hundreds of vets crammed into the hearing room of the joint Congressional Veterans Committee. They booed both the representatives of the Nixon administration and Congress. They shouted, "Lies, lies, lies!" when senators promised to try harder for higher benefits. At the same time, 1,000 veterans gathered in Long Island to protest government neglect.

This July 4, veterans will demonstrate in Washington, D.C., as part of a week of protests in the capital.

These actions have been fueled by the growing awareness of the contradiction between the wealth of this society and the rotten treatment meted out to vets. The clearest example of where the capitalists' priorities lie is in the war budget—\$100-billion—compared to the Veterans Administration budget—\$13.6-billion. The government is spending seven times as much money creating new war victims as it spends to provide token care to the ones it has already created.

End war spending

All U.S. troops and equipment should be withdrawn from Southeast Asia and U.S. aid to the Thieu regime halted. The entire war budget should be eliminated and U.S. bases around the world dismantled, since they defend not "freedom" but U.S. imperialism's role as world cop.

The \$100-billion could then be used to provide decent disability and education benefits for veterans. Medical care could be expanded, new hospitals built, and more doctors hired.

Free, quality health care and free university education could be provided for all veterans and the rest of society.

A crash program of public works—building low-income housing, mass transportation, and new schools—would create jobs for the unemployed. At the same time, the workweek should be shortened, with no reduction in pay, so that the available work is spread to all who need jobs. Such measures could end the unemployment that reduces so many vets—and others—to poverty.

Anyone unable to find work should receive unemployment compensation at union-scale wages. All benefits should automatically rise with the cost of living.

Can the vets rely on Congress to bring about these changes? The same Democratic and Republican politicians now shedding crocodile tears over the veterans scandal are the ones who sent the vets to Vietnam in the first place! They are the ones who vote billions for war appropriations every year, while veterans' benefits shrink from inflation.

The main concern of both capitalist parties is to protect the private profit system that prevents the nation's wealth from being used to benefit the majority of its people. To win their demands, veterans can only count on their own struggles, independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

Already, the protest actions carried out by vets have begun to focus public attention on their plight and have forced the government to make a few concessions. These protests have the potential of involving thousands of veterans and their supporters in a fight for human dignity and rights that have been denied for too long.

Colson gets religion--and 1 to 3 years

W'gate jail terms expose capitalist 'justice'

By ELAINE MITCHELL

A few days after White House plumber Egil Krogh emerged from prison, well-tanned from 18 weeks of long-distance running and farming, Attorney General William Saxbe nervously suggested that people might start "to think that there are two classes of justice, one for the rich and one for the poor."

"It is hardly reassuring," Saxbe noted, "when one man goes to prison for years for theft while another man involved in a conspiracy to steal our freedoms is in and out of jail in the wink of an eye."

Saxbe's new-found "concern" for justice was echoed by other government officials and major newspapers in response to public outrage at the sentences handed down to the latest batch of Watergate crooks.

Among those "sentenced" to the same kid-glove treatment Krogh received while in jail are Jeb Stuart Magruder, serving a 10-month sentence; Herbert Kalmbach, sentenced to six to 18 months; Charles Colson, given one to three years; and Richard Kleindienst, who was only given a one-month sentence and even that was suspended.

As Tom Wicker pointed out in the June 25 *New York Times*, "there are millions of Americans—primarily poor, black and Spanish-speaking persons—who know they would serve years in prison for offenses minor by comparison to those for which some Watergate defendants are getting rel-

ing justice in the Ellsberg Pentagon papers case. While Colson ascribes his sudden repentance to divine inspiration, his real motivations are much more earthly—the public record alone on this crook shows he had his hand in everything from planning firebombings at the Brookings Institution to keeping Nixon's "enemies list" up to date.

In a prepared courtroom statement, Colson charged that Nixon personally ordered the smear campaign against Ellsberg and Ellsberg's chief attorney at the Pentagon papers trial, Leonard Boudin. Boudin has represented many victims of government frame-ups, and is currently the attorney for the Socialist Workers Party suit against illegal government surveillance and harassment.

Fear of antiwar movement

Colson's statement in court revealed that the official reason given for the spying and disruption directed against Ellsberg—that he was a "national security" threat—is totally false. The real motivation behind these attacks was the government's fear of the antiwar movement and the impact of the Pentagon papers on antiwar sentiment in this country. They were terrified that "another Ellsberg"—another disillusioned government official with access to damning secret records—would appear on the scene.

"The President, Dr. Kissinger, myself and others feared that [Ellsberg's] action would encourage others to do the same," Colson said. "I saw Ellsberg as a martyr who might rally public support against policies the president believed right for the country."

Colson added that no tactics were ruled out in the drive to get Ellsberg: "... I felt a deep sense of responsibility for American forces who were committed [in Vietnam]. ... I suppose on reflection I would have done almost anything I was asked to do without regard to the legal consequences if I believed it was justified. ..."

On June 23 Leonard Garment of the White House replied to Colson's statement. The June 24 *Washington Post* reported, "While neither confirming nor denying the recent charges, Garment said there was apparently nothing illegal about such a directive, and he stressed 'the concern on the part of the President and his national security advisers that Mr. Ellsberg not be considered a hero. ...'"

Garment went on to explain: "There was concern at that time that if Mr. Ellsberg became a hero in the eyes of the American public for making this unilateral determination that he was above the law, that this practice would be encouraged. ..."

"In that setting, I think one can understand the concern on the part of the President and his national security advisers that Mr. Ellsberg not be considered a hero, that this practice stop."

Garment argued that crimes like burglarizing a doctor's office are O.K. if you happen to be president. According to the *Post*, "Garment said 'many things that take place in Washington' are contrary to what some people think is fit and proper, but that the 'circumstances under which Presidents act are quite different from the circumstances under which we conduct our own business.'"

Impeachment cover-up

While Colson and the White House have provided new reasons to reject the "national security" justification for



Bombed-out Cambodian village. House impeachment panel refuses to let public see documents on Nixon's secret raids.

government secrecy, the House Judiciary Committee is using precisely this argument for its refusal to make public parts of the evidence collected at its impeachment hearings. According to the June 26 *New York Times*, the Democratic-controlled committee plans to publish "most" of the evidence, but has "specifically excluded . . . highly classified testimony related to the secret bombing of Cambodia." Other "sensitive material" will also be kept from the public, the *Times* reported.

What is contained in the Cambodia material that could threaten "national security"? Obviously none of the evidence could be of use to a "foreign power," since the raids occurred several years ago and the "foreign power" under attack—the Cambodian people—was certainly aware of the bombing at the time.

But the American people were not aware of the bombing at the time it happened. And that is the real "enemy"

the U.S. rulers are afraid of.

What other "sensitive material" is being withheld by the impeachment panel? What about the information on the Huston spy plan and the full text of the plan itself, which has never been released? Some committee members told the press during the hearings that they had seen no evidence that Nixon rescinded the plan, as he claims. What evidence did the committee obtain proving that the plan *was* in fact put into practice? Is this part of the "sensitive material" that has been ruled "highly classified"?

There is no more legitimate reason for the House Judiciary Committee to keep some of its evidence under "national security" wraps than there is for Nixon to use this excuse to protect his tapes. By relying on the "national security" argument, the Democrats and Republicans on the Judiciary Committee are joining in the cover-up of the real crimes of the ruling class.



COLSON: No holds were barred in drive to 'get' Daniel Ellsberg.

atively light sentences."

Wicker actually understates the reality—thousands of Blacks, Chicanos, and other poor people are in jail for crimes they never even committed.

Plea-bargaining

Some of those, who like Saxbe are concerned about prettying up the image of American justice, have criticized the blatant manner in which Watergate prosecutor Leon Jaworski has made deals with Watergate defendants.

As Lesley Oelsner pointed out in the June 23 *New York Times*, these critics of Jaworski's plea-bargaining "argue that the public is already cynical about the legal system, largely because of Watergate, and that the use of plea bargaining rather than trials will only increase that cynicism."

One of the biggest White House crooks to get off easy so far is Charles Colson, who pleaded guilty to obstruct-

Vets Administration & CREEP

Many Vietnam veterans who have tried to get a job, collect disability payments, or get treatment in a Veterans Administration (VA) hospital have figured out that the VA is definitely not in business to help them.

But the callous treatment of veterans by the VA is just one side of this government agency—a still-secret Senate Watergate committee report reveals another side. A copy of the report has been obtained by the *New York Post*, which reported some of the committee's findings on the VA in its June 19 issue.

Like other agencies, such as the Internal Revenue Service, the VA was used by the 1972 Nixon reelection campaign (CREEP) to win support for Nixon in a variety of ways.

One document obtained by the Senate committee explains that "major construction announcements, grants, opening of new facilities and

legislative actions" by the VA were to be coordinated with Nixon's campaign to maximize public relations benefits.

The Senate report says that VA head Donald Johnson did his part for CREEP by twisting the arms of his aides to "lend their full support to the reelection effort, including participation in campaign activities."

Another document obtained by the Senate committee shows how CREEP worked hand in glove with the armed forces to drum up support for Nixon on military bases. The memo, dated July 12, 1972, says, in part: "[CREEP] will select most populous bases; then set up schedule with Defense for officials and U.S. Congressman from respective states . . . [to] tell the career force about how the President and country appreciate their sacrifices in bringing about Vietnamization. Strong highlight on President Nixon. Cost should be nil since it could be charged off as official business."

Communist Party: strikebreaker & traitor to African liberation struggle

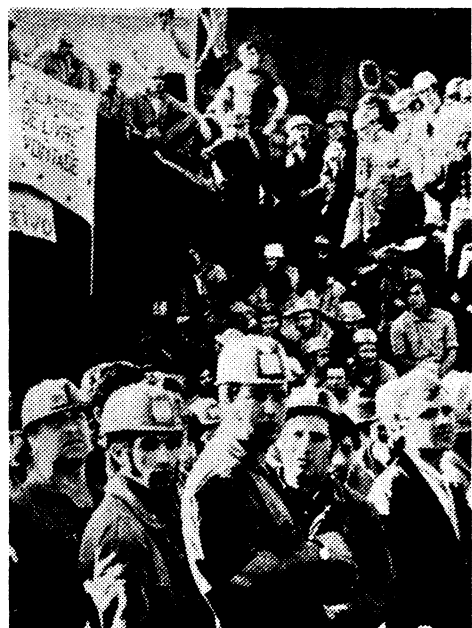
Betrayal of postal workers' strike

By CAROLINE LUND

Portugal's 30,000 postal workers ended their strike for higher pay and shorter hours on June 20, after shutting down the country's communications system for three days.

The Spínola government's defeat of this powerful strike was a blow to all Portuguese workers. The postal workers symbolized the determination of the Portuguese masses to use the new rights they have won to fight for a better life and a new society.

The strikebreaking action was at the same time a blow to the masses of Africans in the Portuguese colonies



Lisbon shipbuilders were among strikers CP told to go back to work.

who are fighting for independence.

Key to the defeat of the postal workers' strike was the treacherous role of the Portuguese Communist Party, which, along with the Socialist Party, is part of the Spínola government. The CP's stand was decisive, since it is the largest working-class party in Portugal. If it had come out for full solidarity with the postal workers, it is safe to say the strike could not have been defeated and the workers struggle in Portugal would now be on a new and higher level.

Vicious campaign

The postal workers returned to their jobs only after a vicious government campaign against their strike. Spínola threatened to conscript them into the army and order them back to work. And the Communist Party went so far as to organize a demonstration outside the main post office to denounce the strikers as "fascists."

"Go back to work," yelled the Stalinist strikebreakers, "you are sabotaging democracy."

This was not the first time the CP has done Spínola's dirty work for him. Ever since the April 25 coup, the CP has been working to break strikes and to hold off the demands from the Portuguese and African

masses for independence for the colonies.

Following the coup that brought down the Salazarist dictatorship, hundreds of thousands of workers went out on strike. They hoped to improve their living standards, which are among the most abysmal in Europe.

The Stalinist leaders mobilized their members to beat back these strikes. They not only attacked worker militants as "fascists" but tried to demoralize and isolate striking unions. They told the workers to subordinate their needs to the desires of the capitalist Spínola government.

But even after this first wave of strikes had subsided, under the pressure of the CP, the aspirations of the Portuguese workers burst forth again in the postal workers' strike. The 30,000 workers went out despite the threats of Spínola and his Stalinist henchmen.

Bosses' arguments

In its strikebreaking campaign against the postal workers and other strikers, the Portuguese Stalinists use arguments lifted straight out of the bosses' arsenal.

A PCP statement on the postal strike, quoted in the June 21 issue of the American CP's *Daily World*, called the postal workers' demands "unrealistic claims which are incompatible with the existing conditions in the national economy."

The strikers were demanding a 35-hour workweek and a pay raise from \$160 to \$240 per month. These demands are only "unrealistic" to the monopolists and landowners of the ruling class. The workers obviously felt it was "unrealistic" to continue living at their present pitiful wage levels, which are being reduced by the staggering inflation rate of 30 percent in the last year.

The job of a party claiming to represent the working class is not to tell the workers their wage needs are "unrealistic" for the capitalists or for the capitalist government. If the capitalist rulers prove incapable or unwilling to provide adequate wages, then what is needed is workers control of production and distribution, nationalization of industry, and a workers government.

Other bosses' arguments used by the CP are their statements that the workers are being "manipulated" into striking, or that they are striking "for strike's sake." These charges are insults to the workers, implying that working people cannot think for themselves and do not have serious reasons for waging their struggle.

The CP has further argued that strikes endanger the "process of democratization." But what good are democratic rights to the masses of people if they can't exercise them to fight for a better life? What good is the right to strike if workers cannot exercise this right?

And in fact the CP's attempt to sabotage and demoralize workers in struggle is laying the groundwork for further defeats and infringements on these very rights.

Traitors to working class

The *New York Times* reported June 24 that the CP stand "against strikes as harmful to the economy and beneficial to counterrevolutionaries" has

"aroused the enmity of some workers, who have called the Communists traitors to the working class."

These workers are exactly right!

Through its work in helping to put a brake on the workers' mobilization, the CP has become the main prop of the Spínola regime, taking the side of the government against the workers, and attempting to convince the workers to accept the status quo of capitalist exploitation. As this cowardly policy is repeated, it will no doubt convince many honestly mistaken rank-and-file CP militants to break from this party.

The way to prevent the reimposition of a Salazarist-style dictatorship is not—as the CP says—for the workers to postpone their struggle for better living conditions, or for an end to the colonial wars. It is to encourage and deepen the mobilization of the masses in these struggles; to demand immediate withdrawal of Portuguese troops from the colonies; to encourage broad support for any workers forced to strike; and to build pressure demanding that the CP and SP break from the Spínola regime.

The only real protection against reaction in Portugal is the organized power and combativity of the working class.

Refusal to fight for freedom of colonies

The Portuguese Communist Party's participation in the Spínola government has meant not only strikebreaking against the Portuguese workers but also betrayal of the masses of the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau.

The Spínola government, which includes Communist and Socialist party ministers, has refused to withdraw Portuguese troops from Africa and maintains all its forms of economic domination and enslavement of the African peoples. Spínola is holding out to see how many concessions he can "negotiate" from the African liberation fighters.

From the beginning, the revolutionary developments in Portugal have been completely intertwined with the liberation struggle in the African colonies. It is the resistance of the African masses to Portuguese colonialism that convinced the Lisbon rulers they had to get rid of the Salazarist dictatorship. The democratic freedoms won by the Portuguese workers and peasants are fundamentally due to the struggles of their brothers and sisters in the colonies.

Since the coup, the powerful upsurge of the Portuguese working class has, in turn, aided the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau in their fight for independence. Every strike, and every demonstration in Lisbon against the colonial wars, has weakened the hold of the Spínola regime on the colonies.

The strikes and antiwar protests by Portuguese workers and students have inspired strikes by workers in the colonies. They have inspired the liberation fighters in the colonies to hold to their demand for immediate independence. And they have encouraged the rank-and-file Portuguese soldiers and sailors to step up their opposition to the wars.

Thus every attack by the Communist Party against the postal workers and other strikers is at the same time a stab in the back of the African liberation struggle. The Stalinists' attempts to demoralize and demobilize the Portuguese workers have strengthened Spínola's hand in attempting to force concessions from the African rebels.

Perhaps the clearest illustration of the common interests of the workers and peasants of Portugal and of the colonies is seen in the situation of the rank-and-file Portuguese soldiers. The overwhelming urge among the troops to go home parallels the desire of the African peoples for this occupation force to leave their lands.

For example, *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm reported from Guinea-Bissau June 24, "The soldiers of both armies [the Portuguese and rebel armies] fraternize widely and a feeling of headlong decolonization is in the air." This is happening even though a cease-fire was never signed and negotiations between Lisbon and the rebels have been suspended.

The colonial minister in Spínola's government, António de Almeida Santos, told Kamm "that fraternization between the once-hostile armies had progressed so far that Portugal could not resume the war even if she wanted to."

But despite the yearning of the African peoples for independence, despite the yearning of the Portuguese soldiers to go home, and despite the opposition to the war by the overwhelming majority of Portuguese workers and peasants—the Stalinists refuse to fight for immediate Portuguese withdrawal from Africa. Their support for the capitalist Spínola regime, and retention of their government portfolios, come first.

International protests demanding that Spínola get out of Africa can have an important impact in aiding the African liberation struggles as well as the antiwar struggle of the Portuguese people.



Guinea-Bissau rebels. Lisbon minister complains of widespread fraternization between Portuguese and rebel troops.

Spinola gov't in new attack on freedoms

From Intercontinental Press
By GERRY FOLEY

After crushing the postal workers' strike on June 20 with the help of the Communist party, General Spínola's government launched a new assault on the freedoms seized by the Portuguese masses in the wake of the April 25 military coup.

"The new Portuguese Government, faced with a continuing war in Africa and a faltering economy, today published severe restrictions on all news media," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger cabled June 22 from Lisbon.

The new regulations made it illegal "to incite military disobedience, strikes, unauthorized demonstrations, or to offend the President of the republic, members of the Council of State and the Cabinet."

The possible scope of the new censorship was indicated by the following provision: "Publication of 'false news' when done to counter the general objectives of the Government will be punishable."

Giniger noted that the issuance of these rules "emphasizes the continuing power of the armed forces despite the civilian Cabinet," a cabinet which, he explained, "includes Communists, Socialists and center-left politicians."

The Communist party's two cabinet ministers are, of course, also protected by the new regulations, just as are their Socialist and bourgeois colleagues. Thus, presumably, any left-wing group that denounced the CP ministers could suffer repression under the new rules for "ideological aggression" that might "hinder" the government's program.

There can be no doubt at this stage that the support of the Communist party is essential to maintain the bourgeois grip on the situation in Portugal. This was amply demonstrated in the first general confrontation between the new regime and a key section of the working class that rose up to demand the rights it was denied by the dictatorship.

"The Communist party, which has two members in the Government—the party's secretary general, Alvaro Cunhal, Minister Without Portfolio, and Avelino Pacheco Gonçalves, Minister of Labor—led a campaign against the postal workers," Giniger wrote from Lisbon June 20. "Supporting the Government and the armed forces, the Communists warned workers against 'unrealistic' demands that played into the hands of 'reactionary forces.'"

"The Communists even organized a demonstration in front of the central post office last night.

"'Fascists,' the demonstrators shouted at the postal workers, 'go back to work, you are sabotaging democracy.'"

But it seems obvious now from the sequence of events that it was precisely the defeat of the postal workers that emboldened the junta to launch a new attack on the democratic freedoms the masses won as a result of the April 25 coup and the acute split in the capitalist class that it represented.

Spinola is obliged to move as rapidly as possible to try to restore some essential bulwarks of capitalist class rule that were breached by the mass upsurge. First of all, he has to restore the unity and authority of the officer corps.

For two months, the bourgeoisie has lacked a reliable military machine. In

particular, groups of soldiers and sailors have asserted their democratic rights by joining demonstrations against the colonial war and against the junta's first repressive actions. Since capitalist rule depends fundamentally on a disciplined body of armed men defending the interests of the privileged class, no bourgeois regime could long tolerate such a breakdown of arbitrary authority in the military.

The democratic ferment in the armed

people rooting their old oppressors out of positions of wealth and power ("encouraging manhunts, gratuitous insults, physical abuse, sacking of houses"). It did not mean "shamefully and unrestrainedly biased reports in which the broadcasters themselves indulge in the most improper attitudes." It did not mean affronts to "the values of family and morality." In short, "freedom" did not mean anything that challenged the bourgeois order that Galvão de Melo and the

and the Government's threat to conscript them into the army and force them to work."

That is, as long as the political authority of the junta went essentially unchallenged, the postal workers could not help but succumb to their isolation and their own confusion.

On the other hand, since the junta is unable to grant the most deeply felt demands of the Portuguese masses, it is constantly in danger of losing its grip on the process, despite



Soldiers and sailors have joined in workers' demonstrations in Lisbon. A massive antiwar campaign could strengthen bond between workers and the ranks of the armed forces.

forces is all the more dangerous to the Spínola regime because of the continuation of the war in Africa. In these conditions, the sentiment for immediate withdrawal from the colonies that exists in the armed services could quickly crystallize into an organized movement that would not only make it impossible for the junta to maintain the vital interests of Portuguese capitalism in its so-called overseas provinces, but would also blow up any hope of restoring the military as an effective repressive force in Portugal itself.

Secondly, Spínola must restore the bourgeois political monopoly in the means of communication. After the armed forces, the second major bulwark of class rule is ideological domination. To maintain its position, the dominant minority must convince the majority of society that it is ruling in their interest, suppressing all facts and arguments that indicate otherwise.

Thus, no capitalist class can long tolerate the kind of democratic ferment and freedom of the press that has existed in Portugal since the coup. It cannot allow the working press to do its job honestly, reporting the views and activities of the left groups to a mass audience. Such freedom of the press is all the more dangerous since for the moment anticommunism and bourgeois ideology in general are profoundly discredited in Portugal, and there are no effective barriers to the masses taking an unprejudiced look at the ideas and programs of the revolutionists.

The counterattack was started by General Galvão de Melo, a member of the junta, in a May 27 speech. "Freedom," the general argued, did not mean "releasing terrorists who have no fatherland and making them into national heroes," nor did it mean the

rest of the junta were determined to defend.

At the same time, as representatives of capitalist class forces, the junta had to hold the wage gains of the workers to a minimum. Even the "progressive" capitalists were not prepared to grant the demands of the workers who were determined to take advantage of their new freedom to reverse the erosion of their living standard by the highest inflation rate in Western Europe, to say nothing of beginning to make up for the superexploitation they suffered over the long years of the dictatorship.

The workers demanded a statutory minimum wage of 6,000 escudos [approximately US\$288] a month. The government granted 3,000 and limited this to industrial and public workers, excluding workers in the private service sector and agriculture, very numerous categories in a backward economy like that of Portugal. Moreover, the new contracts granted to some key groups of industrial workers did not much exceed the statutory minimum.

From Giniger's reports, it seems that the postal workers were simply raising the 6,000 escudo demand that was put forward by many categories of workers after the collapse of the repressive apparatus.

"The postal workers have been demanding twice that [the 3,000 escudo minimum]—and a work week of 35 hours. They were blocked on both demands."

The reason the strike could not be maintained seems to be essentially the strength of the political authority of the junta and its reformist allies.

"What made them [the postal workers] back down," Giniger wrote June 20, "was the growing unpopularity of the strike throughout the country

the all-out support of the CP. In particular, as long as a significant measure of democratic freedoms remains, there is the constant threat that some revolutionary group will give the necessary leadership to a mass mobilization that can explode the political contradictions of the junta and the provisional government.

The regime is particularly vulnerable on the question of the colonial war. Already a group of soldiers have written a letter published in the country's major illustrated magazine, *Flama*, calling on their relatives and friends to demand that the troops be brought home immediately. And the attitude of these soldiers, who know the "democratic" generals best, was not total confidence in the regime. "Any of our loved ones who read this should call on the Junta de Salvação Nacional (loudly enough to be heard) to withdraw our troops immediately."

On the basis of such an appeal, even a small revolutionary group could begin organizing a broad movement for immediate withdrawal that could have a powerful impact on the great masses of the Portuguese people.

Such a movement could serve as the focus for the discontent and questioning that has surfaced in the society. It could begin to offer a general challenge to the political domination of the junta and drive a wedge into the contradictions of the class-collaborationist coalition government. It would forge an unbreakable bond between the masses and the ranks of the army and thus prevent the reimpementation of arbitrary authority.

It could mount an attack on the political authority of the junta and the reformists at their weakest point and prevent them from concentrating their influence to break militant actions such as the postal workers' strike.

United protest: 'Portugal out of Africa!'

By BAXTER SMITH

NEW YORK—Spilling off the sidewalks of Casa de Portugal on busy Fifth Avenue where they had come to protest, about 120 people turned out for a noontime picket June 22, demanding "Independence for the Portuguese colonies now."

The protest was prompted by the Portuguese government's refusal to grant independence to its African colonies.

Banners and posters with slogans such as "End U.S. complicity with Portuguese colonialism," and "Independence for Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau" were held aloft by picketers, some of whom were Africans, mainly from Ethiopia.

Pickers chanted, "Portugal out of Africa now! Independence for Guinea-Bissau!" and "No U.S. aid for Portuguese colonialism."

The protest won an approving response from midday shoppers. One young woman stopped, studied the placards for a moment, then joined the protesters briefly. Later, a passing carload of Blacks saluted the picketers and cried, "Right on! Right on!"

Casa de Portugal houses the Portuguese tourist bureau and other Portuguese government offices. Since the April 25 coup, its showcase window has had an eye-catching display with a message in foot-high letters. The letters—festooned with red carnations, the symbol of the coup—spell: "THERE'S NEVER BEEN A BETTER TIME TO COME TO PORTU-

GAL AND SHARE OUR HAPPINESS." However, little happiness has come to the people in the Portuguese colonies, who still face colonial occupation.

Organizations that sponsored the picket plan to meet and discuss future protest activities. These organizations include the Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, American Committee on Africa, New York Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation Movements, Pan African Student Organization in the Americas, Southern Africa Committee, Ethiopian Student

Union, Socialist Workers Party.

Also the Umoja Society, African Youth Movement, International Socialists, Committee for a Free South Africa, and Committee for a Free Mozambique.

Pickers also came from KODDPA, a Haitian organization; New Beginning Movement; and Newark Congress of African people, among other groups.

MINNEAPOLIS—Protesters from the Ad Hoc Coalition to End Portuguese Imperialism in Africa picketed Vice-president Gerald Ford during his visit

here June 24. They demanded that the United States halt its aid to Portugal's colonial wars.

A demonstration spokesman, August Nimitz, told the crowd of about 150 that the Portuguese government, with assistance from Washington, was continuing to suppress the colonial revolution in Africa.

Also picketing Ford were supporters of American Indian Movement leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means. They demanded that charges be dropped against the two, who are on trial for their leadership role in last year's seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D.



New Yorkers picket Portuguese tourist office

Militant/Baxter Smith

Stalinist strikebreaking--American style

By DICK ROBERTS

To many people it may have seemed surprising to read in the newspapers about how the Communist Party in Portugal helped the Spínola government to break the recent postal workers' strike there. This party, which claims to represent the working class, organized a demonstration *against* the strike, branding the postal workers as "fascists" who were "sabotaging democracy."

To older trade-union and Black militants in this country, however, this treacherous action by the Portuguese Stalinists will not sound strange at all. They will remember many times when the American CP carried out similar strikebreaking policies against both the labor movement and the Black struggle in this country—complete with even the same charges of "betraying national unity," "aiding the fascists," and so on.

Two of the most blatant examples occurred during World War II. The war years saw a relentless attack on the wages and standard of living of American workers while prices and profits spiraled. This attack, from which Black workers suffered the most, was spearheaded by the Roosevelt administration, which the CP (after the collapse of the Stalin-Hitler pact) devotedly supported—just as the Portuguese CP supports the Spínola government.

"Wages were to be frozen," wrote *Militant* correspondent Art Preis in *Labor's Giant Step*. "Jobs also were to be frozen so that workers might not be lured by competing firms with offers of higher pay. . . .

"Above all, the workers' power of organized resistance—their right to strike—was smashed." The CP went

right along with this ruling-class attack and aided the bosses whenever they got the chance.

American Stalinist leader William Z. Foster wrote in 1942, "At all costs, even under the worst provocation by employers who refuse to adjust your legitimate grievances, there must be no strikes."

Strikes, he wrote, "play directly into the hands of Hitler."

March on Washington

During the war the American Stalinists turned totally against the Black civil rights struggle in order to bolster the wartime alliances of the Kremlin.

As the war opened there was a sudden demand for assembly-line workers in war industry, but Blacks found themselves still barred from factory jobs. A movement developed to seize the occasion to struggle against racism in the plants and against discrimination in the armed forces. Led by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the "March on Washington" movement slated a demonstration in the capital for July 1, 1941.

During that time Joseph Stalin and Hitler had entered a pact supposedly aimed at keeping the Nazis from attacking the Soviet Union. Around the world, diehard followers of the Kremlin, like the American CP, attempted to keep their respective governments out of the war.

They denounced the March on Washington movement as an "instrument of Wall Street imperialism" for not opposing the war.

But in June 1941—just before the scheduled March on Washington—Germany invaded the Soviet Union. Stalin's line changed 180 degrees and

so, of course, did the line of his loyal American supporters. Now they wanted the United States in the war and that meant supporting Roosevelt to the hilt and opposing the Randolph movement as allegedly "divisive" of the armed forces.

James Ford, a Black Stalinist leader, told Blacks their struggle was unimportant: "Four hundred years of Negro slavery are nothing besides Nazi persecution of Jewish peoples, peoples of the occupied countries."

Another Stalinist leader explained: "There are also Negro leaders . . . [who] denounce 'the Government' and 'white people' for still existing racial injustice and . . . organize mass struggles of the Negro people. . . . They too are following a path which weakens the victory program of the nation."

When many Black newspapers began to campaign for what they called the "Double V"—victory over Hitler abroad, and victory over racism at home—the Stalinists denounced this slogan as "disruptive" of the war effort.

During the 1943 Harlem ghetto rebellion, the CP took the side of the city and state governments against the masses of Black people.

The Stalinists did their utmost to channel the Black movement into the Democratic Party and support for the war effort. Top CP leader Earl Browder went so far as to declare, in essence, that the Black struggle had already been won because of the coalition with the Democrats. "The immediate achievement in this period, under the present American system of complete equality (!) for the Negroes," said Browder, "has been made possible by the war crisis, and by the character of this war as a people's war for na-

tional liberation."

As the war-primed inflation eroded living standards, more workers sought means to struggle for wages that kept up with prices. They were opposed by the Stalinists at every step.

Coal miners' strike

The most important wartime struggle was the strike of the United Mine Workers under John L. Lewis's leadership. Art Preis wrote, "The national strike of the miners was not only the largest coal strike the country had seen up to this time. It was the largest single strike of any kind the land had ever known. It was carried out with a dispatch, discipline and single-minded determination that had never been surpassed in the American labor movement."

The CP openly sought to ingratiate itself with the employers and government by an unrestrained slander campaign against Lewis and the miners. The *Daily Worker*, predecessor of the CP's *Daily World*, editorialized: "The Lewis line is disruption of the war effort and provocation that could only result in irreparable harm to labor. . . . He wants to throw the country into a home-front war against the President, not against Hitler." Just like the Portuguese workers today, Lewis was labeled a "fascist" or "dupe of fascists."

The Stalinists went further. They sent organizers and speakers into the coal fields to try to mobilize scabs for a back-to-work movement. Louis Budenz, managing editor of the *Daily Worker*, wrote articles falsely reporting that there was wavering among the miners.

Roosevelt's threats and the Stalinist strikebreaking attempts did not hold

Continued on page 26

British cops murder antiracist protester

From Intercontinental Press

By Tony Hodges

London

JUNE 16—Kevin Gately, a 21-year-old student from Warwick University, was killed here yesterday, a victim of a premeditated assault by hundreds of police against a 1,000-strong demonstration. Gately, who had never attended a demonstration before, was struck unconscious by a blow on the head during the police attack and died four hours later of a cerebral hemorrhage.

He had marched through central London with other supporters of Liberation, a colonial freedom group whose president is Lord Brockway, to oppose an anti-immigrant demonstration held the same day by 1,000 supporters of the extreme right-wing National Front. The anti-National Front march was backed by the International Marxist Group [British section of the Fourth International], the International Socialists, and the Communist party.

The police attack came at London's Red Lion Square outside Conway Hall, where the National Front was to hold a rally protesting a decision of the Labour government to grant an amnesty to persons deemed illegal immigrants under the racist 1971 Immigration Act.

This is how Jackie Stevens, a member of the IMG who marched beside Gately into Red Lion Square and was a fellow student at Warwick University, described the events that led to Gately's death: "We turned into Red Lion Square, our arms linked together. We came across a line of police, and behind them were mounted police. When we tried to get through to Conway Hall, the police drew their batons and charged. . . . I fell and was trodden on by a horse and beaten



Police carry Kevin Gately from demonstration after beating and trampling demonstrators.

on the head. Our arms became unlinked and I didn't see Kevin again. There was blood all over the place and teeth lying on the ground. The police were screaming and shouting. We were all bunched up with horses on top of us. It was an absolutely horrific scene."

Sydney Bidwell, Labour member of Parliament for Southall and chairman of the London council of Liberation, accused the police of attacking a small group of demonstrators "with great

ferocity" and announced that he would put down a private member's question in the House of Commons, for Home Secretary Roy Jenkins. "Mounted police," Bidwell said, "were driving people before them. I had to nip out of the way myself. I narrowly escaped being trampled by a horse."

Fifty-five anti-National Front demonstrators were arrested. Many face trumped-up charges of assault, when their only crime was to be caught in the midst of a police riot.

The IMG, which has been mounting a nationwide campaign to throw back the racist attacks of the National Front, stated late last night: "Today's use of massive violence against a march sponsored by many leading figures and organisations in the labour movement must have been sanctioned at senior levels of the police or the government. The police were co-operating with the National Front marchers and had obviously been briefed to use exemplary violence not seen since the 1920s."

By contrast with the vicious attack on the demonstration organised by Liberation, the treatment accorded to the National Front was one of complete cordiality and cooperation on the part of the police. Once inside Conway Hall, the National Front marchers, some of whom wore black shirts, were told by racist demagogue Walter Barton, "It is time our young men were let loose on the reds." National Front chairman John Tyndall was drowned in cheers when he said: "You will probably read in the press tomorrow that the police kept order between the National Front and the left wing. My version of this is that the police this afternoon saved the left wing."

The IMG has called for an inquiry into the murder of Kevin Gately, to be organized immediately by the trade union and labour movements, and for the Labour government to ban a march scheduled for Birmingham by the National Front and the Ulster Defence Association on July 13. The IMG is proposing that a giant rally be held by the Labour party and the trade unions in Birmingham on that day. The Warwick University students union is calling a mass rally in Warwick for June 21 in commemoration of Kevin Gately and is planning to hold a national demonstration on June 22 to protest his murder.

How Indian CP sabotaged railroad strike

From Intercontinental Press

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar

The recent twenty-day rail strike was the longest and most costly in the history of the Indian rail system. The companies lost 500 million rupees [US\$1 equals approximately 7.75 rupees], and the economy as a whole is estimated to have lost some 1,000 million rupees.

The strike was called off unilaterally May 28 by the National Coordination Committee of Railwaymen's Struggle (NCCRS) in the wake of the Gandhi government's success in causing a split in the leadership. The NCCRS represents more than 1.6 million railway workers in some 160 different unions.

Irreconcilable differences among the leadership, at times involving members of the same party, appeared in the last three days of the strike. S. A. Dange, chairman of the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI) and general secretary of the CPI-dominated All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was, for example, clearly in favor of calling off the strike. His suggestion was to resolve the issues on a zonal or group basis rather than with a countrywide settlement.

S. M. Bannerji, a prominent leader of the AITUC, openly criticised Dange's proposal. "It is really surprising," Bannerji said, "that at a time when the entire government machinery is being used to suppress and crush the striking railway employees, a sug-

gestion should have been made to the workers to take [what should be a] collective decision group by group or zone by zone. The central trade unions that supported the strike unconditionally should have stood by the side of railway employees and intensified their struggle by industrial action."

Bannerji said that the Gandhi government's repression was reminiscent of the fascist actions against working people in the period between World War I and World War II. He called on the trade-union federations and members of parliament to protest the government's effort to "crush the trade-union movement."

Dange's stand was also criticised by the NCCRS, which termed his suggestion a "disruptionist" move aimed at helping the government destroy the trade-union movement.

P. Ramamurti, general secretary of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions, the union federation led by the CPI (Marxist), blamed the collapse of the strike on the disruptive position taken by the AITUC. He said it was crystal clear that the CPI's coalition with the ruling Congress party in Kerala and its policy of overall support to the Congress government had put it in a pitiable predicament.

"I leave it to the working class," Ramamurti said, "to draw their own conclusions and decide at whose bidding the AITUC leaders had at last resorted to this line of naked disruption." He predicted that a large number of workers in the AITUC would reject the policy of the CPI.

Priya Gupta, general secretary of

the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, also criticised the unilateral termination of the strike. He pointed out that this removed pressure on the government regarding such questions as the victimisation and jailing of militant unionists. No concession was extracted from the government over the fate of the 50,000 railwaymen who have been arrested or the nearly 10,000 who have been dismissed.

The government did meet six of the strikers' eight demands, totaling about 800 million rupees. But it refused to make any commitment on the two most important demands—the payment of a bonus and wage parity with other workers in the public sector.

It is obvious that the strike leaders no longer have any power to back up the workers' demands. Railway Minister L. N. Mishra confirmed this May 28, when he declared that the strikers would not be paid for the days they did not work and that they would lose their seniority rights.

Although the leadership described the strike as an "industrial action," it obviously had broad political implications. It was a general strike involving a direct confrontation between workers and their rulers, and as such it could not be waged simply on the economic front. The whole movement should have been politicised from the very beginning, with more vigorous action from the various left parties and the trade-union federations they lead.

The government obviously intended to teach the country's organised work-

ing-class movement a lesson, a strategy that reflects the pronounced rightward drift of the Gandhi administration.

For the moment, the workers have lost the initiative. Nevertheless, the strike represented a high point in the recent actions mounted by the urban proletariat of India.

The U.S. Communist Party has fully identified itself with the role of the Indian CP in sabotaging the rail strike so as not to embarrass the Congress party government of Indira Gandhi. An article in the June 12 issue of the CP's *Daily World* says, "Some forces sought to use the strike as a political fight against the government, but this was neither the objective of the movement nor the desire of the railmen. . . ."

"The CPI treated the railway strike as a trade union struggle and took active part in leading it."

The *Daily World* correspondent does not explain how the strike could be other than a fight against the government, since the government is the employer of the railway workers.

The writer goes on to say that "blind anti-Congressism is no solution or alternative to the present Congress government."

"With this background," the article continues, "the CPI did not want to goad the railway workers to a fight to a finish. . . ."

The *Daily World* does not report the views of any of the CPI members who spoke out against this sellout policy.

Protests hit killing of Black youth in Atlanta

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA — Seventeen-year-old Brandon Gibson is dead, shot down by local cops.

Demanding that the killer cops be put on trial and that Police Chief Inman be fired, 300 somber people marched with a coffin from the funeral home where Brandon Gibson's body lies to police headquarters here on June 23, the day after the killing.

The police dragged off and arrested 34 people, including the "pallbearers" and the Reverend Hosea Williams.

They were arrested on the phony charge of "interfering with the functioning of a government building." Bond was set at \$1,500 each.

Among the speakers at various protest meetings have been Brandon Gibson's relatives; friends of the family; classmates from Frederick Douglass High School; and political activists, including Hosea Williams, City Councilman Arthur Langford, and Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor Vince Eagan.

Cops claimed they were attempting to arrest Brandon Gibson for parole violation when they shot him inside a neighbor's house.

In an interview with *The Militant*, two close friends of the Gibson family — Mattlyne Willis and Ethelene Thomas — and Brandon's 12-year-old brother David pieced together the tragic event.

Two plainclothes cops walked with Brandon to their patrol car, and one of the cops drew a gun on Brandon and threatened to shoot. Brandon got scared and ran into a neighbor's house, pursued by the two officers. One grabbed him by the hair and the other held him from behind.

The neighbor begged them to turn Brandon loose and let him walk to the car. Instead they radioed for help. One cop drew his revolver, and Brandon began to struggle to get away. After the two cops had wrestled with Brandon for five minutes, a uni-



May 27 demonstration against police terror in Atlanta. In the last year and a half, 21 Blacks have been killed by Atlanta police.

formed cop arrived — gun in one hand, nightstick in the other. This cop raised his nightstick, and Brandon's brother grabbed it to prevent him from striking Brandon.

One of the plainclothes cops yelled, "Shoot!" The uniformed cop shot Brandon in the head while the plainclothes cop shot him in the stomach.

The police version of the killing says that Brandon had grabbed the plainclothesman's gun and pointed it at the uniformed cop; then the uniformed cop fired in self-defense. The police offer no plausible explanation for Brandon's stomach wound. They say Brandon must have wounded himself accidentally!

Later, police threatened to shoot Brandon's mother and brother when they tried to get inside the apartment to his body.

"I would like to see the entire city of Atlanta get involved in this protest," Mattlyne Willis said. "The policemen should be fired and tried for first-degree murder."

Willis said, "We don't need the type of police we have, and these three policemen were Black. We would like to see the Black policemen too shape up or ship out."

Brandon Gibson was the twenty-second

victim of local police in the last year and a half — all but one were Black.

Responding to anger in the Black community over past killings, six weeks ago Mayor Maynard Jackson tried to fire Police Chief Inman. Three weeks ago, the city council voted to impeach Inman. Thus far, the courts have enjoined both the mayor and the city council from firing the chief.

As the controversy unfolded, an undercover police agent was caught spying on Georgia's largest Black newspaper, the *Atlanta Voice*. This week a second police media spy was exposed. Inman's target this time was WRFG (Radio Free Georgia), a listener-sponsored radio station. John L. Pratt, alias Jonee Ansa, had wormed his way into the job of program director for WRFG.

Pratt became friendly with many radicals, including supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign, Black activists in the Timbuktu Bookstore, and artists at the Twelfth Gate coffeehouse. He frequently tried to get his "friends" to violate drug laws.

After being seen in uniform, Pratt now admits that he is a member of the Atlanta police narcotics squad.

AS WE GO TO PRESS:

ATLANTA, June 26 — The memorial march following the funeral of Brandon Gibson was attacked by dozens of club-swinging cops this evening in downtown Atlanta.

Several marchers were hospitalized after police on horses and on foot charged wildly. The Reverend Hosea Williams was dragged away by the cops, and at least 20 other people were arrested.

Young children from Bowen Homes and old people were beaten and arrested.

Five hundred people marched. Four hundred others were waiting at Central City Park, three blocks away, when the police attack occurred.

Mayor Maynard Jackson cut short his meeting at the National Mayors Conference in San Diego and told the media while en route home, "I urge people to think before they act, because I am enjoined by the courts from protecting the citizens of Atlanta."

Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor and a participant in the march, attacked the mayor's statement as "pure treachery, an open invitation for these racist police-state tactics to continue unrestrained."

Among the marchers were J. Lowell Ware, editor of the *Atlanta Voice*; the Reverend W. J. Stafford of the Free For All Baptist Church; and Gene Guerrero of the ACLU.

U.S. sailors in Japan protest 'new Navy'

The following is from a New Asia News dispatch.

By DICK ENGLE and NANCY STROHL

TOKYO — In one of the biggest uprisings within the U.S. military since the Vietnam cease-fire 17 months ago, more than 100 crew members of the *USS Midway* refused to sail when the giant aircraft carrier left its home port at Yokosuka Naval Base on June 14.

The men, about half of them Black, left the carrier within a four-hour period and quickly went underground in various parts of the Tokyo area. The spontaneous rebellion was the latest and most dramatic example of mounting discontent among enlisted men over bad living conditions and constant harassment in the new image "peacetime Navy."

"Most likely we'll go to the brig for this," one striking sailor said, "but we're together. We didn't just jump into this, we thought about it. I think our reasons are good. We're tired of the pig boat."

The walkout, talked up on board since April, was also an expression of doubts about the purpose of the U.S. Navy in Asia today. As one sailor told New Asia News, "I won't serve on it anymore. If they send me back, they'll be paying a man who won't work. In my opinion the *Midway*'s over here for one thing: America's an aggressive nation, they always want to get ahead of other countries. It's just a Cold War."

The "new Navy," inaugurated with great fanfare in 1972 to overcome the seething discontent of the Vietnam

era, is meeting its most severe test at Yokosuka. The basic promise: more privileges and pay and an end to racism and petty harassment of enlisted men. Recent events suggest that the program is in a shambles.

The USN command at Yokosuka, shaken by the walkout, has tried to cover up the incident. It announced that 32 men went AWOL on June 14, and half of these had turned themselves in by June 18. However, New Asia News confirmed that 100 *Midway* crew members were still underground on June 20.

Several factors create an explosive situation on the *Midway*. The first and only carrier to be homeported outside the United States, it is scheduled to be here through 1976. Daily demonstrations of up to 30,000 Japanese citizens preceded the ship's arrival in Yokosuka on Oct. 5, 1973. The *Midway* crew is well aware that most Japanese don't want the ship in Japan.

Most of the crew didn't volunteer, but were sent here from Navy schools as their first duty station. Many feel they joined the "peacetime Navy," and ask: "Why are we here if it's peacetime?"

There is deep cynicism among most first-termers about the U.S. Navy's mission. Many *Midway* sailors feel they are here to protect dictatorial governments from Singapore to South Korea.

Yokosuka is a lonely place for people without families or who are too low-ranking to have the military bring their families to Japan. After some of the crew volunteered last year, the Navy announced that it would not

pay transportation for families of most lower enlisted men. And even with recent pay increases, these men couldn't begin to support a family in the Tokyo area.

One sailor said, "People like me have feelings, too. We don't have any families to go to, just the Honcho (bar street). All we have to do is go out there and drink, and even then the Shore Patrol harasses us."

A majority of sailors use drugs to escape the reality of life on the *Midway*. What is that life like? The command acts as if spit and polish can gloss over the deep discontent and low morale. There is considerable pressure on lower-ranking people.

Lack of privacy also generates pressures. While officers have private rooms, enlisted men sleep three high on bunks. Curtains which used to give some privacy were taken down as a fire hazard last fall. The *Midway* says new ones are not available because corners must be cut to pay for increased oil and jet fuel costs. Yet every day at sea, planes take off for nowhere and the ship steams in circles.

Blacks get more than their share of harassment. But their unity also gives them a kind of edge. Blacks were the first to talk about a walkout, and other sailors knew they had the unity to carry it off. Command racism is also a major problem for Third World people, including large numbers of Filipino sailors. "They (the commands) aren't just prejudiced against Blacks, they're prejudiced against everybody," one Black sailor commented.

The *Midway*'s no-nonsense com-

mander, Captain R.J. Schulte, maintains order through fear. He has the power to punish people for hundreds of infractions at Captain's Mast. A sailor is "written up" and appears before Schulte, who acts as judge, jury, and prosecutor.

There is a waiting list for the brig right now. Once sentenced at mast, there is very little recourse. An appeal is seldom granted, and even if it is, the time has already been served.

Hundreds of the *Midway* crew have been in the brig during the past year, and brutality is a central complaint in the current walkout. "I was pushed and hit and slammed up against the bulkheads," one sailor complained, "for no reason, for coughing, sneezing, or smiling. . ."



Similar revolt protesting racism in Navy aboard USS Constellation in 1972

...Portugal

Continued from page 1

tion of the fundamentally common interests of the workers and peasants in Portugal and the colonies, in opposition to the handful of capitalists who benefit from imperialist exploitation.

The stakes in the Portuguese developments are great. A deepening of the revolutionary process there would immediately spur forward the revolt against Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. The toppling of colonial rule in the Portuguese colonies would spark rebellions of the oppressed Black masses throughout Africa, especially in the white settler-colonial states of South Africa and Rhodesia.

At stake in the Portuguese workers struggles is not only the African revolution but also the European socialist revolution. The impact has already been felt in neighboring Spain. But the eyes of the powerful working classes of France, Italy, Britain, and Germany will also be on Portugal.

American labor also has a big stake in the Portuguese upsurge. The Portuguese postal workers were fighting to protect themselves from the same rampaging inflation faced by postal workers and all other working people in the U.S. Black Americans have a special interest in the victory of the African peoples over Portuguese colonialism.

The other way in which the events in Portugal are important to working people and Black people in this country is in the lessons they teach. Each experience of the working class in struggle—especially those on the massive scale of the Portuguese upsurge—carries lessons on what strategy and tactics bring victories and which bring defeats.

In Portugal the Communist Party is now the key force blocking the struggle of the masses for an end to the colonial wars, a living wage for working people, and land to those who till it. The Stalinists are part of the Spínola government and have functioned as the battering ram to force government strikebreaking and continuation of the colonial wars down the throats of the workers.

The Portuguese Communist Party's support for this imperialist regime headed by a fascist-trained general has led the Portuguese Stalinists into the most wretched and blatant displays of strikebreaking. Under the slogan of "unity with the armed forces," the CP has worked to demoralize and isolate any workers who set out to fight for the elementary needs of the masses. They have stabbed the African rebels in the back by joining a government headed by officers like Spínola who previously directed the torturers and subjugators of the African peoples of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau.

Their policy amounts to digging the grave of the Portuguese revolution. And when the workers movement is weakened sufficiently by their attacks, Spínola will not hesitate to turn on the rank-and-file CP workers, whose leaders are today singing his praises.

This Stalinist strikebreaking and cover-up for colonialism must be exposed and denounced throughout the international working-class movement.

We ask our readers to join us in waging a campaign in solidarity with the Portuguese workers and the people of the African colonies, whose struggle has such potential implications for the world socialist revolution and the future of humanity.

- *The Militant* will continue to tell the truth about the developments in Portugal week after week. We will feature workers struggles, such as the heroic action of the postal workers, which always get short shrift in the capitalist media.

- Help sell *The Militant* to get out the importance of the Portuguese upsurge to wider sections of the American people.

- Picket lines and demonstrations can be organized across the country at offices representing the Portuguese government to demand: Immediate, unconditional Portuguese withdrawal from Africa! No U.S. aid to the Spínola government! Support for the just struggles of the Portuguese workers!

Even if such demonstrations are small to begin with, they can have an important impact. Postal workers, especially Black postal workers, will be interested in the struggle of their brothers and sisters in Portugal. Growing numbers of union officials will be willing to sign protest statements against the strikebreaking actions of the Spínola government and its Stalinist finks. The picket line in New York City June 22 (see story on page 7) shows it is possible to unite a broad range of organizations in protest.

The Portuguese events have provided working people of the world with an inspiring glimpse of the possibilities for a new society based on human cooperation and solidarity. It is our duty to rally whatever support possible to the Portuguese and African peoples, who are at this time in the forefront of the world revolution.

Nonbiased coverage

I first heard of your paper through a very dear friend of mine in prison. I am very interested in your nonbiased coverage on national events, especially the Wounded Knee trials. Please hurry my subscription, as I am anxious to read the truth!

L. L.
Enfield, Conn.

What about the ordinary?

As a faithful reader of *The Militant* for over a year now, I can only begin by commending the paper for its excellent coverage of U. S. and world events from a Marxist revolutionary point of view.

May I suggest that *The Militant* would be of even greater interest if it contained more in-depth analyses of American life. Although present coverage of militant campaigns is lively and complete, it accounts for an aspect of the U. S., which for the time being, at least, is out of the ordinary. Well, what about the ordinary? How about some Marxist critiques of such seemingly rock-solid American institutions as church, family, school, army, and football?

T. G.
Geneva, Switzerland

Intro 2

The events in New York City surrounding the recent defeat of Intro 2 and the emergence of a militant gay movement in Portugal have shown concretely the significance of the gay liberation movement in the struggle for socialism.

Reactionary forces both here and in Portugal have opposed gay rights for similar reasons. The Catholic church called Intro 2 a "threat to sound family life." General Galvão de Melo referred to the rise of the gay movement in Portugal as "a demonstration of amorality unprecedented in any country where the values of family and morality have ever existed."

Opposition to Intro 2 was spearheaded by the Catholic church and Hasidic rabbis. These same forces have used the exact same argument against women's rights. The struggle against gay oppression is directly linked to the struggle against women's oppression and against religious superstition.

While it may be possible to win a few civil rights laws for gays under capitalism (and in New York even that seems questionable) gays will only win complete freedom under socialism.

C. W.
New York, N. Y.

UFW support

Farm workers and supporters held a successful "greet the grapes" rally at the produce terminal here in Detroit June 13. One hundred and fifty people turned out at 6 a.m.

The demonstrators chanted, "Support United Farm Workers" and "Boycott grapes," and passed out leaflets to incoming truck drivers and store owners. One picket carried a large sign reading, "This Teamster supports the farm workers union."

I spoke with several United Auto Workers Local 174 members who

have been on strike at the Firestone Steel Products division in Riverview, south of Detroit, for four months. I was told that about 25 of them were present at the farm workers rally and that the Firestone workers have an ongoing relationship of mutual support with the UFW in Detroit. UFW supporters have been participating regularly in the picketing at Firestone.

Dean Denno
Detroit, Mich.

A bitter lesson

The 44-day strike by Dallas Printing Pressmen's Local 21 against Dallas's two major dailies ended in a humiliating defeat for the union.

On June 14, union officials announced to the *Dallas Times Herald* and the *Morning News* that they were ready to return to work "unconditionally." But the papers announced that almost all the vacant positions had been filled and so they would not rehire the workers.

The printing pressmen walked out May 1 when the newspapers ended talks with the union. The *Herald* and the *News* were attempting to lay off several workers and speed up the rest by taking control of the number of men at each press. The union in the past had always controlled the manning of the presses.

The strike had been ineffective, as members of the other craft unions working for the newspapers freely crossed the picket lines, as well as some members of the striking Pressmen's union itself. Consequently, the newspapers were able to continue publishing full-sized editions despite the strike. Once again craft-union organization of the newspaper industry resulted in a bitter lesson for its workers.

Rob Roper
Dallas, Texas

Individual terror

There are a lot of us here at San Quentin who with the right influence could come out of this violence and into a real struggle. I feel from experience that individual terror tactics don't help. It will take the masses of workers. I show my *Militant* to others to show them that we are only a disorganized unit with no theory other than violence. And the few of us who have been through it look for a better way—the ideas of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky.

A prisoner
California

'Special housing'

On Jan. 29 to 31, we (about seven of us) appeared in Buffalo Supreme Court to contest the intolerable and inhumane conditions we were forced to undergo in Auburn Prison's Special Housing Unit, which is a euphemistic expression for punitive segregation.

On June 19, some of us appeared in front of Judge James Moore seeking a judicial determination on our contention of illegal containment in the box.

As petitioners, we argued and proved that it was an outcome of the arbitrary, capricious, whimsical, and vindictive decisions of Deputy Commissioner Walter Dunbar, and Auburn's Superintendent Robert



Henderson, and others with them, that kept us segregated from general population.

Attorney Pachoda demonstrated that the labels of SHU, HBZ, Unit Fourteen, adjustment center, etc., are irrelevant because they are in violation of inmates' due process.

We are currently still going to court on the calendar call, which began June 10, to determine our status vis-à-vis preparedness for trial. Two cases so far have been marked for September trials.

*An Attica indictree
Buffalo, N. Y.*

Senator Jackson

U. S. Senator Henry Jackson, Democrat from Washington and leading contender for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, recently visited Puerto Rico and made statements there that totally expose the true colonial character of the relationship between the U. S. and Puerto Rico.

In answer to questions from a reporter from the proindependence newspaper *Claridad*, the senator said that the ties between the U. S. and Puerto Rico were "irrevocable."

He added that "it is good that people know the truth, and the reality is that as a territory of the United States these relationships are irrevocable."

When asked if Puerto Rico could have independence provided the majority of its people voted for it, he said that it was up to the U. S. Congress to decide whether or not Puerto Rico would be independent, irrespective of the wishes of the Puerto Rican people.

Asked what right the United States had to maintain its hold over the island colony, he responded, "How do you think we acquired Washington and other states? It was by conquest, and in no other way."

*J. P.
New York, N. Y.*

Use of The Militant

If at all possible please advise us as to the possibilities of syndicating some of your columns and written material. In reading your publication we feel that a great deal of the facts reported in your paper would help us inform our readers of national and international news.

We're a small Black weekly newspaper with a paid circulation of just under 5,000 copies.

*L. K. Curtis
Cleveland Review
Cleveland, Ohio*

In reply—We are always happy to have material that appears in *The Militant* reprinted and circulated by other publications. Unless an article is copyrighted, no special permission is needed to do so. We request that *The Militant* be given credit for any article reprinted from it.

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.

The novelty of a solid strike

The court called it "a novelty." But the way the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers recently forced the National Industrial Relations Court and the British government to back down on a punitive fine levied against the union when the Tories were in power is the convincing part. It is a good example of what unions in this country ought to do when hit with heavy fines, as they often are, for striking.

Such strikebreaking decisions have been directed notoriously against teachers in many cities here, and last fall against Local 1199 of the hospital workers in New York.

The case in Britain was different in that it came before a special court established under the Industrial Relations Act, the equivalent of Taft-Hartley here, instead of the regular courts. But the way the union handled it would be effective against any court, *providing the union movement is prepared to challenge ruling-class justice.*

The British Engineering Workers Union refused to pay a \$113,000 fine last fall. The court awarded the money to Con-Mech (Engineering) Ltd., a firm that was struck and claimed damages.

When the court seized the union's total assets (\$732,000), all engineering workers were called out. A nationwide strike started May 7 and was immediately effective, beginning to close auto plants, steel mills, shipyards, most newspapers, and airports. That was enough to settle the matter.

An attorney representing anonymous clients (some said a group of industrialists, others thought it was the government) appeared before the court and offered \$156,000 to settle all fines and damages levied against the union. It was the same offer that had been rejected before the shutdown began. It was accepted after workers left their jobs and no judge in London could read the morning *Times* because there was none.

Sir John Donaldson was the Tory president of the court who thought he was in charge from the beginning of the case and was still anxious to teach the union a lesson about the folly of strikes. In the end

he made a little speech about the "authority of the court," "parliamentary democracy," and "rule of law." He concluded that "an offer to pay the judgment debt of another is a novelty," but this time he accepted the offer.

After the judgment against the union had been settled in this novel way, the strikers began returning to work. The novelty of it seemed not to bother them at all. It was the settlement that counted. They didn't have to pay anything, which is what they had decided in the beginning.

The 1.2 million-member Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers is powerful enough to halt essential production in Britain. That is one reason it could make its decision stick.

Furthermore, and partially as a result of similar struggles by other unions, the Labour Party has promised to repeal the Industrial Relations Act. Now that it is in power, there is tremendous pressure on it to carry out this pledge. It has introduced legislation in parliament to repeal the act and abolish the Industrial Disputes Court.

Resolute actions by the union movement like the Engineers' strike will encourage parliament to act speedily on repeal.

Contrast this with the American labor movement's inability to fight against such antilabor legislation as Taft-Hartley.

Truman promised in 1948 when the union movement put him back in the White House that the first thing he would see done was Taft-Hartley repeal. Twenty-five years later that law is still on the books and nothing is said anymore about repealing it. All the hypocritical "friends of labor" Democrats have ever done about Taft-Hartley is use it to break strikes, and pass more laws to strengthen it.

The Democratic Party is owned and operated by the employing class. Unions here need a labor party, backed by an all-out mobilization of the labor movement, to fight effectively to abolish antilabor legislation and curb the strikebreakers in judges' robes.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Abuses of 'illegal aliens'

LOS ANGELES—Another of the many ways in which undocumented workers ("illegal aliens") are abused has been spotlighted in recent months here.

A 28-year-old *mexicana* without papers who was being held by federal authorities was ordered released by a U.S. district judge in April when it was discovered that she had been suffering beatings in prison. She had spent 37 days in jail—not charged with any crime—detained to serve as a material witness against the persons who had smuggled her into the country.

The holding of undocumented persons as material witnesses against *coyotes* (labor smugglers) is a common practice. There are hundreds—charged with no crime whatever—behind bars right now in Southern California. They spend on the average two or three months in jail waiting to testify and then are rewarded with summary deportation.

The law provides for the detention of anyone, citizen or otherwise, as a material witness, if the court suspects that the person might not voluntarily respond to a subpoena. But the courts consider *mexicanos* without papers inherently "unreliable"; they are invariably jailed. Government prosecutors maintain that these people must be kept locked up to prevent them from going back to Mexico before they fulfill their so-called civic duty to testify.

Compare this racist hypocrisy with the kid-glove treatment given to Watergate conspirators the government wants to use as witnesses. Although many have been heavily implicated in serious crimes, the government promises them immunity or light sentences in exchange for their testimony.

And talk about ignoring subpoenas. Richard Nixon can defy subpoenas right and left. The courts don't lock him up.

Not too many *coyotes* are being locked up either. Labor smuggling is a thriving multimillion dollar business. *Coyotes* rip off \$200 to \$300 a head to bring hungry people over the border in search of work. It is usually the drivers and other flunkies who take the risks and get caught.

In the rare event that a *coyote* does get caught, they can easily put up bail with the money they get by fleecing their victims. The victims who are being held as witnesses are too poor to afford bail.

Apparently sensing that public displeasure might be manifested against the jailing of innocent persons, the courts have come up with a compromise. They have recently begun to videotape testimony so they don't have to wait for the trial. Even so, the first 10 witnesses on whom this was tried spent 17 days in prison. They were then "thanked" for fulfilling their civic responsibilities with a boot across the border. It is questionable whether this television testimony will even hold up in court.

The truth is that the government is up to its neck in the corruption on the border. Several immigration officials have already been convicted of taking kickbacks from *coyotes*, smuggling narcotics, pimping, forging documents, and extortion. These people are never going to crack down on *coyotes*.

There is only one solution to this problem, and it is a very simple one. End the "illegal" status once and for all. Grant full citizenship rights to all who want to live and work here. This would automatically put all the *coyotes*, forgers, and a hundred other kinds of parasites out of business overnight.

As long as there are "illegals," there will be corruption. It is impossible to have the one without the other.



Provided, of course, the price is right— The U.S. energy crisis will be over in five years and companies may be exporting oil by then, according to Arthur Spitzer, oil man and research specialist. "We've known for a long time," he said, "that our coal and shale reserves could provide the nation's energy needs for 600 years."

Natural law — The government will be buying up to \$100-million worth of meat to help relieve the present glut on the wholesale market. And, as one Washington dispatch explained, "As



'They count me as working'

the meat glut is reduced and supply dwindles, the natural tendency will be for wholesale and retail prices to rise."

No need for ark? That 22-foot cabin cruiser presented to the Guru Maharaj Ji as a wedding gift by his disciples was not repossessed. It was returned, a Divine Light mission spokesman explained, because "it didn't fit in with the mission's program." And how do the \$85,000 house, the two Cessna planes, and the Maserati, Rolls, and Mercedes fit in? "Residences are useful and transportation is necessary," the spokesman responded.

Almost as patient as union officials— Citing a 5.6 percent drop in real wages, AFL-CIO economist Nat Goldfinger philosophically observed that "every-one's quite amazed by the extreme degree of patience of the workers."

Fifth Amendment capitalist?— Those who were around in the 1950s will savor the irony of Nixon telling Mitchell to take the Fifth Amendment on Watergate revelations. Nixon helped the late Joseph McCarthy popularize the notion that those who exercised the constitutional privilege were "Fifth Amendment communists."

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Fighting sexism in schools, sports

Sex discrimination in education: The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has proposed a series of regulations against sex discrimination in education. If implemented, the provisions would, among other things, bar discrimination against women in admission to public colleges and universities; prohibit discrimination in the awarding of scholarships and other financial aid; ban offering home economics courses only to women and shop courses only to men; and prohibit applying different conduct standards to men and women.

However, private undergraduate colleges are exempted from the ban on sex discriminations in admissions, as are pre-elementary, elementary, and secondary schools.

The proposed regulations do not say anything about the use of sexist textbooks or other curriculum material.

Although the regulations call for improvement in facilities for women's athletics, they do not require equal expenditures for women's sports or equal athletic scholarships for women.

In spite of the shortcomings of the regulations, they can provide a vehicle for a fight against sex discrimination in education.

Little League gives in: Officials of Little League

Baseball, Inc., announced that they would "defer to the changing social climate" and permit girls to play on their teams. The "changing social climate" that pressured the Little League to change its 35-year-old "for boys only" rule included law suits, demonstrations, and the girls who were determined to play.

Women coal miners: The first women members of the United Mine Workers to work inside a mine are Diana Baldwin, 25, and Anita Cherry, 39, of Jenkins, Ky. Both are former hospital workers. Baldwin said, "We can make more than twice as much money in the mines as we could at the hospital."

What do the men think? A miner who works with Baldwin said, "... it did surprise me how well they worked out in the mines. I've seen a whole lot worse—and, of course, I've seen some better." The section foreman said, "If they got enough guts to come in here, I say, buddy, let 'em come."

Because of their low seniority the two women work the midnight to 8 a.m. "hoot owl" shift. Baldwin drives a shuttle car in one section of the mine, and Cherry is a rock duster and scoop operator in another section.

God's intention: Delegates at the Southern Baptist Convention voted against increased participation of women in church services and on governing bodies. They also opposed a resolution calling for equal pay for equal work and for the elimination of discrimination against women in secular employment.

Reverend Richard Jackson explained the high-level theology behind the vote. "We must recognize that God has intended man to be the spiritual leader, both in the home and in the church. And when they're willing to do that, the women will be glad of it."

From bad to worse: National Airlines reports a 23 percent increase in passengers during the first year of their "I'm Cheryl. Fly me" advertising campaign. So they have decided to up the ante—and the sexism. Their new ads will feature a stewardess saying, "I'm going to fly you like you've never been flown before." The filmmakers for the ads are coaching the stewardesses "to say it like you're standing there stark naked."

Stewardesses for Equal Rights are considering complaining to the Federal Communications Commission and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Trinidad since the 1970 revolt

Four years ago this spring, the Caribbean island of Trinidad was embroiled in a fast-paced political upheaval. Its citizens took to the streets in massive demonstrations, the army mutinied, and the Black neocolonialist government teetered and nearly toppled.

The upsurge was a reaction to an unemployment rate of 20 percent, low wages (the average worker was paid 50 cents an hour), and other conditions of oppression that confront Blacks there, who comprise close to 50 percent of the population. A large number of East Indians, along with a few Asians, whites, Syrians, and others, comprise the remainder.

Black power was the cry, and it touched off a massive strike wave and an army revolt.

Prime Minister Eric Williams declared a state of emergency and was close to fleeing. U.S. and Venezuelan warships rushed to the scene, however, and Williams hung tough and rode it out.

Recently I spoke with Lloyd D'Aguilar, a 22-year-old Jamaican, about the present situation in Trinidad. D'Aguilar is a member of the New Beginning Movement (NBM) a Pan-Caribbean-oriented radical organization, based in Trinidad, that has developed since 1970.

"Economically," D'Aguilar said, "it is the same old picture in Trinidad. The economy is dominated by multinational corporations, and prices continue to rise."

Oil, he said, "is the largest earner of foreign reserves for the country. But it employs only a small section of the labor force. The sugar estates probably employ the largest section, and the rest either work in the garment industries, transportation, or are civil servants, etc."

Unemployment, he said, is still a major problem. At the time of the revolt, U.S. investments totaled \$500-million, with foreign corporations devouring about 75 to 85 percent of the economic pie.

Some people, D'Aguilar said, are discussing the political lessons from the upsurge.

The 1970 revolt, he said, "was spontaneous. It was not a consciously organized effort to overthrow the government. And there was a lack of ideological direction as to where the movement should go."

Since 1970, emerging groups have been struggling for political clarity. The NBM, D'Aguilar said, believes only a socialist revolution can solve the problems of the Caribbean.

Another organization, the National Union of Freedom Fighters, has turned to guerrilla activities. D'Aguilar said the NUFF launched a guerrilla campaign last year and by early this year 13 of its members had been killed.

"Several of them face various charges now," he said, adding that such acts were "premature" because "the political groundwork had not been laid."

Turning his attention to Brooklyn, where many Trinidadians, Jamaicans, Grenadians, Haitians, and other Caribbean people reside, D'Aguilar said the large number there "is because people have fled the poverty in the Caribbean." Some estimates of the Caribbean population in Brooklyn range up to one million.

Recently, the Bahamian government announced that all Haitians there "illegally" must leave. D'Aguilar said this action was ostensibly designed to relieve the unemployment situation there.

D'Aguilar noted that in Brooklyn, Trinidadians, unlike the Haitians and some Jamaicans, have not been victimized by the U.S. immigration service's "illegal alien" raids. But organizing to defend these refugees, particularly the Haitians, he agreed, is a good rallying point for Caribbean activists.

Rank & file carpenters propose united struggle

By CAROL LIPMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Saying, "A strike against one is a strike against all," the Associated General Contractors (AGC) announced a lockout June 20 of all carpenters on their construction jobs in Northern California.

An AGC spokesman termed the carpenters' selective picketing of AGC job sites in support of their contract demands as "totally irresponsible."

The Northern California carpenters' strike has now entered its second week. The strike has affected 15,000 carpenters and 10,000 other building-trades workers on AGC jobs, while some 30,000 carpenters continue to work for the Homebuilders Association and many independent contractors.

The Homebuilders signed an "interim agreement" with the union, which carpenters were scheduled to vote on June 25.

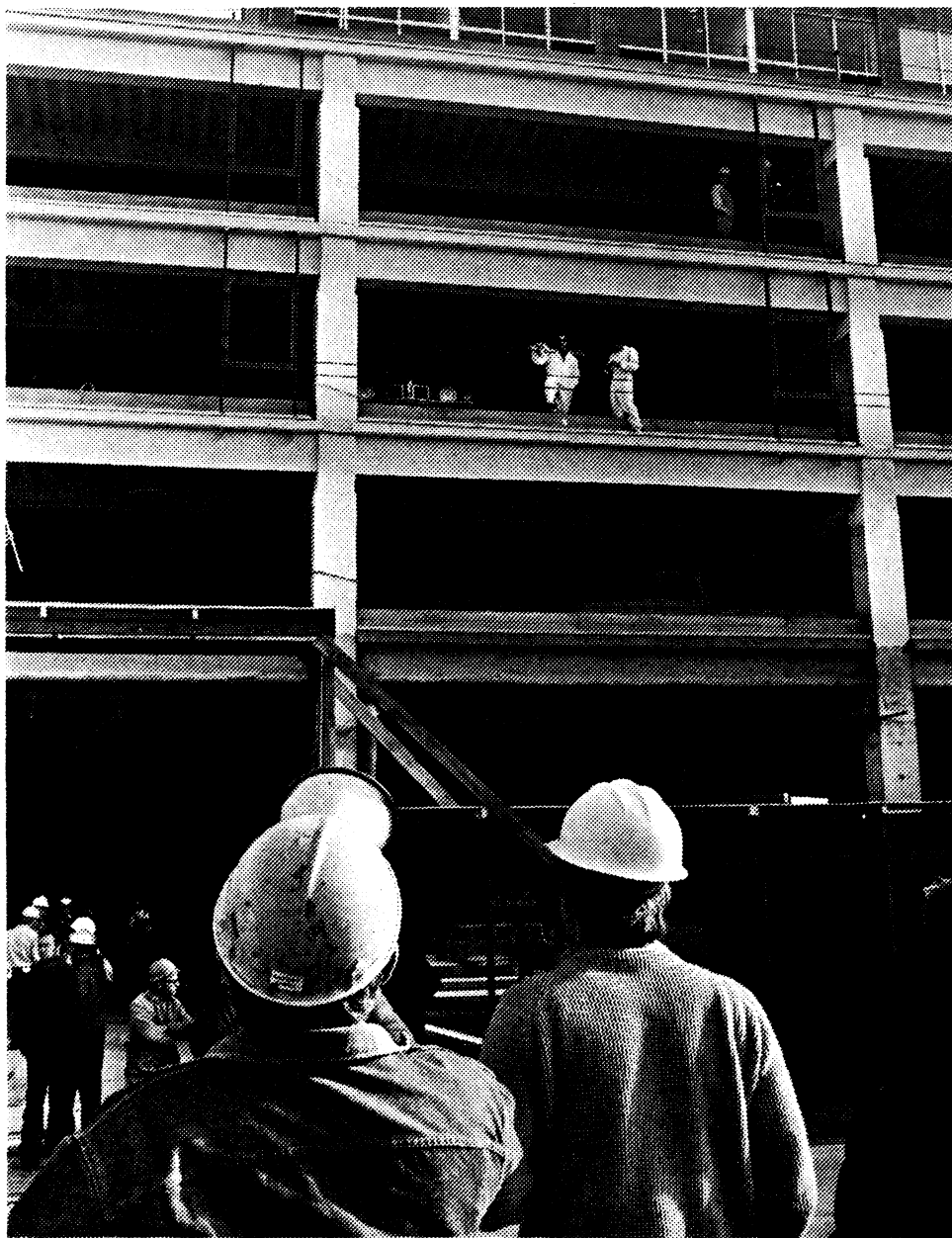
The AGC has publicly attacked the agreement with the Homebuilders, stating that if the carpenters continued to fight for these "irresponsible demands, they face a long strike and an increase in nonunion contractors who may pay union level wages but don't support pension and health-care programs."

Striking carpenters are being ridiculed in the capitalist press and by the AGC for fighting for a pay raise that practically equals the federal minimum wage, but little is said about the hazards of the work, poor job conditions, and seasonal employment.

Even though the AGC has attacked the \$1.75 wage and fringe-benefit increase worked out with the Homebuilders, many carpenters are dissatisfied with this agreement. A mass meeting of 10,000 carpenters June 17 voted overwhelmingly in a straw poll to reject the offer. At many union locals, leaflets urging a "No" vote have been distributed by rank-and-file carpenters.

One leaflet, signed by 14 carpenters who were active in the seven-week unofficial walkout last winter, declares: "Don't buy a pig in a poke! This is actually what the agreement with the Homebuilders is. We are voting on it without even having a chance to read the fine print—what it really says. On top of that, we are voting without hearing a report and discussion on the pros and cons of the deal."

Pointing out that the agreement makes no mention of improvements in working conditions, an important issue for the carpenters, the leaflet also states that the wage increase will not be adequate to keep up with the rising cost of living. "Our wages should be adjusted to the increase in prices,"



'Flying pickets' appeal to fellow construction workers to close down job site during last winter's carpenters' strike in California.

the statement continues.

"Giving up on the job conditions to settle right away with the Homebuilders means we can't expect to force the AGC to better terms."

The leaflet points out that the contracts of other building trades have already expired or will expire soon, and that all of them "would respect pickets on every job, especially after the lockout of carpenters. Building tradesmen must support each other in order to avoid going down to defeat one at a time, like we did last year. . . ."

Because of the AGC attack on this contract offer, and the fact that the majority of carpenters working in Northern California are employed by the Homebuilders, the agreement is expected to be passed by Northern California carpenters.

The signing of the Homebuilders agreement by the union officials is a

blow to the striking carpenters. Confusion has been sown, and the carpenters have been demobilized by the strategy of selective picketing. Carpenters can see other building-tradesworkers completing AGC jobs while the AGC threatens a long lockout.

AGC carpenters have lost two weeks' pay without strike benefits, while more than half the union membership has been sent to work on jobs with the Homebuilders and independent contractors.

An aggressive policy of massive picketing of all AGC jobs is needed now to meet head-on the strength of the AGC and begin to recoup the setbacks already forced on the carpenters union.

In a related development, carpenters, cement masons, and laborers struck AGC jobs in San Diego County June 17. About 25,000 workers are affected by the strike.

Inflation is the major issue. Both the carpenters and laborers were denied previously negotiated wage increases by the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, the now defunct government wage-control board for construction.

The carpenters are seeking a three-year contract with a \$2 wage and benefit increase in the first year. Southern California carpenters are trying to make up the \$1.41 an hour wage differential between them and Northern California carpenters.

Laborers Local 89 is insisting on getting back a \$.735-an-hour increase axed by the CISC before negotiating a new contract. Laborers average only 125 hours of work each month and feel the inflation pinch very strongly.

It is also expected that carpenters will go out in the Los Angeles region when their contract expires July 1.

All these workers now face an extraordinary scabbing move by the officials of the 25,000-member Operating Engineers Union Local 12. The Local 12 officials have withdrawn the Operating Engineers from all the building-trades councils in Southern California and southern Nevada and are refusing to support strike action by other building-trades unions.

According to the June 21 *Los Angeles Times*, "Local 12, one of the key building-trades unions, joined management in warning that if management meets the contract demands of carpenters and other unions, the construction industry will be seriously hurt."

Local 12 recently signed a three-year contract for a 6 percent wage increase—well below the demands of other building-trades unions, and well below the rate of inflation. This union leadership parroted the contractors by stating that higher wage increases won by the unions will only "allow nonunion contractors to take our jobs away from us."

This policy is the negation of trade unionism. When a union begins to base its contract demands not on what its members need but on what unorganized workers have been forced to accept, it is giving up its very reason for existence.

Building-trades unions cannot answer the threat of open-shop competition by offering to work as cheaply as nonunion workers. An aggressive campaign to organize the unorganized and show that the unions can win better wages and conditions for all construction workers is the only solution to the open-shop drive.

Black Muslims to go on trial in 'Zebra' frame-up

By JAMES LEWIS

OAKLAND—July 8 has been set as the trial date in the "Zebra" frame-up case of four members of the Nation of Islam, commonly known as the Black Muslims.

The four are Larry Green, Jessie Cooks, Manuel Moore, and J.C. Simon. They are charged with responsibility for three of 13 unsolved murders committed in the last eight months.

During the last several months a racist campaign has been mounted in the capitalist press and by San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto, who has attributed scores of unsolved murders in that city and around the country to Blacks, specifically to a "Death Angel" cult.

As this fantastic scare campaign has it, the "cult" is highly secretive and is comprised of top-echelon Muslims whose job is to kill whites. The defendants are accused of being "members" of the "cult."

The four defendants were taken into custody May 1, culminating a stop-and-frisk dragnet by San Francisco cops that rendered all Black men suspect and helped bolster anti-Black sentiment in San Francisco.

Superior Court Judge Morton Colvin set July 3 as the pretrial hearing date after the Muslims were indicted May 16 on charges of murder and conspiracy to commit murder. Bail was set at \$300,000 each.

The district attorney has spent some

eight hours presenting his case to the grand jury, based largely on the testimony of an informant, Anthony Harris.

Harris, who surfaced to collect \$30,000 offered in the case, said he had been working with the four Muslims in a Black self-help project.

Minister John Muhammad of Muhammad's Temple Number 26 called Harris a "crackpot" and pointed out that he had a history of mental problems.

The 73-page indictment was put together during night sessions of the grand jury, which were restricted to members of the jury, the staff of the district attorney's office, and those subpoenaed.

A gag order on the news media was struck down May 11 by a three-judge panel in an appeals court. An attorney for three of the defendants said a gag rule, still in effect, on those involved in the case had prevented him from responding in public with an accurate version of the facts.

The grand jury report, however, usually made public 10 days after the indictment, has not been brought to public attention. Scanty outlines "leaked" to the press outline a consistent pattern of harassment of Black Muslims by the San Francisco police, involving stopping and questioning members in automobiles and harassing members selling *Muhammad Speaks*.

What kind of unity to save jobs, in

Continued from page 28

of unity at the convention.

The NYSUT delegation of 1,300 will distribute vast quantities of literature, collar teacher delegates from around the country, and try to convince them that unity has achieved wonders in New York since it was consummated in 1972.

It's true that unity has worked wonders for Albert Shanker. The money and bloc vote of the NYSUT gave him a good launching point for his drive for the AFT presidency.

But the record of what unity, Shanker-style, has meant for New York teachers is not so glowing.

Teaching positions cut back

Some of the things the New York delegates may not want to discuss are reports like the one in the June 2 issue of the *New York Teacher*, official publication of the NYSUT:

"UFT Vice President Abe Levine told the city's elected officials, in the public hearing on the school budget on May 29, that the loss of positions during the previous administration, coupled with the reduction now of City and Federal funds—which will result in the loss of over 5,000 additional positions—have 'taken a toll on the system and wiped out many of the school improvements made during the 1960's.'"

The very next issue of *New York Teacher* expresses support for the mayor's executive budget, which "is a commitment to maintain the same level of education programs now supported by tax levy." (Emphasis added.)

Jobs may be eliminated for recently hired teachers or paraprofessionals, many of whom are Black and Hispanic, since they are largely hired on the basis of federal funds. The union will do nothing but write letters and visit Congress. But the bulk of Shanker's present supporters will not be as severely affected—yet.

The school system in New York City



New York merger on Shanker's terms has failed to stop teacher cutbacks and deterioration of schools, while racist practices of union leadership provoke antagonism from Black and Puerto Rican communities.

will continue to be a nearly all-white establishment that does not even represent younger teachers.

Perhaps that is why the June 2 *New York Teacher* notes: "The UFT drew attention again to the problem of school safety, pointing out that to date this school year, the total number of reported assaults on teachers is 734, compared to 496 for all of last year."

"Consequently, the union, while commending Mayor Beame for his recommended funding for security guards, asked for additional funding in order to establish 'the right of every pupil to learn, and every teacher to teach in a safe and secure school atmosphere.'"

Teachers are to feel more secure with more cops in the schools. To underline this point the UFT has issued a new pamphlet for teachers, called "Security in the Schools." It says, "Classroom intruders pose more serious problems. Most intruders fall into one of three categories: (1) armed robbers, (2) older kids, or (3) irate parents."

The UFT unwittingly exposes the conditions it imposes on teachers through its policies that foster hostility between teachers and the community. The worst of these policies are its opposition to giving Black and Puerto Rican parents any voice in their children's education—most clearly revealed in the UFT's fight against the parents in District 1 (see article on page 16)—and its opposition to recruiting as many Black and Puerto Rican teachers as possible. As a result of the UFT leadership's racist practices, teachers become looked upon as cops without uniforms invading the ghettos and barrios.

NYSUT convention

Perhaps it is unfair to judge New York unity by conditions in New York City. What about other parts of the state? On May 31 the Long Island newspaper *Newsday* reported: "The

Biased teacher exam bars Blacks, Hispanics

By JEFF AMBERS

The United Federation of Teachers (UFT) and the Black and Puerto Rican communities in New York City generally regard each other with undisguised hostility. A controversy that has arisen over the teachers exam administered by the New York City board of education goes a long way toward explaining why this is true and who is to blame.

At the end of May a suit was filed in federal court in Manhattan charging

Jeff Ambers is a teacher in New York City and a member of the United Federation of Teachers.

that the exams are biased against Black and Puerto Rican candidates, who are consequently discriminated against in hiring.

UFT President Albert Shanker quickly announced that the UFT would seek to enter court in defense of the board's exam. Shanker asserted, "The passing mark is set so low that those who fail can be considered below a literacy level of professionals. They can't read, write, or count."

The suit demonstrates that this is a racist slander. As David Seeley, director of the Public Education Association, stated, "These tests do not predict who will be good teachers. They do not separate good teachers from bad; what they do is separate white from nonwhite."

The plaintiffs in the suit are Black and Hispanic teachers and parents. The teachers charge they have been denied permanent teaching licenses and positions solely because they did not attain high enough scores on the board's test. The parents contend their children are being denied the right to a teaching faculty chosen on a non-discriminatory basis.

Many questions on the board's test are not only non-job-related but are culturally biased. A recent exam, for example, asked candidates to identify the art critic for the Sunday *New York Times*!

The interview part of every test is perhaps the most discriminatory. Dr. Sylvester King, one of the two non-white members of the board of examiners' five-man executive board, submitted an affidavit condemning the interview section. He stated: "The in-

terview part of the exam allows for the infusion of subjective bias into the scoring process."

Many Black and Puerto Rican teachers agree that they will be subjectively turned down by white examiners. The mere reputation of the test discourages many minority applicants from even attempting to take it.

Shanker's support for the exam is a blatant attempt to preserve the UFT as a white job trust. New York City has the lowest percentage of minority teachers of the 10 largest cities in the U.S.—only 11 percent of regular teaching positions, in a city where pupil enrollment is 64 percent Black and Hispanic.

Shanker supports the exam, which creates two classes of teachers: whites who receive regular licenses and have regular jobs, and Blacks and Hispanics who hold temporary licenses with lower pay and weaker job security.

When budget cuts come, the Black and Hispanic teachers get the ax. White teachers with "white licenses" are safer. What has resulted is a crime against Black and Spanish-speaking

students. Not only are there few teachers they can relate to, but for Hispanics it means there are few they can even talk to.

The suit against the board of education and its board of examiners asks the court to halt the firing of teachers employed on a temporary basis; to prohibit the administration of further discriminatory exams; and to require the board of education to undertake an extensive program to recruit minority applicants.

Plaintiffs are represented by attorneys from the New York Civil Liberties Union, Public Education Association, Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Williamsburg Legal Services, Brownsville Legal Services, and New York University Public Interest Law Clinic.

The National Education Association has also taken a more progressive stand on hiring minority teachers. The NEA teacher rights director, Samuel Ethridge, has called for the hiring of 13,706 Spanish-speaking teachers and 15,375 Black teachers in New York City—the number required to reflect the minority student population.

Improve schools?

Long Beach school board voted last night to eliminate 75 teaching and related positions from next year's payroll, despite protests from teachers and parents. . . . another 25 positions are expected to be eliminated at the next board meeting June 25. . . . thirteen persons with tenure were among those whose positions were cut."

These cuts are the rule, not the exception, in New York state and around the country. What is the NYSUT doing to defend the positions of its members? This complex question, which must include not only preserving jobs, but changing the quality of education and creating new programs, was apparent-



Thomas Hobart, president of New York State United Teachers.

ly of no concern to the NYSUT Representative Assembly that met in Montreal last March.

Among the most important accomplishments of the assembly, to hear NYSUT President Thomas Hobart tell it, was tightening up the organization. Hobart said, "An open roll call ballot for the election of officers was overwhelmingly reaffirmed with little support for a secret ballot. . . . An officer of the NYSUT no longer has to give up his or her office in a NYSUT local within one year of assuming state office. That provision, along with the removal of the limitation on the number of terms for officers, provide a continuity and stability of leadership."

These measures "will allow NYSUT to be even stronger in dealing with the problems affecting teachers," Hobart said. It would be more candid to say they allow Shanker to be even stronger in dealing with anyone who gives him problems. He can spot and take reprisals against anyone who votes the wrong way, and there is no limit on the number of offices he and his coterie can hold or the length of time in office.

But what about the question of jobs? This is a pressing problem and getting worse. This year there are 220,000 graduating seniors competing for 110,000 jobs, according to NEA estimates. *But not one of the 67 resolutions presented to the NYSUT convention dealt with the question of jobs for new teachers.*

The union has a legislative proposal that teachers be included under unemployment insurance benefits. Good. But if that is the NYSUT's only answer for teachers facing loss of their positions, and new teachers looking for jobs, then it is pitifully inadequate.

According to Shanker and Hobart, one of the greatest strengths of the

united New York organization is its lobbying power at the state capital in Albany. But no amount of lobbying has been able to stop the Democrats and Republicans from limiting aid to education so that teaching positions are cut back.

Nor have the NYSUT lobbyists been able to move the legislature one inch closer to repealing the union-busting Taylor Law, which prohibits strikes by public employees.

Significantly, the NYSUT convention voted down a call for demonstrations against the Taylor Law and a proposal for a statewide strike fund to pay fines levied as a result of Taylor Law penalties. Shanker prefers to keep the question of repeal dependent on his "friends" in Albany, and to keep NYSUT locals that might strike against the Taylor Law dependent on financial help from the UFT.

Perhaps the NYSUT's muscle in Albany has forced the state government to restructure the system of aid to education in some progressive manner?

The school aid package approved last spring with the NYSUT's blessing was analyzed this way in the May 3 *New York Times*: "The new formula, although more beneficial to poor districts than the present arrangement, leaves in existence a system whereby property owners in many school districts pay larger taxes than residents of neighboring districts, yet still have less money per pupil available. . . . the amount spent on a child's education will continue to depend greatly on the property values in the community in which a pupil happens to live."

The victims of this discriminatory setup are of course the poor communities, especially Blacks. But those aren't the people Shanker sees as important allies for teachers.

What kind of unity?

Teachers and education face tough sledding in the immediate future. Unity of the ranks instead of unity of the NEA and AFT apparatuses could be a great step forward for teachers throughout the nation.

Such unity would have to guarantee a democratic organization with adequate protection for minorities and proportional representation for them, measures Shanker adamantly opposes.

NYSUT comes out so strongly in favor of unity because its leadership conceives of unity the way it was carried out by the AFL and CIO in 1955 and by the AFT and NEA in New York in 1972, that is, merger at the top with the ranks playing no role. In the meantime Shanker will work to chip away at the NEA in crude and divisive raiding operations.

Unity, Shanker-style also means putting faith in the Democrats and Republicans to improve education and protect teachers' interests, when it is these same capitalist politicians who are responsible for cutbacks in education, racism in the schools, and attacks on teachers' right to organize and strike.

An effective teacher unity would have to mean involvement of teachers. And it would mean a program for the teachers movement that could ally it with those most interested in education, the students and their parents. The working people of this nation, its oppressed minorities, and its students would respond positively to such a policy and would enlist to support it.

A fighting program for teacher unionists

Teachers and public education are under attack around the country.

With prices rising faster than 10 percent a year, the real buying power of teachers' wages has fallen. Pleading lack of funds, school boards refuse to grant wage increases that would match inflation.

By claiming that higher pay for teachers would mean a greater tax burden for homeowners and other working people, school boards try to pit teachers unions against "the public."

In the name of economizing, "greater productivity" is demanded. Teachers must take on more classes per week, more students per class, with less paid school time for lesson preparation. Then teachers get blamed for the poor quality of education!

State and federal funds for education are being cut back. Even when allocations are maintained at the same dollar amounts, rising costs mean they have been cut in real buying power.

The hardest hit are Black and other minority students. Special programs for oppressed youth, such as bilingual programs for the Spanish-speaking, are the first to be wiped out. With educational financing dependent on local property taxes, poor and especially minority communities are condemned to permanently inadequate school facilities.

Minority parents are denied a voice in determining what and how their children will be taught. Racist training and hiring practices mean there are too few Black and other minority teachers.

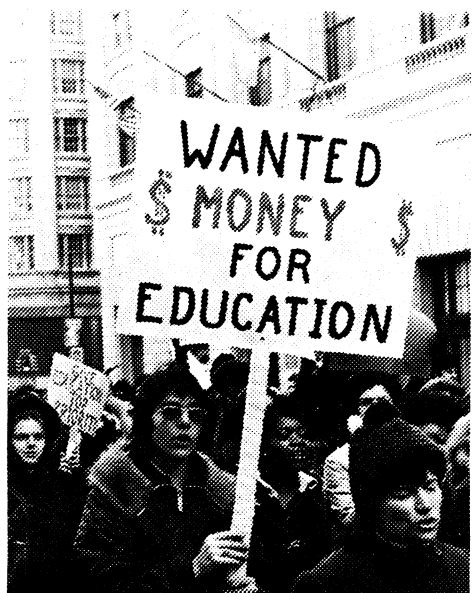
At the same time, teacher unemployment is rising, providing a pool of desperate, job-hungry teachers who may be recruited to break strikes.

In most states, teachers' strikes are illegal. If teachers struggle for better wages and working conditions, they may be fined, jailed, or fired. Hortonville and Timberlane show how these laws are being used to jeopardize the very right to organize.

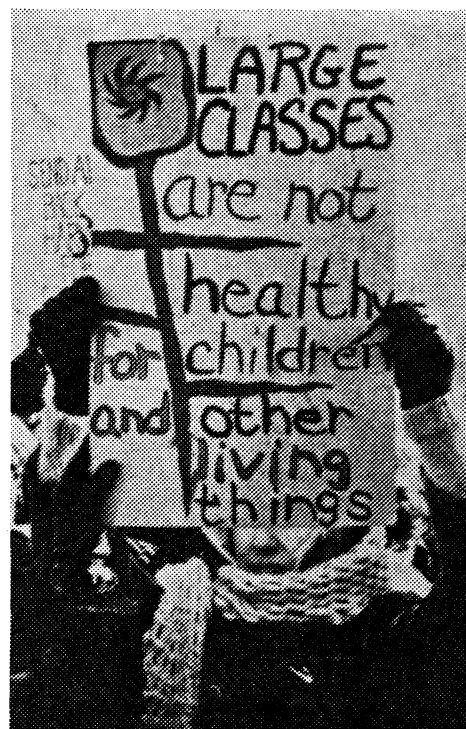
To meet these attacks, a program for joint action by teacher unionists of both the NEA and the AFT, together with the oppressed minorities, is urgently needed:

- Decent wages for all teachers and other school employees. An escalator clause in all contracts to ensure that paychecks keep pace with the rising cost of living. No support to any type of wage controls.

- Repeal all antistrike and anti-



Funds for education should be raised by taxing corporations and eliminating war spending—not through property taxes and other measures that put the burden on working people.



Reducing class sizes would improve quality of education and provide thousands of jobs for teachers.

union legislation, including the Taylor Law in New York and the federal Taft-Hartley law. No restrictions on the right of teachers and other public employees to organize and strike. No support to compulsory arbitration schemes that curtail this right.

- Cut class sizes to put every jobless teacher to work and improve the quality of education. Full federal unemployment compensation for every teacher not placed in a classroom.

- Full federal funding of public education, to provide free education for all from kindergarten through the university level. Take the tax burden for education off working people: tax the corporate profiteers, the banks, and the wealthy. Withdraw all U.S. forces from foreign lands and use the \$100-billion war budget for education and other socially necessary programs.

- A special crash program to build new, fully equipped and adequately staffed schools in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities. Administration of this crash program, as well as determining the curriculum, hiring personnel, and making decisions about other aspects of running the schools are the right of the people in these oppressed communities. Teacher unionists should unconditionally support the right of oppressed communities to control their own educational system.

- Full support for the Equal Rights Amendment for women, for equal pay for equal work, and for paid maternity leaves. Federal funding for child-care centers available to all children.

- Support free speech and assembly for students, their right to form political organizations and participate in political activities. Get all cops out of the schools and classrooms.

- Teachers confront the government directly as their employer. Bitter experience shows that the Democrats and Republicans have no interest in quality education or the welfare of teachers. Their commitment is to the profits of the monopolies and banks, and to the profit system. Teachers unions should give no support to these parties of war, racism, and strikebreaking, but should support independent political action and the formation of a labor party. Through such an independent labor party teachers and other working people could effectively fight for their interests in the political arena.

District 1 parents rally against new attacks

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in Manhattan's School District 1 face renewed attacks, spearheaded by the Shanker leadership of the United Federation of Teachers, against their efforts to win a decent education for their children.

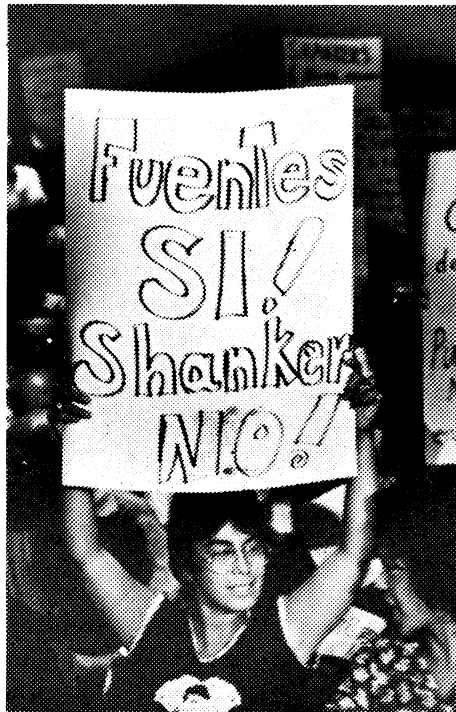
These include attempts to cut back educational programs and personnel and new trumped-up charges of anti-Semitism against District Superintendent Luis Fuentes.

The first meeting of the recently elected District 1 community school board was held June 20 in PS 19. The five pro-Shanker board members sought unsuccessfully to remove Janice Wong, one of the four pro-community-control board members; to remove 14 principals and school personnel who had been selected by the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents; and to remove Spanish-language, Chinese-language, and Black studies teachers hired through the district superintendent's office.

All these moves by the Shankerites failed because nearly 500 Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents and youth and white supporters turned out for the meeting and vocally demonstrated their hostility to the racist resolutions.

The first resolution called for the removal of Janice Wong, the only Chinese board member, on the fabricated charge that she was not a registered voter. This was a blatant move to increase the pro-Shanker majority from 5-4 to 6-3: the two-thirds majority needed to implement Shanker's goal of firing Luis Fuentes as district superintendent.

A new school board election was held May 14 after the previous election, in which the Shankerites won six seats, was challenged in court and thrown out as rigged. In this year's election, although the community forces could not match the machine and financial resources provided by the UFT, they were able to heighten



Militant/Michael Baumann

Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents mobilize for District 1 community school board meetings.

the participation of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents and other forces to cut the pro-Shanker majority to five.

District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees was one of the forces won to the side of the parents. A small but significant number of teachers also came to understand that the parents—not Shanker—were struggling for the real interests of teachers and students, and supported the pro-community-control slate.

At the June 20 school board meeting, the 100 Shanker supporters who showed up proved totally ineffectual in the face of the spirited community mobilization. In fact, board chairman Adolph Roher and another Shankerite board member walked out before the meeting even got started.

After that, to the cheers of the stand-

ing-room-only crowd, pro-community-control board members Georgina Hoggard and Henry Ramos took the microphone and chaired the meeting.

Participation by the Chinese community was greater than at any previous meeting. Several residents who spoke in Chinese in defense of Janice Wong received a tremendous response from the audience.

Fuentes then gave a report, which was read in English and Spanish. He told how the health services program initiated last year, federally funded through the Title 1 program, had enabled the district administration to give a complete physical examination to hundreds of students—250 in one junior high school alone. Forty percent of the 250 were found to have health problems, which are now being treated.

Fuentes explained how the comprehensive reading program, also funded through Title 1, has led to a steady upgrading of reading levels.

The Shankerites are demanding that such programs be staffed by personnel from the civil service lists—the official route by which oppressed minorities are excluded from jobs—rather than by the qualified personnel hired by the district office. They are, in effect, demanding that these programs be dismantled.

By such moves the board majority also hopes to isolate Fuentes, surrounding him with personnel loyal to Shanker.

Recently Peter O'Brien, president of the Council of Supervisors and Administrators, the nearly all-white organization of school principals and other supervisors, joined in the barrage of racist slanders against Black and Hispanic school personnel. O'Brien charged that six school principals—five Hispanic and one Black—were "illiterate" in English and had been hired because of "reverse discrimination" and "racism" by community school boards.

Even though O'Brien's evidence was

flimsy—the scribbled hand of someone writing in haste—his slur was picked up by the capitalist press and printed as truth.

In another development, five Shankerite assistant principals at Junior High School 22 in District 1 are trying to attack the Fuentes administration with slanders of anti-Semitism. They charge that Fuentes "abetted anti-Semitic abuses" at their school in July 1973. They filed the charge with the State Human Rights Commission, which will hold public hearings.

Falsely charging Black and Puerto Rican militants with anti-Semitism is a favorite Shanker tactic, which has been attempted against Fuentes before. In April 1973 a special hearing officer appointed by the chancellor of education in New York cleared Fuentes of the charge, but Shanker evidently thinks he can still get some mileage out of this smear.

Right now the District 1 parents and school administration are also beset by federal and city budget cutbacks that threaten the loss of 9 percent of the district's funds and approximately 100 teachers. The fact that Shanker is more concerned with beating back the gains won by parents in District 1 than with fighting these cutbacks is proof of the bankruptcy of his policies for the UFT.

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NEA affiliates fight union-busting in Wis., N.H.

By ANDY ROSE

Teachers unions in the small rural communities of Hortonville, Wis., and Timberlane, N.H., are waging a life-and-death struggle against union-busting attacks by local school boards.

Strikes by the Hortonville Education Association and the Timberlane Regional Education Association, both NEA affiliates, began early this year and remain unsettled as the school term ends.

Hortonville is a town of 1,500 peo-

ple in Wisconsin's dairy farming country, where right-wing politics has a strong base and the union movement doesn't. The most infamous witch-hunter of the 1950s, Senator Joseph McCarthy, was from this area.

In retrospect it seems clear that the Hortonville school board deliberately set out to destroy the union by provoking a strike and then firing the teachers and permanently replacing them with scabs.

Negotiations had dragged on for 14 months before the strike was called. Last February the teachers reluctantly accepted the school board's offer for a 1973-74 contract, with a base salary of \$7,550, but made the agreement contingent on reaching a 1974-75 contract by March 15.

The school board then refused to budge from its offer of \$7,900 for 1974-75, while teachers insisted that at least \$8,100 was necessary for their livelihood. In March, 84 of the 87 teachers walked out. The board promptly fired all 84 strikers.

The school was reopened April 8, and police and a self-styled "Hortonville Vigilante Association" have been herding scabs through the picket lines every school day since then. The school is kept locked, with antiunion parents patrolling the halls and entrances.

Strikers have faced vicious harassment by the cops and local right-wingers. They have received threatening phone calls; their tires have been slashed and their homes sprayed with paint. When teachers and other unionists from around the state came to Hortonville to join in picketing, more than 70 were arrested.

The courts have also played their

role in the strikebreaking effort, ruling the teachers' action illegal under a Wisconsin law against strikes by public employees.

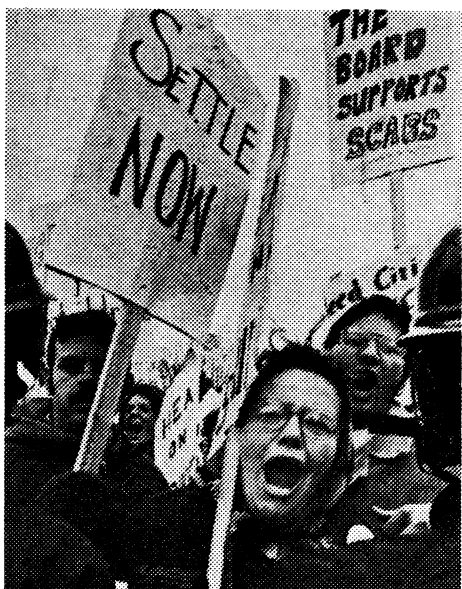
The school board's determination to destroy the union became obvious in late April when the teachers offered to go back to work on the board's contract terms, so long as all of them were rehired. The board refused.

The Wisconsin Association of School Boards has collaborated closely with the local board throughout these maneuvers, and teachers charge that the WASB sees Hortonville as the first target in a statewide antiunion drive. If the Hortonville teachers are defeated it will be a mandate for school boards throughout the state to ride roughshod over teachers' demands, confident that they can get away with firing any teacher who dares to strike.

Last April the Wisconsin Education Association Council attempted to call a one-day statewide sympathy strike, but this was voted down by the local affiliates. However, teachers around the state have reportedly contributed \$225,000 to the Hortonville strike.

According to Jean Wall of the Hortonville Education Association, picketing will continue during the summer to identify people going into the school and discourage them from signing

Continued on page 26



Hortonville picket line



Timberlane strikers march to Chicago

In defense of quotas: reply to Shanker

By MACEO DIXON

Demands from the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities and from women for preferential treatment and enforcement of quotas to secure real equality are of special importance to teachers.

The recent national debate over the Marco DeFunis lawsuit, for instance, centered on whether a white student was "discriminated against" when students from oppressed nationalities received special consideration in admission to the Washington State Law School.

The disgracefully low number of Black and Puerto Rican teachers in New York and other large cities; racist injustices in hiring and promotion; the paltry number of women and peo-

Maceo Dixon is cochairman of the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee.

ple from oppressed nationalities in union leadership bodies, all raise the same question. Should oppressed nationalities and women be given preferential treatment in order to combat present discrimination and begin to make up for past discrimination?

United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker has appointed himself spokesman for the most reactionary wing of the AFL-CIO official-

dom in opposing the quota system.

He calls the quota system "simple-minded." It is not so "simple-minded," however, that he doesn't feel compelled to wage a continual campaign against quotas in the *New York Teacher* and in his union-paid columns in the Sunday *New York Times*. His position was spelled out in two columns, "A Quarrel with Quotas" and "The Quota Principle: Dangerous Arithmetic . . ."

'Free society'?

What are Shanker's arguments against quotas? Let's begin with his conclusion, which illustrates a fundamental distortion in all his other arguments.

"... not every numerical and percentage 'imbalance,' he writes, 'is a result of discrimination. Some imbalance is owing to the fact that in a free society individuals make choices on the basis of their individual and differing group values. . . . if we value a free society, we cannot demand a society in which each group has its fixed quota in each occupation.'"

Translated from high-flown abstractions into real terms, this can only mean that Shanker thinks Blacks and Puerto Ricans have "freely chosen" not to be teachers, surgeons, and engineers. They have "freely chosen," instead, to hold the worst-paying, most menial and boring jobs.

And women, of course, simply

haven't "chosen" to be professors, administrators, or union leaders. How terrible it would be to force people to become something they don't choose to be!

Shanker's debater's trick is shallow. Of course, if this were a free society—free of racism, sexism, and class exploitation—where individuals could make choices from positions of equality, then quotas would not be needed.

But that's not the case. Capitalist society has had a "quota system" for centuries, one that *excludes* oppressed minorities and women from jobs and positions reserved for white men. That's precisely why preferential treatment is necessary today.

Despite advances Blacks and women have won toward formal *legal equality*, discrimination is so pervasive and insidious in this society that unless oppressed groups are given *special consideration* in education, hiring, and promotion, the traditional "quota system" will still keep them at the bottom of the heap. Preferential treatment is necessary as a step toward real *social equality*.

By opposing quotas, Shanker and those who agree with him are really arguing for accepting and maintaining the status quo of racist and sexist discrimination.

'Merit' & 'ethnicity'

Shanker writes, "Another issue involved in quotas is that of the consequences for society of the use of ethnicity rather than merit as a basis for selection in various fields." The consequences, he claims, would be a "deterioration of the quality of services."

But it is not Blacks who are responsible for introducing race as a criterion in hiring—just the opposite! Shanker conveniently overlooks the fact that it is precisely because of their "ethnicity"—as he puts it—that Blacks have been discriminated against for decades and are still discriminated against today, *regardless* of their individual qualifications.

Not only is the argument hypocritical, but it feeds the racist notion that Blacks are not qualified and would "lower the standards" of the teaching profession. If Shanker thinks that not enough Blacks and Puerto Ricans meet the "qualifications," why doesn't he propose a remedy? Why doesn't he direct his fire against the tremendous obstacles Blacks and Puerto Ricans face in trying to acquire these "qualifications" in the racist school system?

But let's also look more closely at how "merit" is determined. Shanker fails to mention that the tests used to

determine "qualifications" are usually biased against minority groups—that they really determine not "merit" but *white "ethnicity."* The New York City teachers examinations, for instance, are such a scandal that they are being challenged in the courts by well-known civil liberties groups. (See article on page 14.)

Shanker wants to have it both ways. He supports a system that treats Blacks unequally in every way—housing, hiring, education, pay—and then starts screaming "equality" when an effort is made to alleviate that discrimination through preferential treatment.

One of Shanker's most basic arguments is the specter of "discrimination in reverse." He writes: "The quota plan seeks to undo injustices to particular groups in our society, but in its zeal to correct old injustices against *groups* it perpetrates new injustices upon *individuals*. Under quotas, a given job will go to a black or a woman rather than a white or a male."

Leaving aside the inference that whites and males are *individuals*, while Blacks and women are just members of *groups*, this is the old "divide-and-conquer" technique. Shanker is threatening white men with the loss of their jobs if the quota system is applied. He's trying to pit the white teachers against Black teachers in competition for work.

Jobs for all

Why doesn't Shanker launch a fight to hire *more* teachers and provide jobs for all? The fight should not be between Black and white teachers. The real fight is between the teachers, students, and parents on the one hand, and on the other, the city and federal governments, which refuse to provide adequate funds and facilities to meet society's educational needs.

What Shanker is really opposed to is not alleged "discrimination" against whites but the possible loss of *privileged* positions that whites have long enjoyed *at the expense of Blacks*. That is why, in the face of serious cutbacks in funds for education, he is attempting to drive a further wedge between the white teachers and the Black and Hispanic teachers, instead of uniting them in a struggle for more jobs and a better school system.

The biggest losers from Shanker's opposition to hiring more minority teachers, though, are the Black and Hispanic children. Shanker doesn't

Continued on page 26



Teachers' struggles can win needed backing from community if NEA and AFT support just demands of Blacks and other minorities for better schools, community control, and quotas in hiring and advancement.

AFSCME supports affirmative action

By RAY MARKEY

HONOLULU—The twentieth international convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, meeting here in mid-June, adopted a strong position in favor of affirmative action "to undo the legacy of discrimination."

A convention resolution stated: "AFSCME hereby affirms its commitment of equality and opportunity for all and supports the use of all feasible means, including programs of affirmative action, to overcome the effects of historic discrimination so that throughout our society, and particularly in the workplaces of America, we can truly achieve 'unqualified equality.'"

"And be it further resolved: That this Convention encourages Councils

and Locals to develop and negotiate affirmative action programs with the assistance of the International Union."

On this resolution a delegate rose from New York and announced that he was a member of at least three Jewish organizations and a vice-president of one of these three. He opposed the motion because B'nai B'rith and his other organizations opposed quotas.

No one else spoke against the resolution and it passed overwhelmingly.

The convention also reaffirmed AFSCME's commitment to working with the National Education Association and other public employee unions in the Coalition of American Public Employees.

NEA Executive Secretary Terry Herndon addressed the convention. He spent a large part of his speech

attacking United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker for his racist policies. This met with frequent applause from the delegates, especially those from New York.

Herndon explained why the executive board of the NEA had decided to remain outside the AFL-CIO. The main reason given was that they felt the top leadership of the AFL-CIO was much too conservative.

After Herndon spoke, AFSCME President Jerry Wurf remarked that he wished the NEA was in the AFL-CIO so that the NEA, not Shanker, would be representing teachers and sitting on the executive board of the AFL-CIO.

A full report on the AFSCME convention will appear in a future issue of *The Militant*.

Campaigning for socialism

TEXAS SWP SUPPORTERS CELEBRATE COMPLETION OF PETITIONING: Socialist Workers campaign supporters from all over Texas came to Houston June 15 to celebrate the successful conclusion of a month-long petitioning drive to put the SWP on the ballot. A total of 55,178 signatures were collected; only 34,095 are required by law.

After a day of processing the petitions for filing with the secretary of state, campaign workers and other supporters of the socialists' right to be on the ballot attended a campaign party. The event was held at the home of Gertrude Barnstone, a prominent civil libertarian and a local feminist leader.

Among the many activists present were Tacho Mindiola, Harris County chairman of the Raza Unida Party; Reuben Rabago, a Raza Unida Party candidate for state representative; Fred Halstead, 1968 SWP presidential candidate; Nancy Roberts, a leader of recent protests by nurses against conditions in Houston hospitals; and Bruce Cory, local organizer for the United Farm Workers. Several GIs from Fort Hood, Texas, and Fort Sill, Okla., also attended.

Sherry Smith, SWP candidate for governor, thanked the petitioners for their enthusiasm and their hard work. She gave special credit to the 18 volunteer ballot organizers who worked full time during the drive.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Sherry Smith, SWP candidate for governor of Texas.

ILLINOIS BALLOT DRIVE PASSES HALFWAY POINT: With 34,000 signatures collected, supporters of the Illinois SWP campaign have passed the halfway point in their drive to put the party's candidates—Ed Heisler for U.S. Senate and Willie Reid for Congress—on the November ballot. They are aiming at a total of 57,000 signatures.

CALIFORNIA SOCIALISTS TALLY 170,000 VOTES: Two members of the Socialist Workers Party were on the ballot in California's June 4 election, and they got a lot of votes. Manuel "Tank" Barrera, candidate for Los Angeles County sheriff, received more than 77,000 votes, or about 6 percent. Mariana Hernandez, who appeared on the statewide ballot as a candidate for California superintendent of public instruction, polled

more than 170,000 votes, about 4 percent of the total.

Neither Barrera nor Hernandez were allowed to have the Socialist Workers Party listed opposite their names in the officially 'nonpartisan' election. The election code permits identification only by occupation. The two tried to include the word "socialist" in their occupational description, but the secretary of state refused to allow them to do so.

The relatively large vote for the two socialists primarily reflected nationalist sentiment on the part of Chicano voters. Hernandez, who was identified on the ballot as a "Chicana activist," received 80 percent of her total vote in Los Angeles County, which has a large concentration of Chicanos.

The overall voter turnout, only 47 percent of registered voters, was the lowest since 1942. Disenchantment with the capitalist parties, spurred by Watergate, was the reason.

KOLIS OPPOSES FUNDS FOR SAN DIEGO COPS: Salm Kolis, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from San Diego's 41st C.D., testified at a recent city council meeting in opposition to a proposed massive increase in the size of the police department.

Kolis focused her fire on the notorious local Red Squad, the General Intelligence Detail. She recalled her own experience in last fall's municipal election, when she was arrested and charged with perjury for supposedly giving an incorrect address on her declaration of candidacy. Her case is now on appeal.

Also testifying before the council was a former police informer, who told of attempts by Red Squad undercover agents to incite violence at antiwar demonstrations.

The police chief motivated his request for funds by referring to "violence" in the Black and Chicano communities. "But," Kolis asked, "did the chief ask the Chicano and Black communities if they want more white racist cops occupying their communities, and subjecting them to daily harassment and arrest?" Kolis reiterated the SWP's demand for an end to the police occupation of the Black and Chicano communities. She called for an end to all funding of the police department.

'MONITOR' SPOTLIGHTS GUREWITZ CAMPAIGN FOR GOVERNOR: The Christian Science Monitor of June 11 ran a feature article on the SWP candidate for governor of Massachusetts, Don Gurewitz. The article is part of a series of profiles of candidates in the race, and includes both biographical material and a clear statement of the SWP's program. Here's one excerpt:

"The crux of the nation's problems, argues Mr. Gurewitz, is that most of the nation's resources are controlled by a handful of private individuals and used for their own profit as opposed to what might be best for the nation as a whole. Both major political parties serve the interests of this 'ruling class,' he says.

"The SWP's solution is to 'socialize the nation's wealth, nationalize the means of production, and let the country's average working people democratically decide how U.S. resources should be used and distributed.'"

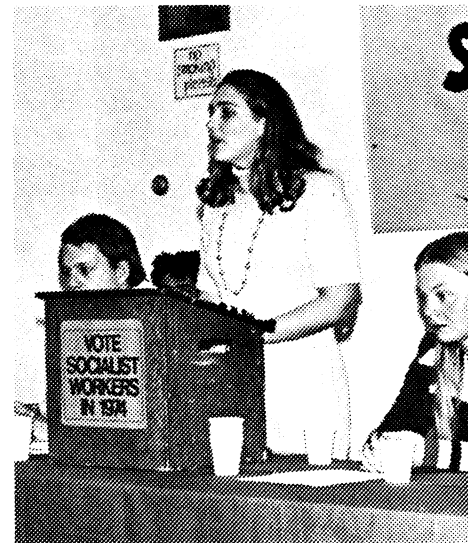
—ANDY ROSE

Socialist hits 'reform' laws at Seattle hearing

By ROBERT ROWAND

SEATTLE—Clare Fraenzl, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, received an overwhelmingly positive response from the audience at a public hearing on campaign reforms here June 22. The meeting, attended by 75 people, was called and chaired by Republican Congressman Joel Pritchard.

Fraenzl blasted the so-called campaign reforms, especially the disclosure laws. "To expect Democratic and Republican politicians, who represent big business interests, to eliminate big business control of the capitalist parties is a mistake," she said. "The real intent of these reforms is to throw up new and severe restriction on any



Clare Fraenzl, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Washington.

party that might challenge the political monopoly of the Democrats and Republicans."

Fraenzl denounced a bill, recently passed by the U.S. Senate, which would limit equal time provisions, place restrictions on the right of labor unions to support candidates, and set up a public funding system excluding all candidates except Democrats and Republicans.

She also sharply disagreed with representatives from Common Cause and the office of Democratic Congressman Brock Adams, who advocated laws to restrict labor's participation in election campaigns.

"Working people can hope to have a voice in politics only by pooling their resources to support candidates

of their choice," the socialist candidate declared. "I disagree with the officials of the union movement in their support to candidates of the capitalist parties. I think the unions should be building their own party. But we in the labor movement will argue this out among ourselves. The government has no right to interfere with our freedom to participate in electoral politics."

Fraenzl also explained how existing election laws discriminate against independent parties like the Socialist Workers Party. She pointed to FBI harassment of Socialist Workers campaign supporters as an example, and urged support for her campaign committee's request for an exemption from Washington's public disclosure law.

Her committee, along with Socialist Workers campaign committees around the country, is also challenging the federal law requiring the socialists to turn over to the government the names and addresses of contributors. This challenge is being handled by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Fraenzl reminded the audience that the FBI systematically gathers names and addresses of those signing nominating petitions for the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, and the People's Party in Washington.

She also cited other undemocratic state election laws, including Washington's loyalty oath requirement, filing fees that discriminate against poor and working-class candidates, and ballot requirements for independent parties.

During the discussion period, Pritchard was asked to support the Socialist Workers' request for exemption from the state disclosure law. The congressman voiced "concern" about the problems of the laws as applied to smaller parties, but urged legal action against government harassment instead of challenging election law "reforms."

When it was pointed out that Pritchard was suggesting that the SWP either not nominate candidates or acquiesce in government harassment of campaign contributors until the courts get around to ruling on the SWP's suit against illegal surveillance and harassment, Pritchard said it was a "difficult problem" and he couldn't make "any quick decision."

'Chile si, Esmeralda no!'

OAKLAND, Calif.—A Chilean naval training ship, the *Esmeralda*, docked at Alameda Navy Air Station to start a six-day "goodwill" visit at the invitation of the U.S. Navy. The visit of the *Esmeralda* was especially repugnant in that the ship had been used as a prison ship by the rightist junta after its coup last September.

The San Francisco Bay Area was the fourth stop on the ship's tour. The *Esmeralda* was able to dock in Brazil, but in the Dominican Republic and in Panama mass demonstrations protesting the junta's repression turned it away. The planned itinerary for the U.S. visit was a docking in San Francisco, where the ship was to be open to the public; a reception for the crew; and a soccer game between the crew and a team of local right-wing Chileans.

This itinerary was changed because of planned protest activity in the Bay Area. The boat docked instead at the Alameda air station, and tight security kept the public far away. The reception and soccer game were held at

the Treasure Island naval base, where demonstrations are prohibited.

The Chilean ambassador to the United States, who had flown in from Washington, D.C., to greet the ship, decided not to go to the soccer game when a picket line of more than 125 people assembled outside his hotel.

As the *Esmeralda* pulled into the San Francisco Bay, it was greeted by a 135-foot banner held off the Golden Gate Bridge that read, "Chile Si, Junta No!" Also in the bay were five boats with protest signs and banners. Outside the naval base 300 people demonstrated.

That night, as the *Esmeralda* crew was at its reception, 300 people rallied at Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco. Janice Teruggi, the sister of Frank Teruggi—an American student murdered by the junta during the coup—chaired the rally.

The protest activity was organized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and the United Committee to Stop the *Esmeralda*.

Nixon 'reforms' criminal code

'A massive attack on civil liberties'

By DAVE FRANKEL

A central part of Richard Nixon's State of the Union message in March 1973 was an appeal for rapid passage of the "Criminal Code Reform Act of 1973." This so-called reform bill, known as S. 1400, was drafted largely under the direction of former attorney general John Mitchell. It represents a massive assault on the civil liberties of the American people.

Many of the provisions of the proposed criminal code preserve undemocratic laws already on the books. In addition, a series of major new infringements on civil liberties is also proposed, along with the restoration of the death penalty. Not surprisingly, the liberal politicians in Congress have said nothing about this threat, although some, such as Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), are on the Judiciary Committee subcommittee that is currently holding hearings on the bill.

The most substantial changes from the old criminal code are proposed in the section on "Offenses Involving National Security." In this chapter Nixon is attempting to accomplish through a rewriting of the law what he failed to achieve through the White House "plumbers" operation and the notorious Huston "Domestic Intelligence Plan."

Making ideas illegal

The section in this chapter on "Inciting Overthrow or Destruction of the Government" would outlaw revolutionary organizations on the basis of their ideas, regardless of the form of their activity.

It says: "A person is guilty of an offense if, with intent to bring about the overthrow or destruction of the government of the United States, or any state or local government, as speedily as circumstances permit, he:

"(1) incites others to engage in conduct which then or at some future time would facilitate the overthrow or destruction by force of that government; or

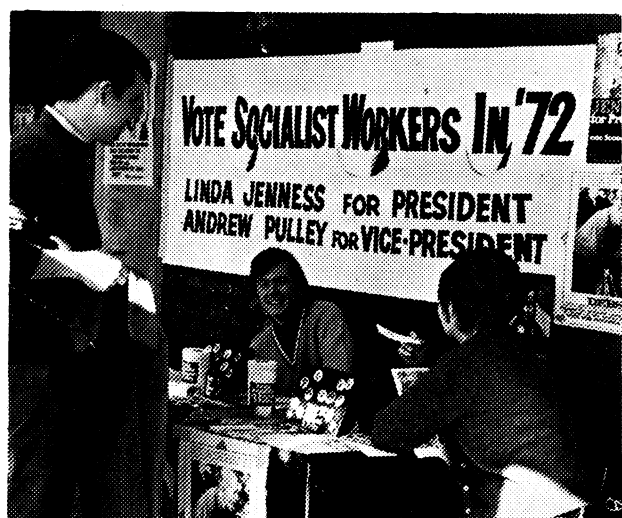
"(2) organizes, leads, recruits members for, joins, or remains an active member of, an organization which has as a purpose the incitement described. . . ." (Emphasis added.)

American Civil Liberties Union Legal Director Melvin Wulf pointed out in a recent interview, "That's clearly unconstitutional. Something that you do today which has some causal relationship, no matter how remote, to something that happens years hence could be used as the basis for prosecution under this. By publishing *The Militant* you're engaging in conduct which could conceivably facilitate the overthrow of the government."

The proposed law provides penalties of up to 15 years imprisonment and \$100,000 in fines for exercising the constitutional rights of free speech, press, and association.

'Para-Military Activities'

Another constitutional right, that of self-defense, is also attacked under the guise of "national security." The bill would make punishable by up to seven years in prison and a \$50,000 fine engaging "in the acquisition, caching, use, or training in the use, of weapons by or on behalf of an organization or group has as a purpose the taking over of, the control of, or the assumption of the function of, an agency of the United States government or of any state or local government, by force or threat of force."



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

One section of proposed criminal code would in effect make it a crime to advocate a socialist revolution. Organizations like Socialist Workers Party are targets of provision.



Militant/Herman Kirsch

Many of the laws being proposed by Nixon administration could have been used against antiwar protests

The terms of this law could be applied to union defense guards during strikes, to all types of self-defense groups organized in the Black or Chicano communities, and to political organizations such as the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement. The effect of this provision would be to abrogate the right of people to organize and bear arms in their own defense.

Government secrets

Also under the rubric of "national security" are four sections that were clearly written as a complement to the work of the White House "plumbers" team. First is an espionage statute that would have been applicable in the case of the Pentagon papers had it existed at that time. This would punish the collection of "information relating to the national defense" when done "with knowledge that it may be communicated to a foreign power. . . ."

The Pentagon papers were collected with the intent of having them published, and therefore with the knowledge that they could "be communicated to a foreign power." The Nixon administration argued that they were related to national defense and were of advantage to the Vietnamese. Under this law Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo could have been sentenced to death, or, in time of peace, to 30 years imprisonment.

A second section simply makes it a felony to knowingly communicate "information relating to the national defense to a person not authorized to receive it." This could be used in stifling news stories such as Jack Anderson's report that the Nixon administration favored Pakistan over India in the recent war between them.

A third section makes it a felony for government employees to "recklessly" permit the "loss, destruction, or theft, or communication to a person not authorized to receive it" of "information relating to the national defense." This provision could have been used against Ellsberg or any other government employee leaking information that is embarrassing to the government to the press. Another provision of this section would make it a felony punishable by up to seven years in jail and \$50,000 in fines for anyone not authorized to have such material to retain it. This could be invoked against reporters who dare to use information that is leaked to them.

A final section makes it a felony to disclose classified information of *any kind*, regardless of whether it was properly classified to begin with. At present it is not a crime to disclose classified information, except in the case of information that is classified by the Atomic Energy Commission. As Wulf explained (referring to the Pentagon papers case), with this provision "they get everybody. They get Ellsberg, Sheehan, and the *New York Times*."

With the experience of the movement against the war in Vietnam in mind, Mitchell and his cronies kept in the proposed code such undemocratic and repressive laws as the one making it a crime to

"obstruct military recruitment or induction." This law, along with another on "inciting or aiding mutiny, insubordination, or desertion" and one on "impairing military effectiveness," could have been used to outlaw much of the antiwar and antidraft activity of the past few years, especially among GIs. As Edith Tiger, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, said in an interview with *The Militant*, "Impairing military effectiveness"—what does that mean? They can get you for blocking a troop train."

Another amendment to the proposed code attempts to solve an embarrassing problem encountered in the past by Lyndon Johnson and Nixon—the fact that they were the target of demonstrators wherever they went. The amendment would allow the secretary of the treasury to designate "buildings and grounds" a president happens to be visiting as "temporary residences of the President," and "to prescribe regulations governing ingress or egress to such buildings and grounds and to posted, cordoned off, or otherwise restricted areas where the President is or will be temporarily visiting."

The amendment makes it illegal for people "willingly and knowingly to enter or remain in" such areas.

Another amendment to the code would specifically exempt the president from laws prohibiting wiretapping and other forms of electronic surveillance, allowing him "to take such measures as he deems necessary to protect the United States against the overthrow of the Government by force or other unlawful means, or against any other clear and present danger to the structure or existence of the Government."

'Emergency' wiretaps

A further amendment authorizes *any* "principal prosecuting attorney of any State or subdivision thereof" to set up 48-hour "emergency" wiretaps, and directs that landlords, telephone company workers, and others must help out with "all information, facilities, and technical assistance necessary to accomplish the interception unobtrusively. . . ."

Of course, the ability of the government to successfully use such laws in hampering opposition to its policies and victimizing dissenters depends on the general political situation it faces. And the relationship of forces in this country today favors the extension—not the restriction—of democratic rights. Nonetheless, the passage of S. 1400 would make the government's task of repression easier and help to accustom public opinion to such repressive statutes.

The distrust of the government generated by the Watergate disclosures can help make easier the job of fighting against such reactionary attacks on democratic rights. Ultimately, the revelations about bourgeois rule that have been produced by Watergate will aid in convincing the American people that the defense of democratic rights cannot be entrusted to the capitalist state under any circumstances.

Harper & Row workers on strike, gain support

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK—More than 200 people attended a benefit rally here June 25 to build the strike fund of the Harper & Row employees who walked off their jobs June 17 in the first book publishing strike since the 1940s.

The benefit was sponsored by such figures as Studs Terkel, Shelley Winters, poet Muriel Rukeyser, Gloria Steinem, and Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.). Speakers included strike leader Bernice Krawczyk and other Harper's employees; writer Barbara Garson; a Newspaper Guild representative; Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; and an activist in the union organizing drive at Macmillan, Inc.

The Harper's strike has attracted wide support from workers in other publishing houses and unions. As many as 600 supporters have joined the picket lines on some days, singing "Solidarity Forever," "Roll the Union On," and "We Shall Not Be Moved," alternated with choruses of "Scab!" whenever anyone crosses the picket lines.

Signs carried by the Harper's pickets read: "Books make money—we don't!" The workers, members of the Association of Harper & Row Employees, voted to strike after rejecting the "final and ultimate" offer of the company for a new contract.

The strikers are demanding a cost-of-living allowance or a one-year wage reopener to help keep pace with inflation. They are also demanding that the company continue to pay both merit raises and across-the-board raises. Harper's has offered a choice between the two.

The association, an in-house union, is the only union in a major publishing house. It represents 320 of Harper's 600 workers here, most of whom are women. Many of the other Harper's workers are unable to join the union because they fall within the National Labor Relations Board definition of "supervisory personnel."

SWP support

"Your struggle is an example to many other working people who are discussing how to fight back against inflation," Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, told the Harper & Row strikers at their June 25 benefit rally.

"Your fight not only inspires others in the publishing industry who are trying to organize, but millions of militant women, Blacks, and Puerto Ricans who are still not organized into unions."

"Nixon claims that American working people have never had it so good," the socialist candidate said. "Yet working people lost 5 percent of our buying power last year."

"Let Harper & Row open its books, so all can see whether it is 'too poor' to pay the wage increases the strikers are demanding. I'm sure we would find that Harper & Row has been making record profits at the expense of its employees."



Militant/Janice Lynn

Picket line swelled to 600 on 'Solidarity Day.'

The current economic squeeze is making more and more book publishing employees turn to the idea of organizing a union. Not only are wages low—most of the college-educated workers earn about \$8,000 a year—but benefits are almost nonexistent.

In addition, workers hired to fill one job description more often than not find themselves saddled with half a dozen other tasks. This is euphemistically known as "learning on the job" or "creative opportunity." It goes hand in hand with the practice of paying the workers with fancy titles instead of money.

Bernice Krawczyk, head of the association at Harper's, told *The Militant* that 80 percent of the union is solidly behind the strike. Harper's president, Winthrop Knowlton, has tried to intimidate strikers by threatening to replace them with temporary or permanent workers. But Krawczyk said, "We voted at our strike meeting and decided that either we all go back together or none of us goes back."

The strikers have set Fridays as "Solidarity Day," when workers from other publishing houses are encouraged to march on the picket line during their lunch hours. On the first Solidarity Day, June 21, 600 people turned out.

July 1 is slated as a "Feminist Day," when a special effort will be made to mobilize women's liberation activists to join the picketing.

Trade unionists most active in supporting the strike have come from District 65 of the Distributive Workers; National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199; Newspaper Guild; United Farm Workers; Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 153; Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Joint Board; United Electrical Workers; and the organizing committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

N.Y. union women ask CLUW for support

By KATHY STALLWORTH

NEW YORK—Four hundred women from more than 20 unions met here June 17 to discuss ways to build support for the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). This was the first meeting in New York to organize a local chapter of the national trade-union women's organization, formed at a convention in Chicago last March.

A sign of CLUW's potential was the fact the women involved in several union struggles came to the meeting to appeal for support.

The women heard a report on the United Farm Workers (UFW) boycott from Mary Maddox and decided to organize a picket line on June 22 to help support the UFW.

A leaflet put out to build the picket line pointed out: "Where the UFW has won, it has brought higher wages, hiring halls, safer working conditions, union clinics and health benefits. It has fought for women workers winning child care, protective legislation and an end to child labor and poisonous pesticides." The picket linedrew 50 people.

Women at the June 17 meeting also responded enthusiastically to the appeals of striking Harper & Row workers, most of whom are women. The strikers came to the meeting with a leaflet that said in part: "Publishing traditionally relies on cheap, unorganized female labor whose exploitation is concealed behind the mask of white-collar gentility. . . ."

"The Association of Harper & Row Employees stands firm in its struggle for women's rights and asks for your support."

Women at the CLUW meeting decided to join the Harper & Row picket lines.

Also appealing for aid were striking Concord Fabrics workers, whose representative, Delores Watson, outlined the strike issues to the meeting, and telephone workers, who are trying to organize a local of the Communications Workers.

A report on legislation affecting women workers was given by Judy Bere, of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199. She cited two recent defeats for women in the New York state legislature: the failure to include preg-

nancy in a new disability benefits law and the failure to win collective bargaining rights for household workers. These setbacks, she said, "are just another reason to build the biggest, best CLUW chapter possible."

A discussion followed on how to build CLUW into a powerful tool for working women's rights. Many who spoke emphasized the importance of getting the word out about CLUW as the first step. Suggestions were made for more educational material and for the formation of women's rights committees or caucuses in local unions.

Speakers also raised the issues of organizing nonunion workers, child care, maternity benefits, and affirmative action.

Women at the meeting came from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; American Federation of Teachers; Communications Workers; United Auto Workers; Postal Workers; Office and Professional Employees; and many other unions.

This was the first of three meetings the union women must hold before they can apply for a charter for their local CLUW chapter. The next meeting is set for Sept. 7.



Militant/Martha Harris

Discussion at meeting of Coalition of Labor Union Women.

'Free J.B. Johnson!'

By LINDA SOMES

ST. LOUIS—The Committee to Defend J. B. Johnson received an affidavit from Congressman William Clay (D-Mo.) June 15 that said, "I believe that J.B. Johnson should have a new trial and should be free on bond."

Clay's affidavit came on the heels of increased defense activity, including two rallies and a press conference in May.

Johnson, 23, was given a life sentence by an all-white jury on frame-up charges of slaying a white cop following an aborted jewelry store hold-up in January 1970. Johnson was denied bail pending his appeal.

In May, Johnson's attorneys filed a writ of habeas corpus for bail. The writ says that Johnson "is suffering cruel and unusual punishment and being denied reasonable bail, all in violation of the Eighth Amendment of the Constitution. . . ." Filed along

with the writ was an impressive assortment of affidavits from prominent St. Louis citizens.

A fund-raising benefit, hosted by civil rights activist and comedian Dick Gregory, drew 350 people. When Johnson's mother, Mary Watkins, rose to speak, the audience gave her a standing ovation and repeatedly chanted, "Free J. B.!"

Watkins told *The Militant* in regards to her son, "Life's short enough without an innocent man spending his life in a cage. It hurts me when my son has to suffer for a crime he did not do."

Also in May, William Kunstler, one of Johnson's attorneys spoke to a rally of 200.

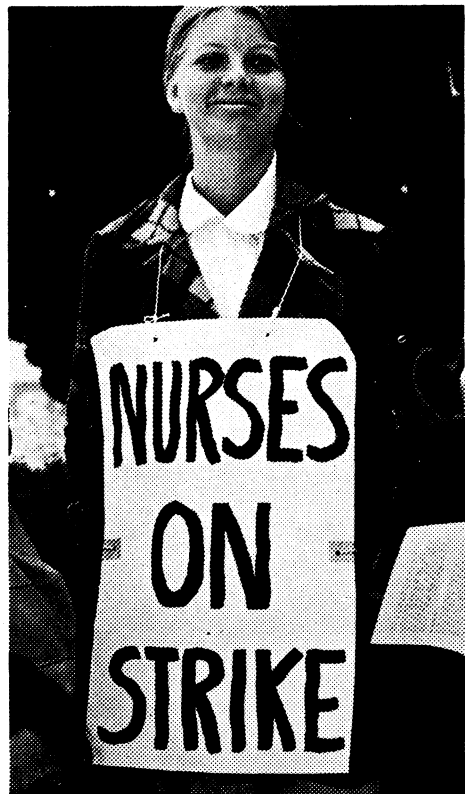
Arguments on the appeal will be heard in the fall. To get information on the case or to help out, contact Committee to Defend J.B. Johnson, P.O. Box 4712, St. Louis, Mo. 63108.

Support broadens for strike by nurses in Northern California

By LINDA NORDQUIST

SAN FRANCISCO—Moving into the third week of a strike that had been expected to last only a day, 300 nurses marched 10 miles through San Francisco June 21 in a militant display of determination to continue their fight.

The march began at 7 a.m. and passed by eight struck hospitals, gathering new forces as it went along.



Militant/Howard Petrick

At a spirited noon rally, Mary Bradbury told the strikers, "This is another demonstration of our determination to settle for nothing but the best—4,400 nurses can't be wrong."

The strike, affecting Kaiser Foundation hospitals in Northern California and 17 other private hospitals, remains 90 percent effective. The overriding issue for the nurses, who are members of the California Nurses Association (CNA), is the right of patients to quality health care. "We are striking because we believe in principles—the principle of providing patients what they truly deserve," said one nurse.

Other demands of the strike are for cost-of-living allowances, health insurance, retirement benefits, and every other weekend off.

Negotiations between the CNA and hospital administrations, which had broken off for several days, began again with the arrival of federal mediator William Usery. In his first move as a "neutral" arbitrator, Usery clamped a gag rule on both sides in the dispute, preventing them from talking to the media about the issues involved or the progress of negotiations.

Such a restriction actually censors only the strikers, since the capitalist press has shown itself to be a firm ally of the hospital administrators in this fight.

However, Diana Fivey of the CNA employee relations staff told *The Militant* the strikers will not give up their demonstrations and rallies because of

Usery's gag rule. "These are for the public, not the press," she said, "and we will continue to have these actions."

The hospital administrators claim the nurses are acting in an "unprofessional and irresponsible manner." Up until June 20, nurses had remained in the emergency rooms and intensive-care units as part of an agreement that the hospitals, for their part, would halt all nonemergency surgery. However, when the administrators broke their side of the agreement, the nurses joined the picket lines.

To counter the hospitals' charge of "betrayal" at this move, nurses at St. Joseph's Hospital announced they would continue emergency work if the hospital agreed not to charge the patients any fees. To no one's surprise, the hospital rejected this proposal.

The capitalist press has played its typical role of distorting the workers' side in this strike. Photos of babies dangling in midair, supposedly with no one to care for them, have been featured prominently in the mass media, arousing the anger of the nurses. As one striker put it, "We are getting damned tired of this emotional blackmail."

Some patients are also getting tired of these slanders. A June 22 nurses' rally in Oakland, Calif., was joined by sympathetic patients. One picket sign read: "Kaiser patients' families support the nurses striking for better health care."

An important new development in

Continued on page 26

Boston union women hold conference

BOSTON—"Working Women Get Together" was the theme of a June 22 educational meeting here sponsored by the organizing committee for the Massachusetts Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). More than 130 trade-union and other working women, from 20 unions, participated in the program of speakers and workshops.

The opening speaker was Gloria Johnson, director of women's and educational activities for the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE) and the national treasurer of CLUW. She described the founding of CLUW at a national conference in Chicago last March and outlined the goals of the organization.

As the statement of purpose adopted at that conference explains, "The primary purpose of this new national coalition is to unify all union women in a viable organization to determine, first—our common problems and concerns and, second—to develop action programs within the framework of our unions to deal effectively with our objectives." Among the objectives of CLUW are organizing the unorganized, supporting affirmative action programs on the job, and increasing women's participation in their unions.

Johnson's speech touched on the myths used to deny women equality on the job, such as the idea that "men are the providers and need the raise or promotion more than we women." She pointed out that one out of nine families in this country is headed by a woman, and a much higher percentage of Black families have female heads.

Johnson urged all union women to join CLUW and help make it grow.

Virginia Jones, a leader of the United Farm Workers, spoke on the inspiring role women have played in the UFW struggle. She called for support to the boycott of scab grapes and lettuce, urging women to join the picket lines at A&P, the only remaining supermarket chain that buys scab produce in Massachusetts.

Linda Malanchuk, a convener of Massachusetts CLUW and a member of the Massachusetts Teachers Association, gave a speech in which she compared developments among women trade unionists today to the role of women during the struggles to form the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) in the 1930s.

"We need the unions to fight for our rights," she said, "and we need CLUW to help the unions recognize our needs as women."

Workshops were held on affirmative action, child care, the role of women in the unions, organizing the unorganized, and the fight against racial discrimination. Initiating task forces on child care and the problems of Black and Puerto Rican women workers, organizing a speakers bureau, increasing educational material, and using the local CLUW newsletter to help support organizing drives were seen as top priorities by women at the meeting.

The closing speech was given by Augusta Trainor, a United Rubber Workers retiree and a member of CLUW's national coordinating committee. She spoke on the exciting possibilities for CLUW and the significance of getting union women and women on organizing drives together for the first time.

Houston nurses wage fight for decent maternity hospital care

By SARA JOHNSTON

HOUSTON—Chants of "Rehire the nurses!" and "Open the logbooks!" rang out in the noonday heat here June 19 in front of Jefferson Davis Hospital. The 70 demonstrators were nurses and activists in the newly formed Coalition to Defend the Nurses, which has grown out of the struggle here for decent health care.

At a news conference the day before, the Coalition to Defend the Nurses explained the issues in the fight at Jefferson Davis. Among those participating in the news conference were several nurses; Gertude Barnstone of Women's Equity Action League (WEAL); and Sherry Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas. Other groups participating in the coalition are the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Harris County Women's Political Caucus, and Las Mujeres Unidas (Women United).

Nine nurses were recently fired at Jefferson Davis because they were leaders of a "sick-out" in May to protest dangerous conditions in the labor and delivery rooms of the hospital. Forty-four of the 65 employees in those departments stayed out for six days.

The coalition is demanding the reinstatement of all nine nurses and is calling for an immediate investigation of the maternity and surgical facilities at Jefferson Davis by coalition members and fired nurses.

Located near the Black community, Jefferson Davis is one of the largest maternity hospitals in the country. Seventy percent of its expectant mothers are Blacks and 20 percent are Chicanas. Medical schools consider it a "learning institute" where students can go to gain "experience."

"Ten thousand babies are born ev-



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Coalition to Defend the Nurses news conference. Jefferson Davis nurses Nancy Roberts, Judy Sterling, and Ethel Francois (left to right) describe danger to patients' health.

ery year at Jefferson Davis," the nurses explain, "under deteriorating conditions, affecting the health of the mothers and infants and overworking the nurses who provide essential nursing care."

There are not enough nurses to care for all the women who come to the hospital. Equipment is broken and outdated. There are too few delivery rooms and nurses say that if the logbooks were opened, they would reveal that at least one of every four births takes place in the hallway, not in a delivery room.

In addition to the poor conditions for patients, the nurses themselves face substandard working conditions. They have no place to eat their meals. There is a one-toilet restroom, which also serves as the dressing room and lounge for 20 to 30 nurses per shift. There is no provision for parking close to the hospital for safety at night.

When the administration refused to

heed their demands, the nurses formed the Nurses for Improvement Committee, which first organized a petition campaign and then the sick-out. The committee demanded additional personnel, better equipment in the labor and delivery rooms, a \$45 a month wage increase, a nurses' lounge, and a special parking area.

After their sick-out, the nurses decided to appeal to the public for support.

Ethel Francois, one of the fired nurses, pointed to the importance of winning community support. "We need the people who come here to have their babies to speak out and say things must change. These women know how conditions are."

"This struggle is bigger than just this one instance at Jefferson Davis," she noted. "I understand there are nurses in California struggling against the same kind of thing we are struggling against."

Reply to a reader

Who are the real Mideast terrorists?

By DAVE FRANKEL

Unlike capitalist newspapers, which claim to be impartial and which deny the ideological bias that is so apparent in their reporting, *The Militant* proclaims itself as a partisan newspaper. *The Militant* stands for socialism and it supports the struggles of the oppressed against their oppressors.

This leads to protests when there is disagreement or confusion as to who the oppressor is. Stan Kohls, for example, charges *The Militant* with "a simplistic 'good guys-bad guys' approach to the very complex Mideast conflict," "one-sided" reporting, and "uncritical blindness."

Who is the oppressor?

Kohls does not dispute the specific facts cited in *The Militant*, but he implies that the situation in the Middle East is so complex that there can be no clear determination of who is to blame. In cases such as Maalot, when terrorist attacks are carried out by Palestinians, he apparently feels that vigorous denunciation of the Palestinians is in order.

We reject this position.

The struggle of the Arab nation for independence—first against the Ottoman Empire and then against the British and French empires, which replaced the Ottomans after World War I—was a straightforward democratic struggle against foreign domination. The Zionist settlers entered this struggle with their own aims but as staunch allies of British imperialism.

The reactionary scheme to create a state "as Jewish as England is English" in a land where the majority of the population was Arab made the

Zionists automatic opponents of Palestinian independence throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Implied in the creation of such a state, as many warned beforehand, and as was confirmed in practice, was the expulsion of the native Arab population.

Having established a colonial settler-state in opposition to the interests and aspirations of the Arab masses, the Zionists were compelled to lean for support on U.S. imperialism. Israel is the keystone of Washington's policy of maintaining its control over the Arab East.

The fact that many of the Jewish settlers who came to Palestine were refugees from European anti-Semitism and the Nazi holocaust is no justification for oppression of the Palestinian Arabs.

Inside Israel 400,000 Palestinians live as second-class citizens. In the Arab territories occupied by Israel in 1967 another 1.1 million Palestinians live under military occupation. In addition, 1.5 million Palestinians live as refugees, many in the most miserable conditions, having been deliberately uprooted and driven from their land.

The Palestinians subject no Israelis to military occupation. They have not expropriated the land and houses of another people. They don't discriminate against a subject population in employment, wages, housing, health care, education, and other areas. It is the Israelis who are the oppressors.

A neutral position?

Supporters of Israel always talk about how complex the situation is in order to obscure the simple truth that the land occupied by the Zionists has been stolen from another people.

The liberal rendition of this type of reasoning is the argument that there is right and wrong on both sides, but whatever the past injustices, Israel now exists and a compromise is in order. The "compromise," of course, would be based on the continued existence of Israel as a Jewish state, rather than on the Palestinian demand for a unitary Palestine in which both peoples would live.

Thus, a position of "even-handedness," of attempting to maintain a benevolent neutrality between the oppressor and the oppressed, serves to cover up the real situation and to help maintain and legitimize the Zionist state.

Terrorism & morality

It would be preferable if the struggle for human freedom could be accomplished without bloodshed. There are very few people who relish the death of defenseless families or children—Arab or Israeli. But the moral question posed by events such as Maalot is not the one that Kohls thinks.

By equating the actions of the Israelis and the Palestinians he suggests that the struggle of colonial settlers to hold on to what they have stolen can be put on the same moral plane as the struggle of people fighting against their dispossession. Marxists disagree.

Karl Marx wrote that capital comes into the world "dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt."

The violence in the world today is pervasive. We see it in Vietnam and Chile, in the starvation of hundreds of thousands in Africa and India—condemned by a rapacious social system, not by nature—as well as in the Middle East.

The touchstone of all morality is



Nabatieh refugee camp in Lebanon, housing more than 3,000 Palestinians, before and after Israeli air attack on May 16.

the question of how society can most effectively be changed in order to end this human suffering. Revolutionists oppose individual terrorism because it stands in the way of mobilizing the masses to fight for their liberation.

But from a moral point of view, Palestinian terrorists fighting against the oppression of their people are on a different plane than the Israeli soldiers trying to terrorize the Palestinian population into submission. The colonialists have no moral standing to condemn the methods of struggle used by those they have dispossessed, just as the slavemaster had no moral grounds to complain when the slaves burned down his house and killed his family.

Furthermore, the terrorism of the Israelis—a terrorism that has been sustained over three decades—has been carried out on a scale and with a viciously methodical character that dwarf the attempts of the Palestinians to fight back. As the liberation fighter in the movie *Battle of Algiers* pointed out in reply to the hypocritical protests of his captors, the liberation fighters would have been happy to exchange their bombs and grenades for French jets.

Most important, Kohls's equation of the actions of Palestinian guerrillas with those of the Israelis leaves out the central moral question: Who is fighting to uphold oppression and who is fighting to end it?

Objective reporting

A final point that should be answered is the implication in Kohls's letter that since *The Militant* takes the side of the Arab revolution, its reporting is not objective. This is not true.

The test of objectivity is not whether or not one claims to be impartial,

but whether or not the facts and analyses that are presented conform to the actual situation. Class and national struggles in which genuine neutrality is impossible are the basic social reality throughout the world today. Those who ignore or deny this objective reality can hardly be objective reporters.

The Militant reports the facts on the specific struggles taking place without falsifying them, and puts them into the framework of a Marxist analysis in order to explain their significance. It follows the method advocated by Trotsky in his *History of the Russian Revolution*:

"The serious and critical reader will not want a treacherous impartiality, which offers him a cup of conciliation with a well-settled poison of reactionary hate at the bottom, but a scientific conscientiousness, which for its sympathies and antipathies—open and undisguised—seeks support in an honest study of the facts, a determination of their real connections, an exposure of the causal laws of their movement."

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

THE SOCIALIST VIEW
Selections from *The Militant* by
Dave Frankel, Dick Roberts
and Tony Thomas

32 pages, \$.60
Order from: PATHFINDER
PRESS, 410 West St., New York,
N. Y. 10014

A criticism...

I'm greatly disturbed that the folks around *The Militant*, whom I've always identified as comrades, should be taking such a simplistic "good guys-bad guys" approach to the very complex Mideast conflict. . . .

Egyptian Foreign Minister Fahmi calls Israel's reason for reprisal raids into Lebanon "paltry." The United Nations condemns Israeli aggression with no mention of Arab terrorist raids. And *The Militant* headlines read: "New Israeli terror raids hit Lebanon," "Maalot a pretext for new offensive," and "Zionist thugs attack Arab spokesman. . . ." Somewhat one-sided to say the least.

It may be true that the capitalist press doesn't condemn Israeli retaliatory raids with much vigor. But I missed *The Militant's* strident denunciation of the massacres of innocent civilians at Qiryat Shemona and Maalot, to say nothing of Munich and Lod Airport. There are occasional remarks about "a few desperate and self-defeating acts of individual terrorism"; apparently they would have been acceptable if they hadn't been self-defeating. . . .

I don't want this letter to be interpreted as a defense of Israeli tactics. There is nothing as disgusting as the uncritical blindness with which the U.S. press views Israel. But I expect that kind of crap from the capitalist media; it's painful to see *The Militant*, for which I used to have the highest respect, adopt the same sort of position, simply switching the terms "Arab" and "Israeli."

Stan Kohls
Riverside, Calif.

Indians hold treaty conference in South Dakota

By JOHN LINDER

MOBRIDGE, S.D. — For Indians, the story of America is a chronicle of broken treaties and promises and a concerted effort by the U.S. government to destroy the Indian people.

This June, on an Indian reservation in South Dakota, 3,000 Indians met to discuss how to fight back. The first International Treaty Convention drew Indians from 97 tribes and Indian nations, according to conference organizers. Some Indians came from the East and West coasts and from Canada.

The mood of the participants was one of rejection of the government's Indian assimilation and integration schemes, and support for Indian independence from government control. Nearly everyone at the conference spoke about the need for unity among the tribes in the fight for Indian sovereignty.

"We're not talking about civil rights," a 50-year-old Indian from Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota told a workshop. "We're talking about a very basic human right, the right to our own way of life, the right to our own Indian way of life," he said.

The conference was sponsored by the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. The tribe hosted the sessions, which ran from June 8 through June 16 on the reservation grounds here.

The meeting took on special significance in the wake of last year's historic 71-day Indian seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D., which was led by AIM, and the frame-up trials that have resulted from it. AIM, along with many of its supporters, has contended that the seizure was justified because the U.S. government has no jurisdiction at Wounded Knee or on other Indian lands because of a sovereign treaty signed by Indian leaders and federal officers in 1868.

The 1868 treaty was a prime topic at the conference workshops.

Bad Wound, a South Dakota Oglala Lakota Indian, elaborated on the

treaty question in an interview. "The government thought they could forget about the treaty of 1868," he told *The Militant*, "but it's coming back to haunt them."

William Kunstler, a defense attorney in the Wounded Knee trial in St. Paul, Minn., echoed this mood in an opening night address to the conference.

"The treaties, as soon as they were made, were meant to be destroyed," Kunstler said. "American Indians entered into almost 400 of what they considered to be sacred and unbreakable agreements, only to find that they were just a method of acquiring real estate by fraudulent means."

The convention set up an International Treaty Council, which conference organizers say will present to other nations the details of the theft of Indian lands. One council office will be established in New York City to take the issue to the United Nations, and another office will be opened in Washington, D.C., to argue the case at foreign embassies.

"We're recognizing that the period of passivity has got to go," John True-dell, national chairman of AIM, said in an interview. "That's why it [the convention] is happening now. We had to exhaust all other avenues to satisfy our own selves about the proper methods to use."

For Indians, U.S. control of reservations is a grim reminder that the stage when white government officials launched their campaign against American Indians has not ended, but has only changed its form. At the Standing Rock Reservation, for example, Indians talked about how funds from the Bureau of Indian Affairs rarely got down to Indians themselves because of widespread corruption.

"It's just like a little Watergate on each reservation," Philomene One Feather, a member of the Standing Rock Tribe, told *The Militant*.

Both in the conference and at the national AIM convention that followed, Indian activists talked about new



Militant/John Linder

struggles and issues involving the Indian community.

A resolution was passed opposing strip mining on Indian lands designated by the Sioux treaty of 1868. According to members of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe in Wyoming, 25 energy companies have mapped plans to build 42 coal-fired generating plants on Indian lands, extracting coal in mass quantity. The strip mining threatens to destroy three-fourths of that reservation.

Other Indian protests across the country were discussed at the conference. These included demonstrations in New Mexico against the killing of six Indians by white racists, and protests in Salt Lake City, Utah, where opposition has mounted to the control of Indian affairs and programs by the Mormon church.

The American Indian Movement is demanding that the Mormon church remove its missionaries and programs

from the reservations and return all land stolen from the Indians.

The treaty convention climaxed its sessions by adopting a "Declaration of Continuing Independence of the Sovereign Native American Indian Nations."

"In the course of these human events," the declaration's preamble said, "we call upon the people of the world to support the struggle for our sovereign rights. We pledge our assistance to all other sovereign people who seek their own independence."

The declaration also directed the newly formed Treaty Council to seek admission to the UN as well as "establish diplomatic relations with the United States."

While the course of the Indian movement can only be determined by events to come, one central aspect of the struggle is readily evident: Nationalist consciousness is growing on Indian reservations today. It is a trend that should be supported.

New Israeli terror raids kill eighty in Lebanon

By DAVID RUSSELL

Minutes after Richard Nixon's plane took off from Jordan June 18, Israeli jets opened up a three-day campaign of terror against Palestinian refugees and Lebanese villagers.

"Newsmen who toured towns and rural areas hit by the Israelis earlier this week," reported Jim Hoagland in the June 21 *Washington Post*, "recovered parts of sophisticated phosphorous bombs that have set exten-

sive fires in Lebanese olive groves and wheat fields, seriously damaging the harvest in progress. Fragments of American-made anti-personnel bombs were also recovered."

The toll in the three days of air attacks was put by Lebanese sources at 80 dead and some 150 wounded. The Associated Press reported from Ein al Helwah, "The air strikes damaged more than 100 houses in this largest of refugee camps in Lebanon. Weeping children watched as parents dug frantically in the debris for bodies and bits of furniture."

"We had been expecting something," said Aziza Ahmed, a refugee housewife, "But for God's sake, what could we do? We have no shelters and no real means of defense."

In Tel Aviv the Israeli command asserted in language reminiscent of the Pentagon handouts during the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam that pilots took "all possible measures" to avoid civilian casualties and that targets "were definitely identified as military installations of the terrorist organizations."

In a final bit of irony an Israeli official insisted, "This new government is composed of military men who are not prepared to tolerate attacks on the civilian population." The official was referring to a Palestinian guerrilla action the previous week in which three

Israelis and four Palestinians were killed.

The Israeli raids, coming as they did immediately after Nixon's Mideast tour, were a source of painful embarrassment to the governments in Cairo and Damascus. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat appealed publicly to Nixon to get Israel to stop its air strikes, while in Damascus the official state radio said the raids were "unacceptable to all Arabs."

However, neither government was willing to do anything more than issue statements of protest and offer the Lebanese government token arms aid. John Cooley wrote in the June 21 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"The Palestinians at Sidon expressed bitter feelings, less against Israel and the United States than against Egypt and Syria. 'By agreeing to disengagement accords, the Egyptians and Syrians have freed the hand of the Israelis to turn all their guns on us,' one young man said. 'They want to kill as many of us as possible and try to make us give up our national identity.'"

Meanwhile, Henry Tanner reported from Cairo in the June 23 *New York Times*, "Many Arab diplomats and some Western ones are convinced that Israel is seriously considering an incursion [with ground troops] into southern Lebanon."



F. Samia

Palestinians search for survivors and belongings in rubble after Israeli raids in May

Can U.S. workers make a revolution?

The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class by Ernest Mandel and George Novack. Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 1974. 80 pp. Paper \$1.45.

The 25-year period of relative prosperity in the advanced capitalist countries that followed the carnage of World War II resulted in a predictable response. The generation that had grown up under the shadow of depression and war looked at the new situation with enthusiasm; they had never had it so good.

For the younger generation, which had never known anything else, the prosperity seemed natural, a part of the social order that was taken for granted.

As in earlier periods of prosperity, people generalized from their immediate experience. Optimism spread about the ability of capitalism to overcome the contradictions described by Marx and Engels, and there was no lack of writers ready to turn their empiricism into a theory.

Some argued that "the American century" had opened. Others assured their readers that the boom-bust economic cycle had finally been eliminated by manipulation of government spending, tax policies, and interest rates.

The corollary to the theory of unending capitalist prosperity was the assumption of continuing domestic peace. C. Wright Mills and Herbert Marcuse wrote whole books on how the working class



Militant/Duncan Williams

'It makes no more sense to depreciate the potential combativity of the working class today than it would have made to write off Blacks and Chicanos as an independent force in the 1930s and 1940s.'

the talks by Mandel and Novack in this book—given in September and November 1968—and see how they outline the trends that, although unseen by others at that time, have come to dominate the political and economic life of the advanced capitalist countries.

As Mandel explained, "rising real wages are constantly threatened by erosion. They are threatened by inflation. They are threatened by structural unemployment generated through technological change and automation. They are threatened by wage restraint and wage-freeze policies. They are threatened by recessions. The more the workers are accustomed to relatively high wages, the more they react against even marginal reductions in their accustomed level of consumption, the more all the just-named threats are potential starting points of real social explosions."

Nevertheless, the growing economic difficulties faced by the capitalist system have yet to spark the type of massive resistance in the U.S. that we have seen among workers in Britain, Portugal, and Japan during the last year. Most people in the U.S., including most radicals, still believe that the prospect of a massive working-class radicalization and a proletarian socialist revolution in this country is a utopian fantasy.

Novack points out that it makes no more sense to depreciate the potential combativity of the working class today than it would have made to write off Blacks and Chicanos as an independent force

in the 1930s and 1940s, or students in the 1950s. He explains that many of the student radicals "unwittingly share the disdain of middle-class intellectuals for less formally educated people. They visualize the mass of workers as contented cattle who cannot look beyond their bellies or ever be inspired by a call to struggle for broad social causes and political aims. . . .

"The new radicals accept the fact that the black masses, so long depicted as menials, can reject their degradation, heighten their racial pride, resist their oppressors. Yet it has still to dawn on these new radicals that, at some later date, white workers too can pass through similar processes of remoralization."

While explaining the basic forces working to undermine and break down the post-war stability of the capitalist metropolises, Novack and Mandel also take up the problems of the conservative ideology that has penetrated into the ranks of the working class. As Mandel says:

"In the last analysis the question boils down to this: Which force will turn out to be stronger in determining the worker's attitude to the society he lives in, the mystifying ideas he receives, yesterday in the church and today through TV, or the social reality he confronts and assimilates day after day through practical experience? For historical materialists, to pose the question this way is to answer it, although the struggle itself will say the last word."

—DAVID RUSSELL

Books

in the advanced capitalist countries had been bought off and brainwashed once and for all. They argued that Marxism, with its predictions of economic crises and collapse as the necessary follow-up to the capitalist boom, was about as relevant as mittens in July.

This new, expanded edition of *The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class* consists of four speeches by Trotskyist leaders Ernest Mandel and George Novack taking up the arguments of those who hold that the workers in the United States are inherently incapable of making a socialist revolution.

After the last few years, with the rising unemployment, inflation, and shortages of essential goods, the perfectability of capitalism has begun to be seen as a rather doubtful proposition by broadening layers of the population. Articles in the daily press discussing the chances of another depression, and even of worldwide famine, have become commonplace.

It is particularly interesting to read the first of

AFL-CIO leaders: In cahoots with the CIA

An Analysis of Our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America or Under the Covers with the CIA. Published by Fred Hirsch. San Jose, Calif., 1974. 56 pp. Paper, donation.

Protest actions against the military junta in Chile have consistently pointed out the complicity of the U.S. government and U.S. corporations with the reactionary generals' coup last fall.

Now, facts have been collected by a section of the union movement showing that the largest labor organization in this country—the AFL-CIO—was

get to the bottom of questions raised about the role of the AFL-CIO.

It was out of this continuing workshop of trade unionists that *Our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America* was brought about. This pamphlet traces the development of the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) and exposes its connections with the government, big business, and the CIA.

The stated purpose of the AIFLD is "the development of the democratic trade union movement in Latin America and the Caribbean." What this has meant in reality is that the AFL-CIO has helped the government and giant corporations to break up militant trade unions in Latin America.

AFL-CIO head George Meany is president of the AIFLD. Chairman of the board of trustees is J. Peter Grace, chief executive of W. R. Grace & company—a multinational corporation with extensive interests in Latin America. Meany and Grace have tried to promote the development of unions subservient to the interests of the capitalist class, unions that collaborate with the bosses rather than fight them.

The AIFLD is company unionism on a grand scale. Financed mainly by the government (in

1967 the AIFLD's budget was \$6-million—three times the annual AFL-CIO budget) and backed by corporations such as Kennecott and Anaconda, the AIFLD is nothing more than a mouthpiece for U.S. imperialism within the Latin American labor movement.

Our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America was drawn up as background for a resolution presented last March to the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council. The resolution called for the labor council to dissociate itself from the AIFLD and for the dissolution of AIFLD.

The labor council, which had adopted a resolution last fall after the September coup in Chile condemning the military junta and calling for no U.S. aid to the regime, didn't approve this resolution. Instead, the council approved a substitute resolution simply requesting that the AFL-CIO respond to *Our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America* and answer the charges contained in it.

The response of George Meany and of the AFL-CIO International Affairs department has yet to appear. When and if there is an answer, one thing is clear—it will not refute this well-documented exposé of their collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

—HENRY LUCAS

Pamphlets

very likely in complicity with the overthrow of the Allende government as well.

Last December, the Emergency Committee to Defend Democracy in Chile held a conference to discuss the U.S. role in Latin America. A workshop on the role of U.S. labor in Latin America decided to continue after the conference to try to

Cops have no right to bar sales of Militant

By ROSE OGDEN

Militant sellers in various cities have reported attempts by the police to curtail sales of *The Militant* on public streets and other public areas. These restrictions are clear violations of free speech activity.

Sometimes this harassment takes the form of a cop arbitrarily telling a salesperson to leave one corner and



Militant/Maceo Dixon

Federal courts have repeatedly upheld right to sell newspapers in public places.

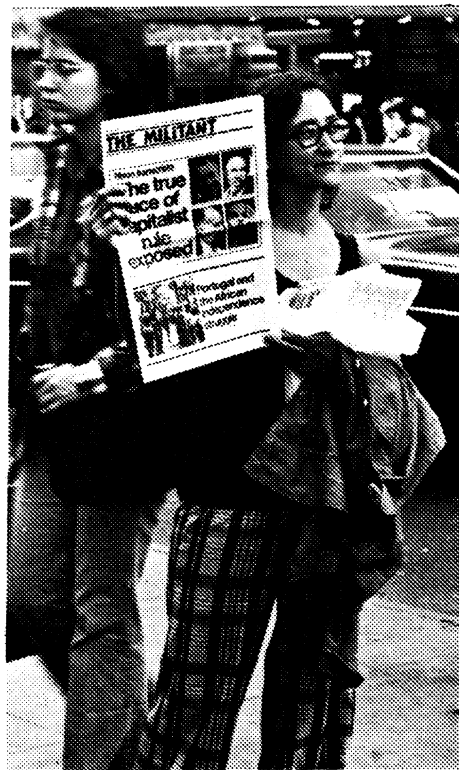
move to another block. On other occasions sellers are told to leave bus and train stations or airports and threatened with arrest if they don't comply. Harassment has also occurred on college campuses and in front of high schools on public sidewalks.

In some cases salespeople have actually been arrested and charged with selling without a license.

In all of these cases, however, salespeople have a constitutionally protected right to sell *The Militant*. Federal courts have repeatedly ruled that city and state ordinances requiring newspaper sellers to be licensed, or restricting sales in public areas, are unconstitutional.

For example, in *Hull v. Petrillo*, a case involving the Black Panther Party newspaper, a federal court declared: "It has long been established that '(a) state may not impose a charge for the enjoyment of a right granted by the Federal Constitution.' . . . Therefore any fee imposed as a prerequisite to the exercise of the right to communicate ideas on the public sidewalks is an unconstitutional prior restraint upon the freedom of expression."

Authorities often attempt to justify restrictions on *Militant* sales by claiming that distribution of *The Militant* is a form of commercial activity because the paper is sold for a fee. This line of reasoning would place *Militant* sales in the same category as selling something like hot dogs, and prohib-



iting sales would thereby not violate free speech rights.

However, these maneuvers to disguise undemocratic restrictions on First Amendment rights have not held up in court. In *Gall v. Lawler*, a federal case involving *Kaleidoscope*, an underground newspaper published in Wisconsin, the court ruled: "Notwithstanding the fact that *Kaleidoscope* is sold for a nominal sum [25

cents], it is reasonably clear that its distribution is a form of free expression, which may be circumscribed only in ways which will not unduly impinge on the rights protected by the first amendment."

Militant sellers can take advantage of these favorable court rulings. Sometimes just making it clear that we are aware of our rights is enough to end harassment. For example, New York City supporters report that when a cop tried to force them to stop selling on a particular street corner, they immediately called the police headquarters and protested this violation of their rights. The police then backed down and sales at that corner continued.

Supporters in various cities have also been in consultation with lawyers about taking legal action against attempts to prohibit sales at transportation terminals.

Despite the court rulings, local cops and other protectors of "law and order" are always trying to restrict democratic rights, whenever they can get away with it. An aggressive defense of the right to sell *The Militant* is the only way to defeat these attacks.

The Militant business office is compiling information on interference with the right to sell, and may be able to help areas that are encountering difficulties. If you run into arbitrary restrictions, contact the business office at 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-3486.

L.A. radio station manager jailed for SLA tape

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—The manager of a local radio station has been jailed for refusing to turn over to authorities a tape recording received June 7 from Symbionese Liberation Army members Patricia Hearst, Emily Harris, and William Harris.

KPFK general manager Will Lewis was ordered incarcerated June 19 for contempt of court. A federal judge jailed Lewis until he turns over the SLA tape and a letter supposedly sent to the station by the Weather Underground, and until he answers questions of a federal grand jury investigating the two groups.

The mimeographed letter from the

Weather Underground was a statement claiming responsibility for the May 31 bombing of the office of Evelle Younger, California's attorney general. The station has made copies of the tape and letter available but has refused to turn over the originals on the constitutional grounds that the news media has the right to protect the confidentiality of its sources.

In refusing to answer questions, Lewis termed the grand jury's investigation a "fishing expedition" into the internal workings and personnel of KPFK in an attempt to link the station with the SLA.

The president of the Pacifica

Foundation has issued a statement in "full support" of Lewis. KPFK is one of four listener-sponsored FM stations owned by Pacifica.

Lewis can be held under the present contempt conviction for as long as the grand jury is in session. It's term is due to expire in September but could be extended.

Lewis's jailing was ironic inasmuch as the same day he began serving his sentence, another judge in Los Angeles ruled in the case of *Los Angeles Times* reporter William Farr that the news media has the right in the eyes of the law to hold and "articulate its moral principle" of protecting the confidentiality of its sources.

Farr had received a similar coercive, indefinite jail term when he refused to divulge the source of certain information he obtained while covering the Charles Manson murder trial.

Numerous nationally known news media figures, including Walter Cronkite, had testified on Farr's behalf.

The court's ruling was only a partial victory. While the use of indefinite and coercive sentences for reporters who wish to protect the confidentiality of their sources was outlawed, the court maintained that Farr could still be given a punitive sentence for contempt of court. This carries a maximum penalty of five days for each count.

Blindness, lobotomy, and 33 years in prison

Eugene Austin is a 51-year-old Paiute Indian who spent the last 33 years in the Nevada State Prison. He was recently released on parole and his story was told on the NBC Nightly News.

In 1941 Austin was given a life sentence—he was 18 at the time—for murder. He had allegedly gone on a shooting spree one night when he'd been drinking and one of the shots killed a white woman.

The American Way of Life

The prison records say that his first seven years in the penitentiary were uneventful, but in 1948 he escaped for two days before being recaptured. A few weeks later he tried to escape again, but failed. He was then branded a troublemaker and was transferred from the prison's "maximum security" wing to solitary confinement. For the next 14 years he was kept in a 7-foot by 7-foot cell

called "the icebox." According to the NBC news account:

"When Gene Austin was stored here, it was a dungeon. He was stripped naked and forced to sleep on a steel cot. Once a week, guards would hose him and the cell down together. . . . He was taken out of the 'icebox' only once—in 1953." Why were they letting him out? For exercise? Had the warden gotten a twinge of conscience? Not quite:

"They took him to a hospital in Reno where doctors performed a lobotomy. They destroyed about one-fifth of his brain. . . . After the operation he was returned to the 'icebox,' where he spent the next 11 years—most of it in total darkness. In 1964, they let him out—and discovered that sometime during his years of darkness in the icebox Eugene Austin had gone blind."

His blindness, prison officials claim, was caused by his beating his head on the walls and floors of the "icebox," something he began doing after the lobotomy. He still has a neurological tic that makes his head jerk to the side periodically.

So now, 51 years old, blind, and lobotomized,

Eugene Austin is no longer considered a threat to the established order and has been released. What's left of him now resides in a convalescent hospital in Sacramento, Calif.

The story of Eugene Austin is only an extremely blatant case of the systematic violence that is employed against all inmates through the prison system. It is the same violence that prompted the well-known socialist Eugene Victor Debs to write: "In my prison life I saw in a way I never had before the blighting, disfiguring, destroying effects of capitalism."

Debs, who was imprisoned for opposing World War I, wrote: "I have made the statement and I repeat it here that if every jail, every prison, every penitentiary in the land had its doors flung wide open and every inmate were given his liberty the harm that would result to society would be vastly less than the harm society now suffers in wasting the lives of hundreds of thousands of unfortunate souls, breaking up their homes, wrecking their families, and launching upon itself the avenging crime waves which threaten it with destruction."

—CLIFF CONNER

Calendar

DENVER

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION FROM A SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE. Speaker: Joyce Tally, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Colorado Univ. board of regents. Fri., July 5, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

DETROIT

NIXON'S 'JOURNEY FOR PEACE'—NO JUSTICE FOR PALESTINE. Speaker: Robin Maisel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan. Fri., July 5, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. The history of the Russian revolution: its lessons for today. Wed., July 3, 8 p.m. and Sat., July 6, 10 a.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: 25 cents per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information or to enroll call (213) 483-1512 or 483-2581.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

'EL TEATRO CAMPESINO' Film documenting the history of the theater of the farm workers. Fri., July 5, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

ST. LOUIS

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Cannon's Speeches to the party. Class 2: Background of the developing differences. Instructor: Steve Chase. Wed., July 3, 7:30 p.m. 4660 Maryland (at Euclid), Room 17. Donation: \$3 for entire series or 50 cents per class. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. History of the Russian revolution. Wed., July 3, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SERIES. The roots of Stalinism. Wed., July 3, 7:30 p.m.: Revolutionary internationalism vs. peaceful coexistence; Sun., July 7, 6:30 p.m.: Foreign policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$3 for entire course; 50 cents per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...Stalinists

Continued from page 7

the miners back. On June 1, 1943, some 530,000 miners refrained to enter the pits. This strike was followed by another, and ultimately Roosevelt and the employers were forced to back down.

Preis asks, What if the miners hadn't

waged their fight or if they had lost? "... it would have meant not only the crippling and possibly the crushing of one of the most powerful industrial unions—the UMW—but a demoralizing blow of shattering proportions for the auto, rubber, steel, electrical equipment, and other CIO workers. In the wake of a miners' defeat, the corporate interests and their government agents would have fallen like a ravenous wolf pack on the most vulnerable unions."

And this gets at the root of the Stalinist treachery. For the workers will get nowhere by entrusting their interests to the capitalist rulers—whether it is Roosevelt and the Democratic Party during World War II, or Spinoia and the Portuguese provisional government today.

These two examples, in Portugal and in the United States, show how the allegiance of the Stalinists is to so-called progressive capitalist governments or political forces—not to the masses of workers. And the Stalinists will not hesitate to break strikes and otherwise stab workers and oppressed nationalities in the back if they dare to launch independent struggles against the exploiters defended by the Stalinists.

...strikes

Continued from page 16

contracts, and to keep unions that support the strike from delivering merchandise.

Teachers also hope that picketing will hamper construction work on the school planned for the summer.

In addition to court actions launched by the teachers to regain their jobs, a group of Hortonville parents have filed a suit centering on the reduced quality of education in the scab-staffed school. Their suit seeks either the closing of school, rehiring of fired teachers, or establishment of an alternative education system.

In a similar struggle, 104 teachers in the Timberlane school district in New Hampshire are continuing what has become the longest teachers' strike in U.S. history. To publicize their struggle, a group of Timberlane Regional Education Association mem-

bers have been marching the 1,400 miles to the NEA convention in Chicago, carrying signs such as "We'd Walk 1,400 Miles for a Contract."

Timberlane teachers struck last February to win union recognition and a contract for the district. The school board refused to even negotiate this issue, and managed to win a vote of confidence from the district's voters. The board claims that meeting the union's demands would mean giving up control of the schools to "outsiders."

As in Hortonville, schools have been kept open by recruiting scabs to permanently replace the strikers. While employing uncertified scabs, the board has sought to revoke the teaching certificates of the strikers. This is the policy of the state board of education. It is now being argued in the courts.

School Superintendent Robert Crompton now says the dispute is settled as far as the school board is concerned and that he is interviewing new teachers for next fall.

Hortonville and Timberlane have become testing grounds for overt union-busting tactics by school boards. They highlight two major obstacles facing both the NEA and the American Federation of Teachers: state laws that ban strikes by teachers or other public employees, and the growing pool of jobless teachers who can be recruited as scabs.

The ability of teacher unionists to grapple with these issues and mobilize the support necessary to defeat these attacks on their right to organize is of grave importance not only for the 200 teachers personally involved but for all three million teachers in the country.

...quotas

Continued from page 17

seem to give the slightest consideration to the effect it has on them to have nearly all white teachers—teachers who have not experienced and cannot relate to the racism the students face every day, teachers who may not even speak the same language they do.

In order to win the fight against the cutbacks and for funds, jobs, and decent education, the teachers organi-

zations must work together with, not against, the Black and Puerto Rican communities. Shanker's policies are aimed at just the opposite and are suicidal in the long run. The only way an alliance can be forged is for the teachers to support the just struggles of the Black and Puerto Rican communities for full equality. That struggle includes the fight for community control and for preferential treatment.

...nurses

Continued from page 21

the strike is the sanction of the walk-out by the Teamsters union. Until June 19, Teamsters had been crossing the picket lines. They will now honor the lines except for transport of "necessary supplies."

Hospital and Institutional Workers Local 250 (AFL-CIO), on the other hand, still refuses to back the nurses, because it is in competition with the CNA and Teamsters for jurisdiction in the hospitals.

The CNA has made a concerted effort to appeal to the labor movement and the public at large for support. A strike spokeswoman recently addressed a meeting of 45 women trade unionists sponsored by the organizing committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The women passed a motion to give individual financial contributions to the strike, to send a letter of solidarity to the CNA, and to join the nurses' picket lines.

Doctors have also shown support for the strike. At the June 21 rally, a Dr. Steinsmith told the nurses, "There are two irreconcilable forces at work here. On the one side are the administrators, the drug monopolies, and the insurance monopolies. On the other, the nurses, doctors, and janitors. . . . I urge you to keep going back for more power, until you drive the money changers from the temple of health care."

Although negotiations have resumed, CNA negotiator Burton White told the June 21 rally, "We are as far apart as when we started." A roaring cheer went up as he said: "You are going to win this strike—with your militancy and unity, you are going to win."

Socialist Directory

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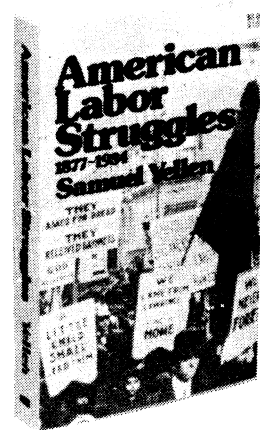
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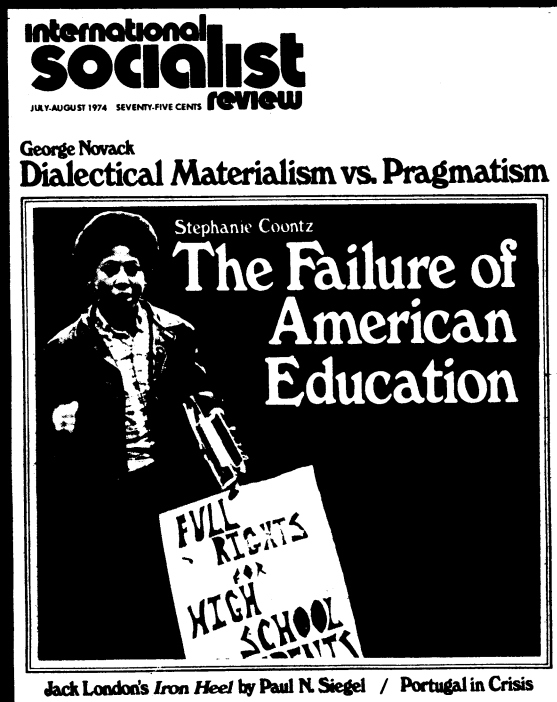
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Suit aims to void constitution

Shanker plans racist attack on NEA quotas

By CINDY JAQUITH

The American Federation of Teachers leadership, spearheaded by Albert Shanker, is about to unveil a new weapon in the war it has waged against the National Education Association since AFT-NEA merger talks broke down in February.

As soon as the NEA national Representative Assembly ends July 3, the Shankerite forces plan to launch a suit to overturn key provisions of the NEA constitution dealing with proportional representation for minority teachers on NEA leadership bodies.

This court action was first announced last January by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of the B'nai B'rith. Then on March 15 the executive committee of the New York State United Teachers (NYSUT) voted to "conjointly with the Anti-Defamation League, challenge the legality of the NEA's Constitution and By-laws, which are discriminatory," according to the March 24 *New York Teacher*, published by the NYSUT.

The constitutional amendments Shanker considers "discriminatory" were passed at the NEA convention last year, over the intense opposition of Shankerite delegates. The amendments, which take effect at this year's NEA Representative Assembly, would guarantee the following rights to oppressed minorities in the union:

- The NEA board of directors and all committees must include a minimum of 20 percent membership from oppressed nationalities.
- Delegations to the Representative

Assembly must include representation of these minorities "at least equal to the proportion of identified ethnic-minority populations within the state."

• If after 11 years no member of an oppressed minority has served as NEA president, nominations at the subsequent Representative Assembly shall be restricted to members of such groups.

Groups designated as ethnic minorities by the NEA include "Black, Mexican-American (Chicano), other Spanish-speaking groups, Oriental and Indian."

These amendments were democratically decided upon by NEA delegates at their last convention. After being repudiated by that convention, Shanker is trying to overturn the vote through the courts! He charges that it is "racist" to guarantee Black and minority teachers equal representation on NEA governing bodies.

The New York NEA and AFT affiliates merged in 1972 to form the NYSUT, which retains membership in both national organizations. Thus while Shanker sings the praises of "unity," the NYSUT executive board is preparing to file suit against the constitution of its own national union!

When this reporter called the Anti-Defamation League offices in New York to inquire about the suit, spokesmen there refused to discuss the contents of the suit, when it would be filed, or what role the NYSUT was playing in the legal action.

However, a student who called the public relations office of the New York



Albert Shanker

City United Federation of Teachers, of which Shanker is president, got a different answer.

This student told *The Militant* she was informed by the UFT that the suit is very much alive but "nothing can be done until the NEA constitution goes into effect."

Then, according to the UFT office, a teacher—presumably white—will arrange to be "injured" by the new quotas and the suit will be filed around this case. The student was told the "injured" party-to-be was there in the public relations office at that mo-

ment.

Plans for the suit have not received a great deal of publicity, but the April 13 *Amsterdam News*, a New York Black newspaper, did run a major article attacking the suit. The article was written by Jewell Handy Gresham, a member of the paper's editorial board and also a member of the NYSUT.

Gresham points out that the NYSUT's action will have a direct effect on "the most fundamental welfare of its minority members, without adequate consultation with that minority."

Needless to say, Shanker's failure to consult with the minority teachers he is supposed to represent is no oversight. And his virulent opposition to the NEA quotas is based on more than his fear that Black teachers and other minorities will gain a greater voice in union affairs. He also fears the logic of these quotas—that they will encourage the demand for increased hiring of minority teachers—a demand in direct conflict with his role as defender of the racist status quo in the New York school system.

The suit being launched against the NEA constitution deserves to be roundly condemned by NEA and AFT members alike. The NEA Representative Assembly should publicly repudiate this latest maneuver and put Shanker on the spot by demanding to know the facts behind his legal challenge. This can be the first step in mounting a counteroffensive to defeat this attack on minority teachers and the entire NEA.

'Teacher unity' in NY: the real record



How can teachers preserve jobs, improve education? For special feature on issues facing NEA, see pages 14-17.

By CATARINO GARZA

One of the major issues confronting teacher delegates at the National Education Association (NEA) convention in Chicago, June 28 to July 3, is the unification of the teachers movement.

Unity talks between the 1.4 million-member NEA and the 400,000-member American Federation of Teachers (AFT) broke down last February. The AFT officials insisted that

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a merged organization must be affiliated to the AFL-CIO, and opposed the NEA's provisions for a secret ballot to decide union policies and officers and proportional representation of minorities in the union structure.

The breakdown of the unity talks revealed a weakness in the leadership of both teacher organizations. They

could not provide the nation's three million teachers with a program to combat unemployment and inflation and to improve education.

At a time when student enrollment in elementary and secondary schools is falling, when teachers are being laid off, when federal funds for education are drying up, and when there is a growing disillusionment among many people about the results of education, it seems that teacher unity is more called for than ever. A united teachers movement with an effective program for improving education could rally students and parents to its banner. That's why the call for unity has such appeal among rank-and-file teachers.

The New York State United Teachers leadership of Thomas Hobart, president of NYSUT, and Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers in New York City and soon to be president of the AFT, are quite aware of this sentiment and will try to win support for their type

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